MULTIDIMENSIONAL ASPECTS OF LOCAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS: A CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO PUBLIC POLICY

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THE LAST DECADE of political science research is characterized by the development of empirical theory.[1] The behavioral mood and its emphasis on observable phenomena was the immediate predecessor of current attempts to develop systematic statements of relationships. The normative philosopher was viewed as a consumer of the past, yet the early social science attempts to "explain" behavior were equally inadequate in their emphasis on raw empiricism. The current renaissance of political theory attempts to build bridges between divergent schools of thought[2] within a context of common concern for political action. In the process, conflicts over theory and methods, philosophy and empiricism, have seriously constrained our search for knowledge about local political systems.[3]

Research on local politics has progressed from a social engineering to a political analysis approach. Further developments await the meshing of approaches into theoretically meaningful, empirical statements about normative ends (public policy). The reformist approach to local politics emphasized "specialized reporting,"[4] and shortly before this decade we were able to categorize the literature on local systems into such classes as history, municipal reforms, law, government structure, politics (e.g., histories of partisan activity), management, and power.[5] A category emphasizing empirical-theoretical concern for systematic statements of relationships was impossible. In 1957, Daland described this stage as follows: "The technique is normally to describe existing governmental arrangements, measure them against a set of 'principles' or basic considerations, and prescribe a remedy which involves greater integration in one form or another."[6]

The need for comparative studies is now occupying political scientists,[7] and there is an increasing concern for theoretical constructs.[8] The goal is to maximize

[1] See Eugene J. Meehan, *The Theory and Method of Political Analysis* (Homewood: Dorsey Press, 1965); David Easton, ed., *Varieties of Political Theory* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966); and Ithiel de Sola Pool, ed., *Contemporary Political Science: Toward Empirical Theory* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967).

[2] William T. Bluhm, *Theories of the Political System* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965).

[3] Robert C. Wood, "The Contributions of Political Science to Urban Form," *Urban Life and Form*, Werner Z. Hirsh, ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p. 101.

[4] Laurence J. R. Herson, "The Lost World of Municipal Government," *American Political Science Review*, 51 (June 1957), 330–45.

[5] Robert J. Daland, "Political Science and the Study of Urbanism," *American Political Science Review*, 51 (June 1957), 491–509.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 492.

[7] Thomas R. Dye, ed., *Comparative Research in Community Politics* (Proceedings of the Conference on Comparative Research in Community Politics, University of Georgia, 1966).

[8] Daland, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

the use of available data within theoretical frameworks upon which there is some agreement.[9] While normative[10] and empirically related theories[11] have received some attention, the need for conceptions of phenomena becomes evident. For example, Gutman comments: "These conceptual orientations — or models — have the purpose not only of explaining the phenomena or problems about which research is conducted, but perhaps more important, the models constitute the major resources for defining the nature of the phenomena so that scholars and scientists can be relatively certain about what it is they are trying to observe and analyze."[12]

The following is a brief attempt to categorize theory building about local political systems. Subsequently, a conceptual scheme is presented which, within broad gauge methodology, attempts to ask questions[13] about the local system in the context of the ends of that system. There has been a common concern for those ends viewed as political action. The political philosopher focuses on the moral quality of action, and the empiricist attempts to explain that action.[14] These ends, actions, and outcomes have led to a renewed emphasis on public policy,[15] which can serve as a bridge-builder between normative and empirical approaches. An ultimate function of social science knowledge is the explanation of human and societal consequences of alternative goal choices.[16]

SYSTEMS AND FUNCTIONS

A systems theory approach to local politics focuses on predictable interactions between sets of local variables.[17] An interest in ecology represents environmental concerns, studies of groups suggest their role in aggregating and articulating demands and supports, decision-making studies attempt to explain the "black box," and public policy studies focus on outputs. However, there have been few instances where local activity is viewed as a total system of action for theoreti-

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[9] Henry J. Schmandt, "Toward Comparability in Metropolitan Research," Dye, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[10] See Morton White, "The Philosopher and the Metropolis in America," Hirsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–97; Anwar Syed, *The Political Theory of American Local Government* (New York: Random House, 1966); and Robert J. Pranger, "The Status of Democratic Values and Procedures in a Changing Urban America," *Western Political Quarterly*, 21 (September 1968), 496–507.

[11] For example, Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs?* (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1961); Oliver P. Williams and Charles R. Adrian, *Four Cities* (Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1963); Robert E. Agger, *et al.*, *The Rulers and the Ruled* (New York: Wiley, 1964); and Wallace S. Sayre and Herbert Kaufman, *Governing New York City* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1960).

[12] Robert Gutman, "Urban Studies as a Field of Research," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 6 (February 1963), 12.

[13] On the necessity of question-asking in this context, see James Q. Wilson, "Problems in the Study of Urban Politics," *Essays in Political Science*, Edward H. Buehrig, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana U. Press, 1966), p. 131.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

[15] James Q. Wilson, ed., *City Politics and Public Policy* (New York: John Wiley, 1968).

[16] See Gutman, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[17] For a systems approach to the interaction of interlocal variables, see Christen Jonassen, "Functional Unities in Eighty-eight Community Systems," *American Sociological Review*, 26 (June 1961), 399–407.

cal purposes. Such an approach has been advocated[18] and developed in several contexts.

Cities have been conceptualized as social systems composed of citizens inter-acting with an environment within a planning framework.[19] System maintenance is attained through coercive, bargaining, legal-bureaucratic and identification mechanisms. Wood suggests that the urban political process is a system of com-ponents: social mobilization, need expression, the effectuation of responses to needs, issue resolution (ordering of needs), issue validations (institutions and authority), externalized relations (e.g., suburbs), and outputs.[20] Although case studies usually take a "qualitative generalizations" approach[21] and lack unifying frameworks,[22] Mowitz and Wright[23] suggest a scheme of physical, biological, scientific, institutional, and value variables. Research has also been conducted on local correlates of expenditures treated as policy outputs.[24]

In general, there has been concern for the relationship between the environ-ment of the local system and its resultant impact on behavior.[25] Although it is infrequently couched in systems terminology, a body of ecologically related studies treats the relationship between the environment and elements of the system.[26] For example, government structure and demographic characteristics are related,[27] and community structure has been treated spatially in order to build theory from ecological concepts.[28] The idea of a metropolitan system with functionally inter-dependent economic and social subsystems developed coterminously with the use of social area analysis, a means for measuring total differentiation based on, e.g., social rank, life style, and ethnicity.[29]

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[18] Gutman, *op. cit.*; James L. Green, *Metropolitan Economic Republics* (Athens: U. of Geor-gia Press, 1965).

[19] John E. Bebout and Harry C. Bredmeier, "American Cities as Social Systems," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 29 (May 1963), 64–76.

[20] Wood, *op. cit.*

[21] Schmandt, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[22] For example, Edward C. Banfield, *Political Influence* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961); and Edward Sofen, *The Miami Metropolitan Experiment* (Bloomington: Indi-ana U. Press, 1963).

[23] Robert J. Mowitz and Deil S. Wright, *Profile of a Metropolis* (Detroit: Wayne State U. Press, 1962).

[24] Werner Z. Hirsch, "Expenditure Implications of Metropolitan Growth and Consolidation," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 41 (August 1959), 232–41; Seymour Sacks and William F. Hellmuth, *Financing Government in a Metropolitan Area* (New York: Free Press, 1961); and Louis H. Masotti and Don R. Bowen, "Communities and Budgets: The Sociology of Municipal Expenditures," *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 1 (December 1965), 39–58.

