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Why Hillary Will Run for President

by Brigid C. Harrison

n the Fall 2005 issue of *Vox Pop*, Joe Freeman outlined a concise and logical argument as to why Hillary Clinton won't run for President. Freeman asserts three reasons prevent Hillary from running. First, Hillary's position as a political wife forces her to carry the heavy baggage of Bill Clinton's legacy in office. Second, Hillary's position as Senator from New York renders her too liberal to successfully vie for national political office. Finally, Freeman argues that to combat societal sexism that deems women less competent than men, Clinton would have to serve as governor of a big state or as vice president to prove her competence. I'd like to present an alternative view.

Hillary will run because the Democrats typically have not made the ability to win an election a priority when selecting presidential candidates. No sitting U.S. Senator has won the presidency since John F. Kennedy, yet Democrats chose John Kerry in 2004. No Democratic Northerner has won the presidency since John F. Kennedy, but again, Democrats chose Kerry. Ideology also has not been a top concern: note Kerry, and also Massachusetts Governor, Michael Dukakis.

Hillary will run because there is little alternative. Names that have been tossed around include John Edwards, Wesley Clark, Evan Bayh, and Mark Warner. But each of these has their flaws. Edwards has the legacy of losing in 2004, Biden comes from too small a state. It's questionable that Clark, Bayh, or Richardson could sustain a long, expensive primary campaign. Indeed, in 2004 Clark bowed out in February with a much more wide open field than the 2008 election promises. Warner, who served as Virginia's Governor from 2002 until his protegé was elected in 2005 is the closest thing to a rival. But Warner's conservatism will have little appeal to primary voters in 2008. Where Clinton may be too liberal to win a general election, Warner is to conservative to win a Democratic primary.

Clinton's lead is just so enormously overwhelming that she will scare off some competition. Most potential contenders would first need to buy name recognition, but finding financing to do so when trailing in the polls is difficult. A recent Gallup poll asked self-identified Democrats which candidate they'd be most likely to support. The results:

New York Senator, Hillary Rodham Clinton	40.70%
Massachusetts Senator, John Kerry	16.25%
Former North Carolina Senator, John Edwards	15.41%
Delaware Senator, Joe Biden	7.60%
Retired General, Wesley Clark	4.58%
New Mexico Governor, Bill Richardson	3.06%
Indiana Senator, Evan Bayh	2.66%
Virginia Governor, Mark Warner	1.98%

While early, and with the understanding that her potential rivals have done little in the way of campaigning, there also is the understanding that Hillary also has not yet begun to campaign. (continued on page 2)

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Hillary will run and win the primary election because she has proven to be one of the best fundraisers the Democrats have. She has more than \$27 million sitting in her Senate reelection war chest (her opponent has raised about a half million). Hillary's access to big money early on will prove important in the primaries, when she can out spend and eliminate the competition, one by one.

Running and winning a Primary is a much different task than winning the Presidency. And Freeman is right in arguing that "while prejudice against women in public office has declined greatly in the last 40 years, it's not gone." Over a period of time, pollsters have explored the question of whether Americans would vote for a qualified women for president. In 1937, only 33 percent of Americans said that they would cast their presidential ballot for a qualified women, that figure has steadily risen; indeed, by 1999, 92 percent of respondents said that they would. Yet by 2005, that figure had declined to 89 percent. One explanation for this drop could be that with Senator Hillary Clinton frequently mentioned as a likely candidate, some respondents who are not inclined to support her candidacy respond that they are not willing to vote for a woman for president. One might presuppose that this eight to 11 percent of the electorate who are unwilling to vote for a qualified woman for president might preclude Clinton or any other woman from winning an election in an era in which razor-close presidential elections are the norm, frequently determined by much less than that eight to 11 percent. I would argue that those voters who readily admit their unwillingness to vote for a woman hold staunchly traditional views of gender roles, and therefore, probably constitute a core of the conservative base of the Republican Party.

Therefore, they would be unwilling to vote for any Democrat. These voters are Republican women's problem, not Hillary's.

