

## İÇİNDEKİLER

American Journal of Political Science .....	2
British Journal of Political Science .....	7
Comparative Politics .....	10
Foreign Policy Analysis .....	12
International Organization .....	15
International Studies Quarterly .....	17
Journal of Conflict Resolution .....	21
Journal of Democracy .....	23
Middle East Policy .....	27
Middle Eastern Studies .....	28
Nations and Nationalism .....	31
Political Analysis .....	34
Political Science Quarterly .....	36
Quarterly Journal of Political Science .....	38
South European Society & Politics .....	39
Studies in Conflict & Terrorism .....	42
Survival .....	44
West European Politics .....	46

---

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

## American Journal of Political Science April 2008, Vol. 52, Issue 2

### 1. Enlightened Nation Building: The "Science of the Legislator" in Adam Smith and Rousseau

Ryan Patrick Hanley

#### Abstract

Rousseau is famous as an advocate of the politics of "denaturing." But attention to his conception of the "science of the legislator," as developed in the Geneva Manuscript and his writings on Poland and Corsica, reveals a more moderate approach to statecraft. Here Rousseau claims that legislative science requires tempering commitment to principles of political right with sensitivity to actual political conditions—a claim that importantly and unexpectedly parallels the better known account of the science of the legislator developed by Adam Smith. In comparing these conceptions, this article draws three conclusions: first, Smith's and Rousseau's shared moderation reveals their common commitment to accommodating the passions and prejudices of modernity; second, their fundamental difference concerns not practical legislative methods but rather differing conceptions of natural justice and political right; and finally, their prudential approach to legislation helps clarify the specific types of "moderation" and "intelligence" required of contemporary nation builders.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00309.x>

### 2. Policy Substance and Performance in American Lawmaking, 1877–1994

John S. Lapinski

#### Abstract

This article reconsiders the importance of including policy issue content and legislative significance in our study of lawmaking. Specifically, it demonstrates theoretically why lawmaking might vary by policy substance and empirically shows how incorrect conclusions would be drawn if lawmaking is studied by pooling enactments instead of disaggregating laws by policy issue content. It accomplishes this by bringing new tools, including a policy classification system and a way to measure the significance of public laws, to help overcome an array of measurement-related problems that have stymied our ability to better understand lawmaking. The policy coding schema introduced is applied, by careful individual human coding, to every public law enacted between 1877 and 1994 (n = 37,767). The policy issue and significance data are used to construct a number of new measures of legislative performance and are useful to test hypotheses within studies of Congress and American Political Development.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00310.x>

### 3. Change, Continuity, and the Evolution of the Law

Forrest Maltzman and Charles R. Shipan

#### Abstract

Congress regularly passes significant laws. Some of these laws continue in their initial form, with the original bargain struck by the enacting coalition untouched by any future laws; others are changed—strengthened or weakened—soon after passage. What accounts for this variation in the stability of laws, in the longevity of the original legislative agreement? We contend that political conditions at the time of enactment—in particular, the existence of divided government and the level of ideological disagreement between the House and Senate—influence the likelihood that a law will be amended. We demonstrate that laws originally crafted by diverse political coalitions are less durable than those crafted by strong, unified coalitions, which are in a position to entrench their preferred policies and protect them from future change. Furthermore, we show that the probability of a law being amended is affected by future political conditions, the actions of the judiciary, and factors specific to the law.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00311.x>

### 4. Pork-Barrel Politics in Postwar Italy, 1953–94

Miriam A. Golden and Lucio Picci

#### Abstract

This article analyzes the political determinants of the distribution of infrastructure expenditures by the Italian government to the country's 92 provinces between 1953 and 1994. Extending implications of theories of legislative behavior to the context of open-list proportional representation, we examine whether individually powerful legislators and ruling parties direct spending to core or marginal electoral districts and whether opposition parties share resources via a norm of universalism. We show that when districts elect politically more powerful deputies from the governing parties, they receive more investments. We interpret this as indicating that legislators with political resources reward their core voters by investing in public works in their districts. The governing parties, by contrast, are not able to discipline their own members of parliament sufficiently to target the parties' areas of core electoral strength. Finally, we find no evidence that a norm of universalism operates to steer resources to areas when the main opposition party gains more votes.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2007.00312.x>

