

## Book Reviews

John P. Molver and Edward G. Carmines, *Unidimensional Scaling*, Sage University Papers on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences No. 07-024, Sage, Beverly Hills and London, 96 pp.

This book gives an overview of the history of unidimensional scaling between 1925 and 1965. The authors start out by explaining the method of equal appearing intervals, developed in the twenties, and why it was outdated and replaced by Likert scaling, developed in the thirties. Both old and newer methods for assessing internal consistency and reliability among Likert-items are discussed.

Two chapters are devoted to Guttman scaling as it was developed in the forties and fifties, which makes this scaling model the central focus of the book. The last model discussed is unfolding, as developed in the fifties and explained in Coombs' Theory of Data of 1964.

Scaling models developed beyond the mid-sixties are almost completely neglected: there is only a casual reference to Mokken scaling, and Rasch scaling and probabilistic unfolding are not mentioned at all. This neglect can probably be attributed to the book's emphasis on the computer package SPSS: job control cards are given for running a *t*-test, a reliability analysis and a factor analysis in SPSS. Even though analogous job control cards are not given for Guttman Scale in SPSS, the model described in the book is identical to that of the package. It is not clear why the authors have limited themselves to scaling models available in SPSS, since other easy-to-use programs are available for both Mokken and Rasch scaling, for instance.

A number of additional remarks can be made. Characteristics of scaling models given in the introductory chapter seem either superficial (e.g., confirmatory–explanatory, single item–multiple item, or unidimensional–multidimensional) or remain largely underdeveloped in the rest of the monograph (e.g., deterministic–probabilistic, monotone–nonmonotone trace lines, or Coombs' four quadrant scheme). A scaling model is formally defined as an "internally consistent plan for the development of a new measure". References to (representational) measurement are lacking, however.

The chapter on Thurstonian scaling is almost completely devoted to the method of equal appearing intervals, which is described as a special case of the Law of Comparative Judgment. The treatment of Thurstone's method for paired comparisons is only relegated to a brief note, however.

Given that other monographs in the same Sage University Series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences deal with reliability and factor analysis, the chapter in the present volume on Likert scaling seems to derive its justification mainly from the historical perspective used in the book.

The major problem in this monograph is its incomplete treatment of Guttman scaling. For instance, the authors fail to refer to Loevinger's coefficient of homogeneity or Green's Rep I. They might have benefitted more from the references they themselves give. For example, Mokken's second chapter gives an especially good overview of the development of Guttman scaling and the reasons why the Guttman Scale procedure in SPSS is deficient.

The examples given are substantively interesting. It is not clear however, why eleven

examples are needed to show how to calculate a mean (table 8) whereas on the other hand a concept like "discriminatory power" (table 2) remains unspecified.

In sum, this book is rather disappointing, especially when compared to the earlier monograph on Multidimensional Scaling in this series by Kruskal and Wish.

WIJBRANDT H. VAN SCHUUR

*University of Groningen*

## Reference

Mokken, R.J. (1971). *A Theory and Procedure of Scale Analysis*, The Hague: Mouton.

Charles H. Levine and Irene Rubin (Editors), *Fiscal Stress and Public Policy*, Sage Yearbooks in Politics and Public Policy, Volume 9, Sage, Beverley Hills, 1980, 315 pp.

Politicians and policy makers in the 1970s and 1980s have labored under an unfortunate handicap—namely, the "success" which preceded them. The fact is that the 1950s and 1960s were a period of exceptional economic performance and social progress. Sustained economic growth seemed as certain as the sunrise. Resources were cheap and seemingly inexhaustible. Poverty was targeted for eradication. Advanced industrial societies had, in short, embarked towards a new order in which the zero sum politics of the past were soon to be supplanted by a positive sum situation where everyone won, albeit at differential rates.

To be sure, this vision was illusory, yet aspects of it were sufficiently real and sustained to distort elite and mass perceptions regarding the capabilities of national economies. This norm of ever increasing affluence which citizens had come to expect was in actuality an atypical condition. Indeed, the problems of acute fiscal stress, resource scarcity, and economic dislocation which confront national leaders today, are issues which had dominated the political agendas of their predecessors almost without exception across the entire span of recorded history. The fervent desire of current leaders to rekindle the vision of boundless prosperity, obscures this more characteristic dynamic.

