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Bu çalışma, Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Araştırma Vakfı bünyesinde araştırmacı Cihan Dizdaroğlu ve stajyer Mert Gürboğa tarafından hazırlanmıştır.

## American Political Science Review February 2008, Vol. 102, Issue 01

### 1. Cycles in American National Electoral Politics, 1854–2006: Statistical Evidence and an Explanatory Model

Samuel Merrill, Bernard Grofman and Thomas L. Brunell

#### Abstract

Are there cycles in American politics? In particular, does the proportion of the Democratic/Republican vote share for president and/or seat share in Congress rise and fall over extended periods of time? If so, are the cycles regular, and what are the cycling periods? Moreover, if there are regular cycles, can we construct an integrated model—such as a negative feedback loop—that identifies political forces that could generate the observed patterns? First, we use spectral analysis to test for the presence and length of cycles, and show that regular cycles do, in fact, exist—with periods that conform to those predicted by the Schlesingers—for swings between liberalism and conservatism—but with durations much shorter than those most commonly claimed by Burnham and others in characterizing American political realignments. Second, we offer a voter–party interaction model that depends on the tensions between parties' policy and office motivations and between voters' tendency to sustain incumbents while reacting against extreme policies. We find a plausible fit between the regular cycling that this model projects and the time series of two-party politics in America over the past century and a half.

[http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSR%2FPSR102\\_01%2FS0003055408080064a.pdf&code=3450112796c220ced69390f92ddf4fcd](http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSR%2FPSR102_01%2FS0003055408080064a.pdf&code=3450112796c220ced69390f92ddf4fcd)

### 2. Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot

Simeon Nichter

#### Abstract

Scholars typically understand vote buying as offering particularistic benefits in exchange for vote choices. This depiction of vote buying presents a puzzle: with the secret ballot, what prevents individuals from accepting rewards and then voting as they wish? An alternative explanation, which I term “turnout buying,” suggests why parties might offer rewards even if they cannot monitor vote choices. By rewarding unmobilized supporters for showing up at the polls, parties can activate their passive constituencies. Because turnout buying targets supporters, it only requires monitoring whether individuals vote. Much of what scholars interpret as vote buying may actually be turnout buying. Reward targeting helps to distinguish between these strategies. Whereas Stokes's vote-buying model predicts that parties target moderate opposers, a model of turnout buying predicts that they target strong supporters. Although the two strategies coexist, empirical tests suggest that Argentine survey data in Stokes 2005 are more consistent with turnout buying.

[http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSR%2FPSR102\\_01%2FS0003055408080106a.pdf&code=3450112796c220ce6ca4bcf617ba24df](http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSR%2FPSR102_01%2FS0003055408080106a.pdf&code=3450112796c220ce6ca4bcf617ba24df)

### 3. Social Pressure and Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment

Alan S. Gerber, Donald P. Green and Christopher W. Larimer

#### Abstract

Voter turnout theories based on rational self-interested behavior generally fail to predict significant turnout unless they account for the utility that citizens receive from performing their civic duty. We distinguish between two aspects of this type of utility, intrinsic satisfaction from behaving in accordance with a norm and extrinsic incentives to comply, and test the effects of priming intrinsic motives and applying varying degrees of extrinsic pressure. A large-scale field experiment involving several hundred thousand registered voters used a series of mailings to gauge these effects. Substantially higher turnout was observed among those who received mailings promising to publicize their turnout to their household or their neighbors. These findings demonstrate the profound importance of social pressure as an inducement to political participation.

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### 4. Is Voting Contagious? Evidence from Two Field Experiments

David W. Nickerson

#### Abstract

Members of the same household share similar voting behaviors on average, but how much of this correlation can be attributed to the behavior of the other person in the household? Disentangling and isolating the unique effects of peer behavior, selection processes, and congruent interests is a challenge for all studies of interpersonal influence. This study proposes and utilizes a carefully designed placebo-controlled experimental protocol to overcome this identification problem. During a face-to-face canvassing experiment targeting households with two registered voters, residents who answered the door were exposed to either a Get Out the Vote message (treatment) or a recycling pitch (placebo). The turnout of the person in the household not answering the door allows for contagion to be measured. Both experiments find that 60% of the propensity to vote is passed onto the other member of the household. This finding suggests a mechanism by which civic participation norms are adopted and couples grow more similar over time.

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### 5. Challenges to the Impartiality of State Supreme Courts: Legitimacy Theory and “New-Style” Judicial Campaigns

James L. Gibson

#### Abstract

Institutional legitimacy is perhaps the most important political capital courts possess. Many believe, however, that the legitimacy of elected state courts is being threatened by the rise of politicized judicial election campaigns and the breakdown of judicial impartiality. Three features of such campaigns, the argument goes, are dangerous to the perceived impartiality of courts: campaign contributions, attack ads, and policy pronouncements by candidates for judicial office. By means of an experimental vignette embedded in a representative survey, I investigate whether these factors in fact compromise the legitimacy of courts. The survey data

indicate that campaign contributions and attack ads do indeed lead to a diminution of legitimacy, in courts just as in legislatures. However, policy pronouncements, even those promising to make decisions in certain ways, have no impact whatsoever on the legitimacy of courts and judges. These results are strongly reinforced by the experiment's ability to compare the effects of these campaign factors across institutions (a state Supreme Court and a state legislature). Thus, this analysis demonstrates that legitimacy is not obdurate and that campaign activity can indeed deplete the reservoir of goodwill courts typically enjoy, even if the culprit is not the free-speech rights the U.S. Supreme Court announced in 2002.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1720660&jid=PSR&volumeId=102&issueId=01&aid=1720652>

## 6. Systemic Politics and the Origins of Great Power Conflict

**Bear F. Braumoeller**

### Abstract

Systemic theories of international politics rarely predict conflict short of cataclysmic systemic wars, and dyadic theories of conflict lack systemic perspective. This article attempts to bridge the gap by introducing a two-step theory of conflict among Great Powers. In the first stage, states engage in a dynamic, ongoing process of managing the international system, which inevitably produces tensions among them. In the second stage, relative levels of security-related activity determine how and when those tensions erupt into disputes. A test of the theory on Great Power conflicts from the nineteenth century supports the argument and, moreover, favors the deterrence model over the spiral model as a proximate explanation of conflict in the second stage.

[http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSR%2FPSR102\\_01%2FS0003055408080088a.pdf&code=cdd0200427b19bf691f4e05f6aebbcf2](http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSR%2FPSR102_01%2FS0003055408080088a.pdf&code=cdd0200427b19bf691f4e05f6aebbcf2)

## 7. The Multiple Effects of Casualties on Public Support for War: An Experimental Approach

**Scott Sigmund Gartner**

### Abstract

Public support for a conflict is not a blank check. Combat provides information people use to update their expectations about the outcome, direction, value, and cost of a war. Critical are fatalities—the most salient costs of conflict. I develop a rational expectations theory in which both increasing recent casualties and rising casualty trends lead to decreased support. Traditional studies neither recognize nor provide a method for untangling these multiple influences. I conduct six experiments, three on the Iraq War (two with national, representative samples) and three with a new type of panel experiment design on hypothetical military interventions. The results of hazard and ordered logit analyses of almost 3,000 subjects support a rational expectations theory linking recent casualties, casualty trends, and their interaction to wartime approval. I also examine the effects of the probability of victory, information levels, and individual characteristics on the support for war, and contrast results from representative and convenience samples.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1720672&jid=PSR&volumeId=102&issueId=01&aid=1720664>

## 8. Oil, Islam, and Women

Michael L. Ross

### Abstract

Women have made less progress toward gender equality in the Middle East than in any other region. Many observers claim this is due to the region's Islamic traditions. I suggest that oil, not Islam, is at fault; and that oil production also explains why women lag behind in many other countries. Oil production reduces the number of women in the labor force, which in turn reduces their political influence. As a result, oil-producing states are left with atypically strong patriarchal norms, laws, and political institutions. I support this argument with global data on oil production, female work patterns, and female political representation, and by comparing oil-rich Algeria to oil-poor Morocco and Tunisia. This argument has implications for the study of the Middle East, Islamic culture, and the resource curse.

[http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSR%2FPSR102\\_01%2FS0003055408080040a.pdf&code=cdd0200427b19bf681bc6fe8a66d382c](http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSR%2FPSR102_01%2FS0003055408080040a.pdf&code=cdd0200427b19bf681bc6fe8a66d382c)

## 9. The Autocrat's Credibility Problem and Foundations of the Constitutional State

Roger B. Myerson

### Abstract

A political leader's temptation to deny costly debts to past supporters is a central moral-hazard problem in politics. This paper develops a game-theoretic model to probe the consequences of this moral-hazard problem for leaders who compete to establish political regimes. In contests for power, absolute leaders who are not subject to third-party judgments can credibly recruit only limited support. A leader can do better by organizing supporters into a court which could cause his downfall. In global negotiation-proof equilibria, leaders cannot recruit any supporters without such constitutional checks. Egalitarian norms make recruiting costlier in oligarchies, which become weaker than monarchies. The ruler's power and limitations on entry of new leaders are derived from focal-point effects in games with multiple equilibria. The relationships of trust between leaders and their supporters are personal constitutions which underlie all other political constitutions.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1720732&jid=PSR&volumeId=102&issueId=01&aid=1720724>

## 10. Plato's Critique of Hedonism in the Philebus

Robert C. Bartlett

### Abstract

No one can claim to have thought seriously about the question "How ought I to live?", the guiding question of political philosophy, without having confronted the powerful answer to it supplied by hedonism. In thinking about hedonism today, we may begin from that thinker who was both very important to and early in its history: Plato. Of the dialogs that have come down to us as Plato's, only the Philebus takes as its direct aim the examination of pleasure's claim to be the human good. The Philebus culminates in the suggestions that the need for self-awareness or self-knowledge may finally be more fundamental to all human beings (and hence to hedonists) than is even the desire for pleasure, and that the experience of at least some pleasures constitutes a great obstacle to precisely the self-knowledge we seek. The Philebus is important today not only because it contains a searching analysis of hedonism but

also because it compels us to raise the crucial question of the precise nature of “the good” with which we are justly most concerned—our own or that of others—a question whose centrality to self-knowledge we are in danger of forgetting.

[http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSR%2FPSR102\\_01%2FS0003055408080052a.pdf&code=cdd0200427b19bf6ead73b8e039e5e6c](http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPSR%2FPSR102_01%2FS0003055408080052a.pdf&code=cdd0200427b19bf6ead73b8e039e5e6c)

## Electoral Studies

### March 2008, Volume 27, Issue 1

#### 1. Public support for democracy: Results from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems project

Ian McAllister

##### Abstract

While democracy looks set to become the global political norm, most studies have analysed the phenomenon from either a micro (voter) or a macro (institutional) perspective. The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems aims to combine these two perspectives in order to address key questions about the process of democratization. This special symposium uses the second CSES module, conducted between 2001 and 2006 in 38 countries, to examine public support for democracy. The eight articles cover three themes in public support for democracy: popular satisfaction with democracy; accountability and system performance; and the participation of social groups. All of the articles underline the importance of understanding the interaction between institutional arrangements and voter behaviour in order to gauge the health of democracy.

#### 2. Satisfaction with democracy: Do institutions matter?

Kees Aarts and Jacques Thomassen

##### Abstract

Previous research has shown that people in consensual democracies with a proportional electoral system are more satisfied with the functioning of democracy in their country than people in majoritarian democracies. We assess to what extent this relationship can be explained by people's perception of the accountability and representativeness of the political system in their country. Our findings show that people's satisfaction with democracy primarily depends on their perception of the representation function, and to a lesser degree on the accountability function. Surprisingly, perceived accountability rather than representation is enhanced by a proportional-type electoral system. Moreover, our evaluative measure of satisfaction with democracy is negatively related to proportional electoral systems. The macro-level satisfaction with democracy is primarily affected by the age of the democracy one lives in.

### 3. Meaningful choices, political supply, and institutional effectiveness

**Bernhard Wessels and Hermann Schmitt**

#### **Abstract**

This article explores the degree to which the meaningfulness of electoral choices is a result of the political supply structure and the institutional setup of an electoral system. We argue that meaningful choices require both a differentiated choice set and effective elections. In testing this claim, we follow two strategies. First, we take the level of turnout as an indicator of the meaningfulness of electoral choices and determine the impact of political supply and institutional structures on it. Second, we explore whether and how political supply and institutional effectiveness affect the calculus of voting. We test a set of specific hypotheses by determining the relevance of different criteria for choosing a party with conditional models of macro-micro interactions. Empirical data come from the second wave of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES).

### 4. Citizen information, election outcomes and good governance

**Gabor Toka**

#### **Abstract**

This paper provides a new empirical test of the common sense proposition that a better informed electorate helps producing greater collective welfare. The innovation lies in an arguably more adequate measurement of both the independent and the dependent variable than those found in previous studies. The data come from the cross-national post-election surveys of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) project plus World Bank data on the quality of governance across the globe. The findings show some significant effects of citizens' ability to emulate fully informed choices on the quality of governance after the elections in question. However, the effect only materializes over multiple elections, and may not extend to all aspects of good governance.

### 5. Identifying sources of democratic legitimacy: A multilevel analysis

**Min-hua Huang, Yu-tzung Chang and Yun-han Chu**

#### **Abstract**

Democracy enjoys a significant base of popular support in the 41 country samples covered by CSES Module II. While higher levels of support for democracy seem to be a defining feature of the established democracy, the emerging democracies including post-communist regimes also enjoy a solid base of pro-democracy sentiment. The endurance of many emerging democracies is not under any immediate danger because popular belief in the superiority of democracy is not susceptible to the ups-and-downs of government performance or short-term economic fluctuation. Our analysis also demonstrates that all three theoretical perspectives, modernization/postmodernization, institution, and rationality, are indispensable for a comprehensive understanding of the sources of democratic legitimacy for both established and emerging democracies. However, most of the theoretical predictions based on a narrow conception of 'utility-maximization' turn out to be less relevant. Instead, our analysis shows that performance-based legitimacy is a function of a more diffuse basket of political goods including freedom, accountability and representativeness.