### 5. Proffering Pork: How Party Leaders Build Party Reputations in Brazil

Mona M. Lyne

#### Abstract

Despite its highly candidate-centered electoral law, recent studies have shown that Brazilian party leaders are more powerful, and Brazilian parties are more unified, than alleged by long-dominant scholarship. Examining post-War and contemporary democracy in Brazil, governed by the same federal legislative electoral law, this article provides a controlled test of the role of leadership and electoral law in driving party unity. The combination of leadership intervention to enforce unity, increased unity, and partisan tides in contemporary Brazil, in contrast to an absence of leadership intervention, lower unity, and no partisan tides in the post-War, provides strong support for the role of the leadership in generating unity, as

emphasized in the collective action theory of party organization. The findings also suggest that a general theory of variation in party unity requires examining factors that lead to variation in party leaders' incentives to enforce unity, in addition to the current emphasis on backbenchers' incentives to defy the leadership.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00313.x>

## **6. The Informational Role of International Institutions and Domestic Politics**

**Songying Fang**

### **Abstract**

Why did President Bush attempt to acquire a UN Security Council resolution authorizing the use of force before the war with Iraq, even though there was a substantial risk that his request would be rejected? This article presents a game-theoretic model to investigate how international institutions can shape the behavior of democratic leaders by influencing domestic politics. While it seems unsurprising that unbiased leaders who are truly concerned about foreign policy outcomes would consult international institutions, the results show that biased leaders with private agendas can also be forced to behave like the unbiased type because of their electoral concerns. The equilibrium results are illustrated with the cases of U.S. use of force in international crises.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2007.00314.x>

## **7. Do Authoritarian Institutions Constrain? How Legislatures Affect Economic Growth and Investment**

**Joseph Wright**

### **Abstract**

This article explores why authoritarian regimes create legislatures and then assesses their effect on economic growth and investment. In authoritarian regimes more dependent on domestic investment than natural resource revenue, the dictator creates a binding legislature as a credible constraint on the regime's confiscatory behavior. In regimes dependent on natural resource revenue, the nonbinding legislature serves as a mechanism for the dictator to bribe and split the opposition when he faces credible challenges to the regime. Using data from 121 authoritarian regimes from 1950 to 2002, the results indicate that binding legislatures have a positive impact on economic growth and domestic investment, while nonbinding legislatures have a negative impact on economic growth.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00315.x>

## **8. Candidate and Party Strategies in Two-Stage Elections Beginning with a Primary**

**James Adams and Samuel Merrill**

### **Abstract**

In the United States and Latin America, candidates for national and state-level office frequently must win primary elections in order to advance to the general election. We model policy and valence issues for office-seeking candidates facing such two-stage elections. We determine a Nash equilibrium for the candidates' optimal strategies, and we find that holding a primary is likely to increase a party's chances of winning the general election, particularly in situations where valence issues that involve the candidates' campaigning skills and that are

not known prior to the campaign are more salient than policy issues. Furthermore, we find that primary elections are especially likely to benefit parties that expect to be underdogs in the general election. Our conclusions are directly relevant to U.S. politics and by extension to the strategic decisions that many Latin American parties currently confront, about whether it is strategically desirable to hold primaries.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00316.x>

## **9. State Public Opinion, the Death Penalty, and the Practice of Electing Judges**

**Paul Brace and Brent D. Boyea**

### **Abstract**

Do state supreme courts act impartially or are they swayed by public opinion? Do judicial elections influence judge behavior? To date these questions have received little direct attention due to the absence of comparable public opinion data in states and obstacles to collecting data necessary for comprehensive analysis of state supreme court outcomes. Advances in measurement, data archiving, and methodology now allow for consideration of the link between public opinion and judicial outcomes in the American states. The analysis presented considers public opinion's influence on the composition of courts (indirect effects) and its influence on judge votes in capital punishment cases (direct effects). In elective state supreme courts, public support for capital punishment influences the ideological composition of those courts and judge willingness to uphold death sentences. Notably, public support for capital punishment has no measurable effect on nonelective state supreme courts. On the highly salient issue of the death penalty, mass opinion and the institution of electing judges systematically influence court composition and judge behavior.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00317.x>

## **10. The Check Is in the Mail: Interdistrict Funding Flows in Congressional Elections**

**James G. Gimpel, Frances E. Lee and Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz**

### **Abstract**

This article analyzes the financial ties between congressional candidates and individual donors residing outside those candidates' districts. Congressional campaigns today rely more heavily on nonresidents than in the past, with contests in the typical district drawing more than two-thirds of individual donations from nonresidents. Empirical results reveal that nonresident contributions are primarily partisan and strategic in nature, rather than access-oriented or expressive/identity-based. Funds are efficiently redistributed from a small number of highly educated, wealthy congressional districts to competitive districts anywhere in the country. Big donors direct funds where they can make a difference for party control of seats, even if those investments are hundreds, or even thousands, of miles away.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00318.x>