[25] Robert C. Wood, *1400 Governments* (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1961).

[26] For example, Scott Greer, "The Social Structure and Political Process of Suburbia." *American Sociological Review*, 25 (August 1960), 514–26; and Scott Greer and Peter Orleans, "The Mass Society and the Parapolitical Structure, *American Sociological Review*, 27 (October 1962), 634–46.

[27] John H. Kessel, "Governmental Structure and Political Environment: A Statistical Note About American Cities," *American Political Science Review*, 56 (September 1962), 615–20; and Leo F. Schnore and Robert Alford, "Forms of Government and Socio-economic Characteristics of Suburbs," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 8 (June 1963), 1–17.

[28] Amos Hawley, *Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure* (New York: Ronald Press, 1950).

[29] Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, *Social Area Analysis* (Stanford: Stanford U. Press, 1955); James M. Beshers, *Urban Social Structure* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962);

Interest in the outputs of the local system has led to greater concern for the functional aspects of public policy. Oliver Williams suggests functional categories of promoting economic growth, securing life's amenities, maintaining traditional services, and arbitrating conflicts, plus a typology of local governments based upon the unitary and the pluralistic conceptions of the public good.[30] System maintenance mechanisms are further defined as communication systems, utility systems, and central facilities.[31] Equality, liberty, and welfare have, in effect, been defined as system goals,[32] and functional fields include services, politics, and development.[33] Local system interrelationships have been compared on the basis of shared functional interests in the context of metropolitan systems theory,[34] and the political integration focus suggests an application of Parsonian functional analysis to local systems.[35] Harold Kaplan, in his study of metropolitan Toronto,[36] employs the system categories of non-political inputs (e.g., suburban exodus) and political inputs[37] (e.g., dissatisfaction with services) and relies upon functional analysis in order to view policy output as a means for maximizing internal support for the system and for coping with the environment.

Social science attempts to apply functional frameworks to local systems are presumably based upon explanatory goals. Nevertheless, its usefulness as a heuristic tool can assist us in viewing the local system comprehensively. For example, Schmandt comments that "research could attempt to establish empirically the functions of area-wide concern that must be performed to keep the system viable, and then compare by what structures and actions, through what interactions and processes, and with what results these are performed in different SMSA's."[38]

GAME THEORY

Gaming has been employed to some advantage in the study of international relations, and the methodological analogy enjoys some popularity at the local level. Despite the substantive implications and the local factors which seem to make them

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Walter C. Kaufman and Scott Greer, "Voting in a Metropolitan Community: An Application of Social Area Analysis," *Social Forces*, 38 (March 1960), 196–204; and Oliver P. Williams, *et al.*, *Suburban Differences and Metropolitan Policies* (Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1965).

[30] "Typology for Comparative Local Government," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 5 (May 1961), 150–64. Also see Williams and Adrian, *op. cit.*

[31] Oliver Williams, "A Framework for Metropolitan Political Analysis," in Dye, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–56.

[32] Arthur Maass, ed., *Area and Power: A Theory of Local Government* (New York: Free Press, 1959).

[33] Schmandt, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[34] Vincent Ostrom, Charles Tiebout, and Robert Warren, "The Organization of Government in Metropolitan Areas: A Theoretical Inquiry," *American Political Science Review*, 55 (December 1961), 831–42.

[35] Karl W. Deutsch, "Integration and the Social System: Implications of Functional Analysis," *The Integration of Political Communities*, Philip E. Jacob and James V. Toscano, eds. (New York: Lippincott, 1964), pp. 179–209.

[36] *Urban Political Systems: A Functional Analysis of Metro Toronto* (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1967).

[37] System responses to demands are discussed by Robert O. Warren, *Government in Metropolitan Regions: A Reappraisal of Fractionated Political Organization* (Davis: Institute of Government Affairs, University of California, 1966).

[38] Schmandt, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

irrelevant (e.g., common economy, fluid boundaries, and interdependent units[39]),
the analytic technique enables the identification of actors, their interactions, and
their spheres of influence. Both Long and Smith have applied game concepts to
distinguishing local factors. The former recognizes the existence of fluid system
boundaries, interactions within and between agencies and structures, undirected
cooperation within the local territorial system, and the functional consequences of
various games. For example, "coordination is largely ecological rather than a
matter of conscious rational contriving,"[40] and the social game "patterns the
culture of the territorial ecology and gives all the players a set of vaguely shared
aspirations and common goals."[41] The latter employs the concepts of players, rules,
payoffs, and strategies and discusses the role of professional, political, and business
games in the final allocation of values.[42]

Although differences between the international and local system have been
cited, a strong case has been made for organizational similarity.[43] Further devel-
opments have treated the local system as a diplomatic system.[44] Nevertheless, a
game-oriented approach free of the substantive and semantic difficulties inherent
in the international relations model has been applied — the economic market
model.[45] Governmental units are treated as private firms in competitive inter-
actions: "The market place theory of metropolitan relations treats each unit as a
competitor for customers, in effect, it consciously manipulates the market of loca-
tional choices by creating preferred locations for particular activities."[46] Some
localities, therefore, play the industrial park game.

COMMUNICATIONS THEORY

As an outgrowth of cybernetics, communications theory as a framework of
analysis emphasizes the functional necessity of message transmission in any system.
A basic characteristic of the system is the mapping of information flows within it
and the mapping of networks which are composed of these channels. Although its
application in political science has been confined largely to national and inter-
national behavior, information flows on the local level have been used as analytic
devices for the study of local integration[47] and growth.[48] The concept involves a

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[39] Williams, "A Framework for Metropolitan Political Analysis."
[40] Norton E. Long, "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games," *The Polity*, Charles
Press, ed. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1962), p. 145.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[42] Paul Smith, "The Games of Community Politics," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 9
(February 1965), 37–60.
[43] Victor Jones, "The Organization of a Metropolitan Region," *University of Pennsylvania
Law Review*, 105 (February 1957), 538–52.
[44] Matthew Holden, "The Governance of the Metropolis as a Problem in Diplomacy," *Journal
of Politics*, 26 (August 1964), 627–47.
[45] Charles Tiebout, "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures," *Journal of Political Economy*, 64
(October 1956), 416–24; Anthony Downs, "Metropolitan Growth and Future Political
Problems," *Land Economics*, 37 (November 1961), 311–20; and Robert Warren, "A
Municipal Services Market Model of Metropolitan Organization," *Journal of the
American Institute of Planners*, 30 (August 1964), 193–204.
[46] Williams, "A Framework for Metropolitan Political Analysis," p. 43.
[47] See Karl W. Deutsch, "Communications Theory and Political Integration," in Jacob and
Toscano, eds., *The Integration of Political Communities*, pp. 46–75.
[48] Richard L. Meier, *A Communications Theory of Urban Growth* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press,
1962).

self-controlling system maintained by transactions and social communication necessary for integration. Transaction flow analysis is used as an indicator of communication in the context of political cohesion. For example, a study of intergovernmental agreements in a metropolitan region "point to certain societal attributes as enhancing the stability of some types of functional integration."[49] The concept of "neighboring" has also been described in communications terms: Zoning is a devise [sic] for maximizing rewarding message exchanges and minimizing unpleasant ones through assuring spacial contiguity of compatible message generating units."[50]

Other Empirical Theory Approaches

Several approaches which form part of the body of empirical theory in political science remain to be considered: group theory, role theory, and empirical modifications of democratic theory. The earliest research on local political systems employed a group concept, implicitly or explicitly. This includes a large body of writing about political parties, organizations, and the urban machine.[51] Although many works have employed a number of group concepts,[52] partisan political structures have been the primary focus of group research.[53] Negro politics,[54] ethnic groups,[55] business,[56] and labor[57] have also received attention, yet the lack of any

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[49] James V. Toscano, "Transaction Flow Analysis in Metropolitan Areas: Some Preliminary Explorations," in Jacob and Toscano, eds., *The Integration of Political Communities*, p. 119.

