

# **American Political Science Review**

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# The American Political Science Review

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## ARTICLES

- 11 The Conditions of Protest Behavior in American Cities.** This paper is an exploration of various political environmental conditions associated with the incidence of political protest activities directed toward urban institutions, agencies, and officials in 43 American cities.

Two preliminary questions are considered first. One deals with making explicit the theoretical linkage between elements in the political environment and political behavior. The other is an attempt to define protest technically and to differentiate it from political violence. This effort is made necessary by the facts that violence and protest are not treated in the literature as distinct forms of behavior (but rather as similar acts at different points on a continuum of aggressiveness) and that studies of collective violence in American ghettos indicate no relation between environment and rioting.

Two alternative hypotheses are considered: protest varies negatively with indicators of an open political system (a linear model) and protest is greatest in systems characterized by a mix of open and closed factors (a curvilinear model). Data are drawn from newspaper accounts of protest incidents in 43 cities over a six month period in 1968, producing a sample of 120 protest incidents.

Both the simple incidence of protest and the intensity of protest seem to fit the curvilinear model more closely than the linear one. The incidence of protest, then, seems to signify change not only among previously quiescent or conventionally oriented groups but also in the political system itself as it becomes more open and responsive.

By PETER K. EISINGER, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

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- 29 Electoral Participation in the French Fifth Republic.** Variations in second ballot abstention and blank and invalid ballot rates (over the cross-section of French election districts) are examined for all four legislative elections of the French Fifth Republic. Analysis was conducted primarily through a heuristic decision-making model and a spatial model developed from the theories of Riker, McKelvey, and Ordeshook, and Davis, Hinich, and Ordeshook.

Abstentions appear to be primarily influenced by long-term factors and the competitiveness of the contest. Blank ballots appear to be primarily dependent upon short-term factors, especially nonvoting from the alienation that results when a candidate present on the first ballot is not present on the second. The alienation model and the heuristic model, though partly collinear, make independent contributions to the explanation of the blank ballot variance.

By HOWARD ROSENTHAL, Professor of Industrial Administration and Political Science, Carnegie-Mellon University and SUBRATA SEN, Instructor of Marketing, Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago.

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- 55 The State Political Party and the Policy-Making Process.** This research investigated the proposition that variation in the structure of the political party can account for variation in the type of policy produced. The conditions under which legislators of the governor's party supported his legislative requests in sixteen sessions chosen for different degrees of party cohesion were investigated. The findings indicate that there is very little correlation between the legislator's district primary or election competition and his support for the governor's requests. The Democratic governor is supported by legislators from the districts in which he himself has strong party support as measured by his primary vote. The Republican governor's support cannot be geographically located in this manner. With respect to socioeconomic legislation, the pattern of support for a successful governor does not depend upon socioeconomic variables within the legislators' districts, but if the governor cannot control his legislators, socioeconomic variables provide the major basis for the factions which develop.

By SARAH MCCALLY MOREHOUSE, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Manhattanville College.

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- 73 Images, Process and Feedback in Foreign Policy: Israel's Decisions on German Reparations.** This paper attempts to operationalize the concept of a foreign policy system and to test the utility of one path to empirically oriented theory: The approach is designated "structured empiricism." The research design incorporates some of the recent innovations in political science—the concept of system, the distinction between operational and psychological environment, the notion of issue-area and the attitudinal prism or lens through which decision makers' images are filtered. The focus is on one of the most significant Israeli foreign policy decision clusters—German Reparations 1950–2. Following the designation of the decision-making group, the dissection of their psychological environment, and the analysis of the decision-making process, the critical dimension of feedback is examined. The decision flow and feedback flow illustrate the dynamic character of a foreign

policy system in action. Finally, a selection of hypotheses on the behavior of decision makers is tested, and the findings summarized.

By MICHAEL BRECHER, Professor of Political Science, McGill University and Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

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- 103 Networks and Groups in Southeast Asia: Some Observations on the Group Theory of Politics.** The paper describes a "dyadic" type of political structure which, it is argued, is a necessary supplement to class and interest group models for the analysis of informal political structure in contemporary Southeast Asia, and probably in other developing areas.

Various types of simple and complex dyadic structures are described. The paper then examines four Southeast Asian polities, of different degrees of political development, with attention to the manner in which they combine group and dyadic structures. The examples are the Kalinga, a pagan ethnolinguistic group of Northern Luzon; the Tausug, a Muslim group of the Sulu archipelago; the traditional Thai monarchy; and the present Republic of the Philippines. In each case the effects of structure upon the operation of the system are explored. The paper concludes with a set of paired propositions concerning the characteristics of "trait associations" and "personal followings."

By CARL H. LANDÉ, Professor of Political Science, University of Kansas.

