



Review: [Untitled]

Reviewed Work(s):

Greece at the Polls: The National Elections of 1974 and 1977 by Howard R. Penniman

Italy at the Polls, 1979: A Study of the Parliamentary Elections by Howard R. Penniman

Mark Lichbach

The American Political Science Review, Vol. 77, No. 1. (Mar., 1983), pp. 246-247.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-0554%28198303%2977%3A1%3C246%3AGATPTN%3E2.0.CO%3B2-F>

The American Political Science Review is currently published by American Political Science Association.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/journals/apsa.html>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is an independent not-for-profit organization dedicated to and preserving a digital archive of scholarly journals. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

powerful or potentially powerful interests in Brazil cannot be treated primarily as economic actors (p. 10). This position, strongly rooted in his data, leads to the conclusion that "the bundle of issues surrounding foreign investment is not perceived by the elites as so controversial as some of the literature on dependency suggests" (p. 28).

Readers of this work will be rewarded in at least five ways: first, by a perceptive critical discussion of the relevant theoretical literature; second, by a sound treatment of elite recruitment and networks; third, by a rich analysis of attitudes and ideology; fourth, by tightly reasoned conclusions; and fifth, by a comprehensive bibliography. Representative of McDonough's thoughtful findings is the notion that "Brazil is no longer the landlord-peasant society in which the spread of market relations has elsewhere precipitated successful revolutions in the twentieth century" (p. 239). In evaluating such findings, it should be borne in mind that the survey data is now a decade old, opening the possibility that trends which the author identifies may by now have progressed even further. For in many ways Brazil is changing as rapidly today as did the United States at the turn of the century or Germany in the 1870s.

RONALD M. SCHNEIDER

Queens College, CUNY

Greece at the Polls: The National Elections of 1974 and 1977. Edited by Howard R. Penniman. (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1981. Pp. xiv + 220. \$15.25, cloth; \$7.25, paper.)

Italy at the Polls, 1979: A Study of the Parliamentary Elections. Edited by Howard R. Penniman. (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1981. Pp. xiv + 335. \$16.25, cloth; \$8.25, paper.)

How scholars dissect elections depends upon the country involved. In nations with a long tradition of Western democratic institutions, such as the United States, a microscopic focus on voters and their votes often exists. Researchers typically study individual backgrounds, attitudes, and behaviors to answer the question: Who won the election and why? In states that have only recently established Western-style democracy, such as Greece and Italy, one is immediately drawn to the macroscopic issues of electoral politics. Researchers typically study the consequences of elections and ask such questions as: Do elections destabilize already fragile democracies, or do they help ce-

ment competing political forces? Does electoral conflict in polarized societies eventually favor extremist parties, or can centrist ones prevail? Both books raise this later set of questions in the Italian and Greek contexts.

Penniman's volume on Italy does a fine job of laying out the politically relevant trends surrounding the election of 1979. This election was fought in the context of economic difficulties, cabinet crises, political corruption and scandals, terrorism, and the Communist party (PCI) partially sharing national political leadership for the first time. Italian elections, once again, produced only minor shifts in party fortunes. The PCI's vote declined for the first time in the postwar history of Italy, but voters did not flock to the Christian Democrats (DC), the major conservative party that has governed postwar Italy, but rather to the small parties of the Left and center. One consequence of the election, according to Sidney Tarrow, is that "it was made clear that [DC's] mandate to govern was not made in heaven and would not continue to be renewed indefinitely, regardless of their behavior." (In June of 1981 DC lost control of the Prime Ministry for the first time in thirty-six years.)

The volume on Greece also does a fine job of pulling together the politics surrounding the Greek elections of 1974 and 1977. The elections took place after some major political changes: a period of highly repressive military rule, a return to Western Democratic institutions in the mid 1970s, a national referendum that led to the end of the monarchy, and the adoption of a new electoral law designed to reward the largest parties. The results of the elections were surprising. Four parties or coalitions won almost all the seats, majority versus opposition politics began to emerge, and support for New Democracy (ND), the major conservative party, declined while support for the Socialist party (PASOK) increased. Theodore A. Coulombis predicts that PASOK could win the next national election, and that if the party won it would be "cautiously revisionist, realist, and pragmatic in its domestic and foreign policies" (p. 191). Regardless of who wins, he suggests that Greece will move away from praetorianism and towards political stability. (PASOK did win the next election in October of 1981 and, at least so far, Greek democracy has survived.)