[50] Williams, "A Framework for Metropolitan Political Analysis," p. 44.

[51] For example, Frank R. Kent, *The Great Game of Politics* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1935); Lincoln Steffens, *Autobiography* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1931); Charles W. Van Devander, *The Big Bosses* (New York: Howell, Soskin, 1944); Edward J. Flynn, *You're the Boss* (New York: Viking Press, 1947); and Roy V. Peel, *The Political Clubs of New York City* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935).

[52] For example, Robert H. Salisbury, "St. Louis Politics: Relationships Among Interests, Parties, and Governmental Structure," *Western Political Quarterly*, 14 (June 1960), 498–506; and William F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1943).

[53] For example, J. Leiper Freeman, "Local Party Systems: Theoretical Considerations and a Case Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology*, 64 (November 1958), 282–89; Charles R. Adrian, "A Typology for Non-Partisan Elections," *Western Political Quarterly*, 12 (June 1959), 449–58; David Gold and John R. Schmidhauser, "Urbanization and Party Competition: The Case of Iowa," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 4 (February 1960), 62–75; Peter H. Rossi and Phillips Cutright, "The Impact of Party Organization in an Industrial Setting," *Community Political Systems*, Morris Janowitz, ed. (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 81–116; Charles E. Gilbert and Christopher Clague, "Electoral Competition and Electoral Systems in Large Cities," *Journal of Politics*, 24 (May 1962), 232–49; and Fred I. Greenstein, "The Changing Pattern of Urban Party Politics," *Annals*, 353 (May 1964), 1–13.

[54] James Q. Wilson, *Negro Politics* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe. 1960); Oscar Glantz, "The Negro Voter in Northern Industrial Cities," *Western Political Quarterly*, 13 (December 1960), 991–1011; James Q. Wilson, "The Strategy of Protest: Problems of Negro Civic Action," *Journal of Conflict Resolution.* 5 (September 1961), 291–303; and Harry Holloway, "Negro Political Strategy: Coalition or Independent Power Politics," *Social Science Quarterly*, 49 (December 1968), 534–48.

[55] Elmer E. Cornwell, "Party Absorption and Ethnic Groups, *Social Forces*, 38 (March 1960), 205–10; and Raymond E. Wolfinger, "The Development and Persistence of Ethnic Voting," *American Political Science Review*, 59 (December 1965), 896–909.

[56] Peter H. Clark, *The Businessman as a Civic Leader* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1960); and William L. Warner and James C. Abegglen, *Big Business Leaders in America* (New York: Harper, 1955).

[57] Nicholas A Masters, "The Politics of Union Endorsement of Candidates in the Detroit Area," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 1 (August 1957), 136–50; Kenneth E.

"theory" or even reliable data on groups at the local level is evident. Sayre and Polsby comment that "political scientists are just beginning to learn their precise identity, their internal dynamics and government, their resources and incentives, their individual strategies, and their capacities in building and rebuilding alliances. Their political roles are still more a matter of legend than knowledge." [58]

Role analysis based upon sets of expectations in the local community has been utilized in the study of leadership patterns. [59] This frequently involves attempts to identify the ideological sets of leaders, their perception of responsibilities and authority, and their expectations with respect to general patterns of behavior. For example, Kammerer develops a typology of role behavior on the basis of decision control using adaptive and innovative categories. It is concluded that a city manager's role diversity is dependent upon the institutional-structural arrangements of government as well as political style in the community. [60]

The roots of empirical theory in political science are firmly implanted in an early discrepancy between empirical findings and normative democratic theory. Such discrepancies became evident in the voting studies literature which, for the most part, is undeveloped at the local level. The exception is a body of survey research conducted in local systems described later in a political culture dimension. Although community power studies focus narrowly on decision-makers and lack a unified means for empirical theory building, they can be treated as a local systems attempt to modify normative assumptions. Irrespective of methodological controversies, they have focused on the nature of the American ethic of grass roots democracy — an ethic which emphasizes participation, information, personal interaction, closeness to power, communal awareness of problems and issues, and a belief that the small community breeds democracy. However, power studies of both the elitist and pluralist schools cast serious doubts on normative assumptions: elections are no longer lively centers of public interest; issues are blurred; there is general apathy and repugnance to politics; [61] the individual lacks a voice in policy making and leaders are reluctant to open doors to participation; [62] politics is merely

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Gray and David Greenstone, "Organized Labor in City Politics," in Edward C. Banfield, ed., *Urban Government* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 368–73; and William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, *Industry, Labor and Community* (New York: Harper and Row, 1960).

[58] Wallace S. Sayre and Nelson W. Polsby, "American Political Science and the Study of Urbanization," in Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore, eds., *The Study of Urbanization* (New York: Wiley, 1965), p. 139.

[59] A. Alexander Fanelli, "A Typology of Community Leadership Based on Influence and Interaction Within the Leader Sub-System," *Social Forces*, 34 (May 1956), 332–38: Charles L. Mulford, "On Role Consensus About Community Leaders," *Sociological Inquiry*, 36 (Winter 1966), 15–18; Bryan T. Downes, "Municipal Social Rank and the Characteristics of Local Political Leaders," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 12 (November 1968), 514–38; and Betty H. Zisk, Heinz Eulau and Kenneth Prewitt, "City Councilmen and the Group Struggle: A Typology of Role Orientation," *Journal of Politics*, 7 (August 1965), 618–46.

[60] Gladys M. Kammerer, "Role Diversity of City Managers," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 8 (March 1964), 421–42.

[61] Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1929); and Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1937).

[62] Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1953).

personality oriented;[63] politics is not salient for the individual;[64] there is no large mass of citizens whose policy views prevail;[65] and private decisions (e.g., hospital fund) attract more participation than public decisions (e.g., housing authority).[66] It has been suggested that underlying assumptions need modification, and various prescriptions based upon empirical observations have been offered to achieve that modification.[67] A remaining question for consideration is the extent to which normative and empirical concepts can be combined to assist us in making generalizations about local systems with a focus on the action consequences of that system — public policy.

THE LOCAL POLITICAL SYSTEM AS A MULTIDIMENSIONAL CONCEPT

The isolation of analysis dimensions is a crucial step in the process of theory-building. The argument over the extent to which the dimensions discussed below are classificatory schemes, typologies, conceptual frameworks or models remains to be resolved (or non-resolved) by the philosophers of social science. Conceptualization involves classification,[68] and when conceptualizations and classifications are developed into models of the perceived world, theories begin to emerge.[69] Theory is symbolic construction,[70] and it involves systematic statements of relationships between observable phenomena.[71] Problems of recognition, definition, and classification abound in the social sciences,[72] yet even our meager attempts are necessary for theory and generalization. Although the semantics of the philosophy of science prevent a rich understanding of the meaning of theory, its instrumental nature has been recognized. Theory provides criteria of relevance,[73] it guides the search for data,[74] and when viewed instrumentally, it is a framework which gives meaning to the real world.[75] Although the study of local political systems has been criticized for weak linkages between the efforts of empirical research, on the one hand, and model building, on the other,[76] it has been particularly weak in the latter. The theoretically oriented literature discussed earlier is an exception and not the rule. This paper is not a research report; however, it attempts to bring empirical research

[63] Arthur Vidich and Joseph Bensman, *Small Town in Mass Society* (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1958).

