A BEHAVIORAL THEORY OF THE FUNCTION OF ARGUMENTATION IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND AND PROCEDURES

In any research project, the background, goals, and methodological orientation of the work must be surveyed. Such a survey briefly introduces the reader to the entire study. This paper introduces the development of a behavioral theory concerning the function of argumentation in the political system. This chapter discusses the background of the study, states the problem to be analyzed, reviews relevant literature and previous research, and outlines the procedures employed in the remaining chapters.

I. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The nature of argumentation has undergone considerable scrutiny in the past few years. Drawing upon the writings of modern philosophy and psychology, writers have examined argumentation from a variety of new perspectives. Most studies concentrated on the nature of <u>an argument</u>; how it is utilized in specific situations; and how different forms of proof provide the necessary backing for subsequent claims. Few examine argumentation as a discipline

or question the assumptions prevalent in the field. The current literature of argumentation reveals that the nature of these traditional assumptions needs re-examination, description and evaluation.

Most writers begin their initial analysis of argumentation by assuming its relevance to governmental affairs. James H. McBath typified this approach in the introduction to Argumentation and Debate when he stated:

> Encouragement of the process of decision by informed public talk is, by its very nature, a demonstration of oneness between ends and means in a liberal democracy. Argumentation and debate, by their very nature, are not merely ways of achieving popular assent but also comprise an operational definition of government by public consent.[1]

Glen E. Mills provided a more prescriptive orientation when he identified four assumptions upon which he based the relevance of argumentation to democracy. They were:

1. A case can be made for either side of a controversial judgment.
2. Truth and justice are by nature more powerful than their opposites.
3. Deliberative decisions are preferable to emotional reactions, impulsive snap judgment,

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[1]James H. McBath, "Introduction to Argument," Argumentation and Debate, James H. McBath, editor (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1954), p. 10.

and trial and error procedures.

4. Affective appeals work best when they supplement logical ones.[2]

These quotations indicate that both Mills and McBath assume that argumentation is not only present in political life, but also relevant and crucial in its operation.

In contrast to these assumptions, the examination of argumentation is normally conducted in an atmosphere isolated from the realities of political life. Douglas Ehninger exemplified this approach when he stated:

> Lest I be misunderstood, by way of conclusion let me emphasize the fact that it has not here been my purpose to undertake to write a clean bill of health for debate as practiced--to argue that as it is carried on in the schoolroom, the court-house, the legislative assembly, the political campaign, or the business conference debate is uniformly pure and unabused. Aberrations have been, are today, and undoubtedly always will be committed in its name.[3]

Even writers attempting more realistic analyses admit that most approaches to argumentation bear little

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[2]Glen E. Mills, Reason in Controversy (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1964), pp. 12-13.

[3]Douglas Ehninger, "Decision by Debate: A Re-Examination," Readings in Argumentation, Jerry M. Anderson and Paul J. Dovre, editors (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1968), p. 68.

resemblance to its use in political life. The rhetorician recognizes, said Fisher and Sayles, ". . . that the concepts he and his colleagues in logic formulate for the study and practice of argument undergo severe strain when applied to the 'real world'."[4] Seemingly, knowledge of these logical processes is both desirable and useful. However, if writers contend: (1) that these processes are relevant to the political system, yet (2) that they are studied in isolation from political reality, there is justification for further investigation of the place of argumentation in political life.

Current assumptions in argumentation indicate room for a more realistic and flexible approach to the political function of argumentation. This desire for realistic examination of various processes is not novel. Students of politics often have attempted to appraise the use of power and authority without excessive reliance on prescriptive and/or isolate standards. Such studies

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[4]Walter R. Fisher and Edward M. Sayles, "The Nature and Function of Argument," Perspectives on Argumentation, Gerald R. Miller and Thomas R. Nilsen, editors (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1966), p. 20.

are less prevalent in argumentation, since many students continue to blur the dichotomy between prescription and description. If a method for realistically evaluating the uses of argumentation within the political system existed, it might ameliorate this problem.

Such a theoretical orientation, behavioralism, exists, and has been used in some areas of speech. Scholars have turned to behavioralism because of its realistic approach to the study of human behavior. Stanford political scientist Heinz Eulau accentuated the diverse nature of behavioralism when he stated that its areas of concern refer:

> . . . not simply to directly or indirectly observable political action but also to those perceptual, motivational, and attitudinal components of behavior which make for man's political identifications, demands, and expectation, and his systems of political beliefs, values, and goals.[5]

Behavioralism has successfully drawn upon these areas of concern and provided political scientists with a realistic methodological tool. As phrased by Yale's Robert A. Dahl,

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[5]Heinz Eulau, "Segments of Political Science Most Susceptible to Behavioristic Treatment," Contemporary Political Analysis, James C. Charlesworth, editor (New York: The Free Press, 1967), p. 35.

behavioralism has provided a "fresh infusion of the spirit of empirical inquiry" into the study of politics.[6]

If argumentation is concerned with deliberate and rational choice, those aspects of behavioralism developed for political science seem particularly applicable. An approach to argumentation utilizing that orientation not only should lend insight into the nature of argumentation, but also provide a means for developing a theory concerning its function in the political system.

II. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This thesis attempts a more realistic approach to the function of argumentation in the political system, by developing a theory, based upon the principles of political behavioralism, appropriate to the study of argumentation. The thesis will determine the nature of political behavioralism and behavioral theory, and demonstrate the applicability of these concepts to the study of

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[6]Robert A. Dahl, "The Behavioral Approach in Political Science: Epitaph for a Monument to a Successful Protest," Behavioralism in Political Science, Heinz Eulau, editor (New York: Atherton Press, 1969), p. 90.

argumentation. After considering these factors, the thesis will rely heavily on David Easton's general theory of political life, systems analysis, to develop the theoretical approach to argumentation. A successful conclusion would be a behaviorally oriented theory providing a basis for analyzing the function of argumentation in the political system.

III. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A wide variety of materials are employed in this thesis. Although most will be more thoroughly examined in later chapters, this section lists some major works relied upon and reviews previous research related to the topic.

Sources of Material

The concepts of political behavioralism as developed in such books as Arnold Brecht's Political Theory, Heinz Eulau's Behavioralism in Political Science, and James Charlesworth's compilation of readings titled Contemporary Political Analysis were examined. The works of David Easton were also employed. His three major books are:

The Political System, An Inquiry into the State of Political Science; A Framework for Political Analysis; and A Systems Analysis of Political Life.

Argumentation resources included selected works of Wallace Fotheringham, Erwin P. Bettinghaus, and David Berlo, which provided understanding of previous applications of behavioral standards to oral communications. In particular, Gerald R. Miller and Thomas R. Nilsen's Perspectives on Argumentation, and Russell R. Windes and Arthur Hastings' Argumentation and Advocacy centered on current behavioral thought in argumentation. Examination of the Quarterly Journal of Speech and Speech Monographs was also helpful.

Previous Research

An examination of Knower's "Index of Graduate Work in Speech" and Auer's "Doctoral Dissertations in Speech: Work in Progress," revealed no previous attempts at constructing a behaviorally oriented theory of the function of argumentation in the political system. A variety of works have examined argumentation in specific political decisions. The abstracts of these theses, however,

revealed no similar methodological orientation.

One Ph.D. dissertation on a related topic provided interesting materials for comparison. A 1969 Michigan State University dissertation by Cedric C. Clark entitled "Dispute Settlement in Tanzania: A Model of System Support through the Communications of Legitimacy," provided insight into the adaptability of the Eastonian structure to communications analysis. This work employed "the systems analysis framework develped by Easton, focusing attention on the decision making behavior of a sample of East African (Tanzanian) villagers."[7] It did not, however, deal with any specific applications of argumentation.

IV. PROCEDURES

The thesis is divided into three major divisions. Chapter II presents the necessary background for understanding behavioral theory. The nature of political behavioralism is examined by outlining its background,

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[7]Cedric C. Clark, Abstract of "Dispute Settlement in Tanzania: A Model of System Support through the Communication of Legitimacy," by Cedric C. Clark, Speech Monographs, XXXVI (August, 1969), 216.

meaning, and limitations. Second, the nature of theory as it relates to political behavior is developed. Finally, the choice of David Easton's theory as the basic orientation for the paper is discussed. These three areas should provide adequate background information for the development of a behavioral theory of argumentation.

Chapter III examines the nature of argumentation and its existence in the political system. First, the standards of behavioralism are employed to define argumentation and related terms. Next, the areas of mutual interest between these terms and political science is necessarily analyzed, to establish the validity of using concepts primarily political for purposes of examining processes essentially rhetorical. To achieve this comparison, existing literature in both fields is examined for evidence of the existence of argumentation in political activity. Once a mutuality of interests is established, the applicability of theories of political behavior to argumentation should be more apparent.

Chapter IV presents the theory which explains the function of argumentation in the political system. First, a more detailed description of Easton's theory is

presented with several models developed by Easton contributing to clarity of the theory. Next, the previous definitions of argumentation and related processes are recalled with the definitions being "fed-in" to those aspects of Easton's theory which relate to oral communication of ideas. Assuming a compatibility of definitions, the function of argumentation in the political system will be established.

Chapter V collects the generalizations evolving out of this process into a theoretical statement. Finally, the chapter discusses the implications of the thesis for future research.

V. CONCLUSION

This chapter has described both the background and procedures of the thesis. This thesis does not attempt to evaluate successes or failures of argumentation, or present case studies of its role in specific political activities. Rather, it attempts to construct a theory providing a theoretical orientation for those wishing to undertake more complete empirical investigations. David Easton's comment on the nature of theory is applicable to

this study. He stated:

> This book remains confined to the theoretical level. Its primary objective is to elaborate a conceptual structure and suggest, where possible, some theoretical propositions. Its goal is not to undertake the validation of the statements or to demonstrate definitively the applications of such concepts. Testing is closely interwoven with theory construction; each feeds and grows on the other. But for sustained periods of time it is vital, in the development of a discipline, that particular attention be given to the separate needs and problems of each.[8]

Hopefully, this work remains confined to the theoretical level. Perhaps the small beginnings here may help develop some different perspectives in the field of argumentation.

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[8]David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), p. vii.

CHAPTER II

THE NATURE OF BEHAVIORAL THEORY

Because of the ambiguity of "behavioral theory," a preliminary explanation is necessary before applying that concept to the function of argumentation in the political system. The purpose of this chapter is to provide that explanation by describing the nature of behavioralism in political science, examining theory as a component of behavioralism, and summarizing David Easton's approach to behavioral theory. The accomplishment of these objectives should provide the necessary framework for constructing a behavioral theory of argumentation.

I. BEHAVIORALISM IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

This section provides a basic understanding of behavioralism by outlining its development, commonly accepted meaning, and limitations, thus providing an introduction to the general orientation of this paper.

