

The American Political Science Review

Articles and Essays by David Collier and Richard E. Messick,
M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, J. Weinberger, Paul
R. Schulman, Fred I. Greenstein, Nancy I. Lieber

Susan Blackall Hansen

Participation, Political Structure, and Concurrence

Austin Sarat and Joel B. Grossman

Courts and Conflict Resolution

Christopher H. Achen

Mass Political Attitudes and the Survey Response

**Francisco Arcelus and Allan H. Meltzer, Howard S.
Bloom and H. Douglas Price, Saul Goodman and Gerald
H. Kramer**

Economic Variables and Congressional Elections

Douglas W. Rae, Gordon Tullock

The Limits of Consensual Decision

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Correspondence about all issues up to and including the issue of September 1977 should continue to be addressed to the managing editor in Berkeley.

ARTICLES

1181 Participation, Political Structure, and Concurrence. Under what circumstances do citizens in a democracy influence their leaders? This paper uses an index of citizen-leader agreement on community problems to examine the effects of political factors on linkage. This index, termed concurrence, was based on parallel questions on community problems asked of citizens, government heads, and other local leaders sampled in sixty-four smaller American communities.

Concurrence was significantly higher in communities with high levels of citizen participation, contested elections, partisan ballots, and active political parties. Regression analysis showed that while voting rates had the largest direct impact on concurrence, participation had more impact when salient electoral alternatives were available. Partisan, contested elections also were associated with higher concurrence between leaders and persons of low socioeconomic status. Political factors also affected concurrence rates in both consensual and nonconsensual communities.

Alternative explanations for these findings (popular control of leaders, leaders' efforts to influence citizens or manipulate participation) are considered. Since concurrence scores of nonelected local leaders were also higher in participant communities with contested elections, it is suggested that political factors may affect citizen-leader agreement by facilitating communication between leaders and citizens, as well as by aiding electoral accountability.

By SUSAN BLACKALL HANSEN, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana.

1200 Courts and Conflict Resolution: Problems in the Mobilization of Adjudication. This article attempts to assess the role of courts and other adjudicative institutions in the definition, interpretation, and management of conflict. Understanding the function of courts requires an understanding of a society's entire range of conflict management mechanisms. Particular emphasis is placed on those variables most likely to determine where and how conflicts will be solved.

Adjudicative institutions can be effectively differentiated by a typology which measures the level of formality in procedures and the degree of "publicness." The structure of a dispute-resolving institution will have an important effect on which disputes are presented to it and how they are decided. The nature of the dispute, goals of the disputants, social context, and political culture are also important variables.

Government has an important stake in the manner in which disputes arise and are resolved. It may promote or require the resolution of some disputes in the courts while allowing others to be resolved in less public and formal arenas. Formal litigation may provide a model for private dispute resolution. It may also absorb and deflect grievances before they escalate into more organized and intense demands on the political system. Finally, litigation may have an important effect on system stability by promoting support for regime values.

By AUSTIN SARAT, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Amherst College and JOEL B. GROSSMAN, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

1218 Mass Political Attitudes and the Survey Response. Students of public opinion research have argued that voters show very little consistency and structure in their political attitudes. A model of the survey response is proposed which takes account of the vagueness in opinion survey questions and in response categories. When estimates are made of this vagueness or "measurement error" and the estimates applied to the principal previous study, nearly all the inconsistency is shown to be the result of the vagueness of the questions rather than of any failure by the respondents.

By CHRISTOPHER H. ACHEN, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley.

1232 The Effect of Aggregate Economic Variables on Congressional Elections. This paper uses rational voting behavior as an organizing device to develop a framework within which to consider the effect of economic aggregates on voters. Unlike most previous studies, ours permits the voter to vote for candidates of either party or to abstain. A principal finding is that the effect of the main economic aggregates on the participation rate is much clearer than the effects on either party. Our results deny that an incumbent administration can affect the control of Congress by stimulating the economy. Voters appear to make judgments about inflation, unemployment and economic growth. We investigated on the basis of long-term, not short-term performance.

By FRANCISCO ARCELUS, Assistant Professor of Economics and Commerce, Simon Fraser University, and ALLAN H. MELTZER, Maurice Falk Professor of Economics and Social Science, Carnegie-Mellon University.

Comment. By HOWARD S. BLOOM, Ph.D. Candidate in Political Economy and Government, Harvard University, and H. DOUGLAS PRICE, Professor of Government, Harvard University.

Comment. By SAUL GOODMAN, L.L.B. Candidate, University of Virginia Law School and GERALD H. KRAMER, Professor of Political Science, Yale University.

Rejoinder. By FRANCISCO ARCELUS and ALLAN H. MELTZER.

1270 The Limits of Consensual Decision. This essay criticizes the ideal of consensual decision as it appears in liberal political theory. A historical survey begins with Locke's view of consent, its criticism and extension by 19th century figures such as Godwin, Calhoun, and Mill, its reappearance in the guise of economic efficiency within the works of Wickseil or Buchanan and Tullock and as moral autonomy in Wolff's *Defense of Anarchy*. The paper offers a structural account of political decision making in which vulnerability to the authority of others seems inescapable and in which neither unanimity nor a universal right of consent is possible. On this telling, consensual decision is logically unattainable and misdirects constitutional theory.

By DOUGLAS W. RAE, Professor of Political Science, Yale University.

Comment. By GORDON TULLOCK, University Professor, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

Rejoinder. By DOUGLAS W. RAE.