[64] Dahl, *Who Governs?*

[65] Aaron Wildavsky, *Leadership in a Small Town* (Englewood Cliffs: Bedminister Press, 1964).

[66] Robert Presthus, *Men at the Top* (New York: Oxford U. Press, 1964).

[67] For example, Ritchie P. Lowry, *Who's Running This Town* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).

[68] Abraham Kaplan, *The Conduct of Inquiry* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964), p. 50.

[69] Robert Dubin, *Theory Building* (New York: Free Press, 1969), p. 28.

[70] Kaplan, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

[71] Meehan, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[72] Anatol Rapoport, "Various Meanings of 'Theory'," *American Political Science Review*, 52 (December 1958), 972–88.

[73] Arthur S. Goldberg, "Political Science as Science," in Nelson W. Polsby, Robert A. Dentler, and Paul A. Smith, eds., *Politics and Social Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963), pp. 26–36.

[74] Kaplan, p. 302.

[75] Fred M. Frohock, *The Nature of Political Inquiry* (Homewood: Dorsey Press, 1967), p. 56.

[76] Williams, "A Framework for Metropolitan Political Analysis," p. 41.

and model building together. The ultimate goal must represent a confluence of theoretical concern for the relationships between variables and taxonomical concern[77] for establishing categories for data collection. A dimensional approach can serve as a guide to the way in which events and processes are explained within classificatory schemes. The approach developed below attempts to be sufficiently overarching so as to bring together a comprehensive body of systematic statements that will lead to generalizations about local systems.

It has been suggested that political science shift its research focus in local political systems toward new objectives of analysis and new levels of analysis.[78] The suggested new objectives have focused on the primary functional consequence of local politics — public policy. The new levels must include the individual, the group, and the total system. Goal (policy) oriented comparative research is the end in mind. Despite difficulties in distinguishing policy theory from normative theory and futuristic theory, it is necessary that policy categories be developed and related to other phenomena if we are to proceed with scientific inquiry.[79] The detailed studies about particular structures, particular issues, and particular participants have not attempted to explain the totality of the policy-making system and its subsystems. The framework suggested here aims at bringing together the comprehensive functions of power contesting and policy making and theoretical concerns, which are both normative and empirical, to enable the parsimonious reduction of masses of data in order to base theory on observable phenomena.

BOUNDARY PERMEABILITY OF POLICY SUBSYSTEMS AND GROUPS

The first dimension is an involvement dimension[80] which yields a typology of local policy subsystems based upon empirical criteria and referred to normatively as democratic, pluralist, elitist, and corporatist. The categories are then conceptualized in N-dimensional space in the context of other selected dimensions. That is, types of policy are placed along other dimensions described later. Involvement deals with the character of policy subsystem boundaries and the nature of group boundaries, both of which can be either permeable or impermeable. A permeable policy boundary involves intergroup activity and an impermeable boundary, intragroup activity. A permeable group boundary is characterized by spontaneous involvement and an impermeable group boundary by manipulated involvement. The result is a four-fold typology of policy subsystems (Figure 1).

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[77] Examples of classification include Norton E. Long, "Aristotle and the Study of Local Government," *Social Research*, 24 (Autumn 1957), 287–310; Christen J. Jonassen and Sherwood H. Peres, *Interrelationships of Dimensions of Community Systems* (Columbus: Ohio State U. Press, 1960); Irving A. Fowler, "Local Industrial Structure, Economic Power and Community Welfare," *Social Problems*, 6 (Summer 1958), 41–51; Howard J. Nelson, "A Service Classification of American Cities," *Economic Geography*, 31 (July 1955), 180–210; and Charles S. Liebman, "Functional Differentiation and Political Characteristics of Suburbs," *American Journal of Sociology*, 46 (March 1961), 485–90.

[78] Wilson, *op. cit.*

[79] Lewis A. Froman, Jr., "An Analysis of Public Policies in Cities," *Journal of Politics*, 29 (February 1967), 108.

[80] I would like to acknowledge Daniel Rich of Pennsylvania State University for his thoughts on involvement in national policy. For a subtle distinction between number of groups and number of issue areas in this context, see Ralph B. Kimbrough, *Political Power and Educational Decision-Making* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964).

FIGURE 1. TYPOLOGY OF LOCAL POLICY SUBSYSTEMS
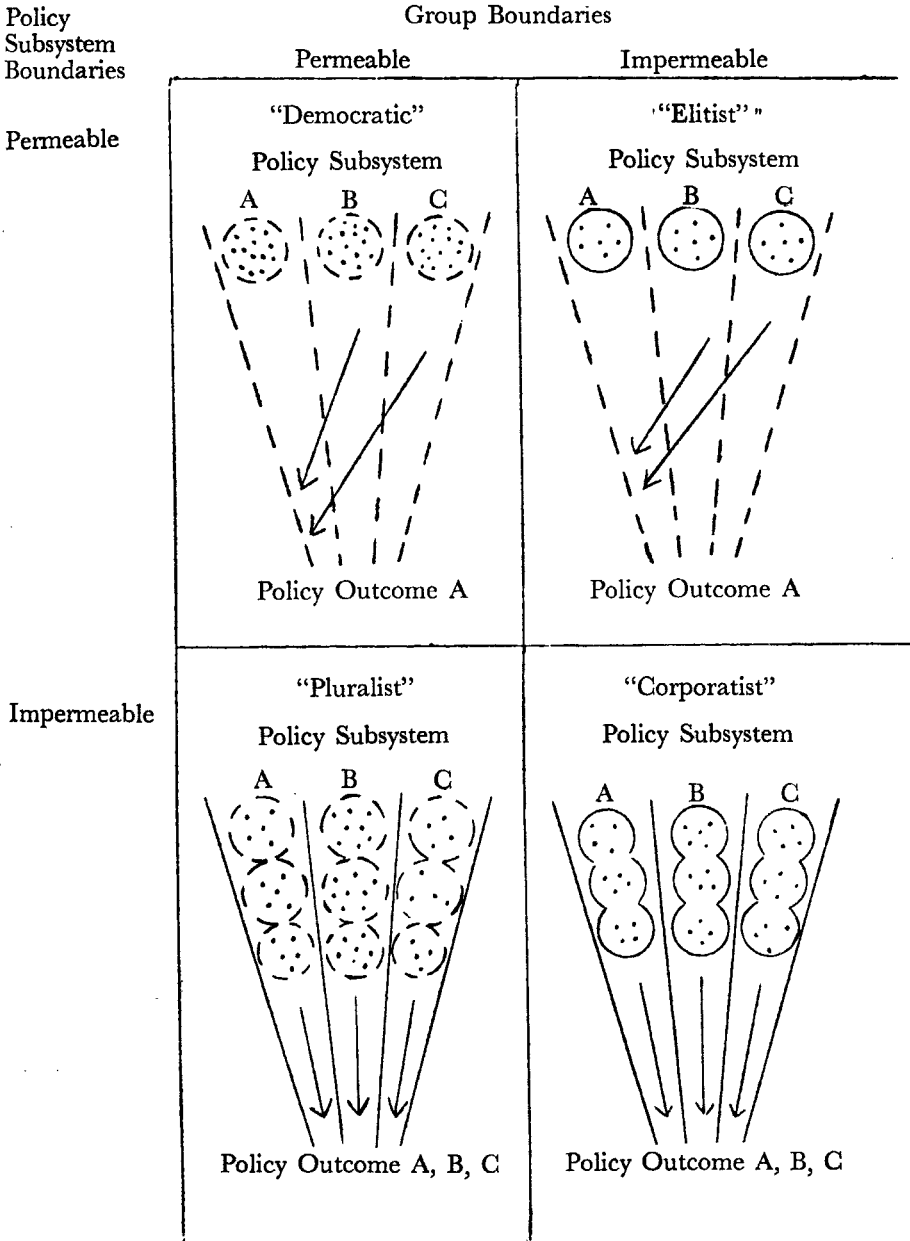
Let us call a policy subsystem which has permeable boundaries and permeable group boundaries democratic. This system is characterized by spontaneous involvement and intergroup activity. It includes the concepts of day-to-day involvement in the affairs of government, spontaneity, open access to all, and popular involvement on issues. Open groups of individuals make proposals, and through the process of political communication they are articulated to decision-makers, the issues are defined, and policy results. It assumes that the individual realizes his own being by interacting with other unique beings when political action is spontaneous. Involvement is based upon interest (versus manipulation) and groups whose usual sphere of interest is outside a particular policy area (or issue area) coalesce on one policy outcome. For example, individuals comprising the local P.T.A. move from the education policy subsystem into the health policy subsystem to interact (intergroup) with individuals comprising the local branch of the American Dental Association in order to effectuate fluoridation policy. Figure 1 depicts this kind of involvement where individuals are numerous data points in space and where both group and policy boundaries are permeable.