Development of Behavioralism

Behavioralism as an approach to the study of

political science first evolved in the immediate post-World War I period, although in a radically different form from present meanings. A "science of politics" movement inspired by men such as Charles E. Merriam developed during that time, and is responsible for many present trends in political science.[9] Behavioralism as currently defined did not gain impetus until the Second World War. In his widely quoted summary of the accomplishments of behavioralism, Robert A. Dahl explained the influence of World War II on its development:

> The Second World War also stimulated the development of the behavioral approach in the United States, for a great many American political scientists temporarily vacated their ivory towers and came to grips with day-to-day political and administrative realities in Washington and elsewhere.[10]

From these beginnings, scholars questioned principles which had long been accepted a priori by focusing on reality, and seeking new scientific tools of research. In summarizing these developments, Arnold Brecht observed

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[9]Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus, The Development of American Political Science: From Burgess to Behavioralism (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1967), p. 183.

[10]Dahl, op. cit., p. 76.

that "no greater revolution has ever taken place in the routine work of scholars in the social sciences."[11] Behavioralism as an important aspect of that revolution guides the procedures of this paper. Consequently, it deserves more detailed consideration.

The Meaning of Behavioralism

Although a definition of behavioralism is complicated by its complex and controversial nature, many writers have attempted definition.[12] This section draws upon their efforts and attempt to extrapolate an acceptable synthesis.

In general, behavioralism is an attempt to approach political science from the viewpoint of empirical science. As Robert A. Dahl of Yale stated:

> The behavioral approach is an attempt to improve our understanding of politics by seeking to explain the empirical aspects of political life by means

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[11]Arnold Brecht, Political Theory: The Foundations of Twentieth Century Political Thought (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), p. 5.

[12]Ithiel de Sola Pool (ed.), Contemporary Political Science (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1967), p. vii; Eugene G. Meehan, The Theory and Method of Political Analysis (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1965), pp. 17-18.

> of methods, theories, and criteria of proof that are acceptable according to the canons, conventions, and assumptions of modern empirical science.[13]

A more detailed and precise definition was outlined by Somit and Tanenhaus. They identified the following as the "key behavioralist articles of faith:"

1. Political science can ultimately become a science capable of prediction and explanation.
2. Political science should concern itself primarily, if not exclusively, with phenomena which can actually be observed, i.e. with what is done or said.
3. Data should be quantified and "findings" based upon quantifiable data.
4. Research should be theory oriented and theory directed. Ideally, inquiry should proceed from carefully developed theoretical formulations which yield, in turn, "operation-izable" hypotheses, that is hypotheses which can be tested against empirical data.
5. Political science should adjure, in favor of "pure" research, both applied research aimed at providing solutions to specific, immediate social problems and melioratory programmatic ventures.
6. The truth or falsity of values (democracy, equality, freedom, etc.) cannot be established scientifically and are beyond the scope of legitimate inquiry.
7. Political scientists should be more inter-disciplinary.
8. Political science should become more self-conscious and critical about its methodology.[14]

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[13]Dahl, op. cit., p. 77.

[14]Somit and Tanenhaus, op. cit., pp. 177-179.

This listing reflects prevailing definitions of behavioralism.[15] Behavioralism seems concerned with: a general orientation--theoretical and interdisciplinary; units of analysis--the is of political life; and methodological processes--empirical and scientific. Of particular relevance to this paper is the emphasis placed upon the interdisciplinary nature of behavioralism. As Eulau stated:

> Moreover, it is a particular characteristic of modern behavioral science, including political behavior not simply in psychological terms at the level of the individual personality but also at the levels of the social system and culture. Its orientation is multicausal or multidimensional and, therefore, necessarily interdisciplinary.[16]

While behavioralism is primarily oriented towards political science, it cannot be isolated to that alone.

Further characterizing "behavioralism" is its

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[15]Peter H. Merkl, "'Behavioristic' Tendencies in American Political Science," Eulau, Behavioralism in Political Science, op. cit., pp. 145-146; Evron M. Kirkpatrick, "The Impact of the Behavioral Approach on Traditional Political Science," Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics, Austin Ranney, editor (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962), p. 12; Easton, "The Current Meaning of Behavioralism," op. cit., pp. 11-31; David Easton, A Framework for Political Analysis (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), p. 7.

[16]Eulau, "Segments of Political Science . . .," op. cit., p. 36.

unique identity apart from psychological "behaviorism." As Alan C. Isaak explained, behaviorism restricts the use of attitudes, opinions, and personality traits. The "behavioralist," however, "makes extensive use of attitudes and similar concepts, attributing them to people on the basis of observed behavior."[17] For this reason, behavioralism should not be confused with psychological behaviorism. Easton accentuated this when he stated:

> There is probably no one in political science who would consider himself a behaviorist, however elastic his imagination, or who would wish to be so designated, at least if the term is used in its rigorous and proper sense. In origin, as associated with J. B. Watson, it is a psychological concept which was adopted to help exorcise from scientific research all reference to such subjective data as purposes, intention, desires, or ideas.[18]

The behavioralist, then, examines more than physical behavior, since his concern also includes less overt variables of the political system.

Because the concerns of behavioralism are widespread

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[17]Alan C. Isaak, Scope and Methods of Political Science (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1969), p. 36.

[18]Easton, "The Current Meaning of Behavioralism," op. cit., p. 12.

and divergent, its definition is always open to discussion. The tenets listed here, while representing prevailing thoughts, provide but an operational outline of the meaning of behavioralism.

Limitations of Behavioralism

After accepting behavioralism as a means of evaluating political science from the viewpoint of empirical science, its perceived weaknesses and limitations should be identified. To ignore such warnings would defeat the purposes of scientific analysis. The qualifications attached to behavioralism fall into two areas. Initially, behavioralism limits the ability of the political scientists to advance meaningful value judgments about political decisions. Brecht identified this when he stated:

> Its inability morally to condemn Bolshevism, Fascism, or National Socialism in unconditional terms was to become the tragedy of twentieth-century political science, a tragedy as deep as any that had ever occurred before in the history of science.[19]

Paradoxically, the same orientation that requires a realistic analysis of politics also mitigates against an application

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[19]Brecht, op. cit., p. 8.

of those analyses to societal problem solving. According to Mulford Sibley, a behaviorally oriented study "will remove one from the stuff of everyday politics and cannot be related to that stuff except by means which would usually be regarded as nonbehavioral."[20] While most behavioralists would argue that nothing in their credo prevents them from being "good citizens," the inability of the political scientist to publically condemn or commend, is an aspect of behavioralism which should not be ignored.[21]

A second limitation of behavioralism is its inability to establish empirical initial premises. As Sibley phrased it:

> Because behavioral scientific investigation is dependent in its very inception on a vision and a body of conceptualizations which arise in part out of direct personal experiences and knowledge gained nonbehaviorally, behavioral investigations themselves are limited by the kinds and quality of these nonbehaviorally derived experiences and knowledge.[22]

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[20]Mulford Q. Sibley, "The Limitations of Behavioralism," Charlesworth, op. cit., p. 53.

[21]See "Conference Discussion on Scope," A Design for Political Science: Scope, Objectives, and Methods, James C. Charlesworth, editor (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 1966), pp. 34-62.

[22]Sibley, op. cit., p. 58; see also, Brecht, op. cit., p. 60.

To avoid digression into lengthy discourses of an epistemological nature, Sibley's evaluation is simply noted. It states that the ultimate beginnings of any scientific investigation are nonbehaviorally derived premises. To the extent that the researcher relies upon those premises, he is less empirical. While few behavioralists disagree, their goal is to recognize and identify and arbitrary premises, thereby separating them from scientific research.

Summary

Political behavioralism is a complex term associated with a scientific and empirical approach to politics. Its evolution, current descriptions, and limitations have been examined in an attempt to synthesize its meaning. This paper will employ the definitions posited in this section, and hopefully will identify any digressions from that general framework.

II. THEORY AS A COMPONENT OF BEHAVIORALISM

Most behavioralists view theory as an integral component of their movement. In order to understand the relationship between theory and behavioralism, this section

will define theory, establish its function in behavioralism, and note its limitations.

Definition of Political Theory

Given varying interpretations, most behavioralists agree that theories are generalizations about observable political activity which present a "systematic view of the phenomena by specifying relations among variables."[23] This definition highlights the concern of political theory with interrelations within observable phenomena. In the end, summary statements or generalizations are made about these activities. A more precise view of theory can be obtained by examining its relation to philosophy, and its systems of classification.

Although writers such as Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, and Marx have traditionally been called theorists, contemporary scholars prefer the term philosopher. Brecht

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[23]Fred M. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964), p. 11. See also, Morton A. Kaplan, System and Process in International Politics (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1957), p. xi; Brecht, op. cit., pp. 15-16; and David Easton, The Political System (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), pp. 52-63.

contended that the difference is primarily a function of the subject matter evaluated. As he phrased it:

> Every theory, as we have said, tries to explain something. Philosophy tries to explain, not something but everything--the universe, the macrocosmos and the microcosmos. It examines not only what is but also what ought to be, or ought to be done or approved.[24]

Easton also differentiated between theory and philosophy. He termed political philosophy "value theory," while "causal theory" is that which seeks to demonstrate relations among political facts.[25] This paper confines itself to causal theory, and all future references will be used in that sense.

The classification of theory also serves to focus perceptions of its nature. One classification is based upon the verifiable nature of the theory. Easton suggested that "a theory or generalization that has been well confirmed would be called a law; one that awaits confirmation

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[24]Brecht, loc. cit. Brecht is careful to note that this does not imply that there are no overlapping functions between philosophy and theory. He is arguing against the inter-changeable use of philosophy and theory.

[25]Easton, The Political System, op. cit., p. 52.

through further testing would be an hypothesis."[26] Another writer relying on the degree of verification for classification was Anatol Rapoport, who classified "stronger and weaker" theories. He stated:

> In the stronger sense, a theory must contain logically deduced propositions, which, if referring to portions of the real world, must be in principle verifiable. In its weaker sense, a theory can be simply a preparation of a conceptual scheme in which a theory in the stronger sense will one day be developed.[27]

Robinson and Majak agreed with this range of possibilities when they observed:

> Among other things, "theory" may refer to a set of categories that constitutes an "approach" or "conceptual scheme"; or, at a more sophisticated level, theory may consist of a set of statements that specify relationships among variables tending toward determinancy.[28]

The point at which a hypothesis or "conceptual scheme"

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[26]Easton, A Systems Analysis . . ., op. cit., p. 7.

[27]Anatol Rapoport, "Some System Approaches to Political Theory," Varieties of Political Theory, David Easton, editor (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 132.

[28]James A. Robinson and R. Roger Majak, "The Theory of Decision-Making," in Charlesworth, Contemporary Political Analysis, op. cit., p. 187.

becomes a strong theory is not detailed. Rather, theory is viewed as a spectrum represented by the stated boundaries.

