American Political Science Review

MARCH 1995 VOLUME 89 NUMBER 1

MANAGING EDITOR

G. Bingham Powell, Jr. Department of Political Science University of Rochester Rochester, New York 14627-0148

BOOK REVIEW EDITOR

Melissa P. Collie Department of Government Burdine Hall 536 University of Texas at Austin Austin, Texas 78712-1087

EDITORIAL BOARD

John H. Aldrich **Duke University** James E. Alt Harvard University Henry E. Brady University of California, Berkeley Valerie Bunce **Cornell University** Gary W. Cox University of California, San Diego **Russell Dalton** University of California, Irvine Lee Epstein Washington University James Farr University of Minnesota James L. Gibson University of Houston Michael A. Gillespie Duke University Joanne Gowa Princeton University

EDITORIAL STAFF

Linda F. Lindenfelser Associate Editor Timothy I. M. Fackler Nathalie J. Frensley John J. Janssen Assistants to the Book Review Editor John W. Kingdon University of Michigan Michael Laver Trinity College, Dublin Jack Levy **Rutgers University** Gary J. Miller Washington University Dianne M. Pinderhughes University of Illinois, Urbana Paul J. Quirk University of Illinois, Urbana Kay L. Schlozman **Boston** College Mary L. Shanley Vassar College Susan Shirk University of California, San Diego Barbara Sinclair University of California, Riverside Harvey Starr University of South Carolina

Michael K. Lane Copy Editor Jay Goodliffe Nathan Dietz Peter Stone APSR Interns Thomas P. Keating Editorial Assistant

The American Political Science Review (ISSN-0003-0554) appears quarterly. It is published by the American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, and sent to all members. Dues: Regular Members with gross calendar income: under \$30,000, \$55; \$30,000-\$40,000, \$75; \$41,000-\$50,000, \$85; \$51,000-\$60,000, \$90; over \$60,000, \$95; Student Members (limited to 5 years), \$25; Retired Members (who have been members 25 years) with gross calendar income; under \$25,000, \$20; \$25,000 and over, \$40; Life Members, \$2,000; Institutional Members: Domestic, \$147; Foreign, \$165. Dues allocated for a subscription to the *APSR*: \$17 for individual members; \$110 for institutional members. Changes of address sent to Membership Secretary of the APSA. Postmaster: Send address changes to: APSR, 1527 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional mailing offices. Copyright © 1995 by the American Political Science Association.

American Political Science Review

Table of Contents

A DTICLES

ARTICLES	
A Way of Life and Law Charles O. Jones	L
The Concept of a Critical Realignment, Electoral Behavior, and Political Change Peter F. Nardulli)
Party Cleavages and Welfare Effort in the American States Robert D. Brown	
Shaping Mexico's Electoral Arena: The Construction of Partisan Cleavages in the 1988 and 1991 National Elections	
Jorge I. Domínguez and James A. McCann	ŀ
Modeling Negative Campaigning Stergios Skaperdas and Bernard Grofman)
Political Control Versus Expertise: Congressional Choices about Administrative Procedures Kathleen Bawn	2
Choosing the Best Social Order: New Principles of Justice and Normative Dimensions of Choice Grzegorz Lissowski and Piotr Swistak	ŀ
RESEARCH NOTES	
Economic and Referendum Voting: A Comparison of Gubernatorial and Senatorial Elections Lonna Rae Atkeson and Randall W. Partin)
Disentangling Patterns of State Debt Financing James C. Clingermayer and B. Dan Wood	;
Avarice and Ambition in Congress: Representatives' Decisions to Run or Retire from the U.S. House Richard L. Hall and Robert Van Houweling	L
\sim	

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055400095332 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Condorcet Winners and the Paradox of Voting: Probability Calculations for Weak Preference Orders Bradford Jones, Benjamin Radcliff, Charles Taber,
and Richard Timpone 137
CONTROVERSIES
Civic Virtue and Self-Interest Christopher M. Duncan; Shelley Burtt
Aristotle's Science of the Best Regime Mary P. Nichols; Robert C. Bartlett
NOTES FROM THE MANAGING EDITOR 161
BOOK REVIEWS
Review Essays:
The Civil Culture at ThirtyDavid D. Laitin168
New Horizons in Institutional Analysis Elinor Ostrom
Opinion and Representation James Stimson
Political Theory 184
American Politics
Comparative Politics
International Relations

