

BOOK REVIEWS



Richard Rose, ed., *International Encyclopedia of Elections*. London: Macmillan, 2000. £130.00 (hbk), xxii + 392 pp. ISBN 0 3339 2745 1.

A great, if weighty, Christmas stocking-filler for any self-respecting political anorak! This is a volume for dipping into on long winter nights. Just about everything imaginable on elections has been included in some way or another, and just about everyone who works on elections, widely defined, has had some involvement in this ambitious project. The entries vary from short paragraphs to long and detailed essays on the given topic, and Rose and his fellow editors (Joel Barkan, André Blais, Walter Dean Burnham, Gary Cox, Larry Diamond, Richard Katz, Arend Lijphart, Tom Mackie and Dieter Nohlen) have been judicious in selecting appropriate topics and in determining their length of treatment. There is a useful alphabetical listing of the articles at the beginning, a very full index, and summary tables at the end setting out the basic features of parliamentary and presidential elections.

Inevitably there are gaps – no single volume, however large, could do full justice to such a massive theme – and the significance of the gaps is coloured by the interests of the given reader. In my case, I would have liked to have seen entries on such themes as ballot structure, electoral formula, representation, or, indeed, on some of the leading theorists of elections and electoral systems. Another point which could do with some fixing in later editions (for this is a venture which warrants regular updating) is the standardization of some of the terminology employed throughout. Take for instance the issue of the ‘German’ electoral system, which in old parlance used to be called ‘the additional member system’, but which lately has tended to be referred to as a ‘mixed-member’ system. In my scan of entries I came across quite a range of titles in this single volume: a ‘mixed electoral system’ (p. 165), a ‘parallel system’ (p. 42), the ‘additional member system’ (p. 4). Indeed, to confuse things still more, at one point (p. 5) we are informed that ‘[t]he German electoral system is a proportional system, not a mixed system’.

Of course, nit-picking on such minutiae is not entirely fair; nor, for that matter is focusing on some of the highlights, for this book is stuffed with a huge range of highly informative entries which provide clear, concise, and in places, very full treatments of the given topic. But among the highlights I would single out,

nonetheless, are: Gary Cox's entry on Proportional Representation (I particularly liked his metaphor for complex electoral systems taken from Ptolemaic astronomy); Andrew Reynolds's entry on Designing Electoral Systems (in which [p. 58] he carefully points out how '[T]he crafting of electoral systems is both an art and a science'); Matthew Shugart's concise and very clear description of 'District Magnitude'; Stefano Bartolini's overview of Franchise Expansion (though this does suffer a bit from a degree of Euro-centrism given that it ignores the trail-blazing roles of countries like Australia or New Zealand); and Richard Katz's entry on Functions of Elections.

This volume is a must for the library shelves, but given its cost it is inevitably a luxury item for personal libraries. Indeed, given the cost, and the fast changing nature of the beast, perhaps the publisher might give some thought to exploring publication of an on-line version?

David M. Farrell
University of Manchester

**Anthony M. Sayers, *Parties, Candidates and
Constituency Campaigns in Canadian Elections.***
Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999.
Can\$75 (hbk), x + 272 pp. ISBN 0 7748 0698 2.

In recent times, studying 'the campaign' has meant tracking media coverage, policy positions, public opinion polls, leaders' debates and the various other high-profile events which occur during the formal campaign period of an election. But in the days before they were fought largely on television by the party leaders, the characteristics of the multiple campaigns waged in each constituency by individual candidates received greater attention. Sayers' richly textured study of campaigns in seven British Columbia constituencies during the 1988 Canadian federal election reminds us that these separate campaigns, which take place in each and every constituency in a parliamentary election, can still be as important to our understanding of elections as the pronouncements of the party leaders or the latest poll numbers.