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- 128 Max Weber's Politics and Political Education.** Max Weber's work has long been considered the property of sociologists. This paper attempts to restore an understanding of the fundamental political nature of his thought and action. Through an examination of Weber's political writings and involvements, beginning with the Freiburg Inaugural Address of 1895, it is demonstrated that Weber developed a political theory which was both critical and empirical, and attempted (unsuccessfully) to put it into practice. The two sides of this attempt are discussed: the critique of Bismarckian and Wilhelmian politics and Weber's own "positive" construction of a new political order. "Bureaucratization" and "democratization" are understood as the key themes of this analysis. Identification with the middle class is stressed as a major determinant of action, transcended only by a profound commitment to political education of the nation. Political education is judged to be the supreme task of theory; it supplies the source of Weber's political and scientific commitments, and the explanation for his ultimate political failure.

By LAWRENCE A. SCAFF, Assistant Professor of Government, University of Arizona.

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- 142 The Political Ideas of C. G. Jung.** The article examines two of Jung's contributions to the study of politics: his conjectures about the origin of culture and politics and his theory of psychic inflation. Culture arises because man is subjected to a series of opposing tensions that divert a part of his libidinal energy from its natural flow and produce a degree of surplus psychic energy. Symbols, rising from the unconscious, transform this energy into cultural manifestations. Through ornaments and rituals, symbols also play a vital role in differentiating individual consciousness from collective consciousness. The gradually evolving consciousness of both the individual and the group leads to the inception of politics—of conscious conflict and harmony.

Psychic inflation is the extension of the ego beyond its natural limits as a result of an identification with the contents of the collective unconscious. It leads to an illusory sense of either superiority or inferiority. The atrophy of conscious development follows. On the other hand, the conscious assimilation of the contents of the collective unconscious produces a charismatic personality or group. But these are rare cases. For the most part, psychic inflation is a natural psychic law that can be partially controlled through an awareness of the forces of the unconscious.

By WALTER ODAJNYK, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Columbia University.

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- 153 A Research Note on the Impact of Interparty Competition on Congressional Voting in a Competitive Era.** In the modern House of Representatives party competition for seats is not strongly correlated with or predictive of party voting behavior. The most plausible explanation for this weak relationship is that less than 20 per cent of House seats are competitive from one census to the next. In this study the Hasbrouck-Jones Fluidity Index was applied to House elections in the 1890–1900 period, and almost 50 per cent of House seats in this era were found to have been competitive at that time.

From the 1892–1900 period the 55th and 56th U.S. Houses were selected for analysis. A varimax factor analysis was run on the party votes in these Congresses, and the resultant factor scores formed a unidimensional measure of the number of times a member voted with a party majority. A multiple regression analysis was run, with these party support scores used as the dependent variable and with party competition and occupational composition of the district used as the independent variables. The results showed that in both houses party competition was strongly cor-

related with and predictive of party support scores. The same analysis on the 89th House yielded much weaker correlations and showed little predictive ability.

By DAVID W. BRADY, Associate Professor, University of Houston.

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- 157 **A Note on "Voting or a Price System in a Competitive Market Structure:"** The purpose of this note is to contribute to the analysis of various sorts of institutions for distributing goods to members of a society. The paper examines what happens when a society is faced with distributing ordinary private goods to its members. It can utilize three different sorts of institutions: a voting system, a price system, or a fixed proportions sharing rule. We suggest that a fixed proportions sharing rule generally will be found preferable by the society to majority rule. We argue that Shubik's assertion that a price system will dominate majority rule is not true without qualification.

By JOHN FERREJOHN, Assistant Professor of Political Science at California, Institute of Technology.  
By TALBOT PAGE, Research Associate, Resources for the Future, Inc., Washington, D.C.

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- 161 **The Structure of Policy Thinking in Adolescence: A Research Note.** Drawing on findings reported in an earlier issue of this *Review*, the present Note examines the extent to which nine forms of reasoning about the problem of poverty cohere into recognizable structures or cognitive styles among a small sample of eighth and twelfth graders. The degree of structured policy thinking among the respondents is lower than might have been predicted on the basis of cognitive developmental theory. Moreover, a respondent's amount of political interest, activity, motivation, and knowledge is a more accurate guide to his policy-thinking style than is his age. This finding also does not accord with cognitive developmental expectations. When these data are taken together with findings reported in the earlier article, we can conclude only that political involvement and individual maturation interact in complex ways in the development and structuring of policy thinking.

By RICHARD M. MERELMAN, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin.

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## 168 APSA Presidential Address

### Introduction.

By HAROLD D. LASSWELL, Ford Foundation Professor Emeritus of Law and Social Sciences, Yale Law School.

- 169 **Skill Revolution and Consultative Commonwealth.** The "consultative commonwealth" is a construct of the future that is rooted in the social and technological changes occasioned by the modern skill revolution. The construct is based on the assumption that because of the prominence of old and new professions in policy making and the delivery of human as well as technical services, consultative modes of interaction will be a pervasive feature of governance in the future. Consultation will not be the dominant process but will complement, supplement, and implement other governmental processes. There will be both more bureaucratization and more democratization, but the skill revolution will inject professional ways of doing things into the emerging commonwealth. The construct is built on theoretical considerations and empirical research, taking account of trends and counter-trends in the evolution of the professions as significant skill elites. Its purpose is to aid in orienting political research in terms of past, present, and future; and to link empirical political theory with normative concerns.

By HEINZ EULAU, Professor of Political Science, Stanford University.

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