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crafting a message that can appeal to the factions or constituencies that matter in a state, particularly in New Hampshire—inasmuch as it has a special role in the process of presidential nomination campaigns—is worthy of attention. Scala's work contributes to an area that is just beginning to emerge in the scholarly literature—the use of message, and marketing to the primary electorate.

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The Financiers of Congressional Elections: Investors, Ideologues, and Intimates by Peter Francia, Paul S. Herrnson, John C. Green, Lynda W. Powell, and Clyde Wilcox. New York, Columbia University Press, 2003. 216 pp. Cloth, \$59.50; paper, \$22.50.

Relying on the popular media, one could conclude that campaign contributors clearly influence legislation and buy political access or, more neutrally, seek to participate in the democratic process. Assumptions and anecdotes aside, however, such conclusions remain speculative. We just do not know why most contributors open their checkbooks.

The Financiers of Congressional Elections provides some useful, if preliminary, answers to a host of questions about who contributes, and why, to political campaigns. Armed with some basic questions and data from a 1996 national survey of significant (more than \$200) donors, Peter Francia, Paul Herrnson, John Green, Lynda Powell, and Clyde Wilcox have produced measured descriptions of an understudied class of important political activists. Unfortunately, reliance on eight-year-old data does limit the value of the book, especially in an era of enhanced Internet solicitations and contributions. Still, as its subtitle asserts, the authors do unearth a mix of basic motives (investment, ideology, and intimacy) for donating, motives that roughly correspond to the driving forces behind much other political participation, such as joining interest groups.

Those who make \$200-plus contributions represent a narrow socioeconomic slice of the American population; they are predominantly white, middle-aged professionals and businessmen. More women did give in 1996 than in 1978, but their participation still lags considerably. At the same time, donors associate themselves with a wide range of groups and interests, and their upper-class economic homogeneity is thus offset by diverse social views. Although they see contributing as a legitimate form of political expression (p. 141), more than three-quarters of the donors think that the campaign finance system needs to be either replaced or changed (p. 144). In that they are regularly, even relentlessly, solicited, contributors understand better than almost anyone the potential for abuse in a system that relies so heavily on establishing financial ties between donors and officeholders.

The funding of congressional elections can best be understood, the authors argue, as a series of exchanges. Potential contributors are solicited. Their names

become part of major donor lists and further solicitations, from both the original candidate and others. At some point, donors may well request something from the legislators whom they have supported.

The authors offer a valuable chapter on the solicitation process, one that describes how candidates' basic lists evolve from a combination of personal requests of friends, cold calls, and fund-raising events. Funding a congressional campaign combines activities that are simultaneously highly professional and highly personal. The book effectively captures how donors are targeted, but it fails to develop a complete picture of the solicitation process. Although the importance of "talking to strangers" is noted (p. 78), what receives short shrift is a candidate's willingness to make call after call, which may well define the seriousness of his or her campaign. With only a few exceptions, most candidates would rather do anything except "dial for dollars"; yet they must, given their status as their campaign's most effective fund-raiser.

In addition, because most contributions go to incumbent legislators, the solicitation–donation exchange represents a continuing relationship, which brings into focus the issue of what contributors receive, if anything, for their major donations. Most notably, those who give enjoy personal access to lawmakers and their staffs (pp. 138–139). Do donations lead to such access? Are donors treated more favorably than others? These are questions left unanswered. More the pity, but this slender volume surely fulfills its initial promise by offering scholars and citizens alike a clear view of those who finance the election—and reelection—of the legislative class.

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The Strategic Use of Referendums: Power, Legitimacy, and Democracy
by Mark Clarence Walker. New York, Palgrave, 2003. 156 pp. \$49.95.

This relatively short book examines how and under what circumstances various types of referendums have been used in the past half century, examining the nexus between political power and popular legitimacy. The main argument is that although referendums are ostensibly a democratic mechanism, in practice they are an elite tool, a "two-person, zero-sum" game between executives and legislatures; the people, in this formulation, are "left out" (p. 2). As such, the book "is not just about referendums but about the distribution of power, the role of legitimacy, and the nature of democracy" (p. 2).

The core of the analysis is outlined early. A referendum is defined as "a submission of a proposed public measure or actual statute to a direct popular vote" (p. 1). Referendums in nondemocracies, democracies, and countries in transition are examined. All referendums are, according to the author, "part of a bargaining process between elites who have their basis of power in different institutional settings" (p. 3), and the ultimate objective in proposing a referen-