Reminiscent of some of the classic campaign studies such as Milne and Mackenzie's studies of Bristol (1954, 1958), Sayers employs multiple methods to provide a sense of how widely the constituency campaigns can vary, even within the context of a single election. Detailed observation of each of the individual campaigns, supplemented by demographic information on the constituencies and extensive interviews with the candidates, party workers and other observers, provides a mine of information which is easily missed by survey-based studies. The number of case studies is small enough to permit the

construction of a detailed portrait of each campaign, but still large enough to allow some generalization of the degree of variation found among campaigns at the constituency level. Beginning with the process of candidate recruitment, Sayers shows that there are distinct differences between the types of campaigns waged by candidates who obtain their party's nomination as 'party insiders' or 'local notables'. 'High profile' candidates, in contrast, often bring with them the organizational resources and professionalism of the national campaign. But in constituencies where a party has little chance of winning the seat, a 'stopgap' candidate may carry the party banner, supported by few resources beyond the constituency and fielding a campaign organization which may in reality be comprised of little more than family and friends.

Canadian readers will readily recognize many of the campaign styles which Sayers documents, and he stresses that there is greater local organizational autonomy in Canadian campaigns than is found in many other parliamentary systems. Nevertheless, certain of his observations readily translate to other Westminster style systems and perhaps beyond. As an Australian observer of the Canadian political world, Sayers already has a keen sense of how his findings about the variation of local campaign context might help to strengthen our theoretical understanding of campaigns more generally. He does not so much ask the currently fashionable theoretical question '*Do Campaigns Matter?*' as show us that the view of the campaign from the perspective of the local constituency, however constructed, is simply different from the one which emerges at the centre. From an understanding of that complexity comes a better appreciation of the many hidden elements contained within the larger question about the circumstances in which an election campaign 'matters'.

Working towards a typology of 'winning' and 'losing' campaigns, Sayers tells us more about the sometimes jagged relationship that exists between the party campaign at the local level and its national counterpart. A small irony is that one of Sayers' case studies is the campaign of Kim Campbell, who ran for the first time as a 'high profile partisan' in 1988 in the riding of Vancouver Centre. Matched against an equally high profile New Democratic Party (NDP) candidate, Campbell's narrow (269 vote) victory in the constituency may or may not have been attributable to her local organization and campaign skills. But five years later, having become party leader and (briefly) prime minister, Campbell led her party to the worst defeat in its history, losing her own seat (the same constituency) in the process. While Sayers's fine study may not fully explain why a candidate may win one election and lose another, it can certainly remind students of parliamentary elections that there is much more to an election campaign than what appears on the six o'clock news.

References

- Milne, R. S. and H. C. Mackenzie (1954) *Straight Fight*. London: Hansard Society.
Milne, R. S. and H. C. Mackenzie (1958) *Marginal Seat*. London: Hansard Society.

Lawrence LeDuc
University of Toronto

Jo Freeman, *A Room at a Time: How Women Entered Party Politics*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000. \$39.95 (cloth), 368 pp. ISBN 0 8476 9804 1.

The observation that men and women tended to vote the same way long ago has led political scientists to regard men as the political norm. This observed similarity was somehow extended to political activism and the normal party activist was assumed to be male in the same way that the normal politician was assumed to be male. Neither observation nor assumption turned out to be true; recent feminist scholarship has shown both the observation and its extension to be an oversimplification of a complex, gendered and changing reality. In her important new study of women and American party politics, Freeman shows that women did not normally vote at the same rate as men until the 1980s, but that they sometimes outvoted men. Women were less likely to commit themselves to a particular party when they registered to vote. Since the 1950s, however, more and more men have also been registering 'independent'.

American women were involved in party politics before the vote was won. By the beginning of the twentieth century there were three main types of woman political activist – feminists, reformers and party women. Often their work was co-operative, their activities intertwined. However, party women were a distinctive strand of what Freeman calls 'a somewhat frazzled braid' and have a history of their own. The pattern outlined is one of long periods of slow increase in the numbers and status of party women, followed by a brief but sharp rise, then a brief decline and a resumption of the long slow increase. Two main strategies were pursued: getting women on party committees and creating special political clubs for women. That history is marked by generational shifts, major disputes and significant achievement. The popular, trivializing image of worker bees concealed a reality in which women party activists ensured the political training and education of women in a long (and continuing) march toward equality of political representation.