A second system of classification is based upon the scope of the theory. In this classification there are: singular generalizations, encompassing a very limited body of data; partial theories, which isolate some part or aspect of behavior in a political system; and general theory, which is applicable to an entire field of inquiry.[29] This study, which focuses on argumentation as it functions in the political system, is a partial theory. Whether it is "weak" or "strong," according to the first criterion, will have to be judged by empirical observation. The development of these generally accepted meanings of theory and its methods of classification should provide adequate understanding for present purposes.

The Role of Theory in Behavioralism

The primary function of theory in behavioralism is explanation. By generalizing about observed phenomena, a

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[29]Easton, A Systems Analysis . . ., loc. cit.

better understanding of the gestalt is obtained. As Alan C. Isaak articulated, "theories are used primarily to explain political facts."[30] The importance of explanation is reflected in the ability of a theory to provide a systematized method for examining accumulated facts and observations. It provides a sense of direction for the researcher, and permits him to organize his thoughts into a comprehensible form. As the natural scientist operates from uniform laws, the behavioral scientist uses theories as guidelines in his study of the unpredictable matter of human action. Morton Kaplan provided an effective list of reasons why theory is useful. They were:

1. It permits an explicit statement of the set of variables about which various propositions are enunciated.
2. Theory--in particular, systems theory--permits the integration of variables from different disciplines. One may consider the economic, political, and other aspects of a particular organization.
3. It is important for the research worker to direct his attention to all relevant variables.
4. Theory provides a method for "fitting" structural similarities from one type of subject matter to another. In particular, systems theory permits a rapid study both of similarities and differences

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[30]Isaak, op. cit., p. 136.

> between otherwise completely different kinds of structures.[31]

Theory, then, is an integral element of the behavioral persuasion. It allows researchers to orient their thinking in a systematic manner, and serves to explain the interrelationships between different variables.

Limitations of Theory

Most writers readily admit the limits of theory. First, since theory, per se, is not empirical research, future empirical validation of theory is assumed to be necessary. Secondly, a theory can over-generalize or over-particularize.[32] Both potentials exist in theory construction, and should be guarded against. Finally, the theorist may be so bound up with theory that he ignores its ultimate goal, the guiding of empirical research.[33]

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[31]Kaplan, op. cit., p. xii.

[32]Ibid., p. 155.

[33]Robert T. Golembiewski, William A. Welsh, and William J. Crotty, A Methodological Primer for Political Scientists (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1969), p. 26. The authors are particularly adamant on this point and severely score theorists who have "undistinguished records for generating cumulative empirical research."

These limitations, if recognized, should impose no severe restrictions upon the behavioral theorist.

Summary

Theory is an essential component of the behavioral movement. It provides the researcher generalizations about observed facts and serves to guide future efforts. Its primary purpose is the explanation of interrelations among variables, and as such, should be a necessary facet of examining argumentation in political affairs.

III. THE EASTONIAN APPROACH TO POLITICAL THEORY

The behavioral theory with which this paper is most concerned is David Easton's theory of the political system. Although Chapter IV develops a more comprehensive description, a brief abstract is presented here. This develops the specific nature of Easton's theory and explains its choice as the conceptual framework for the thesis.

Description of Easton's Theory

The primary orientation of Easton's theory is general systems analysis. In recent years, political

scientists have turned from the analysis of institutions and structures towards more universally applicable frameworks. Whereas such concepts as the executive, legislature, and judiciary may be bound by cultural limitations, the concept of system is not. As Morton Kaplan described it, systems analysis is:

> . . . the study of a set of interrelated variables, as distinguished from the environment of the set, and of the ways in which this set is maintained under the impact of environmental disturbances.[34]

The primary benefit of systems analysis is that neither does it shift frame of reference as new "facts" are introduced, nor does it prohibit the integration of variables that do not fall within a single discipline.[35] The systems approach is more desirable than other forms of analysis, such as "decision-making," in that it allows not only for an examination of the processes of decision making, but also for the multiplicity of surrounding circumstances.[36]

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[34]Morton Kaplan, "Systems Theory," in Charlesworth, Contemporary Political Analysis, op. cit., p. 150.

[35]Ibid., p. 151.

[36]James N. Rosenau, "The Premises and Promises of Decision-Making Analysis," Charlesworth, Contemporary Political Analysis, op. cit., pp. 189-212.

Easton's adaptation of systems analysis is outlined in several premises. They are:

1. System. It is useful to view political life as a system of behavior.
2. Environment. A system is distinguishable from the environment in which it exists and open to influences from it.
3. Response. Variations in the structures and process within a system may usefully be interpreted as constructive or positive alternative efforts by members of a system to regulate or cope with stress flowing from environmental as well as internal sources.
4. Feedback. The capacity of a system to persist in the face of stress is a function of the presence and nature of the information and other influences that return to its actors and decision-makers.[37]

The political system is extracted from its environment by considering "a set of interactions, abstracted from the totality of social behavior, through which values are authoritatively allocated."[38] Crucial to the operation of this system are two major variables: the capacity of the system to allocate values for the society; and the assurance that they will be accepted. These variables serve to distinguish the political system from all other types of social systems.

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[37]Easton, Framework . . ., op. cit., p. 24.

[38]Ibid., p. 57.

The process of authoritatively allocating values is visualized by Easton as an input-output relationship. Inputs which evolve from the environment are fed into the political system, and are categorized into two groups of variables. The first group, demands, are voiced indications of what authorities ought to do. They represent a variety of "wants" which become demands when articulated to the authorities. In turn, these demands stress the system if not properly regulated. Support, the second variable of input, is the backing which a system receives from its members. Objects of support include the political community, the regime, and the authorities. Since the erosion of support places stress upon the system, any system must generate adequate support to persist.

Assuming sufficient support, a primary function of the political system is to convert demands into decisions or actions, otherwise known as outputs. This is primarily a process of evaluating a multiplicity of demands, and selecting a few as the goals and objectives of the system. Within this process, conflicts arise, and are resolved in various manners. Outputs are in turn channeled into the system in an effort to meet the demands and generate support.

Feedback is the final variable considered. Briefly, it is information transmitted between elements of the system for purposes of regulation and self-maintenance. The most obvious aspect of feedback is that which occurs when outputs are directly channeled back into the system. More intricate, but no less important, is internal feedback within the system. Both types of feedback aid the system in persisting in response to stress.

Two diagramatic models of Easton's system are reproduced on the following page. Diagram I is a complex model of the political system and its environmental influences. Diagram 2 is a simplified model of the basic components of the political system. Both models should aid in understanding Easton's systems theory.

Rationale Behind the Use of Easton's Theory

The selection of Easton's framework for the development of a theory of argumentation is based upon two criteria: (1) its standing in the field of political science, and (2) its compatibility with communications theory. Easton is generally recognized as one of the innovators of behavioral theory and systems analysis. His standing is reflected by Vernon Van Dyke of Iowa who suggested that the term political

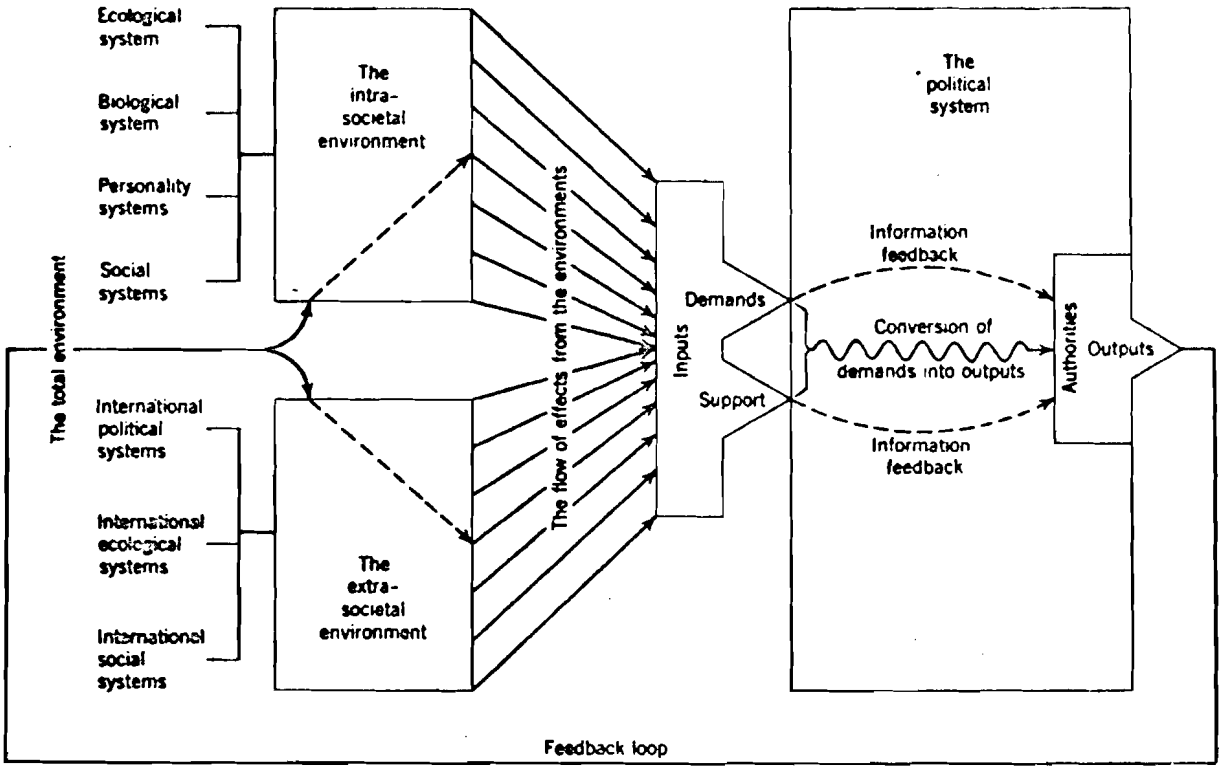

DIAGRAM 1 A DYNAMIC RESPONSE MODEL OF A POLITICAL SYSTEM

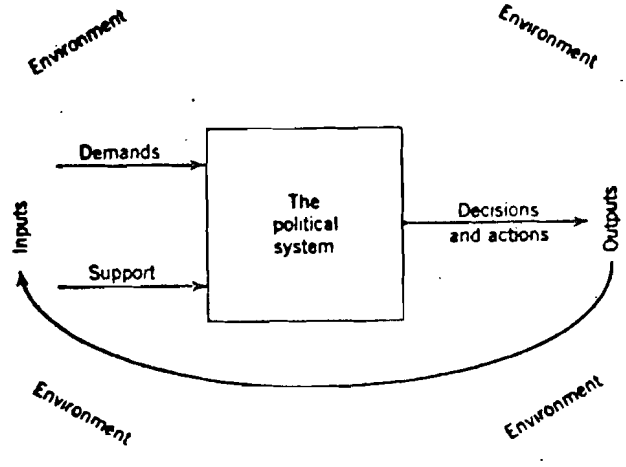

DIAGRAM 2 A SIMPLIFIED MODEL OF A POLITICAL SYSTEM

system itself is thoroughly identified with Easton and his works.[39] Easton's books had considerable impact on political science, as their strongly voiced criticism of prevailing standards served to hasten the development of systematic theory.[40] When Somit and Tanenhaus listed the most influential books of 1955-1965, A Systems Analysis of Political Life was selected. Furthermore, in reporting a 1963 sampling of political scientists, Easton was listed as one of the ten most significant contributors to political science since 1945.[41]

Perhaps even more relevant to this thesis is the link between Easton's theory and communications. Karl Deutsch described this essential connection when he stated:

> The essential connection between control and communication--epitomized in the feedback process, and highlighted in Norbert Wiener's term "cybernetics" for the study of the processes of steering and

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[39]Vernon Van Dyke, "The Optimum Scope of Political Science," Charlesworth, A Design for Political Science . . ., op. cit., p. 13.

