

Articles and Essays by Fred W. Grupp, Jr. and Alan R. Richards, Patrick J. McGowan and Robert M. Rood, Mary B. Welfling, Geoffrey Debnam, Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, Robert T. Holt and John E. Turner

Richard Funston

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The Primary Goals of Political Parties: A Clarification of Positive Theory

Gerald S. Strom, Stephen V. Stephens, Lawrence S. Mayer and I. J. Good, Nathaniel Beck, Gordon Tullock, John A. Ferejohn and Morris P. Fiorina, R. E. Goodin and K. W. S. Roberts, Eric M. Uslaner and J. Ronnie Davis, Norman Frohlich, Guillermo Owen, David H. Koehler, Peter Bernholz, Joe Oppenheimer

Participation, Coalitions, Vote Trading

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ARTICLES

795 The Supreme Court and Critical Elections. Several years ago Professor Robert Dahl argued that the traditional concern over the Supreme Court's power of judicial review was largely unfounded. Dahl demonstrated that seldom, if ever, had the Court been successful in blocking the will of a law-making majority. This paper argues that, had Dahl considered his data from a different perspective, he would have discovered that, by virtue of the recruitment process, the Court will rarely even attempt to thwart a law-making majority. Examining Dahl's data in the context of the Survey Research Center's election classification scheme, the paper focuses on the Court's relation to patterns of partisan change to show that the traditional philosophic concern with the counter-majoritarian nature of judicial review is largely divorced from empirical reality and has relevance only during periods of partisan realignment within the political system as a whole. The paper buttresses the argument that the Court's "yea-saying" power is more important than its "nay-saying" power, a realization which can serve as the premise from which a logically consistent justification of the Court's power of judicial review may be dialectically constructed.

By RICHARD FUNSTON, Associate Professor of Political Science, San Diego State University.

812 Determinants of the Outcomes of Midterm Congressional Elections. An explanatory model for the outcomes of midterm congressional elections is developed. Midterms are a referendum on the performance of the President and his administration's management of the economy. The explanatory model of midterm congressional elections is sufficiently powerful so as to yield honest and accurate pre-election predictions of the national two-party vote in midterm elections. These predictions have usually outperformed pre-election forecasts based on survey data. The model is extended by considering the translation of votes into seats, models of the electorate as a whole and of the individual voter, and the causes of the off-year loss by the President's party.

By EDWARD R. TUFTE, Professor of Public Affairs, Princeton University.

827 Underdevelopment and the "Gap" Theory of International Conflict. A common hypothesis about the sources of international conflict holds that war and turmoil will be an inevitable consequence of the widening "gap" between the developed and underdeveloped states. This view is based on a common Western image of underdeveloped countries which assumes that striving for economic betterment is universal in all underdeveloped countries, and is primarily a grass-roots phenomenon. This essay challenges the hypothesis and the assumptions upon which it is based. It argues that the images of underdevelopment generated by economists using aggregate data are in many cases incorrect or distorted. Studies by anthropologists which are based on micro- rather than macrodata produce quite different impressions of the underdeveloped society. The human costs involved are for the most part overlooked in development schemes, and the wholesale importation of Western economic development strategies has led in many cases not only to a poor allocation of resources, but also to many of the problems the developed societies are now facing, including urban congestion, rising crime rates, higher incidence of mental breakdown, and the like.

The paper concludes with a critical review of common liberal solutions to development problems, and suggests that one strategy possible for some developing countries is increased isolation from the international system. International conflict may result not only because the underdeveloped states wish to close the "gap," but because some may choose deliberately to reduce their dependency on the West. Conflict may be generated through isolation as well as through increased interaction.

By K. J. HOLSTI, Professor of Political Science, The University of British Columbia.

