

Articles and Essays by Richard K. Dagger, Peter J. Steinberger, John H. Aldrich and Richard D. McKelvey, M. Kent Jennings and Gregory B. Markus, Bryan D. Jones, Saadia Greenberg, Clifford Kaufman, and Joseph Drew, John A. Ferejohn, Morris P. Fiorina, James H. Qualls, James David Barber, John V. Gillespie, Dina A. Zinnes, Philip A. Schrodt, G.S. Tahim, and R. Michael Rubison, Charles D. Cary, John M. Bacheller, David Adamany, Edward R. Tufte

Paul E. Meehl

The Selfish Voter Paradox and the
Thrown-Away Vote Argument

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Thought Reform and Cultural Revolution

James MacGregor Burns

APSA Presidential Address: Wellsprings of
Political Leadership

Published Quarterly by

The American Political Science Association

Vol. LXXI

March 1977

No. 1

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The American Political Science Review

Vol. LXXI

March 1977

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Office of publication: Curtis Reed Plaza, Menasha, Wisconsin.

Foreign Agent: P. S. King and Staples, Ltd., Great Smith Street, Westminster, London.

Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices.

Printed in the United States of America by George Banta Company, Inc., Menasha, Wisconsin.

Composition by TypoGraphics, Columbia, Maryland.

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ARTICLES

- 11 The Selfish Voter Paradox and the Thrown-Away Vote Argument.** The probability that an individual's voting in a presidential election will determine the outcome being negligible, it is argued that participation is irrational if predicated on principles that are either egocentric or act-prospective. Voter participation, if rational, must rely on some over-arching principle that is (a) Sociotropic, (b) Axionomic, (c) Collective-distributive, and (d) Neutrofactual. A distinctively *ethical* component must be involved, such that all purely "economic," "cost-benefit" models postulating selfish voter rationality are incoherent. The notion of "helping" to elect one's candidate is criticized and rejected unless formulated in a special way. An important pragmatic consequence of the analysis is that the idea (relied on by the two major parties) of "wasting one's vote" on a third party candidate is shown to be invalid or of more limited application than generally assumed. If a sizeable minority (e.g., college students) were educated to reject that argument, politics might be profoundly affected.

By PAUL E. MEEHL, Regents' Professor of Psychology, University of Minnesota Medical School.

- 31 From Confusion to Confusion: Issues and the American Voter (1956–1972).** The authors of the *American Voter* concluded that the distribution of opinions on current issues was not very important for explaining the vote of the large bulk of the American electorate. Recent studies purporting to demonstrate the increasing prevalence of issue voting in the 1960s and early 1970s fail to present evidence to satisfy the criteria for issue voting upon which the conclusions of the *American Voter* were based. Worse yet, the evidence of these newer studies fails to satisfy even the studies' own alternative criteria for issue voting. The apparent "increases" in issue voting prove to be largely artifacts of the measures employed or misinterpretations of the evidence adduced. When it comes to translating his issue preferences into voting choices, the average voter remains as confused as ever.

By MICHAEL MARGOLIS, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh.

- 44 Presidential Popularity and Negative Voting: An Alternative Explanation of the Midterm Congressional Decline of the President's Party.** Midterm congressional elections have been generally viewed as relatively sterile affairs marked by reduced turnout, party voting, and the play of politically idiosyncratic forces such as friends-and-neighbors voting. The usual reduction in the number of seats controlled by the President's party, according to the "surge and decline" thesis, simply reflects the departure of short-term forces which presumably benefited the president's party two years earlier. In this study an alternative thesis is proposed which considers midterm election outcomes within the context of the current political environment. Evaluations of the President's performance are found to be directly associated with congressional preferences over a series of midterm elections from 1946 through 1966. Moreover, controlling for party identification, persons who disapprove of the President's performance were generally more likely to vote and to cast their ballot against the President's party than were his admirers to support it. This "negative voting" bias helps to explain why the Democratic and Republican parties have performed more poorly in those midterm elections during which they occupy the White House.

By SAMUEL KERNELL, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota.