The progress of women in American political parties finally came when feminists outside were in the ascendant in the form of the vibrant Women's Liberation Movement of the 1970s. Ironically, when the Republican Party embraced anti-feminism in the 1980s, it threw away its heritage. Freeman describes how, until 1970, the Republican Party was more supportive than the Democratic Party of women party workers, more successful in organizing and educating women, and more likely to support the feminist position on issues when there was an issue. It was also the major beneficiary of women's votes until then.

What was accomplished? How if at all did party women make a difference? Freeman suggests three important achievements. First, politics was civilized, with smoking and spitting removed from party meetings, polling places removed from saloon, barber shop and livery stable to churches and schools, and behaviour altered accordingly. Thus, the entry of women signalled a vast change in party political culture. Second, party women accelerated a shift from

emotional campaign techniques to an emphasis on facts. Women came into politics via discussion groups in which they expected candidates to present them with arguments supporting a vote for them. Finally, party women prepared the ground for other women and thereby enlarged the sphere of political activity of women.

The feminization of politics depends on the nature of the parties, the opportunity structure of the times and the surrounding women's movement, especially how interested the movement is in political representation. For a few years after women won suffrage in each state, efforts were made to seek out women to run for office, but these always stopped after a short period of time. In practice, the representation of women is inevitably constrained by the nature of party politics at the time it is sought. In the USA, the lack of party competition in most places during and after the campaigns for women's suffrage meant that parties had no incentive to alter their candidate slate patterns. Women's claim for representation was undermined by the fact that by the time they got the vote, extensive areas of one-party dominance made it unnecessary for parties to win women's votes.

A Room at a Time is a major work of political history. The book redresses a significant imbalance. Until recently the study of American political parties has been a gender-blind affair in which neither the activities of women nor the impact of gender were thought to be of interest. Freeman regards her book as an invitation to explore the field of women's work in mainstream politics. It is clearly a labour of love, the product of 13 years of research and 6 years of writing. Framed in the slightly awkward metaphor of a many-roomed house, progress in the parties was made one 'room at a time'. Freeman exposes and examines myths about political women as their activities are traced through successive stages of the party system.

This book is a treasure trove, carefully crafted from local records and contemporary sources. The notes are as interesting as the main text. The findings are strong and challenging. The achievement is an excellent foundation and an irresistible invitation to further research. Let's hope it is taken up.

Joni Lovenduski
Birkbeck College

Jens Mecklenburg, ed., *Braune Gefahr: DVU, NPD, REP – Geschichte und Zukunft*.¹ Berlin: Elefant Press, 1999. DM 39.90 (pbk), 304 pp. ISBN 3 88520 721 4.

When this collection of papers was assembled in early 1999, the issue of right-wing extremism and violence was important but not pressing in German politics. In fact, there were reasons for optimism. Although the German political establishment had been shocked when, in April 1998, the Deutsche Volksunion (German People's Union) achieved the highest vote of any right-wing extremist

party in a Landtag election since 1945 (12.9 percent in Sachsen-Anhalt), the relatively meagre support of the three main far-right parties (DVU, NPD and Die Republikaner) in the Bundestag elections of the following September – a combined total of 3.3 percent – seemed to indicate that German right-wing extremism would continue to be a phenomenon of only marginal importance to the German polity.

Moreover, although it became clear at these elections that East Germany was developing into a new stronghold for the extreme right (it won 5 percent of the vote there), the results of the simultaneous Landtag elections of East Germany's most depressed region, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, seemed to indicate that civil society, if mobilized in time, could withstand this threat. Mecklenburg-Vorpommern's democratic forces reacted to the DVU's triumph in neighbouring Sachsen-Anhalt in April 1998 by mobilizing against the extreme right. As a result, the latter achieved a significantly lower level of support in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern than in the rest of East Germany at the Bundestag elections.