840 The Primary Goals of Political Parties: A Clarification of Positive Theory. Positive or rational choice theorists have tended to suppress under the rubric of "winning" elections a critical distinction in the goals of political parties (or candidates)—the distinction between the primary goal of office and the goal of the benefits derived from the control of office. The distinction, however, has strategic consequences. Logically, the office-seeker should follow the vote-maximization strategy put forth by Downs, whereas the benefit-seeker should find Riker's minimal winning coalition most congenial. The distinction in goals and strategies also implies divergent ways of organizing political parties. A concern for benefits logically leads to the development of structures designed to insure that the party's officeholders will deliver the desired benefits. The office-seeking goal implies structures which free the party and the office-seeker to maneuver in response to electoral needs. Thus there are two positive theories resting upon two primary political goals. In their differences we find an explanation of the tensions in democratic parties.

By JOSEPH A. SCHLESINGER, Professor of Political Science, Michigan State University.

850 Variations in Elite Perceptions of American States as Referents for Public Policy Making. Following Walker, investigators have assumed that state executives frequently seek policy guidance from other states. This study expands the "diffusion of innovation" literature by demonstrating that levels of elite consensus

about which American states have the better agencies vary by policy area. It is hypothesized that state administrators in policy areas characterized by general agreement about the better state programs are more influential in their own state's policy-making process than are state administrators in policy areas where there are no acknowledged leaders. Data gathered by mail questionnaire from upper-level state executives in ten American states provide support for the hypothesis. Finally, results from state expenditure studies, which also indicate that different mixes of actors are influential in state policy making depending upon the policy area involved, are found to be consistent with this interpretation.

By FRED W. GRUPP, JR., Research Associate and Executive Director, The Peoples of Connecticut Project, Department of Sociology, University of Connecticut, and ALAN R. RICHARDS, Professor of Political Science, Louisiana State University.

- 859 Alliance Behavior in Balance of Power Systems: Applying a Poisson Model to Nineteenth-Century Europe.** This paper is a partial systematic test of Morton A. Kaplan's "theory" of alliance behavior in balance of power international systems first proposed in his well-known *System and Process in International Politics* (1957). Three hypotheses are inferred from Kaplan's writings predicting that in a stable balance of power system, (a) alliances will occur randomly with respect to time; (b) the time intervals between alliances will also be randomly distributed; and (c) a decline in systemic alliance formation rates precedes system changing events, such as general war. We check these hypotheses by applying probability theory, specifically a Poisson model, to the analysis of new data on fifty-five alliances among the five major European powers during the period 1814–1914. Because our research questions are so general, our findings should not be regarded as definitive; however, the data very strongly support our hypotheses. We conclude that Kaplan's verbal model of a balance of power international system has had its credibility enhanced as a result of this paper.

By PATRICK J. MCGOWAN, Associate Professor of International Relations, University of Southern California, and ROBERT M. ROOD, Assistant Professor of Government and International Studies, University of South Carolina.

- 871 Models, Measurement and Sources of Error: Civil Conflict in Black Africa.** Cross-national research is plagued by several methodological problems that threaten to distort results and hence raise questions concerning the adequacy of substantive findings. The extent and impact of three of these methodological problems—measurement, sampling, and specification errors—are assessed for a recent model of civil conflict developed by Gurr and Duvall. Concepts in their model are measured with two distinct data sets to estimate measurement error; to assess sampling error, measures are applied to a sample of black African nations which were excluded from their analysis; and new concepts are introduced to assess error in theoretical specification. Although all forms of error are found to exist in their work and to have some distorting effects on their model, it is concluded that some of the general model is accurate. However, discovery of (1) the concepts and data sets that contain the greatest error, and (2) the sources of sampling and specification error, is used to improve substantive findings about the causes of manifest political conflict.

By MARY B. WELFLING, Research Associate and Lecturer, Yale University.