[40]Eulau, Behavioralism in Political Science, op. cit., p. 4; Gabriel Almond and James S. Coleman (eds.), The Politics of Developing Areas (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 14; H. V. Wiseman, Political Systems (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1966), p. 221.

[41]Somit and Tanenhaus, op. cit., pp. 189-193.

> communication--has been more widely recognized among political scientists as directly relevant to the analysis of political systems. This view is at the heart of David Easton's important book, A Systems Analysis of Political Life.[42]

Easton also cited communications theory as the source of his approach when he stated:

> The systems approach that I shall be elaborating draws its main inspiration from other sources. These can best be summed up as the systems sciences, at times more narrowly characterized as the communications sciences.[43]

Central to the political system, then, is the concept of communications.

Accepting a preliminary assumption that argumentation is one of many aspects of commuications, Easton's theory is appropriate to its analysis. In the search for a means by which to describe the interrelation between certain aspects of oral communication and political affairs, a highly regarded theory of politics, based upon communications theory, is a logical choice.

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[42]Karl Deutsch, The Nerves of Government (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. viii.

[43]Easton, Framework . . ., op. cit., p. xi.

Summary

David Easton is a political theorist whose ideas are generally classified under the heading "systems analysis." His approach, based upon input-output relationships, draws heavily upon communications theory. This discussion has focused attention on his theory, not only for informative purposes, but also for establishing the basic framework for the remainder of the paper.

IV. CONCLUSION

Theory building is often accompanied by vagueness and imprecision. This chapter attempted to forestall some of those problems. Its concentration in some detail on the underpinnings of the theory being developed achieved several resutls. First, it provided orientation to the major frame of reference of the thesis by identifying the underlying philosophies and guidelines. Second, it defined concepts which will be referred to in remaining chapters. Clearly outlined, such terms as behavioralism, political theory, and systems analysis pose few problems. Finally, it introduced David Easton's theory. The meeting of these goals should enhance the understanding of the

nature of a behavioral theory of argumentation.

CHAPTER III

THE NATURE OF ARGUMENTATION

Argumentation, as the element of the political system under consideration, needs to be identified prior to examining its function within the political system. This chapter identifies argumentation from the vantage of two disciplines: speech and political science. First, it defines argumentation and details its link with related speech processes. Second, the chapter examines the political nature of argumentation by exploring its existence in the political system. This demonstration of the coextensive nature of argumentation and political life completes the framework for a theoretical approach to the function of argumentation in the political system.

I. THE NATURE OF ARGUMENTATION

Scholars have long questioned the nature of argumentation and approaches to its study,[44] as well as its

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[44]Mary Yost, "Argument From the Point of View of Sociology," Quarterly Journal of Public Speaking, III (April, 1917), 109-124; Charles Henry Woolbert, "Conviction

theoretical setting.[45] Brockriede and Ehninger evaluated the progress of these inquiries when they stated:

> During the period 1917-1932 several books, a series of articles, and many Letters to the Editor of QJS gave serious attention to exploring the nature of argument as it is characteristically employed in rhetorical proofs. Since that time, however, students of public address have shown comparatively little interest in the subject, leaving to philosophers, psychologists, and sociologists the principal contributions which have more recently been made toward an improved understanding of argument.[46]

Although progress has been made since this 1960 statement, ample room remains for exploring the nature of argumentation.

Since argumentation is often inter-changed with

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and Persuasion," Quarterly Journal of Public Speaking, III (July, 1917), 249-264; Edward Z. Rowell, "Prolegomena to Argumentation: Part I--The Problem, Its Nature and Significance," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XVIII (February, 1932), 1-13; Wayne E. Brockriede and Douglas Ehninger, "Toulmin on Argument, An Interpretation and Application," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLVI (February, 1960), 44-53.

[45]Wayne Thompson, "A Conservative View of Progressive Rhetoric," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLIX (February, 1963), 1-7; Wayne E. Brockriede, "Toward a Contemporary Aristotelian Theory of Rhetoric," Quarterly Journal of Speech, LII (February, 1966), 33-40; Samuel L. Becker, "Methodological Analysis in Communication Research," Quarterly Journal of Speech, LI (December, 1965), 382.

[46]Brockriede and Ehninger, op. cit., p. 44.

such terms as advocacy, persuasion, discussion, and debate, a process is needed to enable the researcher to focus his attention upon the unique properties of argumentation. This section relies upon a behavioral perspective to define argumentation and demonstrate its relationship with these related speech terms.

Definition of Argumentation

In general, argumentation is defined as the use of arguments in human communication. To preclude tautologous implications, the constituent element "argument" must immediately be defined. Fisher and Sayles articulated the specific approach employed here when they stated:

> All that is necessary for an argument to exist logically is that a statement or a series of statements be made which require or rationally authorizes another statement. Rhetorically, an argument exists only when such a combination of statements is made to an audience.[47]

Berlo expounded a similar view when he wrote that one "meaning for 'argument' is the development of a conclusion

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[47]Fisher and Sayles, op. cit., p. 3.

that is related to certain premises; i.e. the construction of a sentence given two other sentences."[48] Argument as interrelated statements connotes a function in verbal communication. Berlo categorized this function as the content of a message, or "the material in the message that was selected by the source to express his purpose."[49] In sum, argument, a form of message content, is one or more statements which rationally authorize other statements.

The preliminary definition of argumentation accentuates several facets which need further elaboration. First, it has a dual nature--structural and functional. Second, as an element of message content, it is purposeful. Finally, since a descriptive approach suggests that argument concerns only a logical connection between two statements, the materials of its initial premises is not a determining characteristic.

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[48]David K. Berlo, The Process of Communication (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 239. See also, James R. Simmons, "The Nature of Argumentation," Speech Monographs, XXVII (November, 1960), 348.

[49]Berlo, op. cit., p. 59.

Initially, argumentation has a dual nature, encompassing both the structure and use of arguments. The recognition of this duality is at the heart of recent theories of argumentation. In particular, French philosophers Chaim Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca have attacked formal logic for ignoring the realistic applications of methods of proof.[50] As explained by Max Loreau, argumentation cannot be concerned only with formalistic structure, but also must circumscribe the use of proofs in the entire range of human interaction.[51] Accordingly, the rhetorician or student of speech should not be solely concerned with logic, but must also assess its use in rhetorical discourse.[52] The importance of recognizing the dual nature of argumentation was summarized by Loreau when he stated:

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[50]Chaim Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, The New Rhetoric--A Treatise on Argumentation, trans. John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969), pp. 1-10.

[51]Max Loreau, "Rhetoric as the Logic of the Behavioral Science," trans. Lloyd I. Watkins and Paul D. Brandes, Quarterly Journal of Speech, LI (December,1965), 459. See also, Simmons, op. cit., p. 350; and Fisher and Sayles, op. cit., pp. 2,3,6.

[52]Fisher and Sayles, op. cit., p. 14.

> This effort to put an end to the absolute supremacy of formal logic takes the form of the elaboration of a rhetorical reason which is more supple, historical, valid in the behavioral sciences and laying claim to being the law of logic of value judgments.[53]

The behavioral approach to argumentation implies that while logical structure is an element of argumentation, it is meaningful only when complemented by its use in human behavior.

The functional aspect of argumentation accentuates a second element, the purposive nature of argument. According to Fisher and Sayles; "When men argue, regardless of the form of their discourse, they intend that their arguments shall convince or persuade."[54] As Berlo indicated, message content implies purpose on the part of the source. If he employs the structure of argument, his purpose is to create adherence to the substance of his claims. As Perelman phrased it:

> Indeed, the object of the theory of argumentation is the study of the discursive techniques allowing us to induce or to increase the mind's adherence to

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[53]Loreau, op. cit., p. 458.

[54]Fisher and Sayles, op. cit., p. 19.

the theses presented for its assent.[55]

As the rhetorical function of argument, argumentation is purposeful: it is used to influence the thinking of others through communication.

One final aspect of argumentation remains. If argumentation is the use of logically connected statements, then the nature of the materials of proof upon which conclusions are based is irrelevant. This means that there is no need to characterize argumentation as relying upon "logical proof" as opposed to "emotional proof."[56] As phrased by Karl Wallace, "the disappearance of those weasel concepts, logical and emotional proof," would permit a more practical evaluation of the materials of discourse.[57] While argument, to be sure, must involve a

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[55]Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, op. cit., p. 4.

[56]George A. Borden, Richard B. Gregg, and Theodore G. Grove, Speech Behavior and Human Interaction (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), pp. 206-207; Gerald R. Miller, "Evidence and Argument," Miller and Nilsen, op. cit., pp. 25-29; Russell R. Windes and Arthur Hastings, Argumentation and Advocacy (New York: Random House, 1965), p. 25.

[57]Karl R. Wallace, "The Substance of Rhetoric: Good Reasons," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLIX (October, 1963), 248-249.

logical or rational connection between two statements or sentences, the nature of those sentences is not a critical variable in the definition of argumentation.

In review, argumentation is the use of argument in communication. It has a dual nature, is purposive, and draws upon a variety of materials for backing. Throughout the remainder of this paper, the identification of argumentation is based upon these criteria.

Argumentation and the Processes of Communication

Argumentation is often used synonymously with "debate" or "advocacy." The purpose of this section is to further delineate the unique properties of argumentation by describing its interaction with specific genres of communication. The basic theme of this examination is that argumentation is a particular method of conveying thought, and consequently may be employed in any form of discourse. As Perelman phrased it:

> We shall show that the same techniques of argumentation can be encountered at every level, at that of discussion around the family table as well as at that of debate in a highly specialized environment.[58]

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[58]Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, op. cit., p. 7.

To further demonstrate this concept, argumentation is viewed as a means in advocacy and persuasion, debate, and discussion.

Advocacy is the attempt to "change the attitude and action of a group or individual or to deepen and strengthen an attitude already present."[59] The successful result of this attempt is termed persuasion, or:

> . . . that body of effects in receivers, relevant and instrumental to source-desired goals, brought about by a process in which messages have been a major determinant of those effects.[60]

Argumentation, as discourse designed to increase adherence, definitionally is present in advocacy; and if successful, in persuasion. Advocacy may, of course rely upon support other than arguments. When advocacy relies upon "logically" connected statements, however, it is employing argumentation.