Hollywood is doing its part by getting the nation used to the idea of a women in the oval office. For those who simply can't imagine it, the creators of the hit drama *Commander in Chief* have imagined it for them. Geena Davis is an unlikely trailblazer, but the show makes the notion of a women president tangible; "This is what it would look like; this is what it would feel like. See, it's not so bad. It's not so different. Why yes, it's even doable." Clinton has even fewer issues to deal with than her prime-time counterpart: Clinton's husband has a job, presumably one he could keep if she were elected. He has skills and experience, so she could appoint him - say as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations - with little difficulty. She has no rambunctious teenagers, no young children to evoke the omnipresent working-mother guilt.

Freeman also is right in that in many places in the nation, people hate Bill Clinton. And one need only attend one of Hillary's speeches to know that some people really hate her too. But as that hatred of the Clinton's solidifies and mobilizes the Republican base, so too would Hillary's candidacy ignite a Democratic base that reviles George W. Bush with a fervor rivaling the anti-Clinton sentiment. And then there is the "woman thing." While sometimes women may not be more likely to vote for a woman candidate, Hillary sparks an undying allegiance among some women -- often times women with resources, but also with poor women, African-American women, and yes, even some women whose husbands have cheated, who have endured privately her public debacle. An October 2005 Gallup poll names Hillary Clinton the most admired woman in America, ahead of even Oprah Winfrey. Among Democrats, Clinton is cited as the most admired women nearly two-to-one over Winfrey (24 percent to Winfrey's 13 percent). Clinton is the second most admired woman among "Independents" (8 percent to Winfrey's 14 percent) and ranks fourth among Republicans with six percent, below Laura Bush (nine percent) but above Margaret Thatcher (at five percent). She typically is named in Ladies Home Journal's "Most Admired Women." Ladies Home Journal, not The Nation or The New Yorker or The Atlantic.

Hillary knows that she can spark even more allegiance and perhaps create a winning coalition through her vice presidential nominee. Selecting New Mexico Governor, Bill Richardson could mobilize Latino voters anxious to see the first nationally-elected Hispanic, or selecting General Wesley Clark could garner her candidacy legitimacy among those who question her ability to serve as Commander in Chief, and also among some veterans.

And while Bill Clinton is demonized in some places, in others, he is idolized. If used strategically, he can be an enormous asset. He is a Southerner, one of the best campaigners of his century. He is loved in cities, among African-Americans, among Democrats, particularly loyal Democrats who vote in primaries. He is an extraordinary fundraiser. And let's face it: he owes her.

Hillary does not have the experience of being a governor. But Hillary has the experience of being First Lady, which may be even more important. As First Lady, her creation of her role and her status having been something close to the chief of state brings with it a legitimacy enjoyed perhaps only by vice presidents running for president. Her experience as First Lady and her tenure in the Senate, particularly her post on the Senate Armed Service Committee has made her the most qualified, eligible *person* to be president among the potential candidates. Who else has served eight years in the

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Perhaps more importantly, however, is that Hillary has been in the national spotlight for 14 years. We know her darkest skeletons, and unless she has taken up a recent unsavory hobby, there is nothing that can be said about her that we haven't heard before. This is important because of the nature of national politics today. That Republic strategists could take what Democrats perceived to be an asset in 2004 - John Kerry's service in Vietnam, compared to George W. Bush's lack of service - and turn it to Bush's advantage and an embarrassing nightmare for the Democrats indicates the likely nature of the 2008 campaign. Hillary has been through this scrutiny. None of the other potential nominees have. She understands this political mentality perhaps better than anyone else in public life.

Hillary will run because she has nothing to lose. If she wins re-election to her U.S. Senate seat in 2006, and then runs for president, wins the primary and loses the general election, she can go back to the Senate, and she has the distinction of being the first woman in U.S. History to win her party's nomination for U.S. President. But Hillary is a Clinton, and she knows that while it may not be easy, sometimes skillful politicians can beat the odds.

Hillary will run because she cares about the country. While this may seem idealistic, she has seen her husband's work, *her* work unraveled. Budget surpluses have evaporated. Debt has skyrocketed. The war in Iraq has cost thousands of lives. Civil liberties have been suspended. She will run because she believes the rightness of her views. She believes she can make a difference.

Hillary will run because the time is right for her. She has spent the better of her life circumscribed by her husband's career. At 58, she has plenty of time, his career has reached its apex, her child is grown. This is her time. And as a feminist, she does not want to sell herself short. She understands the burdens of her unique place in history. She knows that she is not just herself-that she represents women of the baby boom and subsequent generations, the frustrations of women in the generations before hers, the potential of women candidates in the future, the role model of 11-year old girls right now. She takes that role seriously, and she takes her position in history seriously.