This viewpoint is the underlying theme around which the collection of essays in *Fiscal Stress and Public Policy* are organized. After a brief reminder of the opportunities afforded by rapid economic growth, the reader quickly confronts the various constraints imposed by economic decline. Indeed, the policy consequences of economic slowdown receive the most attention, particularly in the areas of government financial management, budgeting, and retrenchment of various forms.

John Kirilin, for example, discusses how Californian officials adjusted to reduced public expectations of governmental performance in response to the passage of Proposition 13. At the national level, David Beam and Cynthia Colella point to the ability of national political actors to accommodate to the reality of a smaller budgetary pie. On the other hand, John Peterson illustrates that the capacity of cities to weather fiscal adversity is much less clear. Peterson's conclusions are based upon an analysis of the differential creditworthiness of major American cities. Such concern is reinforced in the broader context of intergovernmental fiscal relations by John Ross and James Greenfield in an essay on "Measuring the Health of Cities". They stress the need to develop unambiguous indicators of the fiscal and social vitality of cities.

Allen Schick reminds us that scarcity is "a budgetary fact of life". His essay distinguishes between different levels of scarcity and the commensurate burdens which budget officials must confront. Schick relies upon contemporary examples to prove his point. Naomi Caiden makes a similar argument relying upon European history to prove her case. Indeed, one may be delighted to discover that the financial advisors of monarchs were no less resourceful and scheming than those who have inherited their financial mantles.

Coping with retrenchment is accorded considerable attention. The choices forced upon national officials are, as Richard Rose points out in an essay on cutting public expenditures, very difficult to make. However, as Irene Rubin demonstrates, a crucial determinant of successful retrenchment is the degree of flexibility public officials can exercise over the budget. Such flexibility is obviously crucial to the ability of policy-makers to respond adequately to a rapidly changing fiscal climate. Even in a flexible situation, however, politics may predetermine outcomes. This conclusion is reached by Harold Wolman in his study of the response of cities to fiscal strain. Raising revenues or changing the program mix are invariably preferable to the political consequences of cutting budgets or personnel.

These essays impart a sense of optimism regarding the capacity of policy-makers and political systems to respond to fiscal stress. Fiscal stress is nothing new. Even in the worst times, as this volume makes clear, officials at all levels of government are quite capable of effecting necessary and creative solutions.

*Fiscal Stress and Public Policy* is an excellent collection of articles. They are provocative, readable, and of enduring value of academicians, scholars and students of public policy. Indeed, individual contributions are overshadowed only by the overall quality of the volume.

KEVIN L. KRAMER  
Market Opinion Research

Philip L. Beardsley, *Redefining Rigor: Ideology and Statistics in Political Enquiry*, Sage, Beverly Hills and London, 1980, xii + 199 pp, £11.25 (hb) and £5.50 (pb).

It requires some temerity, I think, to publish a book entitled *Redefining Rigor*. This volume, the first of two, presents a critique of "how rigour is viewed now" and of the essentially related failure to "confront seriously the phenomenon of ideology as a problem" in (American) political science. The comparison volume, which I have not seen, is promised to offer a constructive alternative, including an "ideological synthesis" between liberal and Marxist views.

On first glance, the book appears to be a promising combination of work, ranging from social philosophy and epistemology to techniques and problems of simultaneous equation estimation. However, it does not seem to me to succeed, as a whole, for several reasons, which are illustrated below.

Part I discusses the nature of ideology, drawing on the work of William Connolly and Charles Taylor. The four key characteristics of ideology (unavoidable, pervasive, controversial and relatively untestable) are reminiscent of those of paradigms, or "research-action programmes" (Easlea). The answer may be that *all* members of a society share *ideological* commitments, but that *academics* share (at least with others in the same discipline or paradigm) *additional* "supplementary standards of rigour". In Ch. 2, these supplementary norms are characterised basically as additional commitments about which sorts of problems are worthy of study, and are illustrated by arguments from David Easton's "postbehavioural-

list” claims that “scientific relevance” must be distinguished from “social relevance”—thus dressing up an ideological commitment as a methodological one. There is much old wine here in new bottles—and with new labels; this in turn exacerbates another problem, that of conceptual overload. Many distinctions are made which are likely to be of dubious usefulness, and which in any case are not followed up by the author when the opportunity presents itself. For example, a distinction is made in Ch. 3 between variable with “internal” (their own) moral significance and those with “relational” significance, but this is not followed up where it might be, in Ch. 6.