A pluralist type of policy subsystem emphasizes combinations and social factors: one's desires are fulfilled in social groups representing a multiplicity of private interests. The individual tends to be self-oriented, lacking the qualities of rationality, issue orientation, knowledgeability, and the psychological capacity to become involved. Although this pluralistic picture is familiar, it is characterized here by policy subsystem boundaries which are impermeable and group boundaries which are permeable. Groups are organized within one policy area and have difficulty transcending the subsystem boundaries; therefore, it is characterized by intragroup involvement. Nevertheless, group boundaries are sufficiently permeable to enable spontaneous and voluntary involvement. Leaders and followers emerge, there is a multiplicity of groups; and there are different groups, different salient issues, and different leaders. Local influentials tend to be specialized (a reflection of the larger society) in their participation in decisions and citizen involvement is structured through organized interest groups. The former frequently fall into two types of intragroups: local agencies and local committees, whereas the interest groups are clienteles. The boundary of each group is permeable, however, the impermeable policy subsystem boundaries characterize the activity as intragroup, i.e., within one policy area. Figure 1 depicts the nature of these boundaries and the type of involvement. An example would be interaction between a local education "agency" and/or committee with local education clientele. However, this action is intragroup because it occurs within one policy subsystem where specialized groups make one specific type of policy.

If the policy subsystem is closed to spontaneous involvement and if there is group involvement outside one policy area, it is characterized as elitist. There is a filtering toward leadership and the ruled are bound by social and institutional constraints, e.g., the group boundaries are impermeable and manipulated. Many citizens are not effectively involved and leadership interaction is based on a probability level considerably above chance. However, the policy subsystem boun-

daries are sufficiently permeable to enable intergroup activity. There is cooptation of influentials' support, but in different areas. The support of interests is attained through manipulation; however, groups outside one policy area are involved in making one policy decision. It is competitive[81] in that leaders engaged in one decision are likely to be engaged in other decision areas at different points in time. This quadrant of Figure 1 depicts fewer data points than the previous quadrants based on spontaneous involvement — it represents a tendency toward leadership, and the impermeable group boundaries represent manipulated involvement. The permeable policy boundaries indicate that groups transcend from one issue area to another in order to coalesce on one decision (leaders have generalized interests). For example, labor leaders become involved in educational policymaking.

When group boundaries are impermeable (support attained through manipulation) and when the policy subsystem boundaries are so impermeable as to prevent intergroup activity, the policy subsystem is classified as corporatist. Elitist leadership tendencies prevail and group involvement occurs within one policy area. There is less competition between groups (leaders) and interaction is premeditative. Cooptation of support occurs within a singular policy structure. Activity occurs within a closed triad of, e.g., agency, committee, and clientele leaders. Clientele groups become influential in policy.-making, and there is a subsequent allocation of public authority to private groups.[82] In doing so, the groups loose their separateness. Although their external boundaries are impermeable, the boundaries between the groups vanish through cooptation.[83] This type of policy subsystem is characterized by a committed elite, a structurally constrained organization, and a malleable public.[84] A local policy arena characteristic of impermeable boundaries may be evidenced in types of involvement in land use policy, e.g., between decision-making leaders, planning and zoning commissioners, and real estate clienteles.

SUBSTANTIVE POLICY TYPOLOGIES

Whereas the above scheme categorizes policy subsystems on the basis of boundary characteristics of those subsystems, there have been attempts to categorize policy functionally. Such attempts are not irrelevant — the involvement dimension can be subsumed under them. Further developments should enable us to answer the following question: What kinds of policy (functionally) are associated with particular patterns of involvement (based on group and subsystem boundaries) such as pluralism or corporatism?[85] Two recent classification attempts indicate

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[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 83ff.

[82] See Theodore Lowi, "The Public Philosophy: Interest Group Liberalism," *American Political Science Review*, 61 (March 1967), 5–24.

[83] See Todd Gitlin, "Local Pluralism as Theory and Ideology," in Charles McCoy and John Playford, eds., *Apolitical Politics* (New York: Crowell, 1968): "Cooptation and the distribution of 'values' to the nonpowerful, then, vitiate the pluralist model of power location." P. 135.

[84] For the concept of a corporate community see Syed, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[85] Are there some identifiable kinds of issues susceptible to determination by small elites in all communities? See Richard Simpson, "Comment by a Sociologist," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, 48 (December 1967), 287–91.

how this may be accomplished theoretically. Oliver Williams describes system maintenance mechanisms as communications subsystems (e.g., telephone, transportation), utility systems (e.g., water, waste), and central facilities (e.g., hospital, library).[86] Municipal functions are classified into life style policies and system maintenance, and policies are arrayed along this continuum. For example, land use regulation and education are most expressive of life styles, and recreation, police, and libraries less so. Health and welfare are at midpoint, with communications, utilities, and transportation on the system maintenance end of the continuum.

Other existing typologies can be used in this context:[87] style and position issues,[88] material and symbolic,[89] strategic and structural;[90] and distributive, regulatory, and redistributive.[91] Froman suggests that we view policies as either areal, affecting the total population with a single action (e.g., fluoridation, education) or segmental, affecting small proportions and different people at different times (e.g., urban renewal).[92] From these we may begin to inquire about patterns of relationships useful in theory construction. For example: Are areal policies most likely to be characterized by spontaneous involvement? What boundary attributes (involvement dimension) are associated with distributive versus regulatory policies? Are symbolic satisfactions more prevalent in democratic and pluralist policy subsystems? What are the characteristics of policy subsystems when the policies are substantively and functionally areal, and at the same time stylistic, symbolic, structural, and distributive?

A fundamental question remains: What are the correlates of the four-fold typology of boundary permeability? The above questions focus on the substantive policy correlates, but what are the environmental correlates?

The dimension discussed above leads to a typology of policy subsystems, but in turn, an encompassing view of the local policy system necessitates the alignment of subsystems along several dimensions. These dimensions can be conceptualized in N-dimensional space with particular types of policy subsystems intersecting other dimensions at different points or levels. These dimensions (Figure 2) are categorized in four groups: structural aspects of the community and the political system, leadership and decision characteristics, development dimensions, and the underlying political culture. It is suggested that the tools of modern social science are sophisticated enough to enable some degree of measurement along the dimensions. In fact, aspects of several dimensions have been operationalized in other contexts. The present goal is to refine concepts and categories in an exploratory fashion.