Brigid C. Harrison is Professor of Political Science at Montclair State University in Montclair, NJ. She is the author of *Women in American Politics* (Wadsworth, 2003); *Power and Society 10e* (with Thomas R. Dye) (Wadsworth, 2005) and is currently writing an introductory American Government Text (with Susan J. Tolchin, Jean Wahl Harris and Suzanne Samuels) (forthcoming, McGraw-Hill, 2008).

FROM HEADQUARTERS

List of POP Award Committees for 2006 Nomination Deadline: March 30, 2006

Jack L. Walker, Jr. Outstanding Article Award

This award honors an article published in the last two calendar years that makes an outstanding contribution to research and scholarship on political organizations and parties.

Larry Evans (William & Mary University), Chair John Ishiyama (Truman State University) Matthew Wilson (Southern Methodist University)

Leon D. Epstein Outstanding Book Award

This award honors a book published in the last two calendar years that makes an outstanding contribution to research and scholarship on political organizations and parties.

Marjorie Hershey (Indiana University), Chair Scott James (UCLA) Beth Leech (Rutgers University)

Samuel J. Eldersveld Award

This award is to honor a scholar whose lifetime professional work has made an outstanding contribution to the field.

Ken Kollman (University of Michigan), Chair Jeffery Berry (Tufts University) Dave Rohde (Duke)

Emerging Scholar Award

This honor is awarded to a scholar who has received his or her Ph.D. within the last seven years and whose career to date demonstrates unusual promise.

John Coleman (University of Wisconsin), Chair Barbara Burrell (Northern Illinois) Larry Rothernberg (University of Rochester)

Party Politics Award

This award honors the best paper presented on a POP panel at the preceding APSA annual meeting. The award recipient is offered the opportunity to publish the paper in *Party Politics*.

Kevin Esterling (UC, Riverside), Chair Robert Lowery (Iowa State University) Josephine Andrews (UC, Davis)

JOURNAL SCANS

The Journal Scan is a list of articles on political parties, interest groups, and social movements from major journals in political science and related fields.

Patterns of Stability: Party Competition and Strategy in Central Europe since 1989. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 2, March 2005. pp. 242-263. By Bakke, Elisabeth; Sitter, Nick.

Uncovering Evidence of Conditional Party Government: Reassessing Majority Party Influence in Congress and State Legislatures. *American Political Science Review*, Volume: 99, Issue: 3, August 2005. pp. 361-371. By Bianco, William T.; Sened, Itai.

Public Venture Capital and Party Institutionalization. *Comparative Political Studies*, Volume: 38, Issue: 8, October 2005. pp. 915-938. By Birnir, Johanna Kristin.

The Devolved Party Systems of the United Kingdom: Sub-national Variations from the National Model. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 6, November 2005. pp. 654-673. By Bohrer, Robert E.; Krutz, Glen S.

Women for Women?: Gender and Party Bias in Voting for Female Candidates. *American Political Research*, Volume: 33 May 2005. pp 357-375. By Brians, Craig Leonard.

Affect and Cognition in Party Identification. *Political Psychology*, Volume: 26, Issue: 6, December 2005. pp. 869-886. By Burden, Barry C.; Klofstad, Casey A.

Minor Parties and Strategic Voting in Recent U.S. Presidential Elections. *Electoral Studies*, Volume: 24, Issue: 4, December 2005. pp. 603-618. By Burden, Barry C.

A New Measure of Party Strength. *Political Research Quarterly*, Volume: 58, No.: 2, June 2005. pp. 245-256. By Caeser, James W.; Saldin, Robert P.

Party Cohesion and Policy-Making in Russia. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 3, May 2005. pp. 299-318. By Chaisty, Paul.

Old Right or New Right? The Ideological Positioning of Parties of the Far Right. *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume: 44, Issue: 2, March 2005. pp. 203-230. By Cole, Alexandra.

It's Parties That Choose Electoral Systems (or, Duverger's Laws Upside Down). *Political Studies*, Volume: 53, Issue: 1, March 2005. pp. 1-21. By Colomer, Josep M.