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION MARCH 1995 VOLUME 89 NUMBER 1

American Political Science Association

1527 New Hampshire Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20036

PRESIDENT: Sidney Verba Harvard University

PRESIDENT ELECT: Arend Lijphart University of California, San Diego

VICE PRESIDENTS: F. Chris Garcia University of New Mexico

Betty Glad University of South Carolina

Catherine Kelleher U.S. Mission to NATO

SECRETARY: Loch Johnson University of Georgia

TREASURER: Susan Borque Smith College

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Catherine E. Rudder

CO-PROGRAM CHAIRS: Mary Katzenstein Cornell University

Peter Katzenstein Cornell University

MANAGING EDITOR, APSR: G. Bingham Powell, Jr. University of Rochester

COUNCIL, 1993–95: John A. Garcia University of Arizona Barbara Geddes University of California, Los Angeles

John Mark Hansen University of Chicago

Anne H. Hopkins University of Minnesota

Margaret Levi University of Washington

Mamie E. Locke Hampton University

William E. Nelson, Jr. The Ohio State University

Michael P. Zuckert Carleton College

COUNCIL, 1994–96: Timothy Cook Williams College

Susan MacManus University of South Florida

Helen Milner Columbia University

Mary Nichols Fordham University

David Price Duke University

Theda Skocpol Harvard University

Toni-Michelle C. Travis George Mason University

Eddie Williams Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

INSTRUCTIONS TO CONTRIBUTORS

The American Political Science Review aims to publish scholarly research and writing of exceptional merit. Contributions must demonstrate the highest standards of excellence in conceptualization, exposition, methodology, and craftsmanship. Because the *Review* reaches a diverse audience of scholars and practitioners, contributors must demonstrate how their analysis or exposition illuminates a significant research problem, or answers an important research question, of general interest in political science.

Article Manuscripts

Article manuscripts should be submitted to the Managing Editor, Professor G. Bingham Powell, Jr., *American Political Science Review*, Department of Political Science, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York 14627-0148. Four copies must be submitted, and none can be returned. Manuscripts must be typed doublespaced, on one side of the paper only, and include an abstract of no more than 150 words. The author's name and affiliation should not appear on the copies submitted, but only on a separate covering sheet. In general, the *Review* considers manuscripts of up to 30 pages in length. Moreover, the *Review* does not consider manuscripts submitted to other journals or to a publisher as part of a larger manuscript.

Manuscripts should be prepared following the guidelines of the *Style Manual for Political Science*, a publication of the American Political Science Association's Committee on Publications. It is available from the Association's office. Otherwise, authors should follow the *Chicago Style Manual* and the example of recent issues of the *Review*. Graphs and tables should be presented on separate pages, with their location in the manuscript indicated, e.g., the notification "Table 1 about here," at the proper places.

Book Reviews

All book review correspondence should be sent to the Book Review Editor, Professor Mark Lichbach, Amer*ican Political Science Review* Book Review, Department of Political Science, University of Colorado, Box 333, Boulder, CO 80309. Authors wishing their book to be considered for review should ask their publisher to send a copy to the Book Review Editor. Those interested in reviewing books should send their vita to the Book Review Editor.

Other Correspondence

Information, including news and notes, for the Association's news journal *PS*, should be sent to Dr. Robert J-P. Hauck, Editor, American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Advertising, reprint, and circulation correspondence should be sent to the Executive Director at the Washington office. Domestic claims for nonreceipt of issues must be made within four months of the month of publication; overseas claims, eight months. Advertising information and rates are available from Diana Falls, Advertising Manager, APSA, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Indexing

Articles and notes appearing in the *Review* before the June 1953 issue were indexed in *The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*. Current issues are indexed by *International Political Science Abstracts, United States Political Science Documents,* and *Social Sciences Index.* Microfilm of the *Review,* beginning with Volume 1, may be obtained from University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. A *Cumulative Index of the Review,* Volumes 1–62, 1906–1968, also may be obtained from University Microfilms. Articles appearing in the *Review* are listed in *ABC Pol Sci* and *Current Contents: Behavioral, Social & Management Sciences.* Book Reviews are indexed in *Book Review Index.*