## 6. Does globalization affect public perceptions of ‘Who in power can make a difference’? Evidence from 40 countries, 1996–2006

Jack Vowles

### Abstract

Economic globalization is often said to promote policy convergence between political parties in government in democratic states, and thus substantially constrain voters’ choice options. Using data from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) modules one and two, this paper tests whether and how cross-national differences in exposure to the international economy may influence the voter perceptions that are needed to underpin expectations of differences between alternative governments, one of the main preconditions for the effective practice of responsible party government. It identifies two dimensions of economic globalization, trade dependence and international financial integration (IFI), and uncovers initial evidence that IFI appears to encourage pessimism about ‘making a difference’. However, this appears to be an artefact of a contingent association between powerful presidential systems and low levels of financial globalization.

## 7. Does political participation make a difference? The relationship between political choice, civic engagement and political efficacy

Ken'ichi Ikeda, Tetsuro Kobayashi and Maasa Hoshimoto

### Abstract

While the determinants of political participation have long been scrutinized by scholars, their consequences are not well known. In this article we examine how macro-environmental factors—specifically, how distinctive political choices are from one another—affect the cognitive consequences of political participation. Although there are two possible causal directions between political participation and cognitive factors, we instead focus on how this macro-environmental factor affects the association between these two variables. We hypothesize that political participation promotes the efficacious feeling that participation makes a difference by improving the cognitive articulation of the political system. We find support for this hypothesis through our analysis of 22 countries in the CSES dataset using hierarchical linear modeling (HLM). Additional analysis shows that political participation has a compensatory effect on political efficacy for those who do not feel that their political position is well represented by the current party system.

## 8. Disengaging voters: Do plurality systems discourage the less knowledgeable from voting?

Stephen D. Fisher, Laurence Lessard-Phillips, Sara B. Hobolt and John Curtice

### Abstract

A number of studies have found that turnout tends to be lower under plurality rule than when some system of proportional representation is in place. Meanwhile, there is reason to believe that when turnout is lower, it is voters who are less knowledgeable about politics who are particularly less likely to participate. This suggests that turnout is lower under plurality rule because those with weaker motivations to vote are particularly discouraged from voting. We consider whether this is the case and if so, why. We examine four main reasons why the electoral system might influence the relationship between political knowledge and turnout: district competitiveness, mobilization efforts, efficacy, and the size and polarization of the

party system. Using data from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems project, we find that those with low levels of knowledge are indeed particularly less likely to vote under plurality rule. However, why this is the case is more difficult to ascertain.

## **9. When politics is not just a man's game: Women's representation and political engagement**

**Jeffrey A. Karp and Susan A. Banducci**

### **Abstract**

Although women appear to be less interested and less engaged in politics than men, some evidence suggests that the presence of women as candidates and office holders can help to stimulate political engagement among women. Using data from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES), we investigate how the election of women in national legislatures influences women's political engagement and attitudes about the political process across 35 countries. We find that sex differences in political engagement as well as political attitudes are apparent in a large number of countries. We find also that female representation is positively associated with attitudes about the political process; however, these effects, while weak, are seen among both men and women.

## **European Foreign Affairs Review March 2008, Vol. 13, Issue 1**

### **1. Conflicts Between the Disciplines of EC State Aids and WTO Subsidies: Of Books, Ships and Aircraft**

**Luengo Hernández De Madrid, Gustavo E..**

### **Abstract**

The article examines the differences between the regulation of state aids in the European Commission (EC) and subsidies in the World Trade Organization (WTO), which create conflicts between the two systems. In particular, it looks at and explains the two set of conflicts between EC and WTO rules. It then addresses the negative consequences that these conflicts may imply for EC and member states from the international perspective.

### **2. Exporting the Acquis Communautaire into the Legal Systems of Third Countries**

**Petrov, Roman**

### **Abstract**

The article explores the role of the European Union (EU) as a global reactor in international relations and a promoter of its own standards and values abroad. Primarily, it studies selected substantive and procedural means of exporting the *acquis communautaire* into the legal systems of third countries. It then concludes that these substantive and procedural means are not uniformly applicable, but are rather exercised in accordance with the specific objectives of EU external agreements.

### **3. Rapprochement between the EU and the UN: History and Balance of Intersecting Political Cultures**

**Adriaenssens, Philippe**

#### **Abstract**

The article clarifies how the affiliation between the European Union and the United Nations occurred historically and depicts a potential roadmap of how regional entities can affirm themselves in a globalized world. It attempts to draw up a balance sheet of failed commitments and positive outcomes while pointing to how both organizations influenced each other's political culture. Author's arguments, critical analyses and conclusions are provided.

### **4. Political Dialogue and Security in the European Neighbourhood: The Virtues and Limits of 'New Partnership Perspectives'**

**Smith, Michael E.; Webber, Mark**

#### **Abstract**

The article examines the most prominent policy tool of the European Union (EU): the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), intended to help stabilize and secure relations with its bordering states. It is stated that dealing with the problem of regional stabilization has been a central rationale of the ENP. With this, it considers how the ENP's concern with the problem has been pursued. Author's arguments, critical analyses and conclusions are provided.

### **5. Border Security in the Eastern Neighbourhood: Where Bio-politics and Geopolitics Meet**

#### **Abstract**

The article looks at the Justice and Home Affairs-related activities conducted under the European Neighbourhood Policy in the Ukrainian-Russian borderland. It argues that European Union initiatives directed at the management of Ukraine's eastern border with Russia are driven by two related strategic objectives. It then discusses the growing informationalization of the border by means of databanks, liaison officers and the involvement of private/quasi-public agencies.

### **6. Mind The Gap: Narrowing the Legitimacy Gap in EU-Israeli Relations**

**Harpaz, Guy**

#### **Abstract**

The article identifies and analyzes measures that can abridge the legitimacy deficit of the European Union (EU) in the eyes of the Israelis, thereby paving the way for its more constructive contribution to the Middle East. Although the analysis is conducted through the prism of EU-Israel relations, some of its findings may be found to be applicable mutatis mutandis to other countries that face normative pressures from the EU. Author's conclusions relative to the matter are provided.

# European Journal of International Relations

## March 2008, Vol 14, No:1

### 1. The Case for Combining Material Forces and Ideas in the Study of IR

Georg Sørensen

#### Abstract

Neorealism tends to base itself on a certain, taken-for-granted, view of the material forces in IR, a view which focuses on the relative distribution of capabilities between sovereign states and their consequences in terms of the socialization and competition among states. Social constructivism is preoccupied with the study of ideas, but tends not to question the neorealist view of either socialization or competition or of the material world; the result is that the development and change of how material forces impact with the social world in IR is seriously under-theorized. The present contribution argues in favour of an approach which includes materialist as well as ideational factors; in that sense it advocates 'analytical eclecticism'. A rich concept of international structure, which includes materialist as well as ideational factors, is proposed and the consequences of that concept for the analysis of IR are indicated.

<http://ejt.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/1/5>

### 2. Agents or Trustees? International Courts in their Political Context

Karen J. Alter

#### Abstract

In International Relations applications, theorists employing Principal— Agent (P—A) theory have posited that the fact of delegation defines a relationship between states (collective Principals) and international organizations (Agents) where recontracting threats are the predominant way states influence IOs. Developing a category of delegation to international Trustees, I argue that recontracting tools will be both harder to use and less effective at influencing the Trustees. Trustees are (1) selected because of their personal reputation or professional norms, (2) given independent authority to make decisions according to their best judgment or professional criteria, and (3) empowered to act on behalf of a beneficiary. These three factors account for the different politics between Principals and Trustees, a politics aimed at either keeping issues outside of the domain of the Trustee or at rhetorically engaging the Trustee's authority in an effort to persuade the common 'beneficiary' whose loyalty and respect both States and the Trustee seek. In explaining why recontracting threats are not central to Principal—Trustee relations, the analysis bounds the realm in which we might expect P—A theory to apply, and provides a theoretical basis to question the 'rational expectations' claim that ICs are tailoring their decisions to reflect the wishes of powerful states and avoid adverse recontracting.

<http://ejt.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/1/33>

### 3. Illocutionary Logic and Strands of Securitization: Applying the Theory of Securitization to the Study of Non-Democratic Political Orders

Juha A. Vuori

#### Abstract

Convincing research programmes often use a variety of data from cases in different contexts; in order to reach a wider understanding, the models and hypothesis of securitization studies have to be applied to broad groups of cases. The research programme of securitization studies is formed around the leading idea of securitization being a social process achieved through speech acts. I argue that by explicating the concept of securitization through illocutionary logic, it can be utilized to study security politics in non-democratic contexts in addition to the favoured liberal democratic one, where the majority of empirical analysis has been conducted so far. In addition, I present clarifications to the concepts of 'audiences' and 'special politics' used in the theory. The theoretical discussion is illustrated with examples from the Chinese political system.

<http://ejt.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/1/65>

### 4. Dynamics of International Norm Change: Rules against Wartime Plunder

Wayne Sandholtz

#### Abstract

International norms change over time, but we do not fully understand how and why they evolve as they do. In this article, I explore a general model of international norm change. The model builds on two foundations. First, normative systems themselves generate tensions that lead to change. Those tensions are of two major types: (1) conflicts between the generality of rules and the specificity of concrete experience; and (2) conflicts between separate bodies of rules. Second, specific disputes push these normative conflicts to the fore and provoke arguments about the meaning and application of rules. The outcomes of those arguments necessarily modify the rules. The process of normative change is thus a cycle, linking rules to actions to arguments, which in turn reshape the rules. In order to explore the empirical utility of the model, the article assesses the evolution of the rules of war with respect to the plundering of artistic and cultural treasures. Relying on both secondary and archival materials, the analysis focuses on two crucial turns through the cycle of normative change, the Napoleonic Wars and World War II. The empirical account shows that the cycle of normative change depicted in the abstract does correspond to real-world processes.

<http://ejt.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/1/101>

### 5. Understanding Causes of War and Peace

Thomas Ohlson

#### Abstract

There is a conceptual gap between causes-of-war research and conflict resolution research. This article introduces a macro-level conceptual framework to facilitate analysis of the outbreak, conduct and resolution of armed conflict within states. Three arguments are advanced, linked to the three questions Why do people start fighting?, Why do people stop fighting? and How can peace be made durable? The first argument is that people take to arms because they have Reasons in the form of grievances and goals, Resources in the form of capabilities and opportunities, and Resolve because they see no alternative to violence in

order to address grievances and attain goals. Second, the Triple-R concepts also explain the 'outbreak of peace', that is, war termination and peace-building. Third, variations in the dependent variable — different degrees of peace; here termed Triple-M (Mutually Hurting Stalemate, Mutually Enticing Opportunities and Mutually Obtained Rewards) — are explained by changes within those three clusters of explanatory factors.

<http://ejt.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/1/133>

## 6. The Politics of Preemption and the War on Terror in Europe

Marieke De Goede

### Abstract

In the midst of the war on terror and unilateral US security politics, many observers look to Europe for alternatives. It is argued that Europe is particularly opposed to preemptive security practice, and prefers instead to rely on the rule of law. This article examines the meaning of preemption in the war on terror, and analyses three aspects of European counter-terror policy. It becomes clear that, with respect to a number of policies that play a key role in preemptive security practice, including criminalizing terrorist support, data retention, and asset freezing, the European Union is world leader rather than reluctant follower. Instead of relying on images that position Europe as inherently critical of preemptive security, debate concerning the legitimacy and desirability of such practices must be actively fostered within European public space.

<http://ejt.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/1/161>

## Foreign Affairs March/April 2008, Vol. 87, Issue 2

### 1. Us and Them

Muller, Jerry Z.