## **11. An Exploration of Correct Voting in Recent U.S. Presidential Elections**

**Richard R. Lau, David J. Andersen, David P. Redlawsk**

### **Abstract**

Lau and Redlawsk (1997) proposed that the quality of voter decision making can be evaluated by measuring what they called correct voting—the extent to which people vote in accordance

with their own values and priorities—but in so doing provided little guidance about what actually determines whether voters can make such high-quality decisions. This article develops a framework for analyzing the vote decision that views the quality of decision making as a joint function of individual characteristics and various higher-level campaign factors. We hypothesize that differences in cognitive capacity, political motivation, the availability of political heuristics, and macrolevel factors that affect the difficulty of the choice confronting citizens, including the nature of the political information environment, should all affect the probability of a correct vote. We find significant support for seven proposed hypotheses across three levels of analysis, which places responsibility for incorrect votes on both the individual and our electoral system.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00319.x>

## 12. Opinion Taking within Friendship Networks

Suzanne L. Parker, Glenn R. Parker, James A. McCann

### Abstract

Communication within friendship networks can provide gains in efficiency that help individuals enrich their understanding of politics. Through two panel survey experiments, we demonstrate that the dissemination of an individual's opinion about the hazards posed by public policies can have both durable and significant effects on the policy judgments of friends. These effects are conditioned by both the content of the communication and the recipient's level of political awareness. Opinions emphasizing potential risks carry more weight than those that attempt to alleviate concerns about potential risks. Moreover, opinion transmission is more effective for subjects who are less politically aware when policy issues are salient; but when the political issue is more esoteric, friends who are more politically aware evidence greater opinion change.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00320.x>

## 13. Race and the Recall: Racial and Ethnic Polarization in the California Recall Election

Gary M. Segura, Luis R. Fraga

### Abstract

In the 2003 recall election in California, Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante received more than 1.25 million fewer votes in the replacement election than votes cast against the recall of Gray Davis. A much smaller group voted "yes" on the recall but voted for Bustamante. The principal underlying explanation is racial and ethnic polarization. Using L.A. Times exit poll data, we compare the characteristics of voters who displayed the two unusual behavioral patterns with those who voted in more conventional ways. We find that Latinos and African Americans are far less likely than non-Hispanic whites and Asian Americans to have defected from Bustamante given a "no" vote on the recall, and far more likely to have voted for Bustamante given a potentially strategic "yes" vote on the recall. The patterns of defection are consistent with racial polarization on Proposition 54, lending further credence to our claim that race and ethnicity persists as an important factor in vote choice, even in environments with a history of minority electoral success.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00321.x>

## 14. Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War Macartan Humphreys, Jeremy M. Weinstein

### Abstract

A range of seemingly rival theories attempt to explain why some individuals take extraordinary risks by choosing to participate in armed conflict. To date, however, competing accounts have typically not been grounded in systematic, empirical studies of the determinants of participation. In this article, we begin to fill this gap through an examination of the determinants of participation in insurgent and counterinsurgent factions in Sierra Leone's civil war. We find some support for all of the competing theories, suggesting that the rivalry between them is artificial and that theoretical work has insufficiently explored the interaction of various recruitment strategies. At the same time, the empirical results challenge standard interpretations of grievance-based accounts of participation, as poverty, a lack of access to education, and political alienation predict participation in both rebellion and counterrebellion. Factors that are traditionally seen as indicators of grievance or frustration may instead proxy for more general susceptibility to engage in violent action or a greater vulnerability to political manipulation by elites.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00322.x>

## British Journal of Political Science April 2008, Volume 38, Issue 02

### 1. The Politics of When: Redistribution, Investment and Policy Making for the Long Term

Alan M. Jacobs

### Abstract

Why do some elected governments impose short-term costs to invest in solving long-term social problems while others delay or merely redistribute the pain? This article addresses that question by examining the politics of pension reform in Britain and the United States. It first reframes the conventional view of the outcomes – centred on cross-sectional distribution – demonstrating that the politicians who enacted the least radical redistribution enacted the most dramatic intertemporal tradeoffs. To explain this pattern, the article develops and tests a theory of policy choice in which organized interests struggle for long-term advantage under institutional constraints. The argument points to major analytical advantages to studying governments' policy choices in intertemporal terms, for both the identification of comparative puzzles and their explanation.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1701772&jid=&volumeId=&issueId=02&aid=1701768>

### 2. Political Competition and Democratic Stability in New Democracies

Joseph Wright

### Abstract

This article examines the way in which the initial level of political competition in a new democracy affects the stability of that regime. The author argues that new democracies with

low levels of initial political competition are more likely to fail because those initially excluded from the democratic game seek to subvert the regime in the future. Using data from ninety-two new democracies born since 1946, he finds that a higher level of initial political competition in a new democracy makes for a more durable democracy. New democracies at war and born during the Cold War are less likely to survive. Finally, he finds evidence that new democracies with low levels of initial political competition are also more likely to meet with civil conflict.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1701780&jid=&volumeId=&issueId=02&aid=1701776>