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[86] Willams, "A Framework for Metropolitan Political Analysis."

[87] For a summary, see Froman, *op. cit.*

[88] Bernard Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, *Voting* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1954).

[89] Murray Edelman, "Symbols and Political Quiescence," *American Political Science Review*, 54 (September 1960), 695–704.

[90] Samuel P. Huntington, *The Common Defense* (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1961).

[91] Theodore Lowi, "American Business, Public Policy, Case Studies and Political Theory," *World Politics*, 16 (July 1964), 677–715.

[92] Froman, *op. cit.*

FIGURE 2. DIMENSIONS OF THE LOCAL SYSTEM

Involvement Dimensions:
　　Group Boundaries (Permeable — Impermeable)
　　Policy Subsystem Boundaries (Permeable — Impermeable)

Community and Political Structure Dimensions:
　　Socioeconomic Diversity (Homogeneous — Heterogeneous)
　　Partisanship (Partisan — Nonpartisan)
　　Governmental Form (Strong Mayor — Weak Mayor)
　　Structural Centralization (Centralized — Decentralized)
　　Structural Institutionalization (Institutionalized — Non-Institutionalized)
　　Horizontal Communication (Cooperation — Conflict)
　　Vertical Communication (Cooperation — Conflict)

Leadership Dimensions:
　　Accessibility (Accessible — Non-Accessible)
　　Accountability (Accountable — Non-Accountable)
　　Legitimacy (Positional — Non-Positional)
　　Scope of Influence (General — Specialized)
　　Visibility (Overt — Covert)
　　Values (Consensual — Dissensual)

Development Dimensions:
　　Policy Development (Retarded — Advanced)
　　Decision Making Levels (Formative — Discordant-Cooperative)
　　Economic Development (Underdeveloped — Developed)
　　Social Development (Underdeveloped — Developed)
　　Cultural Development (Prescriptive-Proscriptive — Non-Prescriptive-Proscriptive)

Political Culture Dimensions:
　　Political Efficacy (High — Low)
　　Political Salience (High — Low)
　　Political Alienation (High — Low)
　　Tolerance for Non-Conformity (High — Low)
　　Participant-Subject Orientations (Submissive — Non-Submissive)
　　Awareness (High — Low)
　　Opposition-Support Intensity (Rigid — Adaptive)
　　Life Style (Rigid — Flexible)
　　Ideological Commitment (Consensual — Dissensual)
　　Alignment of Forces (Polarized — Fragmented)
　　Type of Conflict (Socialized — Privatized)
　　Pattern of Cleavage (Congruent — Non-Congruent)
　　Authority Patterns (Congruent — Non-Congruent)

STRUCTURAL ASPECTS OF THE COMMUNITY AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

Several efforts toward agenda-making in the study of local political systems suggest that we need data and theory on the relationship between structural characteristics and policy outcomes.[93] Advances on the state level have developed rapidly[94] because, as Dye contends, "distinctive types of political systems can be more easily identified and the conditions associated with model types can be

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[93] *Ibid.*, and Schmandt, *op. cit.*

[94] For example, Thomas R. Dye, "Malapportionment and Public Policy in the States," *Journal of Politics*, 27 (August 1965), 586–601; Richard I. Hofferbert, "The Relation Between Public Policy and Some Structural and Environmental Variables in the American States," *American Political Science Review*, 60 (March 1966), 73–82; Thomas R. Dye, "Governmental Structure, Urban Environment, and Education Policy," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 10 (August 1967), 353–80; and Ira Sharkansky, Economic and Political Correlates of State Government Expenditures," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 10 (May 1967), 173–92.

described."[95] There have also been attempts to relate these structural factors with independent demographic variables,[96] as well as attempts to relate substantive policies to underlying demographic and political factors at the local level.[97] Froman has suggested that "policy theory" is "an effort to find out what particular things are associated with what particular policies for the purpose of developing theoretically interesting propositions about differences in public policies and variables which are related to these differences."[98] Policy theory factors are related to the above scheme to the extent that they are independent variables for the substantive types of policy superimposed on the typology of policy subsystems based on involvement and boundary characteristics. Of immediate concern are the particular structural dimensions in the community and political system. Several dimensions are suggested, along which the typology of policy subsystems can be arrayed. Borrowing from Froman[99] and Williams,[100] a homogeneity-heterogeneity dimension can be identified. This represents a continuum of community characteristics ranging from low social and economic diversity to high diversity, composed of specialization dimensions involving status, wealth, religion, and land use specialization.[101] Further research efforts may suggest that corporatist and elitist policy subsystems are located toward the homogeneous end of the scale.

Other dimensions include partisanship factors, forms of government, institutionalized structure, centralization of structure, and horizontal and vertical cooperation between structures. As partisan rather than nonpartisan structures may lead to certain types of substantive policy (e.g., fluoridation[102]), they may also be related to types of policy subsystems (elitist?). As strong mayor (versus weak mayor) forms of government tend to encourage federal money but less participation by the poor,[103] they may also be associated with types of involvement. We know little about the impact of centralization or decentralization at the local level except what has been gleaned from reformist-oriented political scientists. Schmandt has commented that "we know little about the possible relationship of this variable to policy and to the goal achievements of metropolitan areas as a whole and of their subparts."[104] He also suggests means by which the concept can be operationalized.

[95] Dye, *Comparative Research in Community Politics*, p. 4.

[96] For example, Edgar Sherbenou, "Class, Participation and the Council-Manager Plan," *Public Administration Review*, 21 (Summer 1961), 131–35; Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, *City Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1963); Raymond E. Wolfinger and John O. Field, "Political Ethos and the Structure of City Government," *American Political Science Review*, 60 (June 1966), 306–26; Kessel, *op. cit.*, and Schnore and Alford, *op. cit.*

[97] For example, Amos H. Hawley, "Community Power and Urban Renewal Success," *American Journal of Sociology*, 68 (January 1963), 422–31; and Maurice Pinard, "Structural Attachments and Political Support in Urban Politics: The Case of Fluoridation Referendums," *American Journal of Sociology*, 68 (March 1963), 513–26.

[98] *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

[99] *Ibid.*

[100] "A Framework for Metropolitan Political Analysis."

[101] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[102] Donald B. Rosenthal and Robert L. Crain, "Structure and Values in Local Political Systems: The Case of Fluoridation Decisions," in Wilson, ed., *City Politics and Public Policy*, pp. 217–43.

[103] J. David Greenstone and Paul E. Peterson, "Reformers, Machines, and the War on Poverty," in Wilson, ed., *City Politics and Public Policy*, pp. 267–93.

[104] *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

To what extent will the rhetoric of decentralization be supported when we array the policy subsystem typology along the centralization-decentralization dimension? An institutionalized-noninstitutionalized structural dimension may suggest that structures developed over time around an issue tend to encourage corporatism and pluralism, whereas diffuse structures, responding to new demands, may encourage elitist and democratic policy subsystems. Further attempts may incorporate other electoral structures and such factors as size of district and type of ballot.[105]

A final set of structural dimensions are related to governmental boundaries and intergovernmental cooperation. Horizontal communication suggests an inter-municipal cooperation-conflict continuum,[106] and a vertical dimension delineates conflict between the locality and the state or federal government.[107] This suggests that local system boundaries range from permeable to impermeable in relationship to structures at the same level and at higher levels. Just as intermunicipal coopera-tion has been related to small social and economic distances between structures,[108] local structural permeability may be associated with pluralistic policy subsystems. Vertical impermeability, such as resistance to demands to integrate schools,[109] may indicate the elitist typology.