Party Politics and Different Paths to Democratic Transitions: A Comparison of Benin and Senegal. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11,
Issue: 4, July 2005. pp. 471-493. By Creevey, Lucy; Ngomo, Paul;
Vengroff, Richard.

Cartel Parties in Western Europe. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 2, March 2005. pp. 173-191. By Detterbeck, Klaus.

O Other, Where Art Thou? Support for Multiparty Politics in the United States. *Social Science Quarterly*, Volume: 86, Issue: 1, March 2005. pp. 147-159. By Donovan, Todd; Parry, Janine A.; Bowler, Shaun.

Manufactured Responsiveness: The Impact of State Electoral Laws on Unified Party Control of the Presidency and House of Representatives, 1840-1940. *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume: 49, Issue: 3, July 2005. pp. 531-549. By Engstrom, Erik J.; Kernell, Samuel.

Problems of Modernizing an Ethno-Religious Party: The Case of the Ulster Unionist Party in Northern Ireland. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 3, May 2005. pp. 319-338. By Evans, Jocelyn A. J.; Tonge, Jonathan.

Are Moderate Parties Rewarded in Multiparty Systems? A Pooled Analysis of Western European Elections. European Journal of Political Research, Volume: 44, Issue: 6, October 2005. pp. 881-898. By Ezrow, Lawrence.

E-Parties: Democratic and Republic State Parties in 2000. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 1, January 2005. pp. 47-58. By Farmer, Rick; Fender, Rich.

De-Thawing Democracy: The Decline of Political Party Collaboration in Spain (1977 to 2004). *Comparative Political Studies*, Volume: 38, Issue: 9, November 2005. pp. 1079-1103. By Field, Bonnie N.

Party Structure and Backbench Dissent in the Canadian and British Parliaments. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, Volume: 38, Issue: 2, June 2005. pp. 463-482. By Garner, Christopher; Letki, Natalia.

Minor Parties in Plurality Electoral Systems. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 1, January 2005. pp. 79-107. By Gerring, John.

Party Identification and Core Political Values. *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume: 49, Issue: 4, October 2005. pp. 881-896. By Goren, Paul.

The 2000 Presidential Election in the South: Partisanship and Southern Party Systems in the 21st Century. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 2, March 2005. pp. 173-191. By Detterbeck, Klaus.

Invisible Business: The Unregulated World of Political Party Commerce. *Politics*, Volume: 25, Issue: 2, May 2005. pp. 89-98. By Granik, Sue

The Reform of Party Funding in Britain. *The Political Quarterly*, Volume: 76, Issue: 3, July 2005. pp. 381-392. By Grant, Alan.

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Party Systems, Political Cleavages and Electoral Volatility in India: A State-Wise Analysis. *Electoral Studies*, Volume: 24, Issue: 2, June 2005. pp. 177-199. By Heath, Oliver.

The Impact of Democratic Transition on Elections and Parties in South Korea. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 6, November 2005. pp. 674-688. By Heo, Uk; Stockton, Hans.

Mbeki's South Africa. *Foreign Affairs*, Volume: 84, Issue: 6, November/December 2005. pp. 93-105. By Herbst, Jeffrey.

Power to the Parties: Cohesion and Competition in the European Parliament, 1979-2001. *British Journal of Political Research*, Volume: 76, Issue: 3, July 2005. pp. 381-392. By Grant, Alan.

Political Parties, Electoral Systems and Democracy: A Cross-National Analysis. *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume: 44, Issue: 2, March 2005. pp. 231-242. By Hoffman, Amana L.

Sources of Post-Communist Party System Consolidation: Ideology Versus Institutions. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 6, November 2005. pp. 689-706. By Horowitz, Shale; Browne, Eric C.

Third Ways or New Ways? The Post-Communist Left in Central Europe. *The Political Quarterly*, Volume: 76, Issue: 2, April 2005. pp. 253-263. By Hough, Dan.

The Vulnerable Populist Right Parties: No Economic Realignment Fuelling Their Electoral Success. *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume: 44, Issue: 3, May 2005. pp. 465-492. By Ivarsflaten, Elisabeth.

Party Government in Presidential Democracies: Extending Cartel Theory Beyond the U.S. Congress. *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume: 49, Issue: 2, April 2005. pp. 267-282. By Jones, Mark P.; Hwang, Wonjae.