### **3. New Forms of Political Participation: Searching for Expert Citizens and Everyday Makers**

**Yaojun Li and David Marsh**

#### **Abstract**

Declining political participation has caused much concern among political scientists and politicians. This article builds upon Henrik Bang's conceptualization of Expert Citizens and Everyday Makers as new forms of political participation. Using the 2001 Home Office Citizenship Survey, we identify four types of political participant: Political Activists, Expert Citizens, Everyday Makers and Non-Participants. We assess the socio-demographic and cultural factors underlying these different types of participant. We then move on to explore the association between the types of political participation and two domains of political beliefs/actions: political trust and efficacy; and political contacting and voice. Our analysis shows significant differences between the types of participant in the two domains under investigation and thus lends support to our development of Bang's conceptualization of new forms of political participation as useful tools in empirical research.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1701788&jid=&volumeId=&issueId=02&aid=1701784>

### **4. Emanating Political Participation: Untangling the Spatial Structure Behind Participation**

**Wendy K Tam Cho and Thomas J Rudolph**

#### **Abstract**

This is an analysis of the spatial structure of political participation in the United States using spatial econometric techniques and newly available geo-coded data. The results provide strong evidence that political participation is geographically clustered, and that this clustering cannot be explained entirely by social network involvement, individual-level characteristics, such as race, income, education, cognitive forms of political engagement, or by aggregate-level factors such as racial diversity, income inequality, mobilization or mean education level. The analysis suggests that the spatial structure of participation is consistent with a diffusion process that occurs independently from citizens' involvement in social networks.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1701796&jid=&volumeId=&issueId=02&aid=1701792>

## 5. Political Interest, Cognitive Ability and Personality: Determinants of Voter Turnout in Britain

Kevin Denny and Orla Doyle

### Abstract

This article uses longitudinal data from the National Child Development Study (NCDS) to investigate the determinants of voter turnout in the 1997 British general election. It introduces measures of cognitive ability and personality into the participation literature and finds that they are significant determinants of turnout. It also shows that standard turnout models may be biased by the inclusion of the much used ‘interest in politics’ measure. A bivariate probit model of turnout and political interest finds that individuals with high comprehension ability and an aggressive personality are more likely to both turn out to vote and have an interest in politics.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1701804&jid=&volumeId=&issueId=02&aid=1701800>

## 6. Political Efficacy and Participation in Twenty-Seven Democracies: How Electoral Systems Shape Political Behaviour

Jeffrey A Karp and Susan A Banducci

### Abstract

Advocates of proportional representation (PR) often cite its potential for increasing citizen involvement in politics as one of PR's fundamental advantages over plurality or first-past-the-post systems. The assumption is that plurality electoral systems distort the translation of votes into seats, discouraging and alienating small party supporters and other political minorities. In contrast, PR systems are believed to provide greater opportunities for representation which are assumed to instil greater efficacy and increase participation. We examine this theory linking institutions to electoral participation across a diverse set of countries using data from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems. Using a multi-level approach we find evidence consistent with the expectations about the negative influence of disproportional systems on political minorities. Voters are also likely to have stronger partisan preferences in PR systems, which enhances political efficacy and increases voter participation. The effects of PR, however, are not all positive; broad coalitions, which are likely to be a feature of these systems, reduce political efficacy.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1701812&jid=&volumeId=&issueId=02&aid=1701808>

## 7. A Framework for the Study of Personality and Political Behaviour

Jeffery J Mondak and Karen D Halperin

### Abstract

Variance in how citizens interact with the political world constitutes one of many classes of individual difference. Understanding the antecedents of this variance is the central objective for students of political behaviour, and researchers draw on numerous factors in addressing this task. Unfortunately, one potentially vital factor, personality, has received only sporadic attention in recent decades. Neglect of personality was understandable for many years, as psychological research on personality failed to produce concise taxonomies applicable to the study of politics. As the present analysis demonstrates, however, this situation has changed.

