

arena. To say that the handwriting is on the wall is also to say that further activity no longer has any impact on the outcome; hence, such activity must be expressively motivated. Over time, the ratio of diehards to instrumentalists increases.

These four propositions suggest that incorporating expressive benefits of participation in a rational-choice framework does not result in tautology or even ad hocery. On the contrary, the extremely simple formulation summarized in (2) generates a number of propositions with empirical content.

Why Do Extremists Participate?

Although it goes part way toward answering our question, the formulation in (2) falls short. Specifically, (2) implies disproportionate extremist participation *only where participation is instrumentally motivated*. That is, the greater the difference (B) between the values one attaches to a proposed alternative and the status quo, the greater the expected value of participating. Thus, people with extreme views about moves away from the status quo have higher expected values.

But what of arenas in which instrumental benefits are not the primary or even a significant motivation for participation? As argued above, in such arenas participators must be motivated by expressive benefits. But if participation has intrinsic value, then disproportionate extremist participation in such arenas logically requires that extremists get more expressive benefits from participation. Why should this be true? Why are there not comparable proportions of wishy-washy moderates who enjoy voting and attending mass demonstrations, who love to work in national campaigns, and who take satisfaction in writing small checks to obscure causes? Why should the "taste" for political participation be distributed so nonrandomly?

The common-sense answer is that extremists "care" more than moderates. But what does that mean, exactly, and can it be measured independently of the behavior it is thought to explain? Extremist is a relative term, commonly referring to someone whose preferences lie distant from the mainstream, which often will include the status quo. So, someone deeply dissatisfied with the status quo will take greater satisfaction in expressing his or her dissatisfaction than someone not comparably dissatisfied. Alternatively, someone upset by some other extremist's proposal to move away from the status quo will take greater satisfaction in