### Abstract

In this article the author examines the role played in international politics by militant nationalism and ethnic identity. He notes that while these elements do not appear to be important in American public life, they are significant factors in the conduct of political action on an international level. According to the author, awareness of ethnic divisions in a ethnically diverse, multicultural society frequently leads to political a division of populations along racial or ethnic lines or national partition.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080301faessay87203/jerry-z-muller/us-and-them.html>

### 2. The Democratic Rollback

Authors: Diamond, Larry

### Abstract

In this article the author identifies and examines a trend against the promotion of global democracy. He claims that in the period 1974-2008 democracy advanced in a uniform manner

in a number of developing countries but that trend has begun to recede. The author claims that the predatory nature of some nations and the democratic impulses in others can be managed through the development of good governance and through the judicious use of a economic assistance by democratic nations in the developed world.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080301faessay87204/larry-diamond/the-democratic-rollback.html>

### 3. An Empty Revolution

**Authors: Rodriguez, Francisco**

#### **Abstract**

In this article the author examines the administration of Venezuela by the government of president Hugo Chávez. He claims that there is a false perception that Chávez, whatever his other faults and political transgressions, has advanced the cause of the impoverished in Venezuelan society. The impact of the social programs instituted under Chávez is assessed. The author contends that the administration of Hugo Chávez has damaged the economy of the country and that economic mismanagement has further damaged the poor.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080301faessay87205/francisco-rodriguez/an-empty-revolution.html>

### 4. Arctic Meltdown

**Authors: Borgerson, Scott G**

#### **Abstract**

In this article the author discusses the political implications contained in the impact of global warming and climate change on the Arctic Ocean and its icecap. The author states that as Arctic Ocean ice melts the polar region will be more accessible to prospecting for the natural resources said to exist in significant amounts in the area. It is noted that there are few international regulations governing the Arctic and that nations attempting to exploit the natural resources might engage in armed conflict.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080301faessay87206/scott-g-borgerson/arctic-meltdown.html>

### 5. The Copenhagen Consensus

**Authors: Kuttner, Robert**

#### **Abstract**

In this article the author writes admiringly of the social and economic aspects of government in Denmark. He notes that Denmark has built a political society that fuses aspects of the welfare state with a free market economy. As a result of this union, Denmark has achieved a balanced economy with correct measures of dynamism and economic security, as well as a system that allows for both efficiency and equality. The author suggests that nations confronting the myriad difficulties contained in globalization can learn from the Danish model of social democracy.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080301faessay87207/robert-kuttner/the-copenhagen-consensus.html>

## 6. China and India Go to Africa

**Authors: Broadman, Harry G.**

### **Abstract**

In this article the author examines the impact on African of trade with Asia. He states that Africa stands to gain significantly as a result of the increased level of trade between that continent and Asia. This is particularly true in the case of increased economic relations between Africa and the nations of India and China. The author notes that the economic activity between Africa and Asia is based primarily on wealth of natural resources to be found on the African continent. The impact of this trade on Africa's position in global commerce is assessed.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080301faessay87208/harry-g-broadman/china-and-india-go-to-africa.html>

## 7. Diplomacy in an Age of Faith

**Authors: Farr, Thomas F.**

### **Abstract**

In this article the author examines the importance of religious freedom in aspects of American foreign policy. He argues that the United States should do more to promote freedom of worship internationally. It is stated that United States diplomacy has failed to appreciate the dimension of interest in religion on a global basis. Defense of religious freedom abroad is vital to international political stability and global freedom as well as to American international interests and to national security.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080301faessay87209/thomas-f-farr/diplomacy-in-an-age-of-faith.html>

## 8. Transforming Nations

**Authors: Sutherland, Peter D**

### **Abstract**

In this article the author discusses the impact the World Trade Organization (WTO) has had on the economies of Cambodia, China and Saudi Arabia. The author notes that since joining the WTO the three nations have enjoyed significant economic growth. The rigorous economic regulation requirements needed to join the WTO are examined and declared a catalyst for political and economic reform. In addition the article examines the impact on developing countries of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080301faessay87210/peter-d-sutherland/transforming-nations.html>

## International Security

### Winter 2007/08, Volume 32, Number 3

#### 1. America's Liberal Illiberalism: The Ideological Origins of Overreaction in U.S. Foreign Policy

Michael C. Desch

##### Abstract

In recent years, Democrats and Republicans have endorsed illiberal policies that include the pursuit of global hegemony, the launching of a preventive war, restrictions on civil liberties, and torture. These policies seem to contradict the Liberal tradition of the United States, but it is precisely this tradition that compels Americans to spread their values around the world and combat terrorism in this way. Only a foreign policy strategy based on realism—a decidedly non-Liberal way of viewing the world—will preserve the domestic virtues of Liberalism while diminishing its negative effects abroad.

#### 2. Power Shifts and Escalation: Explaining China's Use of Force in Territorial Disputes

M. Taylor Fravel

##### Abstract

East Asia and the rest of the world have feared that China's rise would create regional instability, particularly if China used force in territorial disputes. Although this fear is not completely unfounded, Beijing has gone to great lengths to settle or neutralize the majority of its disputes and has rarely used force. Only after China experienced a decline in its bargaining power in six conflicts did its leaders face pressure to signal resolve through the use of force. Today, China's disputes over the Senkaku Islands and Taiwan remain the most volatile. As a major player in the region (particularly in the case of Taiwan), the United States can limit the potential for violence by continuing to support the status quo.

#### 3. "New Fighting Power!" Japan's Growing Maritime Capabilities and East Asian Security

Richard J. Samuels

##### Abstract

After World War II, Japan's U.S.-imposed constitution and regional opposition to its rearmament severely restricted its military capabilities. Recently, however, Japanese leaders have found a way around these external and internal restrictions by reframing the nature of the threat they face and by empowering the Japan Coast Guard (JCG) while reassuring the country's citizens and neighbors by classifying the JCG as a police, rather than a military, force. Although the JCG will not become a "second navy," it is continually gaining in power, and is already a fourth branch of the Japanese military, allowing Japan to take the lead in regional maritime security initiatives.

#### **4. Great Powers and Hierarchical Order in Southeast Asia: Analyzing Regional Security Strategies**

**Evelyn Goh**

##### **Abstract**

The end of the Cold War left the stability of Southeast Asia in question, with many assuming that China would dominate the region after the United States withdrew and that other countries would engage in conflict. Instead, Southeast Asian states shaped the new regional order by encouraging the omni-enmeshment of major powers through multilateral institutions and indirectly balancing against China. The resulting stability, though promising, remains questionable because of uncertainty regarding U.S. commitment and Chinese intentions in this part of the world, as well as the involvement of other regional powers. The United States must widely engage Southeast Asia to maintain a favorable regional order.

#### **5. A Cold Start for Hot Wars? The Indian Army's New Limited War Doctrine**

**Walter C. Ladwig III**

##### **Abstract**

India's inability to coerce Pakistan into halting its support for insurgents in Kashmir, as well as its experience in past conflicts with Pakistan, led it to develop Cold Start—a new offensive military doctrine that will allow it to mobilize quickly and retaliate in a limited manner. Although India is far from realizing its goal, this break from a traditional defensive strategy deserves scrutiny. A history of misperception and mistrust between India and Pakistan, poor intelligence, and domestic insecurity suggests that limited war could quickly escalate to the nuclear threshold, posing a serious risk to the stability of the subcontinent and the rest of the world.

## **Journal of Common Market Studies**

### **March 2008, Vol. 46, Issue 2**

#### **1. A Wider Europe? The View from Russia, Belarus and Ukraine**

**Stephen White, Julia Korosteleva and Ian Mcallister**

##### **Abstract**

On the evidence of national surveys conducted between 2000 and 2006, there is a declining sense of European self-identity in the three Slavic post-Soviet republics of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine. Attitudes towards the European Union and the possibility of membership are broadly supportive, but with a substantial proportion who find it difficult to express a view, and substantial proportions are poorly informed in comparison with the general public in EU member or prospective member countries. Those who are better informed are more likely to favour EU membership and vice versa. Generally, socioeconomic characteristics (except for age and region) are relatively poor predictors of support for EU membership as compared with attitudinal variables. But 'Europeanness' should not be seen as a given, and much will

depend on whether EU member countries emphasize what is common to east and west or establish ‘new dividing lines’ in place of those of the cold war.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2007.00775.x>

## **2. Financial Integration in the EU: the First Phase of EU Endorsement of International Accounting Standards**

**Ian Dewing and Peter O. Russell**

### **Abstract**

In 2002 the EU adopted the Regulation which required European listed companies to prepare their consolidated accounts in accordance with international accounting standards from 2005 onwards. A novel set of structures for the endorsement of international accounting standards for use in the EU was put in place. This article examines the first phase of endorsement of international accounting standards in the context of the novel endorsement structures. The article concludes that problems over the endorsement of IAS 39 Financial Instruments: Recognition and Measurement reveals a number of significant policy implications for the EU including the difficulty of forming a European view, the role of private actors in EU regulation, and the issue that international standards largely reflect Anglo-Saxon accounting practices rather than continental European practices.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2007.00776.x>

## **3. Thinking about the Recent Past and the Future of the EU**

**George Tsebelis**

### **Abstract**

After the referendums in France and the Netherlands, the European Union was in disarray. However, political elites in all countries were insisting in the adoption of the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe, which in turn was a slight modification of the text adopted in the European Convention. The solution was found in the IGC of Brussels in 2007, where the substance of the Treaty was adopted, and symbolic details (flag, anthem) were dropped out. The article explains the impact of the institutions adopted in the Convention, and argues that these institutions would help political decision-making in the EU. It then explains how such significant results became possible (because of the important role of the Presidium in terms of agenda-setting). Finally it argues that the text of the Constitution became a focal point for all negotiating governments. This is why elites came back to it despite the public disapproval of the referendums.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2007.00788.x>

## **4. Three Worlds of Compliance or Four? The EU-15 Compared to New Member States**

**Gerda Falkner and Oliver Treib**

### **Abstract**

Starting from the findings of an earlier compliance study covering the 15 ‘old’ Member States of the European Union, which identified three ‘worlds of compliance’, this article seeks to establish whether or not the new Member States from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) represent a separate world of compliance. We present empirical findings from a research project on the implementation of three EU Directives from the field of working time and

equal treatment in four CEE countries. The evidence suggests that the new Member States display implementation styles that are similar to a few countries in the EU-15. The expectation that the new Member States might behave according to their own specific logic, such as significantly decreasing their compliance efforts after accession in order to take 'revenge' for the strong pressure of conditionality, is not supported by our case studies. Instead, all four new Member States appear to fall within a group that could be dubbed the 'world of dead letters'. It is crucial to highlight, however, that this specific 'world of compliance', characterized by politicized transposition processes and systematic application and enforcement problems, also includes two countries from the EU-15.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2007.00777.x>

## **5. Governance Areas in EU Direct Tax Policy**

**Claudio M. Radaelli and Ulrike S. Kraemer**

### **Abstract**

Conventional scholarship on international taxation tends to address competition. It focuses on governments and does not integrate purposeful political strategy with the ideational dimension of policy change. In this article we examine co-operation, use a multi-actor perspective to explain the selection of modes of governance and bridge the gap between the strategic and ideational components of policy change. We show how a political strategy pursued by the Commission has led to the emergence of two functionally differentiated governance arenas, dealing with different definitions of tax problems and operating with modes of governance that suit the internal logic of individual arenas. We then examine the limitations of political strategy, by showing how a third governance arena dominated by the European Court of Justice has become increasingly important, with little control exercised by the Commission and the Member States.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2007.00778.x>

## **6. The Treaty Reform of the EU: Constitutional Agenda-Setting, Intergovernmental Bargains and the Presidency's Crisis Management of Ratification Failure**

**Thomas König, Stephanie Daimer and Daniel Finke**

### **Abstract**

This study empirically investigates the two options which were considered by the German presidency for finding a solution to the crisis of the EU's reform process. Our findings reveal that making concessions to the remaining eight ratification countries and renegotiating the text with all Member States were feasible solutions for reform

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2007.00779.x>

## **7. The EU's Political Conditionality and Post-Accession Tendencies: Comparisons from Slovakia and Latvia**

**Geoffrey Pridham**

### **Abstract**

The EU's political conditionality during the 2004 enlargement process recorded significant progress but imperfect implementation. But what has happened since post-Communist countries joined the EU three years ago now that the leverage of Brussels has ceased? This

article develops an analytical approach to answer this question and applies it to the two cases of Slovakia and Latvia during the first three years of membership, showing some further progress with conditionality matters but also a rather mixed picture. Altogether, there is no common pattern whereby conditionality loses momentum and becomes unscrambled even though the drive behind enlargement has been the crucial force driving conditionality policy.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2007.00780.x>

## **8. What do 'Europeans' Think? Analyses of the European Union's Current Crisis by European Elites**

**George Ross**

### **Abstract**

The EU has been in 'crisis' at least since the 2005 referendums. This article presents different explanations for crisis held by high-level EU insiders, based on in-depth interviews with 'Europeans', people whose lives have been deeply invested in the EU through careers either committed to 'building Europe' or to observing Europe's building sites professionally. The results demonstrate a variety of causal stories that explain the present situation, the conviction that the EU is entering a new and very different era and pervasive sense of pessimism, all in the form of penetrating analyses.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2007.00781.x>

## **9. Political Communication in a European Public Space: Language, the Internet and Understanding as Soft Power**

**Richard Rose**

### **Abstract**

This article demonstrates that the European Union's linguistic diversity policy is a barrier to greater popular participation in a European public space. It sets out three political communication models: elite discourse, aggregative democracy and deliberation in a European public space; each has different linguistic requirements. It presents survey evidence showing that Europeans are 'voting with their mouths' for a single lingua franca, resulting in English as a foreign language (EFL) becoming the most widely understood language in the EU and its use on the internet for transnational as well as domestic communication. More than one-third of Europeans now have the basic prerequisites for participation in a European public space: they are internet users and know the lingua franca of Europe, EFL. The EU's linguistic diversity policy is even more a barrier for participation in a global public space in which EFL is now the lingua franca of Asia and other continents. It concludes that knowledge of EFL does not confer soft power on Anglophones but on Europeans using it in interactions with monoglot American and English speakers.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-5965.2007.00783.x>

## Journal of Peace Research March 2008, Volume 45, Issue 2

### 1. Polarization and Conflict: Theoretical and Empirical Issues

Esteban, Joan; Schneider, Gerald

#### Abstract

Recent formal and empirical research in political science and economics strongly indicates that various forms of political and social polarization increase the risk of violent conflict within and between nation states. The articles collected for this issue explore this crucial relationship and provide answers to a variety of topics: First, contributors address how institutions and other contingent factors mediate the conflict potential in polarized societies. Second, this special issue compares the explanatory power of income polarization with traditional and new measures of inequality. Third, the contributions examine how groups form and coalitions are built in polarized societies and how this affects political decision-making. Finally, the special issue analyses the interconnections between interstate war, internationalized conflict and polarization. This introduction synthesizes the literatures that have been developed on the issue of polarization and conflict in the various social scientific disciplines. The authors particularly discuss the similarities between economic models of conflict and the so-called crisis bargaining literature which has been mainly developed within political science. The article shows the differences between 'polarization' and 'inequality' and introduces the various measures of diversity that have been used in the study of interstate and intrastate conflict during the past few decades.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/2/131>