Research on personality has gained new footing with the emergence of a series of five-factor models, and these frameworks hold great potential for the study of political behaviour. This thesis is advanced in a two-part analysis. First, we outline how and why our understanding of citizen politics may be improved through application of five-factor models of personality. In doing so, we focus on the components of one specific taxonomy, the Big Five lexical model. Secondly, using three datasets, we explore the link between the Big Five personality factors and a wide array of political attitudes and behaviours. Results reveal that all facets of personality captured by the Big Five framework matter for citizen politics, and that personality effects operate on virtually all aspects of political behaviour. These findings demonstrate the insight that can emerge with further application of broad-scale models of personality.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1701820&jid=&volumeId=&issueId=02&aid=1701816>

## **8. Recent Economic Perspectives on Political Economy, Part I**

**Torun Dewan and Kenneth A Shepsle**

### **Abstract**

In recent years some of the best theoretical work on the political economy of political institutions and processes has begun surfacing outside the political science mainstream in high quality economics journals. This two-part article surveys these contributions from a recent five-year period. In Part I, the focus is on elections, voting and information aggregation, followed by treatments of parties, candidates and coalitions. In Part II, papers on economic performance and redistribution, constitutional design, and incentives, institutions, and the quality of political elites are discussed. Part II concludes with a discussion of the methodological bases common to economics and political science, the way economists have used political science research, and some new themes and arbitrage opportunities.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1701828&jid=&volumeId=&issueId=02&aid=1701824>

## **Comparative Politics**

### **April 2008, Volume 40, Number 3**

## **1. Preemptive Modernization and the Politics of Social Defense: Adjustment to Globalization in the Portuguese Pharmacy Sector**

**Ana Maria Evans**

### **Abstract**

Small firms in the Portuguese pharmacy sector have adjusted remarkably well to regional economic integration, in contrast to the response of other small retailers to the challenges of political and economic liberalization. It is possible for old sectors of small firms to adjust to globalization and preserve individual ownership through an extended politics of sectoral defense. Key strategic elements and institutional preconditions make this politics possible.

The article draws on field research on the pharmacy and food retail sectors in Portugal and theoretical analyses on neocorporatism, the third Italy, and varieties of capitalism.

[http://web.gc.cuny.edu/jcp/evans\\_abstract.htm](http://web.gc.cuny.edu/jcp/evans_abstract.htm)

## **2. Electoral Systems and the Representation of Ethnic Minorities: Evidence from Russia**

**Robert G. Moser**

### **Abstract**

Does proportional representation produce greater minority representation than single member districts? This question can be studied through the ethnic background of legislators elected in the two tiers of the mixed electoral system in Russia. In general, there is no significant difference in the level of minority representation in proportional representation and single member district contests. However, electoral systems have different effects for different ethnic groups. Proportional representation provides increased minority representation in party systems devoid of ethnic parties. Moreover, the relationship between minority representation and electoral system is conditioned by the minorities' demographic and cultural characteristics.

[http://web.gc.cuny.edu/jcp/moser\\_abstract.htm](http://web.gc.cuny.edu/jcp/moser_abstract.htm)

## **3. The Double-Edged Sword of Ethnofederalism: Ukraine and the USSR in Comparative Perspective**

**Henry E. Hale**

### **Abstract**

Ethnofederalism has been blamed for secessionism in the USSR, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, yet it is also touted as an important way of preventing ethnic conflict. Indeed, ethnofederalism is a double-edged sword, potentially generating both centrifugal and centripetal dynamics. Which way it ultimately cuts depends not only on context and institutions, but also on the undertheorized factor of leadership strategy. A focused process-tracing comparison of four time periods in the most challenging case of Ukraine, each corresponding to a different Soviet leadership strategy, confirms the theory and challenges the common wisdom that secessionism was inexorably rising in the USSR during the year of its disintegration.

[http://web.gc.cuny.edu/jcp/hale2\\_abstract.htm](http://web.gc.cuny.edu/jcp/hale2_abstract.htm)

## **4. Survival of the Fittest? Cabinet Duration in Postcommunist Europe**

**Zeynep Somer-Topcu and Laron K. Williams**

### **Abstract**

Governments in postcommunist Europe are not slaves to their institutions, unable to extend their time in office beyond the constraints imposed by their institutional arrangement. Cabinet duration is tied to performance in office, characterized by economic success. Duration models show that governments in postcommunist Europe are similar to those in western Europe, even though some states lack party institutionalization and strong partisan attachments. Institutional arrangements, including the effective number of parties in government and the type of government, combine with economic performance to affect the survival rates of postcommunist governments.

[http://web.gc.cuny.edu/jcp/somer-topcu\\_abstract.htm](http://web.gc.cuny.edu/jcp/somer-topcu_abstract.htm)

## **5. The Faith-Based Initiative in Comparative Perspective: Making Use of Religious Providers in Britain and the United States**

**Amos Zehavi**

### **Abstract**

Historically, faith-based organizations made important contributions in the field of social provision, but with the advent of the modern welfare state their role diminished dramatically. Why has there been renewed interest in the United States and Britain in publicly funded faith-based social provision. Despite significant differences between the two countries, their governments have endorsed strikingly similar faith-based initiatives that have institutionalized the relationship between the state and faith-based organizations. The emergence of faith-based initiatives is one component of welfare state restructuring, more specifically, a response to the growing problem of minority social exclusion in urban areas.