- 67 Thought Reform and Cultural Revolution: An Analysis of the Symbolism of Chinese Polemics.** Although the major purpose of the Cultural Revolution was to transform Chinese political culture, the way in which this transformation took place has remained unclear. This paper attempts to understand cultural transformation as a process of interaction within a semiological system, consisting of a network of communicators and a lexicon of political symbols. The pragmatic aspect of this process is the outcome of an interplay among the intentions of the elites, the masses, and the target of criticism: political circumstances during the Cultural Revolution were more benign to the cathartic and hortatory intentions of the masses and elites than to the expiatory needs of the target. The syntactic aspect of the system concerns the relationship among symbols: These were found to form a dichotomous structure divided by a taboo barrier, which elicited strong but ambivalent desires to achieve a revolutionary breakthrough. The semantic aspect of the symbolism refers to problematic dimensions of experience in Chinese political culture—the psychological repression imposed by a system of rigid social censorship, the political discrimination practiced against certain social categories, the persistence of differences in income or educational achievement in a socialist system—and suggests that these "contradictions" may be resolved by bold frontal assault.

The symbolism of Cultural Revolution polemics has now become part of Chinese political culture. Its impact seems to have been to inhibit social differentiation (particularly hierarchical), to encourage greater mass participation, and to foster more frequent and irreconcilable conflict among elites.

By LOWELL DITTMER, Assistant Professor of Political Science, State University of New York at Buffalo.

- 86 What Is Political Obligation?** Political philosophers have long been exercised by the problem of political obligation. Many have tried to solve it, and others, more recently, have dismissed it as a pseudo-problem

which cannot be solved and need not be posed. This essay is an attempt to clarify the problem of political obligation and to see why it is a problem. My argument, briefly, is that the traditional understanding of the problem is misleading because it fails to distinguish questions of obedience from questions of obligation. When it is properly stated the problem can be solved—in principle, at least—and I try to show what form a solution will take.

By RICHARD K. DAGGER, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Arizona State University.

- 95 **Hegel as a Social Scientist.** The purposes of this essay are (1) to identify Hegel's role in the propagation of certain philosophic principles essential to the development of an interpretive social science, (2) to demonstrate in what ways Hegel himself can be understood as an early sociologist, and (3) to indicate those aspects of Hegel's thought that might be of greatest use to contemporary philosophers of social and political inquiry.

The first part of the exposition relies on the Preface to *The Phenomenology of Mind* in order to outline Hegel's epistemological and methodological recommendations. The second part demonstrates the practical meaning of these recommendations by looking at the analysis of ancient Greece found in the *Philosophy of History*. It is concluded that this analysis is indeed a social scientific analysis and, moreover, is suggestive of subsequent work by such interpretivists as Weber, Schutz, and G. H. Mead.

By PETER J. STEINBERGER, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Denver.

- 111 **A Method of Scaling with Applications to the 1968 and 1972 Presidential Elections.** A method of scaling is proposed to estimate the positions of candidates and voters on a common issue dimension. The scaling model assumes that candidates occupy true positions in an issue space and that individual level perceptual data arise from this in a two step process. The first step consists of a stochastic component, satisfying the standard Gauss Markov assumptions, which reflects true misperception. The second step consists of a linear distortion which is introduced in the survey situation. Estimates of the parameters of the model are developed by applying the least squares criterion, and distributions of the estimates are investigated by Monte Carlo methods.

The scaling technique is applied to the seven-point issue scales asked in the 1968 and 1972 SRC survey. The resulting ideal point estimates are related to candidate positions in 1968 to test a simple Downsian voting model.

By JOHN H. ALDRICH, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Michigan State University, and RICHARD D. MCKELVEY, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Carnegie-Mellon University.

- 131 **The Effect of Military Service on Political Attitudes: A Panel Study.** Institutional experiences at the young adult stage may act to alter or reinforce pre-existing political attitudes. This paper focuses on military service during the Vietnam War as one such institutional experience. Data are drawn from a two-wave, 1965–1973 national panel study of 674 males. Approximately half of the panel saw active duty. Comparisons are made between civilian and military respondents and, among military respondents, according to the duration, recency, intensity, affective qualities, and institutional salience of the military experience. Bivariate and regression techniques are used in the analyses.