### 2. Polarization, Horizontal Inequalities and Violent Civil Conflict

Østby, Gudrun

#### Abstract

Recent large-N studies of civil war conclude that inequality does not increase the risk of violent conflict. This article argues that such conclusions may be premature because these studies, which usually test the conflict potential of 'vertical inequality' (i.e. income inequality between individuals), tend to neglect the group aspect of inequality. Case studies suggest that what matters for conflict is a concept closely linked to both economic and ethnic polarization: 'horizontal inequalities', or inequalities that coincide with identity-based cleavages. Horizontal inequalities may enhance both grievances and group cohesion among the relatively deprived and thus facilitate mobilization for conflict. This article provides a quantitative test of this argument, exploring whether various forms of polarization and horizontal inequalities affect the probability of civil conflict onset across 36 developing countries in the period 1986—2004. National household data from the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) are used to construct measures of ethnic, social and economic polarization, as well as vertical and horizontal inequalities along two dimensions: social and economic. The article also introduces a combined measure of ethnic/socio-economic polarization as an alternative to the horizontal inequality measure. Robust results from panel and cross-section analyses show that social polarization and horizontal social inequality are positively related to conflict outbreak. Variables for purely ethnic polarization, inter-individual inequalities and combined ethnic/socio-economic polarization are not significant.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/2/143>

### 3. Polarization, Fractionalization and Conflict

Esteban, Joan; Ray, Debraj

#### Abstract

This article provides a theoretical framework that distinguishes between the occurrence of conflict and its severity, and clarifies the role of polarization and fractionalization in each of these cases. The analysis helps in ordering the various definitions, and in providing explanations for the empirical observations on the relationship between conflict, on the one hand, and polarization or fractionalization, on the other. The behaviour of players in conflict is described as a game, and equilibrium payoffs to all players are computed. The status quo is characterized by a set of political institutions that channel the different opposing interests and turn them into a collective decision, with a second set of payoffs. Groups rebel against the status quo political institution whenever the latter set of payoffs is dominated by the former. When society is highly polarized, the potential cost of rebellion is extremely high, and this cost may serve as the guarantor of peace. So, in highly polarized societies, the occurrence of open conflict should be rare but its intensity very severe, whenever it happens. On the other hand, highly fractionalized societies are prone to the occurrence of conflict, but its intensity will be moderate. It matters, therefore, whether one studies the intensity of conflict, conditional on conflict breaking out, or the likelihood that conflict actually occurs. Specifically, it is shown that: (i) measures of fractionalization and polarization tend to run in opposite directions, (ii) the onset of conflict critically depends on the political system in place, (iii) the occurrence of conflict and the intensity of conflict also tend to move in opposite directions, (iv) the relationship between polarization or fractionalization and conflict is non-monotonic and (v) the intensity of conflict depends positively on the degree of polarization.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/2/163>

### 4. Rules That Matter: Political Institutions and the Diversity—Conflict Nexus

Schneider, Gerald; Wiesehomeier, Nina

#### Abstract

One controversy in the study of civil war relates to the role that institutions play in ethnically diverse societies. 'Constitutional engineers' advance various institutional arrangements, ranging from democracy in general to specific constitutional and electoral rules, as those mechanisms that help divided societies to resolve disputes peacefully. Political sociologists, by contrast, maintain that political institutions are largely an epiphenomenon. Synthesizing the two conflicting schools of thought, the authors examine how different institutions in conjunction with three forms of ethnic diversity — fractionalization, dominance and polarization — affect the risk of civil war. It is argued that groups perceive institutions as a constraint and that they consider the usage of political violence if they cannot achieve their goals peacefully. The examination of these conditional institutionalist hypotheses for the period between 1950 and 2000 shows, in accordance with recent theoretical work, that fractionalization can indeed be linked to low-intensity civil wars and that this effect is particularly strong in democracies in comparison to autocracies. Interacting the measures of diversity with different democratic institutions, the authors confirm that rules that encourage power-sharing lower the risk of war in diverse societies. The event-history models, moreover, show that the combination of fractionalization and majoritarian voting forebodes badly for the internal stability of a state. Within the set of democratic regimes studied in this article, presidential systems are the most war-prone institutional setting.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/2/183>

## 5. Consent or Conflict: Coevolution of Coordination and Networks

Buskens, Vincent; Corten, Rense; Weesie, Jeroen

### Abstract

Societies are sometimes divided into groups that behave in different ways or have strongly opposing opinions. At other times, everyone seems to behave according to similar principles and opinions. It is likely that individual decisions on behavior or opinions are affected by social networks through influence and selection processes. However, the outcomes are not necessarily optimal for the society as a whole. Two types of problems might arise: (a) polarization of the society into two camps that do not reach consensus, possibly leading to conflict; (b) actors choosing suboptimal behavior, because changing behavior is too risky if done unilaterally. Simulations show that if a society is rather segregated initially, there exists a heightened probability that this situation will worsen. The effect of network density is twofold. First, density has a positive effect on reaching a uniform opinion and, therefore, decreases the likelihood of polarization. Second, density increases the likelihood that actors do not change their behavior, worsening the inefficiency of already suboptimal initial situations

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/2/205>

## 6. Polarization and Policy Reform: Anti-Corruption Policymaking in Sub-Saharan Africa

Torenvlied, René; Klein Haarhuis, Carolien M.

### Abstract

The ability of political systems to adopt policy reforms contributes to their internal stability. This article analyses 29 anti-corruption reforms in seven sub-Saharan countries. It seeks to explain the level of adopted reform in these countries from conflicts of interests between policy actors. Two groups of policy actors are distinguished: veto-players (endowed with an exercisable veto) and stakeholders (with an interest in policy reforms). A veto-player model is applied and extended with effects of (a) policy polarization between all policy actors and (b) institutional fractionalization between veto-players and stakeholders. The authors hypothesize a negative (interaction) effect of these variables with the win-set on the level of reform. As expected, the core variable of the veto-player model, size of the win-set of the status quo, significantly and positively affects the level of adopted reform. Unexpectedly, the number of veto-players has a significant and positive effect on the level of reform, whereas polarization among veto-players does not affect the level of reform. In contrast, fractionalization between veto-players and stakeholders has a significant negative direct effect on the level of anti-corruption reform and a weak interaction effect with size of the win-set. Thus, even when veto-players agree on the desirability of anticorruption reforms, the adoption of reforms is obstructed by a high level of fractionalization between veto-players and stakeholders.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/2/223>

## 7. Does Terrorism Influence Domestic Politics? Coalition Formation and Terrorist Incidents

Indridason, Indridi H.

### Abstract

Terrorism has been shown to influence domestic politics, for example, by altering the priorities of voters and politicians. This article argues that terrorism has broader political consequences than simply putting national security on the political agenda. In particular, it argues that terrorist activity influences government formation. A number of scholars have noted that the presence of an external threat provides an incentive to overcome internal disagreements, suggesting that larger and more inclusive coalitions should form. Terrorist activity may also influence government survival, as voters hold politicians accountable for failing to provide security. Politicians, in anticipation of terrorist activity, may, therefore, seek to form a more stable coalition. The literature on government survival suggests that the size of the coalition positively affects its durability but that its ideological breadth is expected to have an adverse effect on survival, which is the opposite of the prediction of the theory based on external threat. To test whether terrorism influences coalition formation, the author analyzes coalition formation in 17 (primarily Western European) parliamentary democracies over a 50-year period using data on domestic and transnational terrorism from, respectively, the TWEED dataset and the Terrorism Knowledge Base. The results show that government coalitions are more likely to be surplus coalitions and, consistent with the theory emphasizing government survival, more likely to have a low degree of ideological polarization in periods following terrorist activity.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/2/241>

## 8. Polarization and Interstate Conflict

Hegre, Håvard

### Abstract

Esteban & Ray formalize the argument that conflict is likely to be more intense when individuals in a society are divided into two clearly identifiable groups where differences within groups are considerably smaller than differences between groups. They show that such polarization increases conflict, and they introduce a theoretical basis for its quantitative measurement. This article applies Esteban & Ray's (ER) measure of polarization to two international distributions: the world income distribution and the distribution of political systems. The article discusses extensions of the ER measure that render it independent of the number of groups in the system, and investigates empirically whether any of the three types of polarization are associated with conflict in the form of militarized interstate disputes. The results are rather inconclusive, despite the fact that some of the micro-level regularities consistent with the polarization and conflict argument have solid support in previous studies.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/2/261>

## 9. Polarization and Ethnic Conflict in a Widened Strategic Setting

Forsberg, Erika

### Abstract

Ethnic groups and conflicts often transcend country borders, indicating that notions of relative strength and resolve may also surpass such borders. This study focuses on the association

between ethnic polarization and conflict in a widened strategic environment, encapsulating each state that experiences ethnic conflict and its neighboring states, and involving contagion processes. Two claims are presented. First, when a state experiences ethnic conflict, neighboring states that are ethnically polarized are more likely to also experience ethnic conflict. Second, when a group involved in ethnic conflict has a kinship tie to a group in a neighboring state, the latter group is increasingly likely to be inspired to challenge the government and end up in ethnic conflict. This should be especially likely if the group resides in a state characterized by ethnic polarization. To evaluate these claims, this article employs logit regression on a global dataset covering the period from 1989 to 2004. The empirical analysis supports the first claim; polarized states are indeed associated with an increased likelihood of contagion processes. The findings also demonstrate that kinship links make contagion more likely; however, this effect is not conditioned by the level of ethnic polarization. The results are robust to a series of alternative specifications. In conclusion, these findings point to the importance of incorporating a widened strategic setting in the analysis when examining the association between ethnic polarization and civil conflict.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/2/283>

## Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans 2008, Volume 10, Issue 1

### 1. Power politics and integration into Western institutions: the placement of embassies for Romania and Bulgaria

Craig Webster; Stanislav Ivanov

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791082802~fulltext=713240930>

### 2. Issues with regional reintegration of the Western Balkans

Jim Seroka – Professor

#### Abstract

The development of regional cooperation is in the best interests of all the western Balkan countries: it is a key factor for establishing political stability, security and economic prosperity... In this context, regional cooperation is therefore a cornerstone of the EU's policy framework for the western Balkans - the stabilization and association process, which offers to the countries of the region the possibility of eventual EU membership. (Olli Rehn, 1 European Commissioner for Enlargement)

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791082852~fulltext=713240930>

### 3. Vojislav Kostunica - some reflections on his time as Serbian Premier

Janine Natalya Clark

#### Abstract

With Koštunica, you have a repetition of the same policy and the same obsessions as you had with Milošević. The difference is that Milošević was like a cancer of the skin where everything looked ugly. Koštunica, on the other hand, is like a cancer of the bones.

Everything looks normal on the surface, but is sick and unhealthy inside. (Miljenko Dereta, executive director of the Civic Initiative).

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791082827~fulltext=713240930>

#### **4. FYROM's transition: on the road to Europe?**

**Ritsa Panagiotou**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791082909~fulltext=713240930>

#### **5. Multilateral free trade agreements for Western Balkans**

**Franjo Stiblar**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791082976~fulltext=713240930>

#### **6. Turkey's role in the global development assistance community: the case of TİKA (Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency)**

**Hakan Fidan; Rahman Nurdun**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791082778~fulltext=713240930>

## **Mediterranean Quarterly Winter 2008, Vol. 19, Number 1**

### **1. The Balkans: In the Era of Peace and Stability**

**Mallias, Alexandros P.**

#### **Abstract**

The author, the Greek ambassador to the United States, argues that the Balkan countries have made significant strides in economic and security stabilization over the past decade but points to particular challenges, notably in Kosovo and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). He argues that conditions in both countries remain volatile and that any solutions must come in the context of relations with European neighbors and within the frameworks of existing treaties and policies. He describes how Greece has contributed to economic development in the region in hopes of stabilizing it as part of the wider European and international communities and argues that actions by FYROM jeopardize its relationship with international organizations and thus pose a threat to stability in the region.

### **2. Africa: Challenges and Opportunities**

**Obasanjo, Olusegun**

#### **Abstract**

This essay by Olusegun Obasanjo, former president of Nigeria, examines the challenges (AIDS, poverty, and governance) and opportunities (receptive investment climate, increasing democratization process, and a new framework for development) that African countries must

deal with and the rest of the world respond to. The author asserts that Africa must engage the world community if it is interested in harnessing the full potential of its resources, as well as enjoying maximum output. The author argues that Africa is a friendly and profitable arena for investment and is moving away from corrupt and often mismanaged public sectors and toward good governance.

### **3. Major Failures of Process and Judgment: National Security Policy Making in the Bush Administration**

**Lewis, William Hubert and Sapin, Burton M.**

#### **Abstract**

The failures of process and judgment that help explain the war in Iraq are varied. Established patterns of policy making were overshadowed by mechanisms operating outside the formal system, notably by Vice President Richard Cheney. Also, an arrogant defense secretary overpowered senior military officers as well as the Department of State and its secretary. While it is difficult for Congress to constrain a president once a major military enterprise has been approved, Congress has been even more compliant than usual in this case. There are no panaceas, but manageable changes can strengthen the system and make another Iraq far less likely. The roles of the secretary of state and national security adviser need to be strengthened, and career military officers and civil servants must be encouraged and supported in their efforts to offer independent views to the political leadership. Most important is a policy environment open to varied perspectives rather than driven by narrow dogma.

### **4. Turkey and the Threat of Kurdish Nationalism**

**Giraldi, Philip**

#### **Abstract**

The US led invasion of Iraq in 2003 has resulted in a resurgence in Kurdish nationalism. There has also been a revival of the terrorist threat directed against Turkey coming from the Kurdistan Workers' Party based in northern Iraq. The inability of the United States to curb the terrorism problem and the increasing instability of the region as a whole have put pressure on the Turkish government to act decisively. Much of this pressure comes from secularists and the army itself, both of which criticize the ruling AK Party because of its failure to provide security. The decision whether to invade northern Iraq will depend on exactly how Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan chooses to respond to that pressure.

### **5. Nation Building in a War Zone: The US Record in Iraq, 2003 to 2007**

**El-Khawas, Mohamed A.**

#### **Abstract**

The essay examines Bush's strategies to democratize Iraq. Failure to draft a plan for Iraq's stabilization led to costly mistakes that drove many Sunnis to join insurgent groups, fueling sectarian strife. Holding multiparty elections was a major accomplishment, but it did not lead to national reconciliation. Meanwhile, Bush has given Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki governmental benchmarks to meet, has sent more troops to drive insurgents out of Baghdad, and has armed Sunni tribes to fight al Qaeda. After reviewing key events, the essay assesses

the prospects for the future of democracy in a country where there is neither security nor the rule of law.