[http://web.gc.cuny.edu/jcp/zehavi\\_abstract.htm](http://web.gc.cuny.edu/jcp/zehavi_abstract.htm)

## **Foreign Policy Analysis April 2008, Vol. 4, Issue 2**

### **1. Discrete Sequence Rule Models as a Social Science Methodology: An Exploratory Analysis of Foreign Policy Rule Enactment within Palestinian–Israeli Event Data**

**Valerie M. Hudson, Philip A. Schrodtt and Ray D. Whitmer**

### **Abstract**

Existing formal models of political behavior have followed the lead of the natural sciences and generally focused on methods that use continuous-variable mathematics. In 2002, Stephen Wolfram produced an extended critique of that approach in the natural sciences, and suggested that a great deal of natural behavior can be accounted for using rules that produce discrete patterns. This paper reports some initial findings designed to apply this pattern-based method to political event data. We believe that discrete sequence rule (DSR) models can provide a new social science methodology that is capable of preserving the agential basis of social interaction, tracking multiple agents as they enact rules through behavior directed at one another, and capturing the evolution of such interaction over time. The core of this project is a new, publicly accessible Web-based tool designed for the visualization and analysis of event data patterns (<http://www.nkss.org>). Using event data on the Israel–Palestine conflict generated by the TABARI automated coding program of the Kansas Event Data System (KEDS) for the period 1979–2004, we perform an initial exploration of this methodology. Specifically, we identify patterned behavior for which specific rule use can be imputed, and then examine several agent-based rules, plus four "meta-rules," to parse Israeli–Palestinian interaction over time. Face validity of the analysis is apparent, and we also find the qualitative historical record can be augmented through observation of rule enactment in the event stream. Several descriptive empirical applications are demonstrated, including moving totals and increasingly complex sequences of rule enactment that go beyond the simple variations on tit-

for-tat responses. While this paper represents an exploratory analysis of the method, the results are promising enough to warrant further investigation beyond its use in thick description as demonstrated here, to ultimately include hypothesis generation and falsification.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2007.00060.x>

## **2. Change the Analyst and Not the System: A Different Approach to Intelligence Reform** **Uri Bar-Joseph and Rose McDermott**

### **Abstract**

Recent intelligence failures, including first and foremost the mistaken estimate of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (WMD) prior to the war, show that a prime source of such failures is the adherence by analysts to preconceptions (or mind-sets) which entail the rejection of new information that contradicts it. The source of this kind of problem lies in well known psychological mechanisms. Yet official investigations into intelligence blunders have typically ignored this problem or have not suggested an appropriate solution thus far. Our paper suggests an original approach based on the fact that certain types of personalities are more likely than others to fall victim to these biased judgments. Existing psychological tests can help determine individual susceptibility to such tendencies. Therefore we suggest that intelligence organizations should pay far more attention to these personality characteristics, especially an analyst's level of openness, in recruitment, training, and promotion. Such attention would help create more effective reforms in intelligence than organizational models which advocate "devil's advocate" kind of solutions.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2007.00061.x>

## **3. Ideas and Change in U.S. Foreign Aid: Inventing the Millennium Challenge Corporation**

**Steven W. Hook**

### **Abstract**

Recent scholarship on foreign policy change focuses on the role of ideas in altering policies and related governing institutions. While a welcome antidote to the previous preoccupation with static analysis, this research has yet to provide adequate understanding of whether and how ideas produce change in specific instances. This study seeks to narrow this gap by examining a recent program change in U.S. foreign aid policy: the creation in 2004 of the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), an independent agency designed to reward the world's most impoverished countries that had previously undertaken neoliberal economic reforms and democratic political reforms. The study identifies a convergence of widely shared principled and causal beliefs which, mediated through U.S. domestic structures, produced the most significant change in U.S. aid strategy and structures in nearly half a century. In melding societal theories that emphasize the role of transnational norm diffusion with theories of domestic politics, the study answers the call for multilevel explanations of foreign policy change. And by applying constructivist notions of ideas and discursive framing with rationalist conceptions of power and interests, the study further responds to the need for theoretical synthesis in the study of foreign policy.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2007.00062.x>

#### 4. Ethnic Minority Interest Group Attributes and U.S. Foreign Policy Influence: A Qualitative Comparative Analysis

Trevor Rubenzer

##### Abstract

To what extent are ethnic identity groups able to influence U.S. foreign policy toward their ancestral homelands? Existing research has resulted in the enumeration of an extensive list of criteria thought to condition ethnic minority influence. In spite of significant progress, however, the literature lacks of systematic test of any of these criteria. The result is a literature that cumulates largely though the addition of new criteria, rather than the reevaluation of existing factors. The current study represents an attempt to develop a test of existing criteria though the application of Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA). Specifically, the study uses QCA to examine six of the most widely cited criteria found in the literature. Results indicate that, of the six criteria, only organizational strength and level of political activity are necessary conditions for successful influence. No individual factors are sufficient causes of influence.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2007.00063.x>

