

SUMMARIES

Anthony Downs: Master of Many Models

by Ian Budge

Anthony Downs is unusual in having been active in economic and political research during the 1950s and 1960s, and then turning to real estate and urban planning for the rest of his career. He quitted political economy in spite of the great and enduring success of his first book, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957). A new Ms on the *Theory of Democracy* is currently circulating. This paper concentrates on the *Economic Theory*, starting from the fact that the book presents not one, but many theories of democracy even if they are all generally couched in economic terms. Some of these theories (or models) of party competition and voting have mutually contradicting predictions, such as parties sticking to the same policies to demonstrate reliability and responsibility, while in terms of the two-party spatial model they will converge in policy terms. The confusion is heightened when assumptions and conclusions from one model are grafted on to another in the text.

This paper expounds the argument of the *Economic Theory* systematically and sequentially, covering: *a*) the general non-spatial model of party competition; *b*) the effects of information shortage; *c*) party reliability and responsibility; *d*) the two party spatial model; *e*) the multi-party spatial model; *f*) further consequences of information shortage; *g*) problems of voting turnout.

Evidence from quantified election programmes is used to show that the models leading to limited party policy movement and non-convergence are the more realistic ones. The Appendix provides the full set of 22 assumptions necessary to derive Downs' proportions at the end of the *Economic Theory*. In spite of its defects the book laid down the agenda for mathematical political theory and empirical research over the last 50 years and has a fair claim to being the most influential single book written on politics in that period.

Samuel E. Finer: The Erudite Individualist

by Hans Daalder

S.E. Finer owed much to his older brother Herman Finer and his Oxford tutors who persuaded him to study both Politics and History. The paper traces his intellectual development including a short period of Marxism, a thorough reading of Pareto and an intensive dialogue with comparative politics scholars in the US. He criticized the black box model of systems theory as well as the evolutionary bias in comparative development studies. While his early work concerned Britain, his role in heading two departments of politics made him rethink a general political science curriculum. He pioneered the study of the lobby in his book *Anonymous Empire* (1958) and of the military in politics in *The Man on Horseback* (1962). Finer was a gifted teacher. He consolidated his courses in *Comparative Government* (1970). He became highly critical of prevailing beliefs about the British Political system, e.g. *Adversary Politics and Electoral Reform* (1975) and *The Changing British Party System 1945-1979* (1980). In his retirement, while in dubious health, he wrote *A History of Government from Earliest Times*, published posthumously in three volumes (1997), leaving valuable testimonies about methods and concepts. Only a true erudite, fascinated by all aspects of government, could have engaged in such a venture. Finer was a teacher *sans pareil* of both the professional and the layman interested in the ubiquity of government and politics.

The Political Theory of the System Analysis: David Easton

by Dieter Fuchs and Hans-Dieter Klingemann

David Easton's effort in theory construction was motivated mainly by his critical assessment of historicism and empiricism – approaches which have dominated political science in the Fifties. This criticism which, at that time, he shared with other political scientists finally resulted in what came to be known as «behavioralism». Behavioralism stressed theory-led empiricism as well as empirically grounded theory formation. Easton himself developed a general theory of politics which was always related to and helpful for empirical research. He called this general theory also a framework which was suited to integrate partial theories of politics. The basic concept of Easton's systems analysis of politics is the political system. The political system is understood as a system of interaction through which authoritative allocations are made and implemented for the society. The point of reference of Easton's theory is the idea of the persistence of the political system. It is assumed that political systems want to pers-

ist. The issue of persistence can be regarded as the most inclusive and fundamental goal for any political system. In the context of his systems theory of political life David Easton developed concepts which in a very short time have become part and parcel of contemporary political science. They include concepts such as specific and diffuse support as well as demands which designate fundamental «input» categories of the political process and categories such as political community, political regime and political authorities which characterize the basic objects of a political system. There is no doubt about his monumental impact on the theoretical and empirical development of contemporary political science.

Seymour Martin Lipset: Modernization, Social Structure and Political Culture as Factors in Democratic Development

by Ursula Hoffmann-Lange

Seymour Martin Lipset is one of the most productive and innovative social scientists of the 20th century. Some of his many books and articles have become classic texts, in particular his seminal book *Political Man* (1960). Despite the broad scope of his work, Lipset's writings have one single focus, i.e. the study of democracy. He has studied the social and political factors conducive to democratization and the stability of democracy, taking into account social structural conditions, the role of intermediary organizations, political culture, electoral behavior and political leadership. His work is theoretical as well as empirical, and his perspective has always been a comparative one, referring to practically all major world regions. Lipset was the first to put forward the idea that socioeconomic development is an important precondition for democratic development and that economic success may in turn contribute to legitimize newly democratized regimes. He has also emphasized the central importance of a competitive party system for sustaining (intra-organizational) democracy. As an American, Lipset has finally always been intrigued by the exceptional character of American democracy which he traces back to a historically unique combination of favorable circumstances at the time of its foundation, i.e. of social structural conditions (high levels of social mobility), a specific value system (individualism, equality of opportunities, religiosity) and the availability of political leaders intent on creating a republic based on popular sovereignty that was without precedent at the time.

The Voice of Sydney Verba

by Keiko Ono and Clyde Wilcox

Sidney Verba claims he largely owes his long and distinguished career in political science to a series of accidental events in his young days. Verba did not set out to follow a carefully planned career path. One project led to another: this is how he describes his involvement as a key player in the behavioral revolution in the fields of both comparative and American politics. However, upon close inspection, several common threads emerge that have guided Verba throughout his professional life: concerns about equality, citizenship, the nature of the relationship of individuals to the state, democracy, and how it leads to people's attitudes. The normative concern is evident and deeply felt, although this does not prevent Verba from objectively weighing the evidence. His works are significant not only for the substantive importance of the questions addressed but also for the methodological innovations. What truly sets Verba apart from his generation of equally accomplished scholars may be that at age 70 he continues to be actively engaged in research based on data and to produce books and journal articles with substantive research findings. After receiving numerous awards for his lifetime contributions to the discipline, Verba remains an active, committed political scientist.

An Intellectual and Personal Biography of the «Maestro-compositore» Juan J. Linz

by Philippe C. Schmitter

This article explores Juan Linz's contributions to political science from the perspective of his analysis of the dynamics of contemporary political regimes. Building upon a profound knowledge of the case of Spain, Linz has first offered the most important definition and analysis of an authoritarian regime. Then, he has moved to articulate one of the most significant comparative interpretations of the breakdown of democratic regimes stressing that most often the opponents of democracy come from within its own ranks. The next step has been the analysis of the different transition paths from authoritarian rule, the identification of the conditions leading to the birth of new democracies and the suggestion of the steps to be made in order to consolidate a viable democratic regime. Always keeping in mind the Spanish case, Linz has in fact become a true historical comparativist and has illuminated some of the most important problems faced by contemporary political systems. This article ends by spelling out five principles that have guided Linz intellectual enterprise, that remain at the heart

of his explanations and that can be fruitfully applied by other scholars. The rich, dense, abundantly footnoted, thoroughly researched essays by Juan Linz are a constant source of inspiration, hypotheses to be followed, ideas, knowledge.