## **6. Approaching Albania**

**Binder, David.**

### **Abstract**

It took twenty-seven years and the ending of the Cold War for former New York Times correspondent David Binder to obtain permission to enter Communist Albania. Once there, in 1990, the author was introduced to both suspicion and traditionally warm hospitality. He found Albania impoverished, as it had been throughout its history, but also rich in talented and thoughtful people. Images of Stalin and of Enver Hoxha, Stalin's Albanian imitator, were still omnipresent. "We are a terrorized people," one student commented. Rebellion was in the air.

## **7. Al Qaeda in the Maghreb: The "Newest" Front in the War on Terror**

**Celso, Anthony N.**

### **Abstract**

The presence of al Qaeda in the Maghreb (AQIM) may be interpreted as the opening of a new front in the cause of international jihad. However, terrorist activity in North Africa is not new, for the region has been convulsed by past jihadist insurgencies. The essay argues that AQIM is a response to jihadists' post-9/11 organizational and ideological problems. The loss of al Qaeda's Afghan sanctuary had made it dependent on affiliates to recruit terrorists. The failure of the North African Salafists to overthrow any government, moreover, requires the commissioning of a new cause. AQIM is a mutually beneficial arrangement among jihadists to compensate for past failures.

# **Mediterranean Politics**

## **March 2008, Vol. 13, Issue 1**

## **1. The Syrian-European Association Agreement and its Potential Impact on Enhancing the Credibility of Reform**

**Zorob, Anja**

### **Abstract**

The effect of 'locking-in' economic reform and enhancing its credibility is generally regarded as one of the most important potential effects of regional integration. The first part of this study outlines a general framework for assessment to evaluate the potential of regional integration agreements (RIAs) for serving as mechanisms of 'signalling' and 'commitment'. This assessment framework is then applied to the case of the Syrian-European Association Agreement (AA) initialled by the chief negotiators of both parties in October 2004. The empirical findings of this study show that despite several shortcomings, the Syrian-European AA, if it were to come into force, should be able to deliver an appropriate mechanism for

signalling and commitment and thus to improve the credibility of the Syrian process of reform at home and abroad. A major loophole of the agreement, however, is represented by the inclusion of a clause on weapons of mass destruction (WMD) which might be used by both parties as an 'exit option'. In addition, the AA lacks substantial incentives as 'rewards for good policy'.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790477794~fulltext=713240930>

## **2. On the Europeanization of Minority Rights Protection: Comparing the Cases of Greece and Turkey**

**Ioannis N. Grigoriadis**

### **Abstract**

The transformation of the character of the European Union and the diffusion of European norms facilitated a drastic improvement of minority rights in Greece in the 1990s. Nonetheless, significant problems have persisted, which have undermined the credibility of the role model that Greece wishes to comprise for neighbouring EU candidate states. The situation was different in the 1990s when Turkey's EU candidacy gained impetus. The promulgation of the Copenhagen Criteria in 1993 meant that respect for minority rights became a condition for EU membership. It is argued in this study that minority rights protection in Greece and Turkey remains one of the fields where Europeanization has triggered considerable progress, but not fulfilled its full potential. The asymmetry between current and past EU membership criteria led Greece and Turkey to diverse experiences of Europeanization in the field of minority rights.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790476893~fulltext=713240930>

## **3. Democracy Assistance in the Middle East and North Africa: A Comparison of US and EU Policies**

**Huber, Daniela**

### **Abstract**

This article compares US and EU efforts at democracy assistance in the Middle East and North Africa. Although the substantive content of what the US and the EU view as the type of democratic institutions to promote does not differ greatly, some puzzling variations are found in the area of funding party development and decentralization, a balanced top-down/bottom-up versus a top-down approach and slightly different thematic foci. The actors use similar implementation methods, but have differing approaches to partnership.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790479070~fulltext=713240930>

## **4. Europe puts Islamists to the Test: The Muslim Brotherhood (France, Belgium and Switzerland)**

**Amghar, Samir**

### **Abstract**

The article focuses on the Islamic political organization the Muslim Brotherhood and its activities in France, Belgium, and Switzerland. Islamic political activists and students from Arab countries immigrated to those countries in significant numbers after their governments instituted a wave of repression against Islamist organizations in the 1990s. The Brotherhood,

functioning in the Muslim immigrant communities of those nations, faced the problem of appearing as a legitimate political voice to its natural constituents. The Brotherhood's activities within and without other Muslim organizations in those countries has evolved from urging the creation of Islamic states to that of a pressure group purporting to represent the interests of Muslims in Europe. In this role, it has enjoyed a higher level of success.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790476466~fulltext=713240930>

## **5. Elections 2007: The Most Transparent Status Quo in Moroccan History**

**Kausch, Kristina**

### **Abstract**

The article examines the election for Morocco's legislature held on September 7, 2007. In a surprise result not forecast by public opinion polls, the Islamist Justice and Development party (PID) won fewer seats than the governing Independence party. Although PID won the most overall votes, the electoral structure of Morocco allowed the Independence party to win 52 seats as opposed to PID's 46. This allowed Prime Minister Abbas El-Fassi to form a government excluding PID. The result was seen as a relief for King Mohammed VI, allowing him to appoint a democratically elected government instead of excluding PID by fiat as he had done after elections in 2002. Voter turnout was only 37 percent, indicating that Moroccans are well aware power remains with the King despite the outward forms of democracy.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790476443~fulltext=713240930>

## **6. The 2007 Legislative Elections in Algeria: Political Reckonings**

**Dris-Alt-Hamadouche, Louisa.**

### **Abstract**

The article examines elections held for Algeria's National Popular Assembly on May, 17, 2007. The country's troubled political history, which has led to primarily authoritarian rule, is presented. In the 2007 elections, the three political parties which make up the ruling coalition won a substantial majority, led by the primary FLN party which has ruled Algeria since independence. Only 35 percent of eligible voters participated, and a wide variety of opposition parties, including both those on the far left and Islamic parties, boycotted the elections. Public opinion polls indicate Algerians have lost confidence in all political parties, both those of the government and those of the opposition. A lack of trust in political institutions is emerging as the country's most critical problem.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790476502~fulltext=713240930>

## **7. The 2007 Parliamentary Election in Greece**

**Gemenis, Kostas**

### **Abstract**

The article presents an analysis of the September 16, 2007 elections for Greece's Parliament. The governing New Democracy (ND) party, which took office in 2004, held a clear lead in public opinion polls over the rival Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) party before 2007 despite being forced to abandon several campaign promises due to budgetary constraints. In early 2007, a scandal emerged where four government officials were suspected

of involvement in the sale of overpriced bonds to state pension funds. The government called for a snap election, partly to contain the political damage. On August 24, 2007, Greece was swept by catastrophic forest fires. The government's reaction bolstered the public image of Prime Minister Costas Karamanlis. The election resulted in ND losing seats in Parliament but maintaining a one-vote majority. PASOK also lost seats, as the minor parties gained.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790476516~fulltext=713240930>

## **8. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP): Perspectives from the Mediterranean EU Countries (Rethimno, Crete, 25-27 October 2007)**

**Stavridis, Stelios**

### **Abstract**

A report is presented on the proceedings of a conference on the Euro-Mediterranean partnership held October 25-27, 2007 in Rethimno, Greece.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790476234~fulltext=713240930>

# **Middle East Quarterly Winter 2008, Vol. 15, Issue 2**

## **1. Scientific Training and Radical Islam**

**Stephen Schwartz**

The involvement of Muslim physicians in the London and Glasgow airport terror conspiracy on June 29-30, 2007, forced both non-Muslims and moderate Muslims to question how those trained to heal could embrace terrorism. The doctors involved in the attempt to detonate car bombs in London and blow up a passenger terminal at the Glasgow airport did not represent an isolated phenomenon. Many Muslim doctors have adopted the extremist doctrines espoused by the Muslim Brotherhood, Saudi Wahhabis, and Pakistani jihadists. Groups such as Al-Muhajiroun, a group banned but still active in Britain and famous for celebrating the 9-11 terror attacks, recruit medical students. Tablighi Jamaat,<sup>[1]</sup> an Islamist movement prominent in Great Britain among Muslims of South Asian origin, also welcomes Muslim medical students. Medical professionals represent an elite in Muslim societies. They have moral and social standing that can influence others to stray from the observance of traditional, mainstream, and spiritual Islam toward radical ideologies.

<http://www.meforum.org/article/1861>

## **2. "I Consider Islamism to Be Fascism"**

**INTERVIEW: Mohamed Sifaoui**

Mohamed Sifaoui was born on July 4, 1967, and spent most of his childhood in Algeria. He holds a master's degree in political science and studied theology for two years at the University of Algiers and for two additional years at Zeitouna University's Institute of

Theology in Tunis. In 1994, he began work for the Algerian daily Le Soir and survived a February 11, 1996 bomb attack at Le Soir's headquarters at the Maison de la Presse. In 1999, the French government granted him political asylum after he received death threats both from Algerian Islamists and the military. In Paris, Sifaoui works at the French weekly Marianne. Between October 2002 and January 2003, he infiltrated an Al-Qaeda cell in France in order to research his book, *Mes frères assassins: Comment j'ai infiltré une cellule d'Al-Qaïda*. (My assassin brothers: How I infiltrated an Al-Qaeda cell).

<http://www.meforum.org/article/1870>

### **3. Fatah's Embrace of Islamism**

**Ido Zelkowitz**

### **4. Is Al-Qaeda's Central Leadership Still Relevant?**

**Daveed Gartenstein-Ross and Kyle Dabruzzi**

### **5. The Psychological Asymmetry of Islamist Warfare**

**Irwin J. Mansdorf and Mordechai Kedar**

U.S. military lawyers acknowledge that "civilians may not be used ... to render an area immune from military operations... [or] to shield a defensive position, to hide military objectives, or to screen an attack. Neither may they be forced to leave their homes or shelters in order to disrupt the movement of an adversary." Such restraint is not unique to the United States but also extends to Europe, Israel, and in the post-World War II era, many Asian countries as well. Increasingly, though, Israel's Arab foes and Islamist groups discount such constraints in order to seek psychological advantage against technologically superior foes. Western governments are challenged today by an enemy whose behavior is inspired by theological doctrines that not only disregard the Western concept of ethical combat but for whom the killing of civilians—on both sides of a conflict—also serves a vital purpose.

<http://www.meforum.org/article/1867>

### **6. Sovereign Wealth Funds: Investment Vehicles for the Persian Gulf Countries**

**Nimrod Raphaeli and Bianca Gersten**

Countries have used sovereign wealth funds (SWFs) as instruments through which to buy assets with their surplus foreign exchange since the 1950s when Norway and Singapore, and soon after Kuwait, sought new strategies to insulate themselves from exchange rate fluctuation. Central banks employed SWFs only as buffers for currency stabilization when countries had little or no international debt and large current account surpluses. Today, SWFs have become quite common. As of March 2007, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Saudi Arabia had, respectively, the first and third largest SWFs internationally, and Kuwait ranked sixth. Because of burgeoning oil prices, Persian Gulf sovereign wealth funds have become the preferred investment vehicles of Kuwait, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates. As SWFs blur the line between public and private investment, however, Western nations worry about the security implications of foreign countries, including Persian Gulf states, acquiring important positions in key industries and companies.

<http://www.meforum.org/article/1863>

## New Left Review January-February 2008

### 1. No Forbidden Zone in Reading?

Zhang Yongle

#### Abstract

For a decade, the monthly review Dushu has published some of China's most incisive debates on the country's culture and economy. Zhang Yongle's survey relates the journal's trajectory to the PRC's dramatic development course and ruptures within its intelligentsia.

<http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2704>

### 2. The Communist Hypothesis

Alain Badiou

#### Abstract

Why does the spectre of May 68 still haunt French discourse? Alain Badiou on the country's longue durée sequences of restoration and revolt, and the place of Sarkozy's presidency within them. Lessons in political courage from Plato and Corneille, and a call to reassert the Manifesto's founding wager.

<http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2705>

### 3. The New Himalayan Republic

Achin Vanaik

#### Abstract

The overthrow of the monarchy in Nepal, brought about by a prolonged people's war and massive popular mobilizations. Achin Vanaik sets out the complex socio-historical backdrop to the Second Democratic Revolution of 2006, the ensuing struggle for a new republic, and the tactical challenges facing the CPN-M.

<http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2707>

### 4. The Comrade from Milan

Rossana Rossanda

#### Abstract

Memories of war-time resistance work and the political culture of the million-strong PCI in liberated Milan, from one of the founding editors of Il Manifesto. Questions and doubts, in this portrait of an unsentimental education.

<http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2708>

## 5. A Symptom Called Managua

Dennis Rodgers

### Abstract

Nicaragua's capital as microcosm for the country's transformation since the 1970s: shattered by earthquake and the depredations of the Somoza dictatorship, briefly lifted by Sandinista urban reconstruction, remade in the 1990s by narco-traffickers and the returning Miami emigration

<http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2709>

## Political Research Quarterly

### Volume 61, Issue 1, 2008

#### 1. Sixty Years of Political Science at Political Research Quarterly

Mazur, Amy G.; Clayton, Cornell W.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/1/3>

#### 2. On the Origins of the Western Political Science Association and PRQ

Hrebenar, Ronald J.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/1/11>

#### 3. Charles Adrian and the Study of Nonpartisan Elections

Wright, Gerald C.