Debate, as the confrontation of two positions on a given proposition, is the juxtaposition of two opposing

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[59]Kenneth G. Hance, David C. Ralph, and Milton J. Wiksell, Principles of Speaking (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1969), p. 278.

[60]Wallace C. Fotheringham, Perspectives on Persuasion (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1966), p. 7.

advocates. As a genre of communication, debate may or may not result in adjudication, and may or may not be circumscribed by limitations of time and form.[61] Argumentation exists in this activity in the same form it does in advocacy: to present logically connected statements, or arguments, in support of assertions.

Discussion is a process of group interaction through communication. As Barnlund and Haiman characterized discussion, it:

> . . . consists of a number of persons who perceive each other as participants in a common activity, who interact dynamically with one another, and who communicate their responses chiefly through words.[62]

Although discussion does not require confrontation, the expression of divergent views may employ arguments. According to Halbert Gulley, part of the process of discussion "is the presenting of information in logical, reasonable form so that the contribution as a whole is rational

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[61]James H. McBurney and Glen E. Mills, Argumentation and Debate (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964), p. 4.

[62]Dean C. Barnlund and Franklyn S. Haiman, The Dynamics of Discussion (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), p. 48.

and sounds convincing."[63] From this viewpoint, argumentation exists in discussion in much the same degree as it does in advocacy and debate.

The conclusion of these brief examinations is that argumentation cannot be compartmentalized within any one genre of communication. It is ubiquitous, and exists whenever arguments are employed as a means of proof in purposeful discourse.

Summary

Argumentation has been identified as that body of knowledge dealing with the use of arguments in human communication. Whenever man communicates he may desire to induce belief. As a means of achieving that desire, argumentation may be omnipresent in all phases of communication.

II. THE EXISTENCE OF ARGUMENTATION IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

In the identification of argumentation, its existence

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[63]Halbert E. Gulley, Discussion, Conference, and Group Process (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960), p. 95.

in the political system must be more completely verified. This verification should not only further illumine the nature of argumentation, but also firmly establish its mutual interest with politics. Only the general areas of interest between argumentation and politics will be examined at this time. Interrelationships will be explored in the next chapter.

From the level of macro-political analysis, communication is an essential aspect in the operations of the political system. As demonstrated earlier, systems analysis in particular relies heavily on communications theory. More specifically, politics, which deals with societal relationships, cannot avoid interaction among members. Members of society who perform political functions will communicate both with other members and also with the "system." As Almond and Coleman observed: ". . . all of the functions performed by means of communications."[64] To the extent that argumentation is an element of communication, then, it is present in the political system.

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[64]Almond and Coleman, op. cit., p. 45.

By narrowing the focus within the political system, an even better view of the presence of argumentation is obtained. Decision making, or the "social process of deciding how a physical process shall be carried out," is one particular step in the processing of inputs into outputs.[65] Although these decisions are influenced by a multiplicity of factors, the individual's thought process is one contributing element.[66] One such thought process is argumentation, formulated as an instrument of intentional discourse. Professor Van Dyke specifically identified argument when he stated "that the outcome of the decision making process is often influenced by the substantive arguments advanced in behalf of the propositions."[67] Although the actual influence of arguments is an empirical question to be determined elsewhere, the recognition of cognitive processes employing argumentation seems to be a standard

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[65]William H. Riker, The Theory of Political Coalitions (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), pp. 10-11.

[66]Robinson and Majak, op. cit., p. 180.

[67]Van Dyke, op. cit., p. 35. See also, Riker, loc. cit.

part of political analysis.

Common sense dictates that when men authoritatively allocate values, communication is one essential ingredient. As an element of purposeful communications, argumentation is present and operational in the political system.

III. CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the term argumentation in order that it might be clearly identified. Generally, it was defined as the use of argument in communication. Whenever and wherever man communicates verbally, he may employ argumentation. In one specific arena of man's existence, the political system, argumentation is present as one means of an important communication function. Based upon this view, there is a mutuality of interest between the political system and argumentation. The nature of that interrelation is the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

TOWARDS A BEHAVIORAL THEORY

The preceding chapters have been, in one sense, preliminary to the goal of the paper. They explored two divergent concepts: behavioral political theory and argumentation. Although chapter three began a melding process, the two concepts remain separated. This chapter completes the merger with the construction of a theory ordering and directing analyses of the interrelations existing between argumentation and the political system. As the previous skeletal framework suggested, that theory examines and explains the function of argumentation in the political system. A number of specific substantive questions are ignored in order to prevent yet more complicated problems. As Easton wrote, "To deal with complexity by an equally complex theory would result in thwarting, not in aiding understanding."[68] Consequently, the theory remains broad and general in order to explain the function of argumentation in the

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[68] Ibid., p. 489.

political system.

Guiding the theory construction is the assumption that argumentation functions at every step of the political process. Consequently, the process of the political system will reflect the function of argumentation. Procedurally, this chapter develops four sections following that process. The first reviews feedback as a cross-dimensional precept of systems analysis. The remaining three sections examine argumentation as an element of three functions. Argumentation is: (1) a function of input, (2) a function of conversion, and (3) a function of output.

I. FEEDBACK AS A GUIDING PRINCIPLE

More than any other element, feedback distinguishes systems analysis. A system has the ability to convey information both within (internal feedback) and without (systemic feedback).

Internal Feedback

Internal feedback is the interaction among the various elements within a political system. As diagram 3 indicates, multiple "feedback loops" enable all elements of the system to communicate with each other. For example, Loop I

represents interaction between producers of demands and supports, while Loop V is the interaction between the various producers of outputs. This internal communication continues and multiplies simply by "connecting any two actors in the system wherever it appears plausible that mutual interaction would occur."[69] This means that feedback is an ubiquitous factor. In the subsequent development of this theory, internal feedback is not specifically mentioned. Its existence is subsumed by the discussion of other functions.

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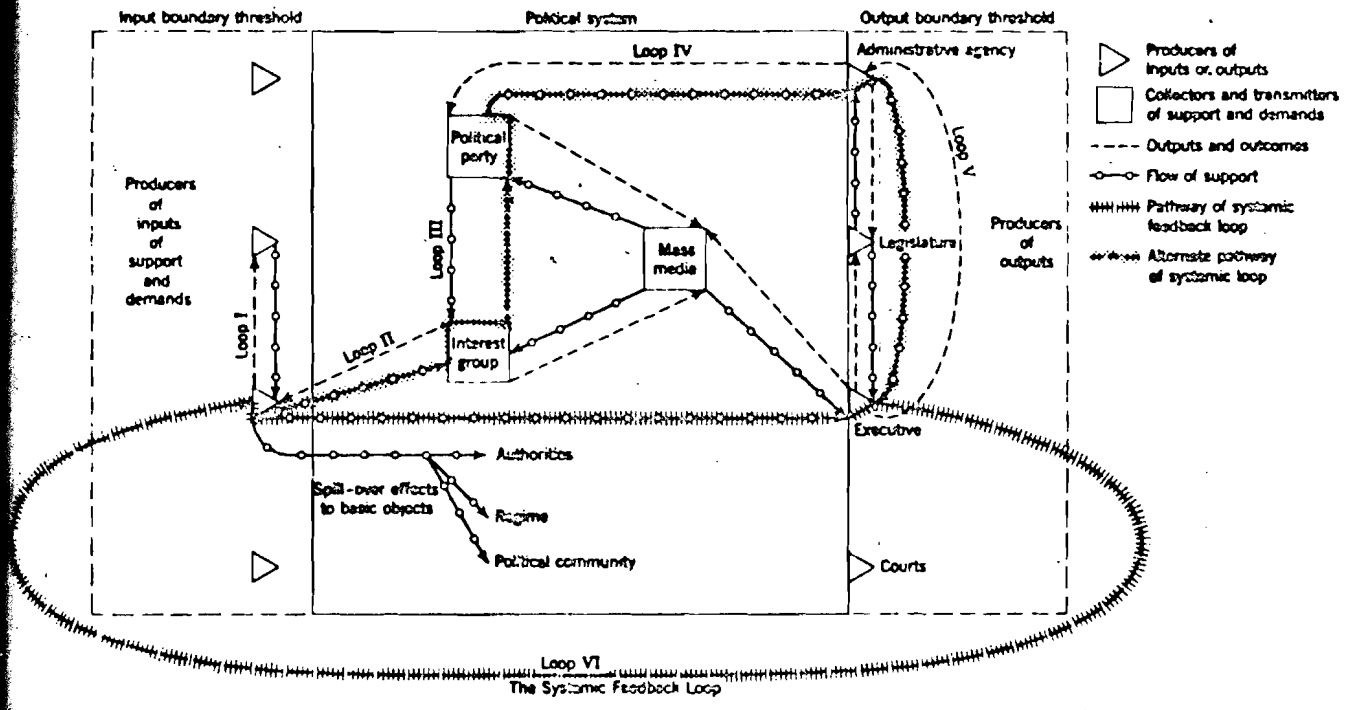
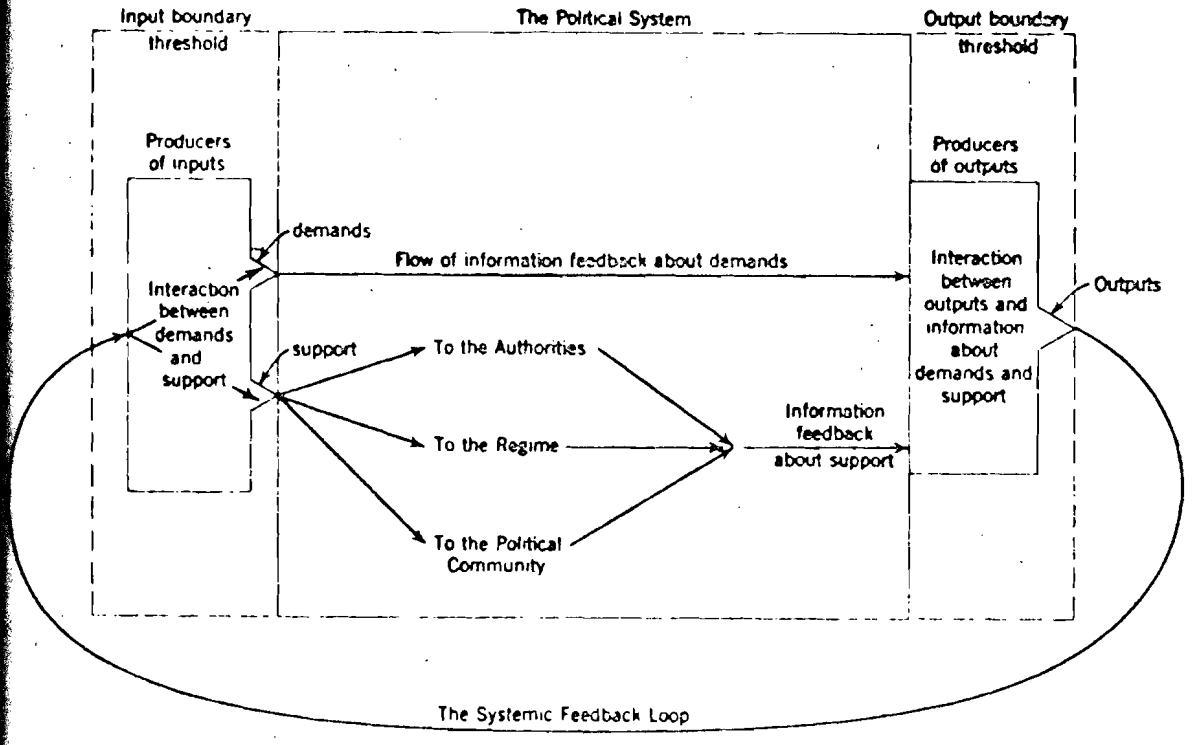
[69] Ibid., p. 375.



