

complementarities between the practices of aggregative democracy and the norms of deliberative democracy and the existing tensions between representative democracy and political tolerance.

The potential criticisms of this collection are that some chapters might require more comparative work to substantiate their conclusions and that institutional variables still need to be incorporated into the CMP research framework. This being said, the volume delivers an impressively wide-ranging presentation of critical discussions of key concepts in democratic politics. Furthermore, it raises an important question regarding patterns of party competition: in an era of allegedly cartelised politics, it is refreshing to learn that popular preferences are still translated into meaningful non-convergent party statements and government policies.

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**Crucibles of Political Loyalty: Church Institutions and Electoral Continuity in Hungary** by Jason Wittenberg. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pp. 314; index. \$80/£45 (hardback). ISBN 0-5218-4912-8.

This book addresses one of the mysteries in political sciences, namely why old patterns of political loyalties reemerge after extended economic, social, and political disruption. For such an investigation, the persistent attachment of a significant portion of Hungarians to rightist parties now appears an excellent case to study. Wittenberg investigates political loyalty in Hungary, a so-called redemocratizing society. Consequently, he is able to test whether the theories developed to explain electoral persistence in stable societies are also applicable to fledgling democracies, such as societies leaving the Soviet sphere of influence.

While any former state-socialist country would have been a good candidate to study, Hungary demonstrates three additional features that made it the least likely place of all to find significant continuity with the past. Hungary was less industrialized than Czechoslovakia and yet at the same time was more successful in reorganizing agriculture along socialist lines than, say, Poland. Furthermore, Hungary was 'the happiest barrack in the bloc', that is to say, the most humane regime, which resulted in the Communist Party having the highest popular appeal of all the communist parties in the socialist camp. All of these features worked against the endurance of political loyalties. Yet after the collapse of President Janos Kádár's 'goulash communism' in the late 1980s, pre-communist era electoral continuity reasserted itself in Hungary.

Wittenberg's book combines this unique Hungarian constellation with meticulous accuracy in carrying out large-N statistical methods and detailed historical analysis. He has constructed 'a unique database of electoral outcomes from the 1945, 1990, 1994, and 1998 national parliamentary elections for virtually all of Hungary's roughly 3,000 villages and towns reconstructed so that there are constant units for comparison' (p. 16). While this database provided the ground for quantitative investigation, the materials of ethnographic reports, memoirs, and previously closed party and ecclesiastical archives serve as sources of the qualitative research. Wittenberg's

aim is that analyzing the Hungarians' persisting political loyalties will not only shed light on the particular case but also contribute to a more generally applicable understanding of the mechanisms that generate such loyalties.

The structure of the book logically and adequately serves the author's aim. First, he presents the most influential theories explaining political persistence. The next chapter demonstrates through empirical analysis the overall pattern of Hungarian electoral continuity and discontinuity between 1945 and 1998. This chapter establishes the facts, the results of the pre- and post-communist elections, but says nothing about the underlying mechanisms by which partisan attachments were transmitted through the communist period. That is the task of chapters 3 to 5. These three chapters employ qualitative tools, mostly the analysis and detailed interpretation of historical events.

Chapter 3 describes the embeddedness of the Catholic and Reformed Churches in the pre-communist Hungarian society. It is followed by a narration of the battle for souls in Hungary's Stalinist period, between 1948 and the tragic uprising in 1956. Two crucial elements of this chapter must be highlighted here. The first is Wittenberg's interpretation of changes in religious practice as a tipping process, where individuals weighed carefully the risks and rewards of acting out their faith publicly. The second is Wittenberg's avoidance of the pitfalls of equating the church elite with the entire clergy. His separate analysis of elite-level relations between the churches and state and the daily clashes between the local priests and party cadres enables him to highlight how the pastors in villages and towns tried to maintain their influence over their flock. Chapter 5 unfolds the clergy's attempts to sustain local churches and their communities in the years after Kádár's brutal repression of the 1956 uprising.

Following the historical analyses, Wittenberg returns to empirical methods in chapter 6. Through graphical and multivariate statistical methods he demonstrates that church communities maintained pre-communist rightist attachments. Finally, chapter 7 discusses the significance of his findings for understanding the preservation of political loyalties in other countries.

By means of a combination of cutting-edge statistical methods and archival research Wittenberg has brilliantly demonstrated not only an association between Hungarian church communities and rightist political attachments, but also why there is such a high correlation. Reflecting on the Hungarian case and a few others, for instance the connection between Slovak 'populist' parties and Catholic institutions and associations, or between the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) and the General Union of Workers (UGT), he foresees at least the possibility of a theory generally applicable to the investigation of enduring political loyalties. 'It just might be the case', he concludes, 'that hidden underneath the mechanisms adduced to explain continuity in Western Europe and North America there operates a simpler logic, one that requires virtually no democratic politics, but wherein individuals embedded in particular institutional context are able to reproduce core attachments that orient them within an ever-evolving political firmament. If this is true then we will have discovered the core of the paradox of political persistence' (p. 245).

If one agrees that a 'particular institutional context' is the core, then Wittenberg might be right. What he highlights – the connection between the special institutional

circumstances and the political loyalty – is undisputedly important. As a consequence of his analysis, we now know exactly, or at least much better and with much greater probability, the loci of the reproduction of political partisanship over time. It is, however, only the surface feature and not the core substance of the phenomenon. Although he promises ‘to uncover the mechanisms by which partisan attachments were transmitted through the communist period’ (p. 75), this promise remains unfulfilled. The exact mechanisms of reproducing ‘core attachments’, for example, the cognitive and emotional interactions within the framework of a particular institutional context by which political loyalty is preserved and transmitted, have yet to be laid bare. Wittenberg only cursorily and indirectly refers to these mechanisms, for instance, by mentioning that ‘the common experience of hardship during communism fostered within-group cohesion’ (p. 15).

Despite this shortcoming, Wittenberg’s analysis takes us one step closer to solve the paradox of why old patterns of political loyalties reemerge after extended economic, social, and political disruption. We can pinpoint with greater possibility the loci of the reproduction of political partisanship over time. This book is highly recommended not only to political scientists but also to historians and sociologists.

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**Democracy Derailed in Russia. The Failure of Open Politics** by M. Steven Fish. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Pp. 334; index. £24.99 (hardback), £18.99 (paperback). ISBN 0-5218-5361-3 and 0-5216-1896-7.

**Resisting the State. Reform and Retrenchment in Post-Soviet Russia** by Kathryn Stoner-Weiss. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pp. 182; index. £45 (hardback). ISBN 0-5218-2463-X.

Why has Russia failed to consolidate a democratic regime? These two significant studies answer that the fault lies in the weakness of the new democratic state. In taking this line, both studies speak to the debate over the applicability to the post-communist cases of the ‘transition paradigm’. The task of building democratic state structures in the context of the lingering behemoth of the communist state and the dual-transition presented leaders with a daunting challenge. In turn, the variation in politicians’ responses and ultimate outcomes demanded a theory to understand the interaction between state construction and transitional trajectories. These studies meet that challenge.

In *Resisting the State*, Kathryn Stoner-Weiss provides incontrovertible evidence that Yeltsin’s Kremlin bargained away central state influence and authority to coalitions of political and economic regional elites. These two sets of actors, which emerged from the structural forces of the late Soviet period and 1992 experiment in privatisation, forged ties that insulated them from central state interference, particularly in the area of economic policy. Stoner-Weiss demonstrates that the stronger the bond between the two groups, the more defiant the region. Carefully compiled