#### 5. The President, the Senate, and the Costs of Internationalism

James Meernik and Elizabeth Oldmixon

##### Abstract

We develop a theory of foreign policy voting in the Senate premised on the assumption that foreign policy programs are a mostly collective good whose costs and benefits accrue to all, but which generate insufficient political benefits to make such policies politically popular, and often make it difficult for senators to support presidents. While certainly at times in U.S. history, presidents have enjoyed remarkable levels of such support (e.g., during the early years of the Cold War), more often than not, politics do not stop at the water's edge. Why should this be so? We seek to provide scholars a more comprehensive understanding regarding the underlying proclivity of legislators to support the President given the public goods costs of foreign and defense policy and based upon the issue at stake, the political environment and common partisan and ideological preferences. After elaborating upon this account of foreign policy voting, we test our hypotheses by examining the voting behavior of individual senators on all foreign policy related roll call votes in the U.S. Senate from 1979–2000 on which the President clearly expressed a preference, and find strong support for our expectations.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1743-8594.2007.00064.x>

## International Organization April 2008, Volume 62, Issue 02

### 1. Moral Limit and Possibility in World Politics

Richard Price

#### Abstract

At what point does one reasonably concede that the “realities” of world politics require compromise from cherished principles or moral ends, and how does one know when an ethical limit has been reached? Since social constructivist analyses of the development of moral norms explain how moral change occurs in world politics, that agenda should provide insightful leverage on the ethical question of “what to do.” This article identifies contributions of a constructivist research agenda for theorizing moral limit and possibility in global political dilemmas.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1825192&jid=&volumeId=&issueId=02&aid=1825188>

### 2. Assessing the Complex Evolution of Norms: The Rise of International Election Monitoring

Judith Kelley

#### Abstract

Given that states have long considered elections a purely domestic matter, the dramatic growth of international election monitoring in the 1990s was remarkable. Why did states allow international organizations and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to interfere and why did international election monitoring spread so quickly? Why did election monitoring become institutionalized in so many organizations? Perhaps most puzzling, why do countries invite monitors and nevertheless cheat? This article develops a rigorous method for investigating the causal mechanisms underlying the rise of election monitoring, and “norm cascades” more generally. The evolution and spread of norms, as with many other social processes, are complex combinations of normative, instrumental, and other constraints and causes of action. The rise of election monitoring has been driven by an interaction of instrumentalism, emergent norms, and fundamental power shifts in the international system. By dissecting this larger theoretical complexity into specific subclaims that can be empirically investigated, this article examines the role of each of these causal factors, their mutual tensions, and their interactive contributions to the evolution of election monitoring

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1825132&jid=&volumeId=&issueId=02&aid=1825128>

### 3. The Logic of Practicality: A Theory of Practice of Security Communities

Vincent Pouliot

#### Abstract

This article explores the theoretical implications of the logic of practicality in world politics. In social and political life, many practices do not primarily derive from instrumental rationality (logic of consequences), norm-following (logic of appropriateness), or communicative action (logic of arguing). These three logics of social action suffer from a

representational bias in that they focus on what agents think about instead of what they think from. According to the logic of practicality, practices are the result of inarticulate know-how that makes what is to be done self-evident or commonsensical. Insights from philosophy, psychology, and sociology provide empirical and theoretical support for this view. Though complementary with other logics of social action, the logic of practicality is ontologically prior because it is located at the intersection of structure and agency. Building on Bourdieu, this article develops a theory of practice of security communities arguing that peace exists in and through practice when security officials' practical sense makes diplomacy the self-evident way to solving interstate disputes. The article concludes on the methodological quandaries raised by the logic of practicality in world politics

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1825144&jid=&volumeId=&issueId=02&aid=1825140>

#### **4. Traders, Teachers, and Tyrants: Democracy, Globalization, and Public Investment in Education**

**Ben W. Ansell**

##### **Abstract**

This article develops a model of the redistributive political economy of education spending, focusing on the role of democracy and economic openness in determining the provision of education. I argue that democratization should be associated with higher levels of public education spending, lower private education spending, and a shift from tertiary education spending toward primary education spending. Furthermore, I argue that integration with the international economy should lead to higher public education spending, conditioned on regime type and income, and should push the balance between tertiary and primary education toward states' particular comparative advantages. These propositions are tested on a data set of more than one hundred states from 1960 to 2000, using a variety of panel data techniques, including instruments for democracy. The logic of the causal mechanism developed in the formal model is also tested on a number of case histories, including the Philippines, which shows great variation in democracy and openness, and India and Malaysia, which constitute unusual cases that lie "off the diagonal" of open democracies and autarkic autocracies