The Systemic Feedback Loop



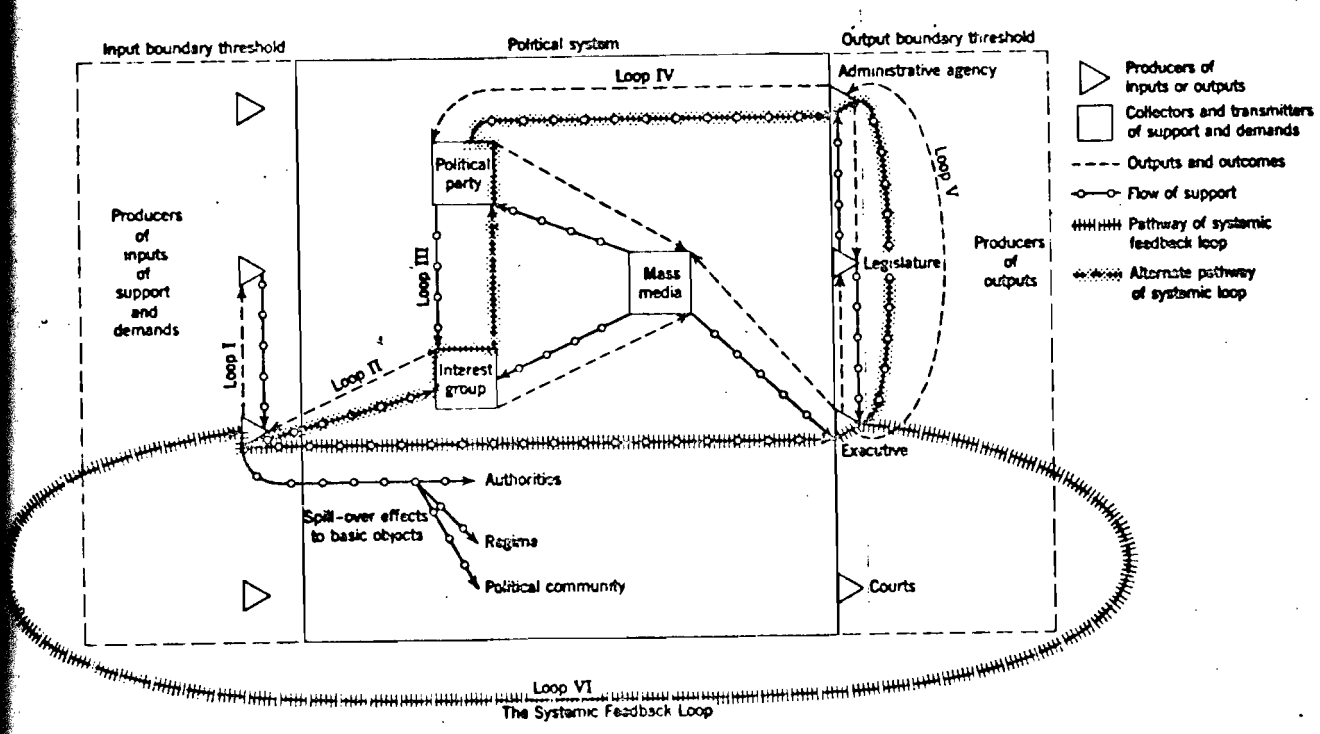


Diagram 3--Internal Feedback Loops

Systemic Feedback

General system feedback is represented by the systemic feedback loop: the link between "the outputs of the political system considered as a unit of analysis to the inputs of support and demand and in that way back again to the initial producers of the outputs, the authorities."[70] As diagram 4 indicates, information is conveyed from producers of outputs,

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[70]Ibid., p. 376.

outside the system and through the environment, back to producers of inputs. Since the process begins again as producers of input communicate directly with producers of outputs, there is no clearly defined beginning or end to this dynamic system.

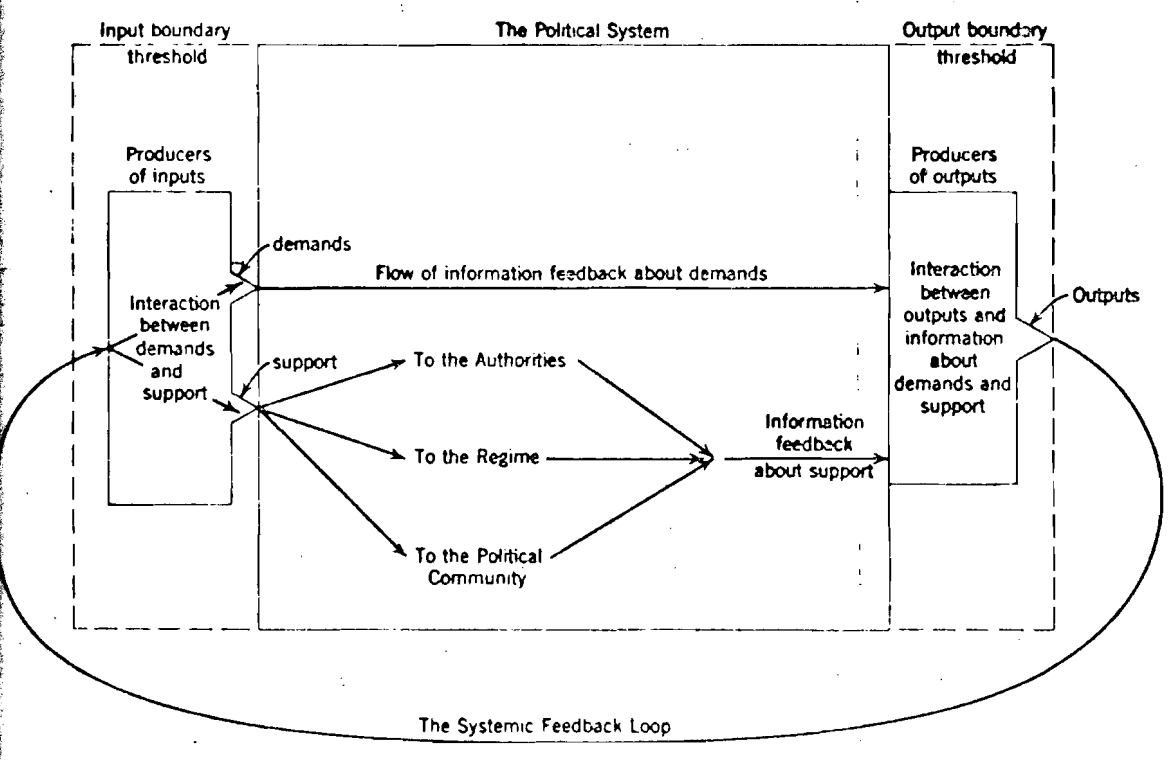

Diagram 4--The Systemic Feedback Loop

Summary

As the communications function of systems analysis, feedback conveys information among elements of the system and between outputs and inputs through the environment.

In discussing the function of argumentation with respect to other elements, the acknowledged presence of feedback should not be forgotten.

II. ARGUMENTATION AS A FUNCTION OF INPUT

Argumentation is first examined as a function of input. As conceptualized by Easton, inputs are "an enormous variety of influences coming from the environment into the system,"[71] or exchanges and transactions crossing the boundaries of the political system. The nature of the system dictates that an input has as its source the environment, or feedback from intra-system outputs. Inputs are classified into two major categories: (1) demands placed upon the system, and (2) support for the system. As a function of input, argumentation is both an expression of demand and also an expression of support.

Argumentation as an Expression of Demand

Demand is "an expression of opinion that an authoritative allocation with regard to a particular subject matter

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[71]Easton, A Framework . . ., op. cit., p. 108.

should or should not be made by those responsible for doing so."[72] Every member of a system has interests, expectations, motivations, and preferences ["wants"] arising out of the environment and previous system outputs. Authorities do not consider all wants since a great many are never expressed. Only when wants are communicated to the system can they be considered demands. Argumentation functions as one means by which members of the political system express demands. Since inputs emanate from the environment or from previous intra-system outputs, examining this function of argumentation as an expression of demand in both situations should clarify it.

Although most demands have some prior involvement with intra-system outputs, some arise more noticeably out of the environment and its constituent sub-systems. For example, demands for regulation of child labor in the United States arose primarily out of economic and social systems. Citizens voiced wants by calling for regulation

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[72]Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, op. cit., p. 38. Unless otherwise noted, all further references to Easton's theory are found in this volume.

of child labor in the coal mines. They argued that the system needed to prohibit child labor to create additional employment for union members and also to eliminate the hazards and dangers of underground work by children. Since existing laws were inadequate to achieve these goals, members were voicing demands for a response from the authorities.[73] The arguments were the result of prolonged concern on the part of social workers and union members. Once articulated, these argued "wants" became demands because they called for authoritative action on the part of the system. In this example, the expression of demands through arguments primarily arose out of the environment. Had legislators or executives initiated the demands for action, the same arguments could be identified as arising out of the system itself. As it was, system members employed argumentation arising out of the environment as a means of expressing their demands.

A more complex expression of demand which arose out of both the extra-societal environment and intra-system

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[73] "The Case of Child Laborers," Patterns of Politics (Wichita: The Department of Political Science, Wichita State University, 1966), p. 144. (Mimeographed.)

outputs, was George F. Kennan's 1957 call for American disengagement from Western Europe. Kennan, a former State Department official, argued that since German unification was an announced goal of the United States, the policy of containment was contradictory. Because unification required self-determination, foreign influences must first be removed. This, Kennan argued, was impractical and infeasible for the Soviet Union because of their feared loss of prestige accompanying any unilateral withdrawal. However, American disengagement would ease tensions and allow for an orderly Soviet withdrawal.[74]

Kennan's arguments resulted from his concern about international relations, based upon his long career as a diplomat; therefore, his expression had its foundations in the international political system. The expression also responded to previous outputs from American authorities who had entered and maintained NATO. In that sense, his arguments arose out of previous intra-system outputs. Because Kennan called for action by the American political

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[74]George F. Kennan, "Kennan Proposes Disengagement," The Cold War: Containment and Its Critics, Hugh Ross, editor (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1963), pp. 43-46.

system, he employed argumentation as an expression of demands upon that system.