However, most of this optimism has since dissipated. Whereas the title of Mecklenburg's book (*The Brown Threat*) may have sounded exaggerated to some when it first appeared, it has now acquired a very literal meaning for many immigrants, ethnic minorities, homeless people, homosexuals and other categories seen by extreme right-wing fanatics as subverting the German *Volks-gemeinschaft*. An unexpectedly long series of openly racist and unashamed acts of violence against foreigners and other minorities has put the issue of xenophobia and right-wing extremism at the centre-stage of German political discourse, and is shattering the image that liberal Germans had of their people.

By 2000, the helplessness of civil society and the mainstream parties in the face of the ultra-nationalist challenge was illustrated by the fate of the major counter-measure proposed by the authorities to combat racist violence: the banning of the most radical of the right-wing extremist parties, the NPD. Not only does it appear that such a ban will by itself neither stop the violence nor seriously undermine the organizational basis of right-wing extremism (which has shown its capacity to adapt to such restrictions before), but, as Bernd Wagner argues in his essay in *Braune Gefahr*, the spread of NPD cells actually tends to have a 'discipline-furthering' (*disziplinierende*) – that is pacifying – effect on East German neo-fascist youth. Thus, in 1998 the party pressed its supporters to refrain from terror campaigns that could damage its image in the upcoming local, regional and federal elections (p. 251).

Wagner's two very informative essays on East Germany set the standard for this book, which contains a number of excellent contributions. In the first part, Jens Mecklenburg and Fabian Virchow introduce the DVU, Benno Hafeneger the NPD, and Hajo Funke and Claudia Dammann Die Republikaner. In the second part, Ralf Ptak analyses the socio-economic aspects of these parties' programmes and rhetoric, and Richard Stöss, Benno Hafeneger and Trosten Niebling the candidates and results of the extreme right in the 1998 Bundestag elections. Christoph Butterwege and Benno Hafeneger examine the activities of right-wing extremists in regional and local parliaments, while Claudia Dammann investigates the success of the extreme right among trade union members and Frank Jansen reports on 'everyday experiences' with right-wing extremism in East Germany. Wolfgang Wippermann criticizes the approach of the German Verfassungsschutz (constitutional protection organ) and 'extremism studies' to the

problem of right-wing extremism. Hajo Funke concludes the volume by proposing a four-point programme of action against right-wing extremism.

The most interesting chapters include those by Ralf Ptak and Claudia Dammann linking the ultra-nationalist and socio-economic dimensions of the extreme right's programmes. Ptak argues that economics has been a secondary, subordinate issue to ethnocentric politics. For instance, the affirmative use of the term 'socialism' by the far right has implied little more than the idea of a unified national community without class barriers; the term has functioned as a propagandistic slogan rather than a core concept (p. 112). Ptak seems to imply that the weight of liberalism or socialism in right-wing extremist programmes has been determined by the changing priorities of ethnocentrism, and by tactical considerations. What is missing in this account, however, is any reference to Herbert Kitschelt's argument (1995) that a combination of authoritarianism and free market policies constitutes a winning formula for extreme right-wing parties in Western Europe. Perhaps Ptak's observations can be reconciled with Kitschelt's conclusions, but maybe not; in any case, it is unfortunate that there is no explicit juxtaposition of their views.

Claudia Dammann provides a further consideration of the links between nationalist and social issues. Specifically, she analyses recent survey data to uncover a variety of effects that trade union membership has on support for the far right. Thus, potential far right support seems to be significantly higher among members than among non-members in West Germany but not in East Germany. While the traditional stereotype of trade unionism as a shield against right-wing extremism still holds for the working class, it does not appear to do so for the middle classes. Most disturbingly, perhaps, the potential for extreme-right support among trade union members seems especially strong in the youngest category of respondents (18 to 24 year olds). While Dammann does not attempt to provide a full explanation of these phenomena, her work opens up a new agenda for research.

In conclusion, Mecklenburg's collection can be characterized as a timely, varied and informative contribution to the study of contemporary German right-wing extremism that will become an obligatory point of reference for future studies in this field.