LEADERSHIP DIMENSIONS

A partial function of leadership roles is included in the four-fold typology. However, there are other aspects of leadership which are important for policy subsystems aside from the role of leadership in making group boundaries imper-meable. It is leadership that plays a crucial role in determining accessibility to policy-making and it is leadership which is held accountable. Both an accessibility to policy-making dimension and a leadership accountability dimension may locate elitist and corporatist subsystems along the low end of these dimensions.

Further dimensions, those of leadership structure, have been developed by Bonjean and Olson.[110] In the context of the typology developed here, there are two dimensions which represent the way in which community power studies are useful research tools. The first represents a legitimacy dimension between situa-tions where no decision-makers occupy formal structural positions and where all decision-makers occupy governmental positions. Elitist and corporatist forms of policy involvement are most likely to be located at the non-positional end of the continuum. The second is a scope of influence dimension between general and

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[105] See William A. Gamson, "Rancorous Conflict in Community Politics," *American Socio-logical Review*, 31 (February 1966), 71–80; and Wolfinger and Field, *op. cit.*

[106] For a discussion of negotiation, adjudication and compromise between political units within a polycentric system, see Ostrom, Tiebout, and Warren, *op. cit.*

[107] Robert H. Connery and Richard H. Leach, *The Federal Government and Metropolitan Areas* (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1960); Michael N. Danielson, *Federal-Metro-politan Politics and the Commuter Crisis* (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1965); and Roscoe Martin, *The Cities and the Federal System* (New York: Antherton Press, 1965).

[108] Thomas R. Dye, Charles S. Liebman, Oliver Williams, and Harold Herman, "Differen-tiation and Cooperation in a Metropolitan Area," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 7 (May 1963), 145–55.

[109] Robert L. Crain and James J. Vanecko, "Elite Influence in School Desegregation," in Wilson, ed., *City Politics and Public Policy*, pp. 127–49.

[110] Charles M. Bonjean and David M. Olson, "Community Leadership: Directions of Re-search," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 9 (December 1964), 278–300.

specialized influence, i.e., leadership influence is extensive or it relates only to formal position. The specialized end is most similar to intragroup involvement (e.g., corporatism).

The accessibility and accountability dimensions can be seen as functions of a visibility continuum which represents a range between points where decisions and decision-makers are not visible to the community at large (covert) and where all decisions and decision makers are visible (overt). It is hypothesized that high visibility, high accessibility, and high accountability are positively related to permeable group boundaries (democratic, pluralist).[111]

The distribution of leadership values is a dimension which has remained relatively undeveloped in research and theory. Empirically, we have begun to look at the "policy maps" of leaders[112] and theoretically we can identify a distribution of leadership values between a consensus on values and a divergence on values.[113] Is a value consensus coterminous with a cooptative-corporatist policy subsystem?

DEVELOPMENT DIMENSIONS

The concept of policy development has appeared recently, referring to "a set of policy outcomes that follow each other sequentially through time."[114] A dimension of policy development can be identified from the theory and research of Eulau and Eyestone. The dimension is based upon two situations: where annual outcomes are similar and occur along a continuum from retarded to advanced and where policies are sequential but dissimilar, they range from an emergent to a maturing phase. The dimension therefore includes five points: retarded, emergent, transitional, maturing, and advanced, based upon operational measures of amenities and planning expenditures. This may be a means by which we begin to ask questions about the relationship between group and policy subsystem boundaries on the one hand, and the sequential and similar nature of certain policy outcomes on the other. We may indeed find that the character of group boundaries (e.g., impermeable) is more important for policy development than the character of policy subsystem boundaries, e.g., sequential and similar policy outcomes may necessitate elitist or corporatist involvement.

Related to the above consideration is a question about what levels each of the policy "stages" or "phases" are in. That is, is policy on a formative level or has it attained the conflict-cooperation level? This dimension may suggest that formative levels are aligned closely with democratic or pluralist types of involvement.

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[111] Conceptual refinements are difficult along these dimensions; operationalization may remove difficulties with interrelationships. For a discussion of some measurement attempts, see Charles M. Bonjean, *Dimensions of Power Structure: Some Problems in Conceptualization and Measurement* (Austin: U. of Texas, n.d., mimeo).

[112] Heinz Eulau and Robert Eyestone, "Policy Maps of City Councils and Policy Outcomes: A Developmental Analysis," *American Political Science Review*, 62 (March 1968), 124–44.

[113] Bonjean, *op. cit.*; Lloyd M. Wells, "Social Values and Political Orientations of City Managers: A Survey Report," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, 48 (December 1967), 443–50.

[114] Eulau and Eyestone, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

Other development dimensions would locate the local system in terms of economic development and social development.[115] These can be based on such measures as private investment and familism. A cultural development dimension which characterizes the nature of subcultural norms ranges from high prescription and proscription to low prescription and proscription. We may find pluralist and democratic types of involvement in areas where subcultural norms are flexible. The question of cultural norms reminds us that research on local political systems has tended to avoid the individual and the political culture.

DIMENSIONS IN THE POLITICAL CULTURE

Group oriented phenomena such as party organization, pressure groups, and power structures have created a void about the relationship between the individual and the system.[116] The concept of political culture attempts to fill this theory and research gap. Although it has remained undeveloped at the local level,[117] the concept has been given meaning in other contexts.[118] It focuses on the distribution of attitudes toward the local system and the role of the individual in that system.[119] The paucity of survey research on this level has been cited,[120] yet Wilson comments that "the city is the best place to explore the kinds of attachments citizens have to the polity — their sense of obligation or duty, their conception of the public interest, and the extent to which (or the circumstances in which) their preferences in community programs are the product of rational self-interest or of learned cultural

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[115] Schmandt, *op. cit.*, p. 37, seems to suggest an economic development factor. Also see Phillips Cutright, "National Political Development: Measurement and Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, 28 (April 1963), 253–64.

[116] Wilson, "Problems in the Study of Urban Politics," p. 146.

[117] Tangential exceptions include Dahl, *Who Governs?*; Banfield, *Political Influence*; Scott Greer, *Metropolitics: A Study of Political Culture* (New York: Wiley, 1963); Banfield and Wilson, *City Politics*; and Robert L. Lineberry and Edmund Fowler, "Reformism and Public Policies in American Cities," *American Political Science Review*, 61 (September 1967), 701–17. For a focus on regional subcultures, see Daniel J. Elazar, *American Federalism: A View From the States* (New York: Crowell, 1966). For a consideration of community values, see Gladys Kammerer, *et al.*, *City Managers in Politics* (Gainesville: U. of Florida Press, 1962); and Philip E. Jacob, "The Influence of Values in Political Integration," in Jacob and Toscano, eds., *The Integration of Political Communities*, pp. 209–47. A body of local attitude studies is now developing: Henry J. Schmandt and William Standing, *Citizen Images of the Fox River Valley* (Madison: U. of Wisconsin, Survey Research Laboratory, 1962); Henry Teune, "The Learning of Integrative Habits," in Jacob and Toscano, eds., *The Integration of Political Communities*, pp. 247–83; Robert Putnam, "Political Attitudes and the Local Community," *American Political Science Review*, 60 (September 1966), 640–54; and Joseph Zikmund, "A Comparison of Political Attitude and Activity Patterns in Central Cities and Suburbs," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 31 (Spring 1967), 69–75.