### Abstract

The Progressives believed that political parties, especially those in the cities during the first part of the past century, undermined the quality of democracy in the country. The patronage that held the parties together led to corruption and inefficiencies. While some of the reforms from the Progressive Era, such as the secret ballot and direct primary, have been adopted almost universally, Charles Adrian wrote about one, the nonpartisan ballot, that was adopted in many places, but not all. More than three fourths of municipal elections and about half of all U.S. elections use the nonpartisan ballot. This constitutes a huge quasi-experiment in the impact of political parties on governance and representation. As most political scientists agree that competitive political parties are necessary for healthy representative democracy and the centrality of political parties for voter decision making, this experiment is interesting and potentially significant for understanding the role parties play in elections and policy making.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/1/13>

#### 4. The "Kling Thesis": An Early Effort at Systematic Comparative Politics

Seligson, Mitchell A.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/1/17>

## 5. The Kennedy Experiment Revisited

**Etzioni, Amitai**

### **Abstract**

Many of the critical issues and conflicts in international relations today bear a significant resemblance to the geopolitical circumstances that led to the development of a theorem the author published in these pages forty years ago. This theorem points toward a course of (1) unilateral, (2) reciprocal, and (3) symbolic actions between mutually mistrustful agents as the best road to travel toward the possibility of “normal” negotiations. Looking back at the events of 1962—1963, the author finds (as he found in his article forty years ago) that the unilateral-reciprocal approach led to reduced tensions between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Although his theorem has received the kind of varied and relevant observations those who formulate theorems aspire to, the author regrets that there have been very few attempts to apply this theorem to subsequent international conflicts as a tension-reducing tactic.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/1/20>

## 6. The Importance of Being First

**Matland, Richard E.**

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/1/36>

## 7. Economic Common Sense and the Depoliticization of the Economic

**Swanson, Jacinda**

### **Abstract**

This article theorizes and begins to explore the extent to which academic and nonacademic discourses contribute to the reproduction and legitimacy of the economic status quo. The author argues that economic practices in the United States are often depoliticized in at least two different ways: They are naturalized or essentialized conceptually, and political control over them is limited. Drawing on antiessentialist Marxian economic theory, Gramsci's theory of hegemony, and poststructuralist theory, the author constructs a framework for conceptualizing economic practices in a more politicized manner. The author also provides some specific examples of depoliticized discourses and a few examples of more politicized discourses.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/1/56>

## 8. Ambition, Gender, and the Judiciary

**Williams, Margaret S**

### **Abstract**

With the work of scholars like Fox and Lawless (2004) and Sanbonmatsu (2002), the discipline of political science began to understand individual-level explanations for women's representation in state legislatures. Such analysis, however, has not been extended to other branches of government, including state judiciaries. To examine individual-level explanations for representation on state courts, this article examines the results of a survey of Texas attorneys. The results of this research suggest that running for the judiciary is somewhat

different from running for other office and future research needs to explore the variation in ambition across types of offices.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/1/68>

### **9. Is There a “Gender Affinity Effect” in American Politics?: Information, Affect, and Candidate Sex in U.S. House Elections**

**Dolan, Kathleen**

#### **Abstract**

A common assumption people make about American elections is that women voters will be the most likely source of support for female candidates, a phenomenon referred to as the “gender affinity effect.” Using National Election Study (NES) data from 1990 to 2000, this project expands our understanding of forms that this affinity effect can take by examining two underutilized measures of reactions to candidates: information and candidate affect scores. The author also considers the impact of political party on women's and men's attitudes toward female candidates and examines whether any gender affinity effect in reactions to female candidates is related to people's voting decisions.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/1/79>

### **10. Life, Pocketbook, or Culture: The Role of Perceived Security Threats in Promoting Exclusionist Political Attitudes toward Minorities in Israel**

**Canetti-nisim, Daphna; Ariely, Gal; Halperin, Eran**

#### **Abstract**

This article tests the role played by different sources of threat perception in shaping exclusionist political attitudes of the majority toward two distinct minority groups in Israel: non-Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union and Palestinian citizens of Israel. The authors distinguish between the impact of security, economic, and symbolic threats on exclusionist political attitudes. A structural equation modeling (SEM) analysis indicated that regardless of the different levels of each threat posed by a minority group, a perceived security threat is a key predictor of exclusionist political attitudes toward different minority groups.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/1/90>

### **11. International Relations, Domestic Politics, and Asylum Admissions in the United States**

**Salehyan, Idean; Rosenblum, Marc R.**

#### **Abstract**

What explains variation in U.S. asylum approval rates across countries of origin? Previous research has found that humanitarian factors and diplomatic relations play an important role in shaping asylum decisions. This article examines the impact of domestic politics. The authors find that media and congressional attention play an important role in influencing how the executive branch makes enforcement decisions. Popular attention to asylum increases the importance of humanitarian concerns relative to instrumental factors. The effect of congressional attention depends on whether asylum is seen as an enforcement or humanitarian issue. The importance of these factors has also changed over time.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/1/104>

## 12. The Effects of Redistricting on Voting Behavior in Incumbent U.S. House Elections, 1992—1994

Mckee, Seth C.

### Abstract

Although numerous studies have assessed the influence of the 1990s redistricting on U.S. House elections, without exception, these published studies rely on aggregate data (e.g., district-level data). Likewise, the author uses aggregate data, but he also departs from previous studies by using survey data to assess the influence of redistricting on vote choice in the 1992 and 1994 U.S. House elections. Unlike past studies, with the use of survey data, the author makes more definitive statements regarding the effects of redistricting on vote choice. The 1990s redistricting was an important factor contributing to the Republicans' House majority because voters drawn into districts with a different incumbent standing for reelection were much more likely to vote Republican.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/1/122>

## 13. Does the Messenger Matter? Candidate-Media Agenda Convergence and Its Effects on Voter Issue Salience

Hayes, Danny

### Abstract

Though research has shown that candidates and the media can influence the importance voters ascribe to political issues, little work has sought to test the interactive agenda-setting effects of each—in particular, to determine whether the ability of candidates to set the public's agenda depends on the media's willingness to reflect their issue emphases. Using an experiment conducted during the early stages of the 2006 Texas gubernatorial election, the author shows that candidate attempts to influence voter issue salience are most effective when the media focus on the same topics. The findings suggest the value for candidates of enlisting the news media in helping to pass their messages along and serve as a point of departure for more work on the influence of candidate-media agenda convergence.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/1/134>

## 14. The Two Faces of Government Spending

Goren, Paul

### Abstract

Scholars have known for some time that attitudes toward federal spending on welfare are shaped by racial antipathies. Are attitudes toward spending on nonwelfare social programs similarly grounded? This article explores the dimensionality of spending attitudes and the extent to which they are rooted in stereotypical beliefs about blacks. Analysis of data from the 1992, 1996, and 2000 National Election Studies demonstrates that whites' attitudes toward welfare spending and social spending are structured in two-dimensional terms and that stereotypical beliefs about the work ethic of blacks systematically constrain their welfare attitudes and do not affect attitudes toward other social programs.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/1/147>

## Security Studies 2008, Volume 17, Issue 1

### 1. Wedge Strategy, Balancing, and the Deviant Case of Spain, 1940-41

Timothy W. Crawford

#### Abstract

Wedge strategies seek to divide alliances or to prevent them from forming. Despite their importance in balance of power politics, they have not received systematic attention in security studies. This article corrects that problem. First, it develops a concept of wedge strategy that connects it to balancing behavior and shows how the phenomenon can help to explain "alignment anomalies" in international politics. Second, it mounts an intensive study of the deviant case of Spanish alignment in 1940-41, demonstrating that a British wedge strategy was a necessary and proximate cause of that alignment anomaly, which was an outcome of great consequences for the conduct and conclusion of the Second World War. It concludes by returning to basic conceptual issues, discussing the implications of thinking theoretically about wedge strategies for two facets of international security: the relationship between appeasement and balancing and the power politics of neutrality.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791390315~fulltext=713240930>

### 2. National Unification and Mistrust: Bargaining Power and the Prospects for a PRC/Taiwan Agreement

Scott L. Kastner; Chad Rector

#### Abstract

Can states that mistrust each other as much as the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC) and Taiwan reach unification agreements? Unification agreements are most feasible when one of two conditions holds: the unification bargain does not independently erode the bargaining power of the weaker state, or the more powerful state can commit credibly not to use its increased bargaining power to restructure the agreement ex post. Our argument accounts for two historical cases - the nineteenth century Argentine and German unifications - and helps to explain why the PRC has found it difficult to make progress on achieving a peaceful bargain with Taiwan. We describe several possible future scenarios for cross-Strait relations and show that democratization in the PRC is not a necessary prerequisite for a unification agreement between the mainland and Taiwan.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791390960~fulltext=713240930>

### 3. Surprise Attacks - Are They Inevitable? Moving Beyond the Orthodox-Revisionist Dichotomy

Or Honig

#### Abstract

This study seeks to adjudicate between the two schools of intelligence: the "Orthodox School" which argues that the inherent pathologies and obstacles in the intelligence work make a significant degree of successful surprise inevitable in almost all attempts and the "Revisionist School" which asserts that the roots of surprise attacks lie in avoidable mistakes of certain intelligence officials. By examining the classic case of the Yom Kippur surprise attack, the

paper finds the middle ground between the two schools. It distinguishes between the real limits facing analysts and surmountable obstacles. Based on this distinction it determines which problems can be corrected or mitigated and which cannot. It also provides criteria to determine the varying levels of difficulty for predicting attacks. Finally, it finds that intelligence inevitably involves making subjective judgments and utilizing experience correctly, and therefore successful prediction depends on the quality of the analysts.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791390183~fulltext=713240930>

#### **4. The Geography of Insurgent Organization and its Consequences for Civil Wars: Evidence from Liberia and Sierra Leone**

**Patrick Johnston**

##### **Abstract**

This article investigates the determinants of armed group organization and the downstream effects of organization on civil wars. It demonstrates that the interaction between geographical and technological factors influences the types of hierarchical organizations that armed groups develop. It then argues that variations in the types of hierarchies developed by armed groups have important consequences for principal-agent relations, which in turn affect groups' overall level of military effectiveness. Using evidence from field research conducted in Liberia and Sierra Leone, the model's plausibility is examined in comparative case studies of four armed groups that fought in those countries from 1989-2003.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791390007~fulltext=713240930>

#### **5. Balancing and the Bible: A Pre-Thucydidean View of Threat**

**Ariel Ilan Roth**

##### **Abstract**

This article uses the case of King Saul, David, and the Philistines, drawn from the Hebrew Bible (books 1 and 2 Samuel), to argue that leaders of states with contested or immature authority structures often elect to prioritize threats to their personal rule over external threats to the integrity and welfare of the states which they lead in a manner not predicted by neo-Realist international relations theory. In making this argument, this article not only makes a contribution to the Realist literature on threat prioritization but introduces a new, novel, and ancient data set which can be used both to generate new theories and to test existing theories within international relations.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791390622~fulltext=713240930>

#### **6. War, Nuclear Weapons, and Crisis Stability in South Asia**

**Sumit Ganguly**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791390622~fulltext=713240930>

## Studies in Conflict & Terrorism February 2008, Vol. 31, Issue 2

### 1. Misuse of Passports: Identity Fraud, the Propensity to Travel, and International Terrorism

Martin Rudner

#### Abstract

The misuse of passports is intrinsically connected with international terrorism. Terrorist groups and their operatives demonstrate a propensity to travel in order to meet, organize, train, plan, reconnoiter targets, and deploy for attacks. To travel surreptitiously, terrorist activists and operatives typically make use of improperly obtained, altered, or counterfeit passports and visas. The present study addresses three key issues relating to the terrorist misuse of passports: (a) the role of passport misuse in the operational activities of international terrorist networks; (b) the ways in which terrorist elements acquire seemingly genuine passports; and (c) the various international covenants, agreements, and related action plans intended to constrain terrorists' ability to move surreptitiously across borders. The analysis describes a terrorism cycle, a complex array of key activities that together serve as enablers for international terrorism. The role of passports and surreptitious travel is examined for each stage of this terrorism cycle.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790561569~fulltext=713240930>

### 2. Creating the Ideology of Al Qaeda: From Hypocrites to Salafi-Jihadists

Christina Hellmich

#### Abstract

This article investigates the rationales of different explanatory models that have been utilized to explain the ideology of Al Qaeda. From perceptions of madmen and religious hypocrites to Wahhabis of the twenty-first century and Salafi-Jihadists, what these approaches have in common is an "outside-in" perspective that assumes a concept of the underlying logic of Al Qaeda without sufficient reference to primary sources. It is argued that particularly those explanations that seem to have become the official wisdom regarding the fundamental logic of Al Qaeda, Wahhabism and the Salafi-Jihadist discourse, are concepts that are poorly understood and subject to much controversy. In the anxious quest to explain Al Qaeda, the terrorism studies community seems to have deviated from the guidelines of academic conduct and restricted itself to re-assuming for its own use oversimplifications of the complexity of Islamic thought, thereby granting those oversimplifications a new lease on life. The risk of such conduct is that one ends up with a misrepresentation of the very issue he or she seeks to comprehend.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790561556~fulltext=713240930>

### 3. The Alliance System of the Abu Sayyaf, 1993-2000

Eduardo F. Ugarte

#### Abstract

Unsettled conditions on Jolo and Basilan islands in the southwestern Philippines have seriously hampered efforts to obtain information about the Abu Sayyaf. The result has been a continuing ignorance over the most fundamental features of the group. In the attempt to broaden our understanding of its structure, this article examines data drawn from an array of sources in light of the authoritative work of Thomas Kiefer on the traditional Tausug alliance system on Jolo. It argues that the Abu Sayyaf consists of a system of alliance groups of the kind customarily found in Muslim Filipino societies.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790561510~fulltext=713240930>

### 4. An Appraisal of the Radical Animal Liberation Movement in Switzerland: 2003 to March 2007

Jean-Marc Flükiger

#### Abstract

In February 2007, the Animal Liberation Front claimed responsibility for the arson of two trucks in the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland. After analyzing this event, which triggered an unusual media response in the country, this article assesses recent and past actions of the radical animal liberation movement in Switzerland for the period from 2003 to the end of March 2007. This article also presents some features of the non-radical animal liberation movement in the German-speaking and Italian-speaking parts of the country and demonstrates possible links between the non-radical movement and the radical one.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790561577~fulltext=713240930>