- 889 Nondecisions and Power: The Two Faces of Bachrach and Baratz.** The concept "nondecision" was advanced by Bachrach and Baratz as a means of identifying certain areas of community power neglected by reputational and issue analysis approaches. While it is descriptively suggestive of certain possible areas of neglect, it has not been shaped into a useful analytic tool, and does not make any demands which cannot be met by decision-making analysis. Its terms are, in fact, somewhat confused since it fails to differentiate between nondecisions brought about by covert control, and those which may be more generally attributable to a mobilization of bias. These together seem to comprise what Bachrach and Baratz describe as the "second face of power," which has been neglected, they argue, because of inadequate consideration of the meaning of power and related concepts. But their own approach to these does not aid empirical analysis. It simply encourages concern for the minutiae of political action, whereas the simplified view of power adopted here suggests the advantages of a contextual approach.

By GEOFFREY DEBNAM, Senior Lecturer in Political Studies, University of Otago, New Zealand.

Comment. By PETER BACHRACH, Professor of Political Science, Temple University, and MORTON S. BARATZ, Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, University of Maryland, Baltimore County.

Rejoinder. By GEOFFREY DEBNAM.

908 Not Voting. If a person were rational in the sense of maximizing his own utility, it seems unlikely he would ever vote in a mass election. The time and effort expended in voting normally outweigh the infinitesimal chance of influencing the election, making voting seem irrational. But millions do vote. Addressing this paradox, Ferejohn and Fiorina suggested in 1974 that hypothesizing a different form of rational decision making, the "minimax regret" criterion, makes voting rational under rather general conditions. The several contributions arrayed here carry the debate further. Strom reviews the extant arguments and proposes a revised utility-maximization hypothesis. The works by Stephens, Mayer and Good, Beck, and Tullock take up various problems with the minimax regret criterion, including especially the assumption that the voter has no idea about the likelihood of different outcomes for the election. Ferejohn and Fiorina respond to each author and present presidential election data that support the minimax regret hypothesis more than the utility maximization hypothesis. Finally, Goodin and Roberts suggest that because egoistical preferences are weak in the voting decision, voters may be following their usually less visible ethical preferences instead.

On the Apparent Paradox of Participation: A New Proposal.

By GERALD S. STROM, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle.

The Paradox of Not Voting: Comment.

By STEPHEN V. STEPHENS, Baltimore, Maryland.

Is Minimax Regret Applicable to Voting Decisions?

By LAWRENCE S. MAYER, Research Statistician and Lecturer in Statistics, Princeton University, and I. J. GOOD, University Professor of Statistics, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and University.

The Paradox of Minimax Regret.

By NATHANIEL BECK, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Washington State University.

The Paradox of Not Voting for Oneself.

By GORDON TULLOCK, University Professor of Political Science, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

Closeness Counts Only in Horseshoes and Dancing.

By JOHN A. FEREJOHN, Associate Professor of Political Science, and MORRIS P. FIORINA, Associate Professor of Political Science, California Institute of Technology.

The Ethical Voter.

By R. E. GOODIN, Assistant Professor of Government and Politics, University of Maryland, and K. W. S. ROBERTS, Research Fellow in Economics, St. John's College, Oxford University.

929 The Paradox of Vote Trading: Effects of Decision Rules and Voting Strategies on Externalities. In an article, "The Paradox of Vote Trading," (*APSR* 67 [December, 1973]) William H. Riker and Steven J. Brams have argued that systematic logrolling among all members of a legislature produces a paradox: While each trade is individually rational, the effects of externalities offset the potential gains from exchanging votes and each voter finds himself worse off than he would have been by voting sincerely. We extend the results of Riker and Brams to a unanimity decision rule and find that a paradox of vote trading holds for that decision rule as well as for simple majority rule. Under a unanimity rule, however, trades which would be collectively rational (i.e., which would produce a Pareto optimal result) are not individually rational; the non-trader is the beneficiary under such a decision rule. Finally, we pose the question Riker and Brams suggested: Is the paradox of vote trading inescapable? Except under very restrictive conditions, we find that it is. However, given certain assumptions about the distributions of individual utilities, we present proofs of the necessary and sufficient conditions for the Pareto optimality of vote trading and argue that in actual legislative situations, when vote trading is Pareto optimal, learning behavior should serve to extricate the members from the paradox of vote trading.