Veterans are somewhat less cynical and have broader attention frames than civilians. Civic tolerance and feelings toward minority groups are also affected by aspects of military service. War-related opinions vary between civilians and veterans and across categories of veterans. These effects remain when other relevant factors, including prior attitudes, are taken into account. The results underscore the potential significance of adult experiences in the socialization process.

By M. KENT JENNINGS, Professor of Political Science and Program Director, Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan, and GREGORY B. MARKUS, Assistant Professor of Political Science and Assistant Research Scientist, Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan.

- 148 **Bureaucratic Response to Citizen-Initiated Contacts: Environmental Enforcement in Detroit.** When citizens contact local government agencies, they generally attempt to influence service delivery decisions made by these bureaucracies. This paper examines the nature of citizen contacts, and the results of such contacts, with respect to the enforcement of environmental ordinances in Detroit, Michigan. We first examine the mechanisms responsible for the generation of citizen contacts. Assuming relations among citizen awareness, service need, and social well-being, we derive a downward-opening parabola as appropriate for describing the relationship between social well-being and propensity to contact a service agency. Using data on citizen contacts from City of Detroit agencies merged with census data, we find the expected relationship in evidence. We find that the Environmental Enforcement Division generally responds to citizen contacts, but the quality of the response varies with social characteristics of neighborhoods.

By BRYAN D. JONES, Associate Professor of Political Science, Wayne State University; SAADIA R. GREENBERG, Social Science Analyst, Administration on Aging, Washington, D.C.; CLIFFORD KAUF-

- 166 On the Decline of Competition in Congressional Elections.** Several authors have observed a decline in the number of competitive congressional districts during the past two decades. Various explanations have been proposed for this change. Among these are theories attributing major causal significance to changing methods of drawing district boundaries, and increasing control of campaign resources by incumbents. These theories are examined critically and arguments are advanced for their rejection. The principal cause of the decline of competition for congressional seats appears to rest on a change in individual voting behavior.

By JOHN A. FERREJOHN, Associate Professor of Political Science, California Institute of Technology.

- 177 The Case of the Vanishing Marginals: The Bureaucracy Did It.** Several authors have addressed the postwar decline of electoral competition on the congressional level. Some have attributed the decline to institutional change such as the redistrictings of the 1960s. Others have remarked on the growing use of the growing resources of incumbency. Still others, like Ferejohn, have focused on behavioral change in the larger electoral system, such as the erosion of party identification. In this comment I suggest that while electoral behavior has changed, the change is at least in part a response to changing congressional behavior, which in turn is a reaction to institutional change for which Congress is partly responsible. Specifically, over time congressmen have placed increasing emphasis on district services: more and more they operate as and are perceived as ombudsmen rather than as national policymakers. This behavioral change is an understandable response to an expanding federal role and an increasing involvement of the federal bureaucracy in the lives of ordinary citizens, an institutional change Congress has helped to bring about.

By MORRIS P. FIORINA, Associate Professor of Political Science, California Institute of Technology.

- 182 Barber's Typological Analysis of Political Leaders.** James Barber's predictive theory of presidential behavior has evoked varied reactions, which have ranged from praise for its sensitization of readers to the fact that personality affects presidential performance, to criticisms for the emphasis that the theory places on personality, to questions about the validity of the theory. This article addresses itself to the criticisms and the questions.

Concerning the questions, it shows, first, that in analyzing presidents, Barber assumes the validity of "character"—the core construct of the theory. It shows, second, that Barber's earlier research on Connecticut legislators, from which "character" derives, does not empirically establish the construct.

Concerning the criticisms, the article isolates a possible origin of the psychological reductionism evident in Barber's explanations of presidential performance. The article identifies a similar reductionism in Barber's legislative research and attributes this reductionism to a fallacious extra-empirical argument.