Part II focusses on more specific standards of rigour which attempt to deny the relative untestability of ideologies in political science research. In wanting to *prove* the relative *untestability* of ideologies the author is of course able only to *illustrate* the *difficulty* of using statistical models to rest relationships among “ideologically relevant” variables. Nevertheless, Ch. 4 presents a checklist, which might be useful to those wanting to evaluate the use of models for a particular problem.

While elaborating this checklist, Beardsley suggests that a “magnetic” approach to causality may sometimes be more appropriate than a conventional one as in the statement: “Policy attracts (or repels) opinion” from his Fig. 4.6. (see below). This might provide a basis for statistical models when causality is construed in a different way (e.g. when it means “persuade” was opposed to something like “move mechanically”), but this would need developing. Alternatively, perhaps, this magnetic notion might be assimilated to the covariational one, by introducing an intervening variable such as “role of the media”.

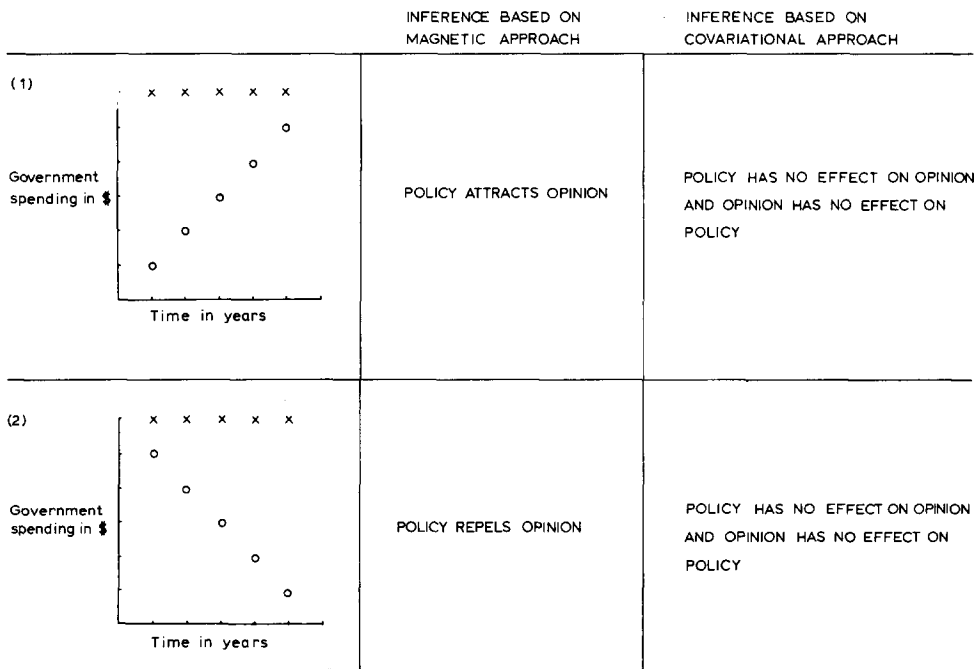


Figure 4.6: A Comparison between the Magnetic and Covariational Approaches to Causal Inference, as illustrated by the Relationship between Actual and Desired Levels of Government Spending (represented by x's and o's respectively)

Chapter 6 considers models of dependency in international politics. An interesting suggestion is that cases (countries) be weighted according to population, or some other measure of importance.

Overall, I found the argument hard to follow, because of the conceptual overload referred to above, because of the somewhat verbose style, and because of the very frequent references to the companion volume. Therefore, I would not recommend the book to students. However, it might be useful for teachers of statistics and methodology interested in examples in the field of politics, though they might prefer to go directly to one of the sources discussed by Beardsley (*Dependence and Dependency in the Global System*, the Winter 1978 number (32) of *International Organisation*).

JEFF EVANS  
*Middlesex Polytechnic*