[118] Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965); and Samuel C. Patterson, "The Political Cultures of the American States," *Journal of Politics*, 30 (February 1968), 187–210.

[119] See Henry S. Albinski and Lawrence K. Pettit, *European Political Processes* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1968), Chapter 1. James Q. Wilson, "Introduction: City Politics and Public Policy," in Wilson, ed., *City Politics and Public Policy*, p. 12, defines political culture as "a widely shared, patterned view of the proper scope and behavior of public institutions. . . ."

[120] For a review of current developments in local survey research, see Robert E. Agger, "Proposal for an International Study," in Dye, ed., *Comparative Research in Community Politics*, pp. 71–90; and Peter H. Rossi, "The NORC Permanent Community Sample," in Dye, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 109–34.

norms."[121] Attitudinal impact upon policy has remained undeveloped in theory and in research; nevertheless, the impact is crucial. For example, an assumed normative value on the part of voters, i.e., their rational response to efficiency and economy arguments, prevented public support for the policy subsystem involving questions of reorganization.[122] Survey studies have been conducted on reorganization and referenda,[123] yet we know little beyond these issues. Answers to traditional questions, such as the relationship between structural fragmentation and life styles,[124] are impossible without value information.

Political culture dimensions are described in two categories: the substantive aspects of attitudes toward the local system and the patterns of attitudinal expression. Attitudes toward objects in the local system can have substantive meaning along several dimensions: (1) Perception of efficacious involvement — along the continuum from high to low efficacy, we could expect despair on the part of citizens confronted by impermeable group boundaries. (2) The salience of politics — the extent to which "politics" is important to citizens should reflect boundary characteristics. (3) Alienation — the extent to which locals feel normless, meaningless, powerless, and estranged should be related to types of policy subsystems at one point in time.[125] (4) Tolerance for non-conformity[126] — traditional research suggests that tolerance for non-conformity will be intersected at the high end by the typology dimension representing democratic policy subsystems. (5) Participant-subject orientations[127] — attitudes toward authority ranging from submissive to nonsubmissive may characterize different substantive policy areas as well as those delineated by boundary attributes. (6) Awareness of public needs and problems — it may be that low awareness is most characteristic of corporatist systems. Wood suggests hypothetically that "the great bulk of the urban population neither is conscious of its public needs nor anticipates that urban governments will fulfill them."[128] (7) Intensity of opposition or support — the most rigid (versus adap-

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[121] Op. cit., p. 142.

[122] Amos H. Hawley and Basil G. Zimmer, "Resistance to Unification in a Metropolitan System," in Janowitz, ed., Community Political Systems, pp. 146–84; Charles Press, "Efficiency and Economy Arguments for Metropolitan Reorganization," Public Opinion Quarterly, 28 (Winter 1964), 584–94; and Walter B. Watson, et al., "Metropolitan Decentralization Through Incorporation," Western Political Quarterly, 18 (March 1965), 198–206.

[123] John C. Bollens, ed., Exploring the Metropolitan Community (Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1961); Daniel R. Grant, "A Comparison of Prediction and Experience with Nashville Metro," Urban Affairs Quarterly, 1 (September 1965), 34–54; and Brett W. Hawkins, "Public Opinion and Metropolitan Reorganization in Nashville," Journal of Politics, 28 (May 1966), 408–18.

[124] See Charles Adrian, Political Attitudes and Metropolitan Decision-Making (Pittsburgh: Institute of Local Government, University of Pittsburgh, 1962).

[125] See Murray B. Levin, The Alienated Voter: Politics in Boston (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960); E. L. McDill and Jeanne C. Ridley, "Status, Anomia, Political Alienation and Political Participation," American Journal of Sociology, 62 (September 1962), 205–13; and Williams, et al., Suburban Differences and Metropolitan Policies, Chapter 8.

[126] Suggested for state politics by Patterson, op. cit.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Op. cit., p. 108. Also see William B. Storm and Wallace H. Best, "Public Awareness of Metropolitan Problems: Some Survey Research Estimates," Metropolitan California: Papers Prepared for the Governor's Commission on Metropolitan Area Problems (Sacramento, 1961).

tive) policy opposition and support may coalesce on policy subsystems which are corporatist or elitist.

The second category of political culture dimensions relates to the patterns of attitudinal expression and the structural characteristics of them. (1) Life style rigidity — it has been hypothesized that patterns of government tend to protect life style values and that flexible (versus rigid) attitude structures encourage integration and cooperation.[129] To a certain extent this dimension involves an ideology factor or what may be called "political style."[130] (2) The nature of ideological commitment — as subcultures can be compared in terms of the extent to which they incorporate ideology,[131] so may they be compared as to the consensual or dissensual nature of this ideology. A rigid life style and a consensual commitment to these values may be the ideal of corporatism. (3) Alignment of forces — the forces involved in policy dimensions may be polarized or fragmented. (4) Type of conflict — conflict over policy may be pervasive and expanding (socialized) or confined (privatized),[132] the latter being intersected by elitist and corporatist involvement. (5) Patterns of cleavage — when dissensus exists on public policy, are the attitudinal alignments congruent or noncongruent?[133] The rhetoric of political science suggests that the latter are associated with pluralistic involvement. (6) The nature of cultural authority patterns — although the factors of congruent or noncongruent authority patterns have been related to stability,[134] they may also have an impact on the nature of group and policy subsystem boundaries.

The above scheme suggests a way of viewing the local political system comprehensively, with the outcomes of that system in mind. The sets of variables for consideration include the characteristics of group and policy subsystem boundaries, the functional-substantive aspects of public policy, the structural attributes of the community, the role and accessibility of leadership, the nature of policy development, and aspects of the political culture. A broad research perspective suggests that we investigate, e.g., the relationship between policy subsystems and the total system, the prevalence of public and private decisions; bases of support independent of the local system; the extent to which the system is open or closed, innovative or caretaker, competitive or noncompetitive; intercommunity differences in policy making, the attitudinal components of the political culture; and the linkages between local policy subsystems and other levels of decision-making.

Although the operationalization of measures is a focus for further research, categories of empirical theory are useful in the formative stages. A community power focus can assist in gathering leadership information and determining the degree to which group boundaries are closed. Gaming and coalition formation

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[129] Williams, "A Framework for Metropolitan Political Analysis," p. 45.

[130] Patterson, *op. cit.*

[131] Albinski and Pettit, *op. cit.*, Chapter 1.

[132] See E. E. Schattschneider, *The Semisovereign People* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 7.

[133] See V. O. Key, Jr., *Public Opinion and American Democracy* (New York: Knopf, 1961), Chapter 7.

[134] Harry Eckstein, *A Theory of Stable Democracy* (Princeton: Center of International Studies, Princeton University, 1961). Also, Terry N. Clark, "The Concept of Power," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, 48 (December 1967), 271–86, describes democratic patterns in terms of congruencies between leadership and constituent values.

enable statements of the extent to which groups or leaders make use of other groups and leaders. The way in which leaders and the public perceive each other's role and its effect on subsystem boundaries is a consideration for role analysis. Group theory can provide a framework for determining which mutual group characteristics lead to impermeable group boundaries. Communications theory assists in the conceptualization and measurement of transactions between groups and between policy subsystems. A functional approach suggests that such dimensions as accessibility and accountability may vary in direction between policy areas performing different functions. Finally, systems theory and political culture can assist in viewing the nature of the underlying culture and the character of policy as it reflects the demands and supports from that culture. These empirical approaches, accompanied by data gathering within the categories of conceptual frameworks, will enable theory building and statements of systematic relationships at the local level.