Who Toes the Party Line? Cues, Values, and Individual Differences. *Political Behavior*, Volume: 27, Issue: 2, June 2005. pp. 163-182. By Kam, Cindy D.

When Moderate Voters Prefer Extreme Parties: Policy Balancing in Parliamentary Elections. *American Political Science Review*, Volume: 99, Issue: 2, May 2005. pp. 185-199. By Kedar, Orit.

The Authorities Really Do Matter: Party Control and Trust in Government. *Journal of Politics*, Volume: 67, Issue: 3, August 2005. pp. 873-886. By Keele, Luke.

Parties in Elections, Parties in Government, and Partisan Bias. *Political Analysis*, Volume: 13, Issue: 2, pp. 113-138. By Krehbiel, Keith.

Party Systems and Democratic Consolidation in Africa's Electoral Regimes. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 4, July 2005. pp. 423-446. By Kuenzi, Michelle; Lambright, Gina.

Social Democrats and Neo-Liberalism: A Case Study of the Australian Labor Party. *Political Studies*, Volume: 53, Issue: 4, December 2005. pp. 753-771. By Lavelle, Ashley.

Policy and the Dynamics of Political Competition. *American Political Science Review*, Volume: 99, Issue: 2, May 2005. pp. 263-281. By Laver, Michael.

Indigenous Parties and Democracy in Latin America. *Latin American Politics and Society*, Volume: 47, Issue: 4, Winter 2005. pp. 161-179. By Madrid, Raul L.

Indigenous Voters and Party System Fragmentation in Latin America. *Electoral Studies*, Volume: 24, Issue: 4, December 2005. pp. 689-707. By Madrid, Raul L.

Manufacturing Parties: Re-examining the Transient Nature of Philippine Political Parties. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 6, November 2005. pp. 748-765. By Manacsa, Rodelio Cruz; Tan, Alexander C.

Assessing African Party Systems After the Third Wave. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 6, November 2005. pp. 707-727. By Manning, Carrie.

Political Parties in Madagascar: Neopatrimonial Tools or Democratic Instruments. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 4, July 2005. pp. 495-512. By Marcus, Richard R.; Ratsimbaharison, Adrien M.

The Radical Right in the Alps: Evolution of Support for Swiss SVP and Australian FPO. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 2, March 2005. pp. 147-171. By McGann, Anthony J.; Kitschelt, Herbert.

Competition Between Unequals: The Role of Mainstream Party Strategy in Niche Party Success. *American Political Science Review*, Volume: 99, Issue: 3, August 2005. pp. 347-359. By Meguid, Bonnie M.

The Puzzle of African Party Systems. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 4, July 2005. pp. 399-421. By Mozaffar, Shaheen; Scarritt, James R.

Variations on a Theme: Societal Cleavages and Party Orientations Through Multiple Transitions in Thailand. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 6, November 2005. pp. 728-747. By Ockey, James.

Divisor Methods for Sequential Portfolio Allocation in Multi-Party Executive Bodies: Evidence from Northern Ireland and Denmark. *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume: 49, Issue: 1, January 2005. pp. 198-211. By O'Leary, Brendan; Grofman, Bernard; Elklit, Jorgen.

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New Technologies in Aging Parties: Internet Use in Danish and Norwegian Parties. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 3, May 2005. pp. 359-377. By Pedersen, Karina; Saglie, Jo.

Parties, Voters, and Policy Priorities in the Netherlands, 1971-2002. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 1, January 2005. pp. 29-45. By Pennings, Paul.

Political Parties, Social Demographics and the Decline of Ethnic Mobilization in South Africa, 1994-99. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 4, July 2005. pp. 447-470. By Piombo, Jessica.

Leasehold or Freehold? Leader-Eviction Rules in the British Conservative and Labour Parties. *Political Studies*, Volume: 53, Issue: 4, December 2005. pp. 793-815. By Quinn, Thomas.

Insider—Outsider Politics in Industrialized Democracies: The Challenge to Social Democratic Parties. *American Political Science Review*, Volume: 99, Issue: 1, February 2005. pp. 61-74. By Rueda, David.

Is Extreme Right-Wing Populism Contagious? Explaining the Emergence of a New Party Family. *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume: 44, Issue: 3, May 2005. pp. 412-437. By Rydgren, Jens.