1299 Prerequisites Versus Diffusion: Testing Alternative Explanations of Social Security Adoption. Cross-national research has, with a few exceptions, dealt exclusively with hypotheses that focus on causal relations within nations. It is increasingly clear both on substantive and methodological grounds, however, that diffusion effects among nations must also be considered. The present research combines these alternative perspectives in an analysis of the timing of the first adoption of social security in nations. It is found that not only prerequisites explanations—which focus on causes within each nation—but also spatial and hierarchical diffusion effects must be considered in explaining patterns of social security adoption. The most important overall pattern, which appears to result from diffusion, is the tendency for later adopters to adopt at lower levels of modernization. This finding is interpreted as being due in part to a general tendency toward a larger role of the state in later developing countries—involving an important difference in the *sequence* in which different aspects of modernization occur—and in part to special characteristics of social security as a public policy.

By DAVID COLLIER, Associate Professor of Political Science, Indiana University, and RICHARD E. MESSICK, Research Assistant, Energy Policy Research Project, George Washington University.

1316 Continuity and Change in Political Orientations: a Longitudinal Study of Two Generations. This paper utilizes a national panel study of two biologically linked generations to study political change and continuity between 1965 and 1973. Four basic processes and combinations thereof are posited: absolute continuity, generational effects, life-cycle effects, and period effects. Data at the aggregate level give strong support for each type of change and continuity progression, depending upon the substantive political orientation examined. There are also strong traces of hybrid effects, especially the combination of period and life-cycle processes acting to propel the younger generation at a faster clip than the older. Over the eight-year span the absolute cleavage between the generations tended to decline, the major exception occurring with respect to specific issues and partisanship. The anomaly of this strain toward convergence in the light of the generation gap controversy is discussed.

By M. KENT JENNINGS, Professor of Political Science and Program Director, Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan, and RICHARD G. NIEMI, Professor of Political Science, University of Rochester.

3236 Hobbes's Doctrine of Method. A persistent problem in the interpretation of Hobbes's self-proclaimed founding of modern political science is the nature of the link between that political science and Hobbes's understanding of modern natural science and scientific method. The intention of this essay is to suggest that Hobbes's doctrine of method reveals the unity of his teaching about science, man, and politics. The unifying role of the doctrine of method can be understood only as a function of Hobbes's intention to reform what he saw as the previously defective relationship between practice and theory. In the light of this intention, the doctrine of method will be shown to consist in a new rhetoric which links the resolution of the human problem to the conquest of nature facilitated by the new science of nature. This rhetoric will be shown to be the substantial core of the doctrine of method itself.

By J. WEINBERGER, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Michigan State University.

1354 Nonincremental Policy Making: Notes Toward an Alternative Paradigm. Much of the literature of policy analysis and public administration is dominated by incremental and "divisible goods" paradigms. Policy is assumed to be a process of marginal and adjustive decision making in which benefits are dispensed piecemeal—proportionate to prevailing distributions of power or publicized need. This essay asserts the existence of a class of nonincremental, indivisible policy pursuits for which the analytical weaponry of political science is largely inappropriate. Such policies display a distinctive set of political and administrative characteristics. These characteristics are explained and examined in connection with manned space exploration policy. An assessment is offered of the challenges posed by nonincremental policy to contemporary outlooks in political science.

By PAUL R. SCHULMAN, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Tennessee.

1371 The Benevolent Leader Revisited: Children's Images of Political Leaders in Three Democracies. This analysis of open-ended interviews conducted in 1969–70 with small samples of English, French, and white and black American children focuses on orientations toward the heads of state of the three nations and the Prime Ministers of Britain and France. The English children exhibit remarkably positive views of the Queen. Many of them believe her to be the nation's effective leader rather than a figurehead. Any political animus they express is directed toward the Prime Minister. The French children tend to describe the President of the Republic positively when they express feelings toward him at all but expect him to behave harshly and arrogantly in actual situations. Their descriptions of political leaders exude authoritarian imagery and perceptions; they perceive the President of the Republic in an impersonal, undifferentiated manner, and are only barely aware of the Premier. The general descriptions of the President of the United States by white American children interviewed in 1969–70 are remarkably similar to the benevolent-leader perceptions of children in the Eisenhower-Kennedy years, but the 1969–70 children exhibit much less idealized views of a president depicted as a law-breaker. A post-Watergate white American comparison group interviewed in June 1973 is generally aware of, but puzzled by, the Watergate events. At this early stage in the Watergate revelations, white children were only slightly less likely than the 1969–70 respondents to idealize the President, but were substantially more likely to perceive the president depicted as a law-breaker in terms implying that the President is "above the law." The American black comparison group, which is too small and special in its geographical circumstances to offer more than suggestive findings, is the most negative of the four groups in general responses to the head of state, but is more like the white American group than like the English or French children in expectations about the actual behavior of the leader. Even though the black and white American children seem to be similar in their expectations about how certain political encounters would ensue, interpretations of encounters are strikingly different.

By FRED I. GREENSTEIN, Henry Luce Professor of Politics, Law, and Society, Princeton University.

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By NANCY I. LIEBER, Lecturer in Political Science, University of California, Davis.

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Address correspondence about contributions to the *Review* concerning issues before the issue of September 1977 to Nelson W. Polsby, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California, 94720, and issues after September 1977 (including all new manuscripts) starting January 1, 1976, to Charles O. Jones, Department of Political Science, Mervis Hall, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260. Each manuscript should be accompanied by an abstract of up to 150 words briefly describing the article's contents. All manuscripts and abstracts should be submitted IN DUPLICATE. They should be double-spaced and may be in typed, mimeographed, hectographed, or other legible form. Footnotes should appear at the end of the manuscript, not at the bottom of the page, and should also be double-spaced. Manuscripts that do not follow this format will be returned to the authors for retyping.

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