These two examples demonstrated one use of argumentation as a function of input. When members of a political system use arguments to demand authoritative action by the system, they employ argumentation as an expression of demand.

Argumentation as an Expression of Support

While the articulation and processing of demands is the raison d'etre of a political system, the presence of adequate support supplies the framework from which it hangs. Because lack of sufficient support may topple the authorities, the regime, or even the political community, much activity of a political system involves the generation of support.

Support is "put in" to the system both covertly and overtly. Since covert support is a non-expressed favorable attitude or sentiment toward the system, it is not relevant to the theory of argumentation. Overt support, however, is actions or expressions by members of the political system in support of the political community, the regime, or the authorities. Although overt support is conveyed to the system by a variety of means, when that

conveyance is verbal communication, argumentation functions as one particular means of expressing support.

The expression of support takes two forms. The first, specific support, is satisfaction with the system generated by outputs meeting specific demands. Stress placed upon a system by demands is then alleviated when outputs can generate specific support. Diffuse support is a broad based reservoir of favorable attitudes which enable members to support the system regardless of fluctuations in specific inputs and outputs. For example, diffuse support is belief in the legitimacy of a system as generated by ideology or feelings of good will. Examples reflecting both specific and diffuse support help provide a better grasp of the function of argumentation.

The development of the National Economic Development Council (Neddy) in Great Britain in the early 1960's exemplified an expression of specific support. Demands for more adequate economic planning were widespread in debates concerning British economic growth, with the attack on Tory economic policies leveled from many quarters. Neddy, the Government's answer, was looked upon initially with hostility

by certain interest groups, particularly labor.[75] Labor demanded that the council not exercise excessive controls over wage increases. Once assurance was given that there would not be excessive wage controls, labor joined and supported the council.

The willingness of labor to support a governmental agency bridging the gap between the "establishment" and "working classes" represented a break with traditional social class attitudes. In supporting the council, labor argued that national economic interests and responsibility necessitated the reduction of long-standing antipathy between two divergent classes. These arguments were primarily generated, however, by the meeting of labor's specific demands. If the government had rejected the demands on wage control and had not included labor on the Council, labor's support would have been much more reserved. As it was, labor's supportive arguments had been generated by the specific outputs which met their demands. Support for the output was expressed via communicated arguments functioning as expressions of specific support for the government.

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[75]James B. Christoph, "The Birth of Neddy," Cases in Comparative Politics, James B. Christoph, editor (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), p. 56.

In contrast to support in specific instances, diffuse support is the ideological backing for, or belief in, the government and political community. Argumentation as one means of articulating diffuse support, again functions in an expressive capacity.

Although all nations have problems generating support, developing nations undergo most frequent upheavals because of inadequate support. Turkey provides a particularly interesting example of argumentation employed as an expression of diffuse support in a system under stress. In 1960, the government of Premier Adan Menderes was overthrown in a bloodless military coup. Menderes, instituting what many Turks felt to be repressive measures, lacked support for his authority and regime. Diffuse support for a democratic political community, however, remained and civilian rule was reinstated by voters on July 9, 1961, less than a year and a half later. In large measure, this systemic adjustment was accomplished because the military and political elite relied on diffuse support when arguing in favor of a new democratic constitution. When expressing this support, advocates of the constitution argued from internalized beliefs supporting their position. These were:

> . . . the Turkish armed forces tradition of staying out of politics, the ideology of staying out of politics inculcated in the officer corps by the Ataturk revolution, and the ideological and class kinship of the armed forces with much of the civilian urban educated class.[76]

Through a combination of covert support within the influential elites and an expression of this support to all members, the system re-adjusted and has remained relatively stable since that time. Argumentation functioned as one factor in achieving stability through the expression of diffuse support.

Summary

This section examined the input function of argumentation as an expression of demands and support. While there are a multiplicity of methods by which these two inputs are communicated to the system, the examples presented demonstrated that argumentation is one means of expression. The examples described and identified the functional manner in which argumentation exists as a function of input.

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[76]Walter F. Weiker, The Turkish Revolution, 1960-61 (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1963), p. 157.

III. ARGUMENTATION AS A FUNCTION OF CONVERSION

The conversion of inputs into outputs is the basic activity of a political system. In the processing of various demands and support, the authorities exercise a degree of choice. As phrased by Easton:

> From among the variety of demands presented in a system, its members, particularly at times those who have special responsibility of leadership, must select a few as the goals and objectives of the system and commit the limited resources of the society to their realization.[77]

Any sort of choice, in turn, involves "valuation and evaluation in terms of a frame of reference."[78] Easton also stated that only rarely does any society exclude at least some "deliberation and consultation with regard to alternatives." Conversion is primarily a process of choosing from alternatives presented to the system. Members of the system, in evaluating these options, necessarily interact

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[77]Easton, A Framework . . ., op. cit., p. 131.

[78]Richard C. Snyder, H.W. Bruck and Burton Sapin, "The Decision-Making Approach," Political Behavior: A Reader in Theory and Research, Heinz Eulau, Samuel J. Eldersveld and Morris Janowitz, editors (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), p. 353.

in a deliberative or consultative manner. As one means of communicating preferences in these deliberations, argumentation functions as an expression of evaluation of both demands and supports.

Evaluation of Demands

Conversion is concerned first with a tripartite processing of demands. First, a demand may be directly converted into an output. The demand is recognized, admitted, and processed with a minimum degree of controversy or evaluation. Second, demands are reduced and combined from their original state. For example, a multitude of demands for action may be answered by a single output, or reductions may entirely eliminate the demand from the agenda of consideration. Finally, demands may be transformed into "issues;" those demands subject to the greatest controversy and most likely to be considered as possible alternatives for authoritative action. Since evaluation is most pronounced and most important in the reduction and issue stages, a discussion of argumentation as an expression of evaluation centers there.

The reduction and combination of demands in the political system is often accomplished through "gatekeepers," or intermediaries. Interest groups, political

parties, and opinion leaders all function as "gate-keepers" evaluating demands to be further communicated to the authorities. The authorities themselves may also participate in this process, serving to reduce further the flow of demands towards the decision point. When preferences or standards of acceptance are set by these gate-keepers, argumentation is one means of articulating that evaluation. A debate over items for inclusion on an agenda is an elementary example of the potential use of argumentation in the evaluation of demand reduction. Similar examples are the evaluation of members' demands by interest groups such as the National Educational Association or the AFL-CIO. Although many demands may be articulated in meetings, only a few are chosen by these groups for transmission to the authorities. To the extent that argumentation is employed to support the relative merits of demands in the reduction process, it becomes an expression of evaluation.

The jurisdictional screening of cases brought before the United States Supreme Court provides a more complete example of the use of argumentation in demand reduction. Of all cases presented to the Court over 95 per cent are

dismissed. These cases are screened each Friday in judicial conferences with each judge expressing his preferences by arguing the relative merits of the cases.[79] Arguments are directed towards an evaluation of the cases significant enough to warrant the Court's limited time. The subsequent case selection represents a significant degree of demand reduction. Argumentation functions in this process as one means by which each judge can express his evaluation.

The second major stage of demand conversion is issue evaluation. This step is often termed "parliamentary debate" or "policy deliberation." Argumentation functions in issue evaluation as a means of expressing preferences.

Deliberation over Soviet foreign policy in the 1920's exemplified this particular function of argumentation. At that time, two sets of demands had evolved into issues for evaluation. One issue, represented by Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Kamenov, urged a more radical foreign policy, including the promotion of a revolution by the German Communist Party.

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[79]Glendon Schubert, Judicial Policy-Making (Chicago Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1965), pp. 96-97. See also, Samuel Krislov, The Supreme Court in the Political Process (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), pp. 60-61.

A second group, headed by Lenin, Chicherin and later, Stalin, favored internal consolidation of the gains made during and following the 1917 revolution.[80] This basic conflict in the evaluation of Soviet foreign policy options later became a central issue in the power struggle between Stalin and Trotsky. Although a variety of means were employed in this evaluation of issues, both factions employed argumentation to articulate their opinions. Stalin, for example:

> . . . claimed that the Soviet Union was faced with 'capitalistic encirclement,' an argument and rationalization he was to use often in the future. Stalin also was arguing for moderation with the peasants and giving 'Middle peasants' greater freedoms for raising their own crops.[81]

These statements served as the premises upon which Stalin based his claim that the Soviet Union should strengthen and consolidate socialism at home before proceeding to world revolution.

Trotsky, on the other hand, pushed revolutionary

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[80]Alvin Z. Rubenstein, The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union (New York: Random House, 1966), pp. 82-93. See also, Louis Fischer, The Soviets in World Affairs (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), pp. 523-524.

[81]"The Rise of Stalin to Power," Patterns of Politics, op. cit., p. 33.

goals faster and further to the left. At the Fourteenth Congress held in December, 1925, he and his followers attacked the positions of Stalin and argued strongly that the doctrine of the Communist Party demanded world revolution. This situation contained a basic division in opinions about future Soviet foreign policy outputs. Argumentation served the advocates of the various alternatives by functioning as one means of expressing evaluations.

Divergent demands, creating the need for evaluation, are processed in two forms. They are reduced and combined, or consolidated into issues. In either instance, evaluations of alternatives are expressed and argumentation functions in these situations as one means of the expression.

Evaluation of Support

Argumentation also functions in conversion by expressing evaluation of supports. Support, while not directly converted into outputs, is evaluated in the process of choosing the set of underlying principles supporting the system. While massive cleavage in the expression of support may undermine a system's existence, room exists for normal differences of opinion. As Easton expressed it,

"social diversity and attendant attitudinal differences may lead to the verbal expression of differences." Argumentation functions as one means of expressing those differences.

The earlier discussion of Soviet foreign policy outputs uniquely exemplifies the evaluation of support. Both sides in this confrontation ultimately backed their demands for future foreign policy upon divergent interpretations of the guiding ideology. The claims of Trotsky relied upon his interpretation of Marx, the demand for world-wide revolution. Stalin implied that the ideological basis of the Soviet Union did not require action which could conceivably destroy the nation-state itself. The nature of the system's supportive ideology was at stake in this evaluation of policy demands. Since ideology is classified by Easton as the "articulated or verbalized" component of diffuse support, argumentation was employed in this instance in the evaluation of diffuse support.

Also exemplifying this function is the evaluation of support which occurs in developing countries. In these nations competition exists between the traditional and the independent legal structures. Cleavage in diffuse support exists because, from the individual citizen's point of view,

"there is no reason to use, or 'accord legitimacy to,' new structures when ceteris paribus, the older traditional structures serve just as well."[82] Clark's dissertation examined a specific conflict in support: whether a Tanzanian village chooses a tribal or governmental legal system to settle his disputes. Clark found that the relative influence of members strongly affiliated with one of the sub-systems affected the choice of the members not predisposed in either direction.[83] To the extent that the "influencer" employed argumentation in his communication with the "influencee," he used it as an expression of the evaluation of support.