Both works are interesting pieces of political history and of electoral journalism. One is dazzled by the interesting questions and intriguing developments just sketched. However, both volumes lack rigorous scholarship in five areas.

(1) The works use no sophisticated data analysis, which is certainly not what academics have come to expect from a scholarly study of electoral politics. Only one article (by Giacomo Sani) uses

correlations and scatter diagrams. All other data is displayed in percentage form.

(2) Sophisticated methodologies for analyzing elections scarcely appear. Very little aggregate analysis (electoral geography) or survey work (attitudinal studies) is reported. Why? This may be due to weak survey research facilities in the countries (especially Greece). One must wonder why no footnotes appear to any work on American elections that uses Michigan's survey research tradition.

(3) The works lack theoretical rigor. Sani's piece is the only one in either book that systematically proposes and tests arguments. Some authors, however, do show great political insight. Sidney Tarrow offers some very astute conjectures about the interests of the political parties and forces in Italian society that form governing coalitions. Samuel H. Barnes provides insight into the skills of the bargainers and the structural constraints bargainers face when trying to obtain a governing majority in Italy. Although these speculations were certainly interesting, and the predictions cited earlier prescient, none were data-based conclusions.

(4) There is little theoretical perspective in the essays, either. Relevant literature on political development and change, political stability and violence, and electoral politics and conflict is often not mentioned. For example, Roy C. Macridis uses arguments about "modernization" (*à la* Huntington) to explain political instability in Greece, but also argues that Greece was a dependent state in the international arena. There are no citations to any literature on dependency and no recognition that this literature contains a plausible rival argument to the modernization interpretation of political authoritarianism and political instability.

(5) Little comparative perspective on the major issues is offered. The assumption of the *At the Polls* series, stated in each volume, is that "the greater their [public policymakers'] understanding of the political consequences of the conduct of elections in other countries, the deeper their insights into the impact of electoral rules and practices at home" (p. ix). In spite of these sentiments, neither work attempts to generalize into the cases; theoretical arguments are not explored in depth in either the Italian or Greek context. Nor does either work attempt to generalize out from the cases; arguments that emerge from the Greek or Italian context are not suggested to have wider applicability. Both books, remarkably, contain only one table with data from more than one country. Readers are left with the promise, made in both introductions, that new books in the series will address problems on a cross-national basis.

One must conclude, therefore, that these

volumes are insular. They do not grapple effectively with broad methodological, theoretical, or comparative concerns in the field of electoral analysis. One is a study of Italy, the other of Greece, with little social-science encumbrance. At this they succeed, although true country experts will not find much that is new. Those of us who wish to address in some rigorous and comparative fashion the principal issues that make politics in Italy and Greece so interesting are left dissatisfied. It is up to us to pose arguments rigorously, test them with a carefully specified research design, and then to draw cautious generalizations.

MARK LICHBACH

University of Illinois at Chicago

Transnational Party Co-operation and European Integration: The Process Towards Direct Elections. By Geoffrey and Pippa Pridham. (Boston: George Allen & Unwin, 1981. Pp. xii + 307. \$37.50.)

A milestone in the European integrative process was reached in June 1979 when 112 million voters went to the polls across the European Community and elected 410 (24 Greek members were added subsequently) representatives to the European Parliament. The election did not generate the same level of interest for the European publics as it did for political scientists, and voter turnout varied from state to state. These 434 representatives have formed six major transnational party groups in the Parliament.

Prior to 1979, the representatives were chosen by, from, and were responsible to, their respective national parliaments. The new Parliament, directly responsible to the EC's population and voter constituencies, possesses a political legitimacy that the former appointed Parliament never had. This does not by itself give the Parliament any more real effective power vis-à-vis the Commission and the Council of Ministers (its real power is quite low—most of its decisions are only statements of intent without any force in Community law), but it at least strengthens the Parliament's potential to have more influence at the European level in the future.

Geoffrey and Pippa Pridham trace European transnational party cooperation along three separate but related levels: the groups within Parliament, the various European party federations, and the linkage between these two and the national party organizations in the member states. Although rich in narrative detail about the European party federations and the national organizations, the analysis of the behavior of the transnational groups in Parliament—a central focus of