Note

- 1 The title of this book translates into English as *The Brown Threat: The German People's Union, The National-Democratic Party of Germany, The Republicans – History and Future*.

Reference

- Kitschelt, Herbert (1995) *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Andreas Umland
Ural State University at Yekaterinburg

John Turner, *The Tories and Europe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000. £16.99 (pbk), ix + 283 pp. ISBN 0 7190 3796 4.

John Turner has written a fine and extensive political history of how one explosive political dilemma – the postwar integration of Europe – came first to distress, then to torment, and finally to twice decapitate the world's hitherto most successful party, leaving it broken-backed. A wide range of literature on the party, and of memoirs by its leading members, has been trawled, along with much writing on the history of the European Union and its predecessor organizations. The latter literature is used to provide a contextual narrative of the diplomatic and political history within which the Tories have grappled with the increasingly complex combination of their posture as defenders of both the majesty of the British state and the profitability of British capital.

The study opens with discussion of the literature on the nature of the divisions that Europe has revealed and created among Conservative members and parliamentarians. This chapter does justice to much of the range of interpretations available, and of associated maps of ideological dimensions, but rather conflates all forms of dissent into the single category of faction, even where the groups mentioned do not meet the definition of the term as signifying dissent across a range of policy issues. Nor is the discussion of divisions much clarified by the way that, having argued for a recognition of complexity, the chapter's charts and figures culminate abruptly with a table that reduces the divisions to two categories – Euro-enthusiast and Euro-phobe. In an earlier figure and discussion, these had represented the two extremes of a typology with 4 categories and 11 groups.

This is not so much a complaint about simplification, which, on this subject, is a very necessary teaching device, but that the simplifications are insufficiently explained and, at least in terminology, inconsistent. Such simplification is no easy task, however, and the bulk of the book, in any case, does not pursue the typological theme, but provides an analytical narrative of the Tories' love–hate relationship with Europe since 1945. Most emphasis is placed on the period of progressive disintegration between 1985 and 1997. Students will find these historical chapters especially useful, as they set out, incident by incident, an extremely helpful analysis and summary (and chronologies), and are interspersed with illuminating discussions such as that on the various uses and misuses of the term federalism.

The account of the 1997 general election campaign is well grounded in contemporary sources, though no use is made of the political science literature on the impact of Europe and the intervention of the Referendum Party. The political science largely confirms the author's conclusion that it was the Tories' disintegration, rather than the issue on which they disintegrated, that had most effect: Europe, as ever, featured well down voters' lists of concerns. In the leadership contest that followed electoral defeat, however, as the book makes clear, Europe played the central and bitter role, and a full and useful account is given. This final chapter includes a reminder of the bizarre Clarke–Redwood alliance

that failed, in the third round, to defeat Hague – ‘a marriage made in the Tory Party’s hell’, as a *Daily Telegraph* editorial put it. The reactions recorded here of colleagues of both Clarke and Redwood, not least those of Thatcher, are exemplary (and entertaining) evidence of the depth of the party’s divisions.

It is to the author’s credit that he has persisted in his journey through the Tory party’s hell right into the era of New Labour, recording details of Hague’s internal party reforms, providing him with the authority, not least through a Clause IV-style plebiscite on joining the single currency, to purge the leadership of supporters of European integration. It is easy, too, to forget that Hague trounced Labour in the 1999 European Parliament elections in which, as Turner reminds us, 52 per cent of voters backed a party opposed to joining the Euro, and in which the UK Independence Party gained three seats.

John Turner has compiled a study that students of Conservative politics will come to be grateful for. The fact that New Labour – attempting to reassure big business that Britain will join the Euro without provoking the gutter press into anti-Labour xenophobia on the issue – now approaches its own version, albeit much diluted, of the dilemma that sunk Thatcher and Major should make this a book read as much by those interested in the future of the Labour Party as in the past of the Tories.

Steve Ludlam
University of Sheffield