Summary

The conversion of demands into outputs is the raison d'etre of a political system. Since that process involves an evaluation of alternatives, argumentation serves members expressing preferences among the alternatives. In the conversion of demands, arguments exist in the

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[82]Clark, op. cit., p. 2.

[83]Ibid., p. 37.

reduction stage as expressions evaluating the merits of demands for further consideration. In the issue stage, arguments are employed to express preferences over which issues become outputs. Support, while not directly converted into outputs, also is evaluated in the conversion process. Argumentation is a function of that evaluation when system members express preferences about the nature of the system's support. With both demands and support, argumentation is employed in order to examine the available alternatives and express evaluation of the options.

IV. ARGUMENTATION AS A FUNCTION OF OUTPUT

While conversion represents the evaluation of options available to authorities, outputs are the resultant "stream of activities flowing from them." This section contends that argumentation exists as a function of outputs in the expression of associated statements. A detailing of the nature of outputs clarifies that contention.

Throughout most of this thesis, outputs have been termed "decisions and actions." More completely, however, they are "authoritative and associated" outputs. Authoritative outputs are formal decisions or actions which

members of a system are compelled to accept as binding. Authoritative statements exist as the announcement of decisions or laws, while authoritative performances become binding actions such as physical coercion. Associated outputs perform the function of "political pump priming," accompanying authoritative outputs and smoothing the way for acceptance. Associated statements are the expressed rationales and justifications which accompany authoritative outputs and aid in insuring their acceptance. Associated performances are exemplified by the granting of benefits and favors.

Argumentation is considered an expression of associated statements for two reasons. First, argumentation, an element of purposive verbal communication, is definitionally excluded from performances. Second, authoritative statements cannot be argumentative, since, in isolation, they are but single statement assertions without any attendant justification. Realistically, however, these authoritative statements are usually, if not universally, accompanied by associated statements. Argumentation, categorized as an expression of associated statements, closely interacts with authoritative statements.

Since outputs are the means "by which a system,

through the actions of its authorities, may seek to cope with the erosion of support," all converted demands should serve to enhance both specific and diffuse system support. Consequently, argumentation as an expression of associated statements is examined in outputs designed to increase both specific and diffuse support.

Expression of Associated Statements: Specific Support

Specific support is generated by policy outputs which satisfy specific demands. Creation of an output, however, may not be sufficient to generate the needed support. It is also necessary, according to Easton, "to persuade the members to accept an authoritative output that has been or will be produced." Authorities also utilize persuasion to induce societal members to perceive that outputs being produced are having beneficial effects. As an integral element of this persuasion, argumentation functions as a means of creating specific support through associated statements.

An example of associated statements designed to achieve specific support are decisions of the United States Supreme Court. As a highly political branch of government, the Supreme Court announces decisions not only as law, but

also as a justified policy within the political system.[84] Illustrating this use of policy decisions is Marbury v. Madison.[85] Under the auspices of the Judiciary Act of 1801, John Adams had appointed sixteen new Federalist judges on the day preceding his successor's inauguration. Thomas Jefferson refused to honor the "midnight appointments," which the Federalists had been unable to deliver before leaving office. One of the appointees, William Marbury, sought a writ of mandamus from the Supreme Court compelling Jefferson's Secretary of State, James Madison, to deliver the commission.

In the majority opinion, Chief Justice John Marshall first argued that Marbury was appointed by the President under the auspices of law, and was therefore entitled to his commission. This portion of the opinion was obiter dicta, or material extraneous to the final decision, since it compelled the President and Secretary of State to do

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[84]See Robert A. Dahl, "Decision-Making in a Democracy: The Supreme Court as a National Policy Maker," Journal of Public Law, VI (1958), 279.

[85]Marbury v. Madison, 1 Cranch 137 (1803).

nothing.[86] Through the obiter however, Federalist Marshall defended his party and created specific support within the party for the opinion. Federalists could take comfort in the fact that the system responded to their contention that Marbury had a right to his commission.

Concomitantly, Marshall refused to issue the writ of mandamus, arguing that the authority to issue the writ enlarged the area of original jurisdiction set by the Constitution, and therefore was patently unconstitutional. With this decision, Marshall satisfied the Republicans by refusing to grant the writ, and thereby avoided an ultimate political confrontation with the Executive. Although upset by the obiter, the Jeffersonians did not reject the decision because of the specific support it created. This incident represents one instance in which argumentation functioned as an element of output. Since "majority opinions are instruments for the articulation of the rationale for the decision,"[87]

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[86]Charles Grove Haines, The Role of the Supreme Court in American Government and Politics, 1789-1835 (New York: Russell & Russell, 1960), p. 248.

[87]Schubert, op. cit., p. 102.

argumentation functioned as one means of expressing associated statements.

Expression of Associated Statements: Diffuse Support

In addition to producing specific support, authorities are concerned with the generation of diffuse support. Specific decisions or actions mean little if the system lacks adequate diffuse support to insure their acceptance. Consequently, the authorities often act to create a general sense of good will and legitimacy by offering tangible benefits and by creating favorable states of mind. As an element of associated statements, argumentation is one means of expression designed to create this diffuse support. Exhortations to display greater patriotism or loyalty, to back the beliefs in democracy, or to respect the office of the Presidency are all examples of current efforts to create diffuse support in the United States.

The need for diffuse support is often demonstrated by totalitarian regimes employing a variety of methods to create feelings of legitimacy and common interest. Such efforts were demonstrated in pre-World War II Germany. At that time:

> The people of this country did not seem to feel that they were being cowed and held down by an unscrupulous and brutal dictatorship. On the contrary, they supported it with genuine enthusiasm. Somehow it imbued them with a new hope and a new confidence and an astonishing faith in the future of their country.[88]

Much of this feeling came from authoritative performances, such as recovery from the depression, as well as propaganda statements not employing argumentation. However, argumentation functioned in the persuasive activities of the regime. For example, Hitler argued if business and industry supported his election as chancellor their economic position would be enhanced since the disruptive elements of democracy, Marxism and organized labor would be effectively controlled.[89] Drawing upon ideological premises easily accepted by the industrialists, Hitler logically concluded with them, that National Socialism should be supported.

Efforts to create diffuse support rely heavily upon signs and symbols, traditions, emotion, indoctrination and

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[88]William L. Shirer, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich (Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1962), p. 320.

[89]Ibid., pp. 265-266.

and coercion. They also, however rely on argumentation as a means of achieving the desired effects, expressing associated statements aimed at creating diffuse support.

Summary

As a function of output, argumentation exists as a means of expressing associated statements. These statements, justifying and defending authoritative outputs, are intended to aid in the creation of specific and diffuse support. Arguments are used by the producers of outputs to create specific support by convincing system members that the outputs adequately satisfy their demands. Arguments create diffuse support when the system persuades the members of its legitimacy or favorable ideology. In both instances, argumentation, as a function of output, is one means of insuring the acceptance of an authoritative allocation of values.

V. CONCLUSION

This chapter, approaching argumentation from the viewpoint of a systems analysis of political life, outlined the basic structure of a theoretical approach to the function of argumentation in the political system. The basis of the

theory is that argumentation has specialized functions in each of the major elements of the political system. Specifically, argumentation functions in input as an expression of demand and support, in conversion, as a means of expressing evaluations of alternatives, and finally, in output, as an expression of associated statements. Retaining the perspective of feedback, argumentation can be viewed as a permeating element of the political system. Whenever there is communication, argumentation may exist. This theory structures a way of thinking about how that pervasive element actually functions in a political system.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined two separate bodies of knowledge, behavioral political theory and argumentation, and has advanced a theory describing the nature of their interrelations. Chapter V reviews the theory and its background, and details the theory's implications for future research.

Review

This thesis developed a behavioral theory explaining the function of argumentation in the political system. The theory's foundation is the behavioral approach to political science which, by imposition of the standards of empirical research, required a descriptive approach. Theory, as a component of behavioralism, exists to order and direct investigations, with explanation as its final goal. Within behavioral theory, argumentation is "the use of argument in human communication." An argument is two logically connected ideas expressed by a person employing them to win adherence to the substance of his claims. Because the use of argument may be present whenever man communicates, a political system

is one arena in which argumentation exists.

The theory described the functional bases of the coexistence of argumentation and the political system. While the existence and use of arguments in the political system is self-evident, the theoretical description of how they function is not. By employing David Easton's systems analysis of political life as a guide, argumentation can be viewed as a function of input, conversion and output. As a function of input, argumentation acts as an expression of demands and supports; as a function of conversion it acts as an expression of evaluation; and finally, as a function of output, argumentation acts as an expression of associated statements. By ordering the functions of argumentation the thesis presents a unique theoretical approach to the political nature of argumentation.

The theory's uniqueness rests in its adaptability to the dynamic, interracting nature of argumentation and political life. Through this theory the existence of argumentation in either a movement or a particular decision can be identified and examined. The theory enables the researcher to study argumentation as the effect of intra or extra-environmental influences, or as internal and systemic

feedback. Argumentation can be approached as the product of external influences or as the precursor of future action. For example, once an argument enters the system as an expression of demand, it can be traced as it progresses through the process of conversion and output. Should the content of the argumentation change, the theory, through demand reduction, allows for description of the influences causing that change. The theory enables a researcher to take a realistic and unified look at argumentation within the framework of the political system. In 1932 Edward Z. Rowell wrote:

> Argument is a part of the real business of living. . . . It employs methods of many kinds and appears in forms which differ widely in character. In any study we need to keep constantly conscious of this diversity of its function and manifestations.[90]

When argumentation is a part of "political living," this theory should be an effective way of studying its function.

Future Implications

The value of a behavioral theory of the political function of argumentation is first the provision of a methodological orientation for future researchers. A need

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[90]Rowell, op. cit., p. 591.

for future implementation and verification of the theory exists. Any theory by its very nature can be further perfected. Empirical research relying upon the theory is perhaps the best means of doing that. According to Wayne Brockriede:

> First, however tentative and unsatisfactory an initial formulation might be, an empirically-derived theory might guide experimental research. . . .
>
> Perhaps one of the difficulties is that in the absence of a theoretical system the experimenter studies one unit at a time without understanding very well how what is being studied relates to relevant matters not being studied. Behavioral scientists tell me that experiments impelled by a theoretical framework are more likely to be productive than those that are not so impelled, and that experiments, in turn, contain powerful methods which can refine the theory. Each needs the inter-action of the other.[91]

This theory should be particularly adaptable to empirically oriented case or movement studies. Because these studies examine realistic applications of argumentation, the focus and ordering provided by the theory should be beneficial. In turn, the studies could test the "usability" of the theory as a tool of argumentation research. Its classification as a "conceptual scheme," or as "strong theory," is contingent

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[91]Brockriede, op. cit., p. 39.

upon such testing.

In the end, a theory is relevant and useful only insofar as it is a research generating apparatus. This theory hopefully provides new directions to those seeking to examine the realistic function of argumentation within the political system.

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