By JAMES H. QUALLS, Ph.D. Candidate in Political Science, The Johns Hopkins University.

Comment. By JAMES DAVID BARBER, Professor of Political Science, Duke University.

- 226 An Optimal Control Model of Arms Races.** Lewis Frye Richardson's simple differential equations model of armaments races has been long criticized for its lack of incorporation of the goals of nations. Using the mathematics of optimal control theory, the authors formulate a model which incorporates national goals into an "arms balance" objective function. The goals used are based on the traditional concerns in the balance-of-power literature. From an objective function together with the Richardson model an optimal armaments policy is derived. The United States-Soviet, NATO-WTO, and Arab-Israeli arms races are used as empirical examples, and the parameters in the model are estimated by means of functional minimization techniques. The optimal control model is further examined for its equilibrium and stability properties. The equilibrium and stability conditions are assessed with respect to the empirical examples. The findings are that while the United States and the Soviet Union in direct confrontation pursue strategies that lead to a lack of equilibrium and stability, when taken as part of NATO and WTO, the major powers and their alliance partners do pursue stable and equilibrium strategies. The Israeli policy is found to lead to equilibrium and stability while the Arab policy does not.

By JOHN V. GILLESPIE, Associate Professor of Political Science, Indiana University; DINA A. ZINNES, Professor of Political Science, Indiana University; PHILIP A. SCHRODT, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Northwestern University; G. S. TAHIM, Research Associate in International Policy Studies, Indiana University; and R. MICHAEL RUBISON, Assistant Professor of Statistics, Kansas State University.

- 245 A Technique of Computer Content Analysis of Transliterated Russian Language Textual Materials: A Research Note.** The purpose of this note is to describe a technique of computer content analysis of transliterated Russian language textual materials and to illustrate the use of the technique with two examples of my research on the political socialization of Soviet schoolchildren.

By CHARLES D. CARY, Stockton, California.

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- 252 Lobbyists and the Legislative Process: The Impact of Environmental Constraints.** In this study of lobbyists' techniques and perceptions of the legislative process, the impact of several aspects of the legislative environment is examined, including group competition and the use of issues by candidates in presidential campaigns. Data from a sample of lobbyists indicates that nonconflictual issues are treated differently by lobbyists and the Congress from issues involving group conflict. Similarly, issues used in presidential campaigns are treated differently from those developed outside them. Finally, group size is shown to be a further influence on lobbyists' techniques in dealing with Congress.

By JOHN M. BACHELLER, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Kirkland College.

APSA Presidential Address

265 Introduction

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

- 266 Wellsprings of Political Leadership.** To develop a general theory of leadership we must locate the function of political leadership in a theory of historical causation. One may begin by identifying sources of leadership in the wants and needs, aspirations and expectations, of humankind. In helping to gratify these "motive-bases," leaders move followers "up" the hierarchy of needs and other motivations and thus create new social configurations in which leaders act. As persons—especially children—move "up" through stages of morality, they also create structures of values that both empower and constrain would-be leaders. Leadership over human beings is exercised when would-be leaders, possessing certain motives of their own, mobilize their own psychological, institutional, political, and other resources relevant to potential followers' motive bases in such a way as to satisfy the motives of both leaders and followers. The test of leadership is the achievement of goals of both leaders and followers in a context of open conflict over ends and means, with leaders and followers mutually and freely defining their values and purposes.

By JAMES MACGREGOR BURNS, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government, Williams College.

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By DAVID ADAMANY, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

- 305 Political Statistics for the United States: Observations on Some Major Data Sources.** Thirteen major data sources for the study of American politics are examined with regard to their conceptual orientation, error structure, and inferential utility. A great deal of ephemera and measurement without theory is discovered. Few of the documents contain any serious discussion of error structure, although some do report "standard errors" based on naive sampling models. In addition to suggestions for improving the compilation of political statistics, recommendations for a basic minimum library of data sources for American politics are made: *The Almanac of American Politics* and the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, followed by the *Guide to U.S. Elections*.

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

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