The Battle for Public Opinion could be used in courses on the presidency, public opinion, media, and politics, and even in some introduction to American government courses. Because of the book's comprehensiveness and focus, it is the best book from social scientists about Watergate.

JOHN ORMAN

Fairfield University

Workplace Democracy and Social Change. Edited by Frank Lindenfeld and Joyce Rothschild-Whitt. (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1982. Pp. vii + 447. $20.00 cloth; $12.00 paper.)

Faced with high levels of employee dissatisfaction and low levels of worker productivity within an economy that is shifting rapidly from industrial production to service and information related activities, American management has undertaken an expansive search for techniques designed to improve labor-management relations and increase the quantity and quality of organizational output. Today's better educated, predominantly white-collar work force does not respond well to the authoritarian and hierarchical management practices designed for industrial drones. The clear trend is toward a more democratic workplace, with a greater degree of worker participation in decision making. Interest appears very high in many public and private sector organizations (even the U.S. military) in techniques such as quality circles, labor-management committees, and other forms of worker participation that democratize the workplace. Of course, there are different degrees of worker "participation," ranging from employer manipulation and cooptation of employees to real worker involvement in important organizational decisions.

Workplace democracy, as discussed by Lindenfeld, Rothschild-Whitt, and the other contributors to this volume, lies at the far left on the spectrum of participative management. It goes beyond the Human Relations School's focus on changing how the employee experiences the work situation, and further than the reversals in extreme task specialization and division of labor sought through "job enlargement," to an attempt to alter actual power relations between management and workers. Workplace democracy in its purest sense means that all employees are both workers *and* managers; the traditional organizational power structure represented by the pyramid is completely abolished and replaced with collective authority. Workplace democracy violates the treasured principles of bureaucratic organization described by Max Weber, including hierarchical authority, specialization of labor, rule-bound administration, and impersonality of decision making. It also treads firmly on the principles of scientific management and "Taylorism."

The book is organized into five parts, each preceded by a brief introduction that helps integrate the diverse subject matter. Part 1 examines definitional issues and the organizational characteristics of workplace democracy. Part 2 considers the impacts on individual workers, which include positive factors like reduced grievances, lower turnover and absenteeism, and fewer strikes, along with negative psychological costs such as increased interpersonal friction and conflict. Part 3 contains case studies of large-scale workers cooperatives; Part 4, small, self-managed collectives. The last section treats the relevance of workplace democracy for social change in the larger society. A fascinating array of experiments in organizational democracy are examined including strawberry growers' coops, "New Wave" food coops, worker-owned refuse collection companies, a "Feminist Illegal Abortion Collective," producers' coops in the plywood industry in the Pacific Northwest, the Mondragon system of workers' cooperatives developed by Jose Maria Arizmendi in the Basque region of Spain, and a worker-managed insurance corporation with 340 employees (IGP) in Washington, D.C.

Despite some recent successes, the movement for a democratic workplace faces serious obstacles, including achieving efficiency in small organizations, avoiding what seems to be an inevitable drift towards bureaucratization and oligarchy, making decisions within an environment of organizational democracy, and developing an institutional support system, not to mention formidable legal problems. However, the tone of the readings is optimistic. Several authors identify two promising channels for future workplace democracy: reopening closed plants through worker ownership and management and developing participative management processes within existing bureaucratic organizations. Ultimately, however, the success of workplace democracy depends upon the development of an accompanying political movement to thrust the concept into the mainstream of the American workplace.

The contributors to this book are unabashedly supportive of the principles of workplace democracy without being unduly polemical (with a couple of exceptions). The articles are about equally divided between original contributions and previously published manuscripts in publications running the gamut from *American Sociological Review* to the *Coop Newsletter.* The

authors represent a smorgasbord of academic disciplines and occupations, although sociologists are predominant.

Workplace Democracy and Social Change does not represent a major contribution to social science—very little theoretical or data-based work is included. It is, however, an important contribution to the literature on worker participation because of the broad range of applications of workplace democracy that are examined and the preliminary efforts by Rothschild-Whitt and Paul Bernstein (chaps. 1-2) to define the parameters of this area of investigation. Enough practical advice is included to make the book required reading for those participating in experiments in organizational democracy or interested in doing so. The book is well-written and, with the exception of the last section which contains two questionable entries, quite cohesive for an edited work. Finally, *Workplace Democracy and Social Change* makes very interesting and stimulating reading for anyone interested in democratizing the American workplace.

RICHARD C. KEARNEY

University of South Carolina

From Obscurity to Oblivion: Running in the Congressional Primary. By Louis Sandy Maisel. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982. Pp. 173. $12.50 cloth; $6.95 paper.)

Congressional election research has often bypassed one of the first steps in the recruitment process—party primaries. *From Obscurity to Oblivion* provides an insightful and unique addition to the understanding of this initial phase of congressional elections. Maisel focuses on the 1978 congressional primaries, using three rich and complementary sets of material: personal reminiscences from his own unsuccessful bid for the Democratic nomination in Maine's First District, results of a mail questionnaire to 251 other primary candidates (largely nonincumbents), and comments drawn from in-depth interviews with 39 of the candidates. Using these three sources, Maisel constructs a well-organized account of why and how candidates attempt to run for Congress, considering in successive chapters their decisions to run, campaign organizations, the money raised and the money spent, strategies, and tactics.

Emerging from the book is an intriguing theme that candidates' decisions to run, while partly analytic or rational, are more profoundly emotional choices (pp. 16, 35). The candidates questioned often made decisions in 1976 and 1977 for their bids in 1978. At such early junctures, they lacked adequate information on who else might run, where support might lie, and how to discern the vulnerability of incumbents. Instead, the candidates based their decisions largely on political intuition. Ultimately, the candidates ran because they genuinely wanted to do so, regardless of limited chances for success. This theme of emotionally based candidacies provides a needed contrast to other work in the field that too often presumes the rationality of candidates and the strategic character of their decisions.

As revealed by Maisel's findings, campaigns never fully surmounted these emotional and often ill-planned origins. Many organizations were all but stillborn. They encountered difficulties in finding campaign managers, leading many candidates to play the role themselves. Largely volunteer staffs were severely overtaxed, and efforts at recognition-building were seriously underfinanced. Interestingly, Maisel observes a clear gap between financial expectations and reality. Many candidates anticipated raising far more money than they were actually able to obtain. Maisel sums up a typical primary campaign:

> [Candidates] might plan a basic tactical approach to implement a rather sketchy strategy; they might draw up a tentative budget, based on inaccurate income and cost projections; they might decide what they want to have done in the field by the candidate and the workers, though the number and ability of those workers is totally unknown. Frequently, they cannot think about their opponents because they do not even know who those opponents will be. They cannot set contingency plans because they cannot foresee most situations that might arise. . . .a congressional primary tends to be one long 'ad hoc' experience. (p. 95)

The book is not without problems. Personal anecdotes often supplant more rigorous analysis of the questionnaire results and more extensive use of the interviews. While the chronology of Maisel's campaign is interesting, certain items from the questionnaire receive only cursory attention in the text; others receive no attention at all. Events unique to Maisel's own experience are detailed at the expense of more generally applicable hypotheses from the questionnaire-interview data.

Despite these problems of balance, the book is a contribution to the study of the congressional nomination process. Maisel rightly concludes the work by noting the difficulties surrounding congressional primaries as mechanisms for choice. With low voter turnout and inadequate candidacies, primaries may be offering caricatures of choice, rather than meaningful choice. The book provides a solid assessment of how caricature disguised as choice may emerge and subsequently