### 5. Modeling Hostage-Taking: On Reputation and Strategic Rationality of Terrorists

Heinrich Harald Nax

#### Abstract

This article takes a fresh look at hostage-taking from a game theoretic standpoint. A new model is developed that shows why conventional government deterrence strategies may fail.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790561525~fulltext=713240930>

## Studies in Conflict & Terrorism

### March 2008, Vol. 31, Issue 3

#### 1. Iran, Terrorism, and Weapons of Mass Destruction

Daniel Byman

##### Abstract

This article reviews Iran's past and current use of terrorism and assesses why U.S. attempts to halt Iran's efforts have met with little success. With this assessment in mind, it argues that Iran is not likely transfer chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons to terrorist groups for several reasons. First, providing terrorists with such unconventional weapons offers Iran few tactical advantages as these groups are able to operate effectively with existing methods and weapons. Second, Iran has become more cautious in its backing of terrorists in recent years. And third, Tehran is highly aware that any major escalation in its support for terrorism would incur U.S. wrath and international condemnation. The article concludes by offering recommendations for decreasing Iran's support for terrorism.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790743125~fulltext=713240930>

#### 2. Global Jihadist Recidivism: A Red Flag

Dennis A. Pluchinsky

##### Abstract

This commentary examines the issue of global jihadist recidivism and identifies it as a potential long-term international counterterrorism concern. Although there are no comprehensive and accurate statistics on global jihadist recidivism, there is sufficient anecdotal evidence that suggests that the tendency for released imprisoned global jihadist terrorists is to return to terrorist activity. It is important to understand that arresting, indicting, and sentencing a captured global jihadist terrorist is not the end of the counterterrorism skirmish. In fact, the next stages of incarceration and reformation are more crucial to the endgame. The problem of global jihadist recidivism is at the core a manpower issue. Prisons have always been an important front for all types of terrorist groups. Recidivism or the failure of prison rehabilitation programs is simply one component of this front. Terrorist groups do not want their imprisoned members to reform and resign from the organization. Further research needs to be conducted on the recidivism rate for terrorists and whether religious terrorists would have a higher rate than secular ones. The academic, think tank, and U.S. government communities need to examine this issue to determine if it is a long-term international counterterrorism problem. The author believes it will be.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790743769~fulltext=713240930>

#### 3. Jihadist Strategic Debates before 9/11

Steven Brooke

##### Abstract

In 2004 Lia and Hegghammer observed a new genre of "jihadi strategic studies," characterized by secular-rational analyses, familiarity with Western sources, and a willingness to self-critique. Through four case studies (the strategies of takfir groups in 1960/1970s Egypt, the far enemy-near enemy debate, the differing revolutionary modes of Al Jihad and

Gamaa Islamiyya, and the decision by Al Qaeda to target the West) this article finds that many of the traits observed by Lia and Hegghammer have deep roots among jihadist thinkers. This article will interest those who study terrorism, strategy, and the history of Islamic militancy.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790744205~fulltext=713240930>

#### **4. Terrorism and Terrorist Leaders: Insights from Developmental and Ecological Psychology**

**Alice Locicero ; Samuel J. Sinclair**

##### **Abstract**

A recent increase in terrorist actions where the terrorist's death is planned and intentional has raised interest in the psychological functioning, motivation, and reasoning of those who engage in terrorism and those who support it. No consensus exists among Western<sup>1</sup> psychologists regarding terrorists who plan to die in their attack, and no Western psychological perspective has thus far contributed substantively to explaining or predicting it. Although most agree that groups engaging in such actions typically have a wider network of support, the psychology of supporters is also unexplained. This article proposes a developmental psychological model of the conditions that favor focused terrorist actions that have publicly discernible goals ascribed to a political or religious cause. The article describes a common pattern of cognitive complexity among terrorist leaders, using Osama bin Laden as a model, where entrenched cognitive simplicity in one key ideological domain (religious or political) is coupled with behavior reflecting the capacity for far greater complexity in other domains (organizational skills, planning, problem-solving.) This pattern, in specifiable historical and ecological context, makes terrorist tactics, including those in which the attacker intentionally dies, more likely, and increases the challenges associated with attempts at diplomacy or negotiated peace.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790743096~fulltext=713240930>

#### **5. Deconstructing Political Orthodoxies on Insurgent and Terrorist Sanctuaries**

**Michael A. Innes**

##### **Abstract**

Critics of the War on Terror have pointed to the futility of waging war on a tactic. Its emphasis on denying "sanctuary" and "safe havens" to terrorists, however, has also been informed by a political discourse that privileges the static, physical characteristics of refuge and the significance of state and territory in its provision. Locational issues have been exceptionally problematic, suggesting there is a need for deeper and more textured understanding of terrorist operating environments. This article seeks to widen the debate, encouraging the view that sanctuary is a complex terrain of material, human, and cognitive dimensions.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790743753~fulltext=713240930>

## Survival: Global Politics and Strategy Volume 50, Issue 1, 2008

### 1. Present at the Creation

Michael Howard

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790435562~fulltext=713240930>

### 2. Pakistan: Transition to What?

Teresita C. Schaffer

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790435638~fulltext=713240930>

### 3. On War: Lessons to be Learned

H. R. McMaster

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790435566~fulltext=713240930>

### 4. Strategy and the Limitation of War

Hew Strachan

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790435549~fulltext=713240930>

### 5. Recovering American Leadership

Joseph S. Nye Jr

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790435554~fulltext=713240930>

### 6. Debating Bush's Wars

Peter Wehner

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790435558~fulltext=713240930>

### 7. Living with Ambiguity: Nuclear Deals with Iran and North Korea

Robert S. Litwak

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790435612~fulltext=713240930>

### 8. Resurrecting the Test-Ban Treaty

Michael O'Hanlon

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790435570~fulltext=713240930>

### 9. Does the UN have a Role in Iraq?

Thomas R. Pickering

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790435544~fulltext=713240930>

### 10. The Two Faces of Saudi Arabia

Mai Yamani

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790435630~fulltext=713240930>

### 11. China's Military Space Strategy: An Exchange

Michael Krepon

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790435634~fulltext=713240930>

## The Middle East Review of International Affairs March 2008, Vol. 12, No. 1

### 1. Lebanon 2006: Unfinished War

Jonathan Spyer

<http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2008/issue1/pdf/1.pdf>

### 2. Ignorance Cannot Be Realistic: A Critique of the Mearsheimer-Walt Thesis

Ofira Seliktar

<http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2008/issue1/pdf/2.pdf>

### 3. Impediments to Stability in Iraq: The Illusive Economic Dimension

Robert Looney

<http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2008/issue1/pdf/3.pdf>

### 4. Harsh Readjustment: The Sunnis and the Political Process in Contemporary Iraq

Ronen Zeidel

<http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2008/issue1/pdf/4.pdf>

### 5. Shaykh Yusuf al-Qaradawi: Portrait of a Leading Islamist Cleric

Ana Soage

<http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2008/issue1/pdf/5.pdf>

### 6. The Relationship Between Traditional and Contemporary Islamist Political Thought

Sherko Kirmanj

<http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2008/issue1/pdf/6.pdf>

### 7. The Future of Pakistan as an Illiberal Democracy

Isaac Kfir

<http://meria.idc.ac.il/journal/2008/issue1/pdf/7.pdf>

## Turkish Studies 2008, Vol. 9, Issue 1

### 1. Middle Easternization of Turkey's Foreign Policy: Does Turkey Dissociate from the West?

Tarik Oğuzlu

#### Abstract

This essay argues that Turkey's foreign policy has been Middle Easternized. This has mainly been informed by the growing negative impact of political developments in the Middle East - particularly Iraq - on Turkey's feeling of security at home and abroad. Rather than culminating in a breakup with the West, this Middle Easternization process has resulted in the

adoption of a more pragmatic/rational than an emotional/romantic approach towards the European Union and the United States. That objections to Turkey's accession to the EU have recently increased despite the start of the accession talks appears to have led Turkish policymakers to adopt a more pragmatic approach towards EU membership. Though the accession talks with the EU have formally started, the end result of Turkey's Europeanization process continues to remain more ambiguous than ever. Though the negative legacy of the March 2003 crisis in US-Turkey relations has been partially repaired, it seems that Turkey and the United States will likely experience growing disagreements over Iraq, the Kurds, Syria, democratization in the Middle East, and Iran in the years to come. The nature of Turkey's future relations with the West will increasingly be determined by what transpires to Turkey's south and east rather than west.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790493127~fulltext=713240930>

## **2. Turkey's Inclusion in the Atlantic Community: Looking Back, Looking Forward**

**Paul Kubicek**

### **Abstract**

Turkey's European credentials are an issue of great contemporary dispute. This essay looks back at Turkey's early efforts to join European and trans-Atlantic institutions. One goal is to examine the past record to uncover what it can contribute to current debates over Turkey's place in Europe. In this regard, one can compare attitudes towards Turkey in the past with those expressed today, as well as how the definition of the Atlantic and European communities has evolved over time. It also considers how ties with Western democracies have affected democratization within Turkey itself, which has had its ups and downs over the course of the past 50 years.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790492913~fulltext=713240930>

## **3. The Sèvres Syndrome and "Komplo" Theories in the Islamist and Secular Press**

**Michelangelo Guida**

### **Abstract**

Through an analysis of the interpretation of three events by the secular and Islamist press, this essay shows how widespread the "Sèvres Syndrome" is in Turkey, tracing the reasons for and origins of this "siege paranoia." The premise of the study is that the Sèvres Syndrome inevitably compromises Turkish intellectuals' perception of reality and influences their ontological understanding of politics and world affairs. This paranoia also inevitably leads to irrational overreactions and apparently irrational behaviors by the masses and by politicians. Failing to understand this paranoia prevents a full comprehension of contemporary Turkish politics.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790492953~fulltext=713240930>

## **4. AKP's Move to "Conquer" the Center-Right: Its Prospects and Possible Impacts on the Democratization Process**

**Yüksel Taşkin**

### **Abstract**

The Justice and Development Party (AKP) is moving to fill the void on the center-right by claiming the legacy of the Democratic Party. In this essay, the center-right legacy of conservative modernization and its influential political strategy of conservative populism will be introduced, since the AKP is also trying to reproduce them under novel conditions. Then, five interrelated sociological processes will be highlighted in order to assess the prospects of the AKP realizing its strategy. The subsequent section will deal with the problematic legacies of both the center-right and political Islam that could hinder full-fledged democratization of Turkey. Finally, some moderate predictions will be proposed by reconsidering the precedent set by the Justice Party in the 1960s and 1970s.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790492900~fulltext=713240930>

## 5. Ulusalçılık: The Neo-nationalist Resurgence in Turkey

Emrullah Uslu

### Abstract

Nationalism has been a powerful force in Turkish politics since the founding of the Republic. Yet nationalist activists have become unusually strident in their rhetoric, coalescing around various radical political platforms to seek the ouster of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) regime, either through the ballot box or by violent means. This study considers the psychological and theoretical bases of Turkish nationalism and analyzes why militant nationalism is becoming a more significant political factor. Particular attention will be devoted to a loose collection of extremist organizations and media known as the "ulusalcılar." Despite philosophical differences within the group, three fundamental elements in Ulusalçı thought can be identified: uncompromising anti-Westernism; externalization of Islam from Turkish nationalism; and ethnic exclusionism. These elements, as well as social and political background and basic beliefs, are examined, the leading components of the neo-nationalist movement are identified, and their objectives and the tactics they use to achieve them are analyzed.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790493426~fulltext=713240930>

## 6. The Clash of Kemalism? Reflections on the Past and Present Politics of Kemalism in Turkish Political Discourse

Özlem Demirtaş Bagdonas

### Abstract

This essay focuses on the question of how to make sense of the salience of Kemalism today. Building on Max Weber's notion of charisma and Laclau and Mouffe's concept of hegemony, it suggests viewing Kemalism as a chain of discourses that have both charismatic and hegemonic aspects. It is suggested that the way in which Kemalism is interpreted by political actors and the dynamics between its contesting interpretations are more relevant than the original charismatic and hegemonic aspects of this ideology for understanding its significance today. It is argued that the present period does not represent the dissolution of Kemalist hegemony, as argued by some, but that it can best be understood in terms of the resurfacing clash between the security-centered and the democracy-centered interpretations of Kemalism.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790493748~fulltext=713240930>

## 7. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's Six-Day Speech of 1927: Defining the Official Historical View of the Foundation of the Turkish Republic

**Toni Alaranta**

### **Abstract**

The Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923 as a modern nation-state. The years preceding this, 1919 to 1922, are seen by the Turks as the years of their struggle for independence (millî mücadele), led by Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938), later known as Atatürk and the first president of the republic. On October 15-20, 1927, Kemal presented his famous six-day speech (Nutuk) at the General Congress of the Republican Party, giving his own account of the War of Independence. This essay analyzes the role this speech plays in defining the official historical view of the foundation of the Turkish Republic.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790493687~fulltext=713240930>

## 8. Major Determinants of Imports in Turkey

**Şule L. Aker**

### **Abstract**

Imports are increasing at an alarming rate in Turkey. The reasons for this increase are analyzed in this essay. Findings show that 85-90 percent of Turkish imports are capital goods, intermediate goods, and raw materials, and only 10-15 percent are consumer goods (including petroleum). Imports in Turkey correlate positively with economic growth and growth in fixed capital investments. This study tests the effects of factors such as economic growth, fixed capital investments, the Customs Union with the European Union, real effective exchange rates, and exports and their lagged correlations with imports. The regression results show that the Customs Union Agreement has had no impact on imports in Turkey

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790492923~fulltext=713240930>