By ERIC M. USLANER, Assistant Professor of Government and Politics, University of Maryland, and J. RONNIE DAVIS, Professor of Economics, University of Florida.

943 The Instability of Minimum Winning Coalitions. This paper examines William Riker's thesis that only minimum winning coalitions form in n-person zero-sum symmetric games. It demonstrates that Riker's conclusion is false by identifying the conditions under which larger than minimum winning coalitions can form. Since these conditions are quite general it indicates that Riker's conclusion is valid only for a highly restricted class of games. This class of games is identified as those in which players not in a minimum winning coalition have no incentive to form any coalitions among themselves. These games are characterized

as games inessential over coalitions of losers. Only in these games can minimum winning coalitions be expected to form exclusively. In all other games, larger than minimum winning coalitions are possible.

By NORMAN FROHLICH, Associate Professor of Government, University of Texas, Austin.

- 947 Evaluation of a Presidential Election Game.** The Shapley value of the presidential election "game" is approximated by the method of multilinear extensions; the likely error in this approximation is computed by studying the error in the electoral college game. A comparison with the Banzhaf ratio is also given. The several biases inherent in the electoral system are analyzed from a mathematical point of view. It is shown that the system incorporates a strong bias in favor of the larger states, and a small bias in favor of the smallest states.

By GUILLERMO OWEN, Professor of Mathematical Sciences, Rice University.

- 954 Vote Trading and The Voting Paradox: A Proof of Logical Equivalence.** Riker and Brams have demonstrated the paradox of vote trading ("... that rational trades by all members [may] make everyone worse off"). In so doing the authors indicate the existence of an apparent disequilibrium when vote trading occurs. I extend this latter point and prove that the preference conditions required for vote trading are the same as those which produce the cyclical majority; the conditions for vote trading and the cyclical majority are logically equivalent. The conclusion briefly indicates the impact of this finding with respect to the work of a number of other authors and gives some idea of the restrictions which would be required to eliminate vote trading among rational legislators.

By DAVID H. KOEHLER, Associate Professor of Government, American University.

Comment. By PETER BERNHOLZ, Professor of Economics, Universität Basel, Switzerland.

Comment. By JOE OPPENHEIMER, Associate Professor of Government, University of Texas, Austin.

Rejoinder. By DAVID H. KOEHLER.

970 COMMUNICATIONS

From Jack A. Goldstone, Marshall Berman, Allan Bloom, Michael C. Stratford, Glenn Tinder

976 EDITORIAL COMMENT

979 BOOK REVIEWS AND ESSAYS

Crises and Sequences in Collective Theory Development. Since 1954, the Committee on Comparative Politics has provided leadership in the comparative field, and one of its central objectives has been to construct a theory of political development. The books in the series that were published in the 1960s lacked rigorous design, although they did provide data and low-level generalizations which could be used in the theory-building task. This essay focuses primarily on *Crises and Sequences in Political Development*, which is authored solely by Committee members and reports on the results of their theoretical work thus far. The Committee takes the "intuitive empirical generalization" approach to theory development—in contrast with systematic empirical generalization and the analytic-deductive procedure. It is unlikely, however, that the Committee's approach will lead to the formulation of a coherent set of interrelated propositions within which empirical phenomena can be explained. But the Committee's work is not atypical of the theoretical literature in political science, which reflects the reward structure of the discipline. The building of powerful theories will be facilitated when emphasis is placed on the development of clearly falsifiable propositions rather than on the development of loose conceptual frameworks.

By ROBERT T. HOLT, Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota, and JOHN E. TURNER, Regents Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota.

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