Modeling the Interaction of Parties, Activists, and Voters: Why is the Political Center so Empty? European Journal of Political Research, Volume: 44, Issue: 3, May 2005. pp. 355-390. By Schofield, Norman; Sened, Itai.

Pipelines of Pork: Japanese Politics and a Model of Local Opposition Party Failure. *Comparative Political Studies*, Volume: 38, Issue: 7, September 2005. pp. 799-823. By Scheiner, Ethan.

Money Matters in Party-Centered Politics: Campaign Spending in Korean Congressional Elections. *Electoral Studies*, Volume: 24, Issue: 1, March 2005. pp. 85-101. By Mozaffar, Shin, Myungsoon; Jin, Youngjae; Gross, Donald A.; Eom, Kihong.

How Unstable? Volatility and the Genuinely New Parties in Eastern Europe. *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume: 44, Issue: 3, May 2005. pp. 391-412. By Sikk, Allan.

Conservation of Balance in the Size of Parties. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 3, May 2005. pp. 283-298. By Taagepera, Rein.

Emerging Party Systems: An Introduction. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 6, November 2005. pp. 651-653. By Tan, Alexander C.

The Development of Stable Party Support: Electoral Dynamics in Post-Communist Europe. *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume: 49, Issue: 2, April 2005. pp. 283-298. By Tavits, Margit.

A House Divided: Party Strength and the Mandate Divide in Hungary, Russia, and Ukraine. *Comparative Political Studies*, Volume: 38, Issue: 3, April 2005. pp. 282-303. By Thames, Frank C.

The Ballot as a Party-System Switch: The Role of Australian Ballot In Party-System Change and Development in the USA. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 2, March 2005. pp. 217-241. By Walker, Lee Demetrius.

Partisan Strategy and Support in State Legislative Elections: The Case of Illinois. *American Politics Research*, Volume: 33, May 2005. pp. 376-403. By Wiseman, Alan E.

The Puzzle of African Party Systems. *Party Politics*, Volume: 11, Issue: 4, July 2005. pp. 399-421. By Mozaffar, Shaheen; Scarritt, James R.

BOOK SCANS

The Book Scan is a list of new scholarly books of interest to POP members.

Party Movements in the United States and Canada: Strategies of Persistence by Mildred Schwartz; 2005; Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Party Politics in Taiwan: Party Change and the Democratic Evolution of Taiwan, 1991-2004 by Dafydd Fell; 2005; Routledge.

Party Politics in Germany: A Comparative Politics Approach by Charles Lees; 2005; Palgrave MacMillan.

Why No Parties in Russia?: Democracy, Federalism, and the State by Henry E. Hale; 2005; Cambridge University Press.

Political Parties in Britain by J. Fisher; 2005; MacMillan ELT.

Party Lines: Competition, Partisanship, and Congressional Redistricting by Thomas E. Mann (Editor); 2005; Brookings Institution Press.

Political Parties in Post-Soviet Space: Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, and the Baltics by Anthony Kulik (Editor), Susanna Pshizova (Editor); 2005; Praeger Publishers.

Political Parties Matter: Realignment and the Return of Partisan Voting by Jeffrey Stonecash; 2005; Lynne Rienner Pub.

Gender Quotas, Party Reforms, and Political Parties in France by Katherine A. R. Opello; 2005; Lexington Books.

Europeanizing Social Democracy? The Rise of the Party of European Socialists by Simo Lightfoot; 2005; Routledge.

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Setting the Agenda: Responsible Party Government in the U.S. House of Representatives by Gary W. Cox, Mathew D. McCubbins; 2005; Cambridge University Press.

History of Political Parties in the Twentieth-Century Latin America by Torcuato S. Di Tella; 2005; Transaction Publishers.

The Nazi Party 1919-1945: A Complete History by Dietrich Orlaw; 2005; Enigma Books.

Elephant's Edge: The Republicans as a Ruling Party by Andrew J. Taylor; 2005; Praeger Publishers.

From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics by Donna Lee Van Cott; 2005; Cambridge University Press.

Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market by Pippa Norris; 2005; Cambridge University Press.

Labour Party PCL: The Truth Behind New Labour as a Party of Business by David Osler; 2005; Mainstream Publishing.

The Talk of the Party by Sharon E. Jarvis; 2005; Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Building New Labour: The Politics of Party Organization by Meg Russell; 2005, Palgrave MacMillan.