## 9. An Analysis of the Growth of the Turkish Manufacturing Industry

**Arzu Alvan**

### **Abstract**

The basic aim of this study is to investigate the sources of growth in the Turkish manufacturing industry between 1992 and 2001. For this purpose, a two-deflator growth accounting approach is applied; this new methodology is based on the theory of capital, not the theory of production as in the traditional approach. It is superior to the traditional approaches in many ways. The model used here has many advantages over the Solow type of model of growth. The measurement of growth at the disaggregated level can resolve many macroeconomic issues, which is not possible in an aggregated framework. The disaggregated empirical analysis finds that the contribution of capital explains most of the growth of the value added in the Turkish manufacturing industry, although the contribution of labor to value-added growth is by no means insignificant.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a790493006~fulltext=713240930>

## West European Politics 2008, Vol. 31, Issue 1&2

### 1. Trajectories of European Politics: An Introduction

Klaus H. Goetz; Peter Mair; Gordon Smith

#### Abstract

This article introduces a specially commissioned issue of West European Politics marking the journal's 30th anniversary. It highlights profound changes in the European political landscape over the last three decades, including the fall of Communism; progressive European integration; territorial restructuring; public sector reforms at European, national, regional and local levels; changes in democratic participation, protest, elections, political communication, political parties and party competition; and challenges to the welfare state. The special issue also discusses how political science has responded to these changes in terms of its substantive focus, concepts, methods and theories. Many of the 17 contributions included in the special issue identify important challenges for the future, including those challenges stemming from EU integration, the reduced electoral accountability of politicians, the problematic legitimization of party government and the sharpening of the edges of the state.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791357840~fulltext=713240930>

### 2. Change in European Societies since the 1970s

Colin Crouch

#### Abstract

Sociology lags considerably behind political science in its comparative research on European societies, but enough material now exists to enable us to talk broadly about the major changes that have taken place since the 1970s across western Europe, and also to some extent central and eastern Europe too. Attention is here concentrated on those social trends that seem particularly salient for the study of politics, with occupational structure as the starting point. Although this dominant theme of classical sociology has tended to be neglected by much recent research in favour of such areas as deviance, gender and the formation of identities, working life remains fundamental to social organisation and in particular to politics. In fact, the theme of gender is easily accessed through consideration of changes in occupations, and considerable attention will be devoted to it here. This leads in turn to consideration of the family, then on to other aspects of demography including immigration and cultural diversity. This relates clearly to the final theme that will be discussed: the state of religion in Europe. In the conclusions some of the political implications of these changes are brought together.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791356543~fulltext=713240930>

### 3. Democracy and Changes: How Research Tails Reality

Leonardo Morlino

#### Abstract

The most important traditional topics of empirical theory of democracy have been deeply reshaped by the phenomenon of the diffusion of democracies in the world during at least the last 30 years. More precisely, the definition of democracy is reconsidered under the new light

shed by that phenomenon; the issue of hybrid regimes is addressed with all its problems of empirical intractability; the issue of the emergence of a theory, a quasi theory or at least a good theoretical framework about democratisation processes is discussed; and finally a contested issue such as that of the empirical assessment of democratic quality is introduced.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791360000~fulltext=713240930>

#### 4. Thirty Years of Territorial Politics

**Michael Keating**

##### **Abstract**

For many years, territorial politics was neglected in political science under the influence of a modernist paradigm according to which territory gives way to function as a principle of social and political organisation. In the last 30 years it has received more attention as territorial political movements have made an impact. This has provoked a reconsideration not just of the present but also of the past, as scholars have identified the persistence of territorial politics even within unitary states. There is a continuing separation of the study of local and urban from regional politics, although the respective literatures address similar issues and use similar concepts. The 'new regionalism' literature examines the emergence of territorial systems of action under the impact of state transformation and transnational integration. There are marked differences in territorial politics in western and east-central Europe, not because of primordial ethnic characteristics, but because of the evolution of the state in the post-war era.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791355062~fulltext=713240930>

#### 5. The European Welfare State: Golden Achievements, Silver Prospects

**Maurizio Ferrera**

##### **Abstract**

For the welfare state the last 30 years have witnessed a turbulent transition from the 'Golden Age' of expansion to a 'Silver Age' of permanent austerity. This shift has been the result of external pressures and of internal transformations of domestic economies and social structures. Permanent austerity has entailed incisive institutional adaptations and has been accompanied by a 'new politics', centred on a plurality of 'blame avoidance' strategies on the side of parties and governments. The article summarises and discusses the main factual developments since the mid-1970s but it also surveys the main strands of academic debates on both the expansion and the crisis phases. The author argues that comparative welfare state research has been one of the liveliest fields of political economy - a field marked by important analytical and theoretical advances and by the accumulation of relevant and systematic empirical knowledge about a key institution of the European political landscape.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791356120~fulltext=713240930>

#### 6. European Union?

**Liesbet Hooghe; Gary Marks**

##### **Abstract**

This article provides an overview of the study of the European Union since the doldrums of the 1970s. We focus on three debates that have helped to shape the field. Has European integration centralised state control or is European integration part of a process of dispersion

of authority? What is the role of identity in framing preferences over European integration? And, finally, is European integration part of a new political cleavage? We observe that the European Union is a moving target. It has a habit of throwing up new and unexpected facts which wrong-foot extant theories. We have no grounds for believing that this will not continue.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791357870~fulltext=713240930>

## 7. Changing Values among Western Publics from 1970 to 2006

**Ronald F. Inglehart**

### **Abstract**

In 1971 it was hypothesised that intergenerational value changes were taking place. More than a generation has passed since then, and today it seems clear that the predicted changes have occurred. A large body of evidence, analysed using three different approaches - (1) cohort analysis; (2) comparisons of rich and poor countries; (3) examination of actual trends observed over the past 35 years - all points to the conclusion that major cultural changes are occurring, and that they reflect a process of intergenerational change linked with rising levels of existential security.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791355788~fulltext=713240930>

## 8. Political Mobilisation, Political Participation and the Power of the Vote

**Hanspeter Kriesi**

### **Abstract**

This article proposes a framework to recast our thinking about political participation. The approach adopted insists on the role of collective actors and their agents - the political elites - in the democratic process and, by implication, in determining the amount and forms of individual political participation. The proposed framework builds on a simple model of representative government and introduces some major changes in the political context which have become ever more conspicuous in the course of the last 30 years, and which are substantially modifying the conditions for conventional (electoral) and unconventional political participation. Prominent among these changes are the increasing role of the media in politics, and the decline of party control over the voters. These changes tend to enhance both electoral and non-electoral forms of participation. Another set of contemporary institutional changes reduces the electoral accountability of political decision-makers, with expected consequences that are more ambiguous for both electoral and non-electoral participation.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791355211~fulltext=713240930>

## 9. State Feminism and Women's Movements

**Joni Lovenduski**

### **Abstract**

This article offers a brief reflection on the emergence of the study of gender and politics over the past 30 years and its influence on European political science. It goes on to discuss the early results of a recently completed comparative project, the RINGS project (Research Network on Gender and the State) on the influence of women's movements on public policy decisions. The RINGS project reflects both developments in the sub-field of gender and

politics and the influences of changes in approaches to the study of politics of the last 30 years or so.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791355502~fulltext=713240930>

## 10. The Changing Politics of Organised Interests

Philippe C. Schmitter

### Abstract

Since the mid-1970s, Western European politics have undergone significant changes - and this has been particularly marked in the arena of 'interest politics'. In this article I list some apodictic statements about these changes and speculate about their potential explanations. To the extent that these descriptive generalisations have some accuracy and that the potential explanations have some validity, we can then conclude that the hegemony of political parties is declining. This is not to say that parties will be replaced by either associations or movements. These three forms of representation are not locked into a zero-sum game. In the past, they have grown together and supported each other. Nothing says that they cannot also decline together in the present. What we can say, however, is that there has been a generalised loosening of the links between interests and organisations.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791355322~fulltext=713240930>

## 11. The Challenge to Party Government

Peter Mair

### Abstract

At a time when the literature on political parties is brimming with health and vitality, the parties themselves seem to be experiencing potentially severe legitimacy problems and to be suffering from a quite massive withdrawal of popular support and affection. This article addresses one key aspect of the problems facing contemporary parties in Europe, which is the challenge to party government. I begin by reviewing the changing pattern of party competition, in which I discuss the decline of partisanship in policy-making and the convergence of parties into a mainstream consensus. I then look again at the familiar 'parties-do-matter' thesis and at the evidence for declining partisanship within the electorate. In the third section of the paper I explore the various attempts to specify the conditions for party government, before going on in the final section to argue that these conditions have been undermined in such a way that it is now almost impossible to imagine party government in contemporary Europe either functioning effectively or sustaining complete legitimacy.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791357039~fulltext=713240930>

## 12. European Government(s): Executive Politics in Transition?

Morten Egeberg

### Abstract

This article starts by discussing 'agencification' and fragmentation in national governments. When dealing with the problems that these developments might cause for democratic control and agency accountability, one only tends to look at the relationships between agencies and various national stakeholders, in particular ministerial departments. Has a 'methodological nationalism' hindered us from seeing the emerging executive centre at the level above, i.e. the

European Commission, and the re-coupling of nationally decoupled agencies into a multilevel Union administration? The development of the EU, due to its peculiar institutional architecture, takes quite another direction than intergovernmental cooperation and comes to challenge governments in an unprecedented way. National agencies become parts of two administrations - a national as well as a Union administration.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791366752~fulltext=713240930>

### **13. Worlds, Families, Regimes: Country Clusters in European and OECD Area Public Policy**

**Francis G. Castles; Herbert Obinger**

#### **Abstract**

This article focuses on the notion that the policies and politics of states and nations constitute distinct worlds or clusters. We begin by examining the concept of clustering as it has emerged in the literature on policy regimes and families of nations. We then address a series of empirical questions: whether distinct worlds persist in an era of policy convergence and globalisation, whether policy antecedents cluster in the same ways as policy outcomes and whether the enlargement of the EU has led to an increase in the number of worlds constituting the wider European polity. Our main conclusions are that country clustering is, if anything, more pronounced than in the past, that it is, in large part, structurally determined and that the EU now contains a quite distinct post-Communist family of nations.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791357319~fulltext=713240930>

### **14. European Political Economy: Labour Out, State Back In, Firm to the Fore**

**Vivien A. Schmidt**

#### **Abstract**

Much has changed in European political economy over the past 30 years, both in terms of the political economic realities and the scholarly explanations of those realities. National economic policies and policymaking have undergone major transformations, largely in response to the pressures of globalisation and Europeanisation. Such transformations have entailed significant alterations in the role of the state, the importance of business, and the power of labour. In light of these changes in the political economic realities, political economists have shifted their focus over time, first taking labour out of the equation, then bringing the state back in only to devalue it in light of globalisation and Europeanisation before putting the firm front and centre. Only recently has the state been brought back in yet again while labour has made a comeback.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791356243~fulltext=713240930>

### **15. Historical Institutionalism and West European Politics**

**Ellen M. Immergut; Karen M. Anderson**

#### **Abstract**

This article explores the selective affinities between the study of West European politics and historical institutionalism. We divide the last 30 years into four phases: the foundational ideas of the late 1970s and early 1980s; the evolution of these ideas from structuralism to institutionalism in the late 1980s and early 1990s; more radical revision under the turbulent

1990s and early 2000s; and the future outlook at the end of the first decade of the 2000s. We emphasise the ways in which the field of West European politics has shaped the direction of historical institutionalism as a distinctive approach to the study of politics, particularly historical institutionalism's focus on explaining actors' interests and behaviour. We also discuss recent debates within historical institutionalism concerning the role of history and path dependence, ideas, and institutional origins and change in the context of developments within West European politics. We conclude by discussing several challenges for both historical institutionalism and the study of West European politics: maintaining and improving analytical rigour as politics in Western Europe become even more fluid; continuing to build middle range theory; and extending our comparative analysis of Western Europe to include regions outside of Western Europe.

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## 16. Capacities: Political Science in Europe

Hans-Dieter Klingemann

### Abstract

This essay portrays the capacities of political science in Western as well as in Central and Eastern Europe. The discussion is divided into four subtopics: (1) the political and social context in which European political science developed after World War II, (2) its degree of institutionalisation as an academic discipline, (3) its professional organisation and communication structure, and (4) its capacity to represent the discipline's education and research interests in the European area. The analysis concludes with a plea to create a database which, in a comprehensive way, allows for a comparative self-description of the discipline in the European area of higher education and research.

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## 17. Governance as a Path to Government

Klaus H. Goetz

### Abstract

During the 1970s, analyses of state and government in Western Europe were preoccupied with crises of governability and legitimacy. The early 1980s witnessed sharply differing responses to these crises, exemplified by the socialist experiment in France and Thatcherism in the UK. By the end of the 1980s, 'governance'- in both national and European arenas - began to be regarded as the dominant institutional response to problems of governability. Considered from the perspective of comparative European government, the oft-claimed shift from government to governance appears overstated. Governance is less widespread and consequential both at national and European levels than its proponents suggest, as a survey of the propellants, conditions and national and European constellations of governance shows. Viewed historically, governance does not so much indicate a shift from government as towards government, as the core institutions of the state build up capacity to deal authoritatively and hierarchically with new governing challenges.

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## 18. Regulation, the Regulatory State and European Politics

### Martin Lodge

#### Abstract

For the past 15 years or so, the claim of a rise of the regulatory state in Europe has been a dominant theme in public policy research. This paper critically reflects on this claim and the associated scholarship by considering four key questions. First, what is the significance of the supposed rise of the regulatory state for the state in Europe and how can this trend be explained? Second, what insights have been gained from the study of phenomena associated with the regulatory state, both in terms of EU and national levels of government as well as in terms of process and organisational understandings of policy analysis? Third, does the regulatory state represent a stable arrangement or does it suffer from its own peculiar dilemmas that fundamentally affect the nature of European states? Fourth, and finally, this article develops three scenarios - those of withering away, plodding along, and rejuvenation - for the future of the (study of the) regulatory state in Europe.

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