The Political Thought of the Conservative Party Since 1945 by Kevin Hickson (Editor); 2005; Palgrave MacMillan.

Lula and the Workers Party in Brazil by Sue Branford, Bernardo Kucinski; 2005; New Press.

Rebuilding the Democratic Party From the Grassroots: The Ultimate Guidebook for Democrats by Shawn M. O'Donnell, Drucilla Baduirna; 2005; iUniverse, Inc.

The Stock Ticker and the Superjumbo: How the Democrats Can Once Again Become America's Dominant Political Party by Rick Perlstein; 2005; Prickly Paradigm Press.

Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking, and Investigations, 1942-2002, Second Edition by David R. Mayhew; 2005; Yale University Press.

Labour Inside the Gate: A History of the British Labour Party Between the Wars by Matthew Worley; 2005; I. B. Tauris.

Liberals: A History of the Liberal Party, 1850-2004 by Roy Douglas; 2005; Hambledon & London.

Decentralizing the State: Elections, Parties, and Local Power in the Andes by Kathleen O'Neill; 2005; Cambridge University Press.

Radical Politics in Modern Ireland: The History of the Irish Socialist Republican Party, 1896-1904 by David Lynch; 2005; Irish Academic Press.

Political Parties and Political Systems: The Concept of Linkage **Revisited** by Andrea Rommele (Editor), et al; 2005; Praeger Publishers.

Yellow Dogs and Republicans: Allan Shivers and Texas Two-Party Politics by Ricky F. Dobbs; 2005; Texas A&M University Press.

Nationalism and the Irish Party: Provincial Ireland, 1910-1916 by Michael Wheatley; 2005; Oxford University Press.

Party Politics in New Zealand by Raymond Miller; 2005; Oxford University Press, USA.

A Unified Theory of Party Competition: A Cross-National Analysis Integrating Spatial and Behavioral Factors by James F. Adams, et al; 2005; Cambridge University Press.

The Silent Revolution: Book I: A Study of the Functioning of Dominant Political Parties in Emerging Societies, Using PNM of Trinidad and Tobago as... Parties of India, Ghana, and Tanganyika by Alvan Quamina; 2005; Publish America.

Political Parties of the World by Alan J. Day (Editor); 2005; John Harper Publishing.

Modernizing the Labour Party: Organizational Change since 1983 by Thomas Quinn; 2005; Palgrave MacMillan.

PAPERS OF INTEREST American Political Science Association

"Business and the Legislative Process: Congress, the Bush Administration, and Proposed Changes to the Clean Air Act." Gary C. Bryner, Brigham Young University.

"The Influence of Business Groups on Elections." Robert J. Duffy, Colorado State University.

"Assessing the Privileged Position of Business in an Age of Media Saturation." Christopher J. Bosso, Northeastern University and Deborah Lynn Guber, University of Vermont.

"Business and the Environment in Congress." Judith A. Layzer, Massachuseetts Institute of Technology.

"Business Interests and Information in Environmental Rule Making." Cary Coglianese, Harvard University.

"Ethnic Pluralism and Consensus Democracy Revisited." Pippa Norris, Harvard University.

"Ethnic Diversity and Party Fragmentation." Robert G. Moser, University of Texas, Austin.

"The Institutional Determinants of Identity Politics in Columbia and Ecuador." Erika Moreno, University of Iowa and Karleen Jones, University of Iowa.

"The Impact of Political Decentralization on Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism." Dawn Brancati, Harvard University.

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SCHOLARLY PRECINCTS

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- "Mixed Electoral Systems and the Moderation of Ethnic Conflicts." Chin-en Wu, Academia Sinica and Feng-yu Lee, University of Texas.
- "Funding the War of Ideas: Foundation Strategies for Information Advocacy." Andrew Rich, City College of New York.
- "Shifting Priorities: The NAACP's and the National Urban League's Advocacy on Behalf of the Poor." Catherine Paden, Northwestern University.
- "Elite Framing of the University of Michigan Affirmative Action Cases." Rosalee Clawson, Purdue University, Katsuo Nishikawa, Purdue University, Terri L. Towner, Purdue University, and Eric Waltenburg, Purdue University.
- "Collective Action and Institutional Advocacy by Charter Schools in the States." Thomas T. Holyoke, California State University, Fresno.
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