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1825156&jid=&volumeId=&issueId=02&aid=1825152>

#### **5. Monetary Institutions, Partisanship, and Inflation Targeting**

**Bumba Mukherjee and David Andrew Singer**

##### **Abstract**

Since 1989, twenty-five countries have adopted a monetary policy rule known as inflation targeting (IT), in which the central bank commits to using monetary policy solely for the purpose of meeting a publicly announced numerical inflation target within a particular time frame. In contrast, many other countries continue to conduct monetary policy without a transparent nominal anchor. The emergence of IT has been almost completely ignored by political scientists, who instead have focused exclusively on central bank independence and fixed exchange rates as strategies for maintaining price stability. We construct a simple model that demonstrates that countries are more likely to adopt IT when there is a conformity of preferences for low-inflation monetary policy between the government and the central bank. More specifically, the combination of a right-leaning government and a central bank without

bank regulatory authority is likely to be associated with the adoption of IT. Results from a spatial autoregressive probit model estimated on a time-series cross-sectional data set of seventy-eight countries between 1987 and 2003 provide strong statistical support for our argument. The model controls for international diffusion from neighboring countries by accounting for spatial dependence in the dependent variable, but our results indicate that domestic interests and institutions—rather than the influence of neighboring countries—drive the adoption of IT.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1825168&jid=&volumeId=&issueId=02&aid=1825164>

## **6. The European Union, Capacity Building, and Transnational Networks: Combating Violence Against Women Through the Daphne Program**

**Celeste Montoya**

### **Abstract**

One of the ways that international organizations promote policy agendas is through the use of management strategies, including initiatives that focus on domestic capacity building. As the European Union (EU) has evolved, it has used management strategies to expand its influence over a multitude of policy issues in innovative ways. This research note provides an empirical examination of how the EU has used capacity building strategies in an effort to address violence against women. In particular, I focus on EU efforts to build the capacity of domestic advocacy organizations through the distribution of resources and the facilitation of transnational networking. By using data I collected on the Daphne program, the EU's primary mechanism for addressing gender violence, and by employing both qualitative and social network analysis, I provide empirical evidence that demonstrates how the EU has provided new political opportunities for domestic organizations to improve their capacity to combat violence against women

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=1&fid=1825180&jid=&volumeId=&issueId=02&aid=1825176>

# **International Studies Quarterly**

## **March 2008, Vol. 52, Issue 1**

### **1. Preventive War and Democratic Politics**

**Jack S. Levy**

### **Abstract**

I define the concept of preventive war, distinguish it from preemption and other sources of better-now-than-later logic, and examine numerous conceptual issues that confound theoretical and empirical analyses of prevention. I then consider the argument that democracies rarely if ever adopt preventive war strategies because such strategies are contrary to the preferences of democratic publics and to the values and identities of democratic states. I examine a number of historical cases of anticipated power shifts by democratic states, and analyze the motivations for war and the mobilization of public support for war. The evidence

contradicts both the descriptive proposition that democracies do not adopt preventive war strategies and causal propositions about the constraining effects of democratic institutions and democratic political cultures.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2007.00489.x>

## 2. Information, Bias, and Mediation Success

**Burcu Savun**

### Abstract

Why do some mediation episodes produce successful negotiated settlements between the disputants of international conflict while others fail to achieve success? This article examines how certain characteristics of a mediator, that is, a mediator's information about the disputants and a mediator's bias toward them, affect the success of mediation of international conflicts. By drawing a conceptual distinction between absolute and relative bias and measuring the type of information that is relevant for mediation success, I demonstrate that both the degree of bias a mediator holds toward the disputants and the degree of information a mediator has about the disputants are significant predictors of mediation success.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2007.00490.x>

## 3. The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans

**Alan J. Kuperman**

### Abstract

This article explores a perverse consequence of the emerging norm of humanitarian intervention, or "Responsibility to Protect," contrary to its intent of protecting civilians from genocide and ethnic cleansing. The root of the problem is that such genocidal violence often represents state retaliation against a substate group for rebellion (such as an armed secession) by some of its members. The emerging norm, by raising expectations of diplomatic and military intervention to protect these groups, unintentionally fosters rebellion by lowering its expected cost and increasing its likelihood of success. In practice, intervention does sometimes help rebels attain their political goals, but usually it is too late or inadequate to avert retaliation against civilians. Thus, the emerging norm resembles an imperfect insurance policy against genocidal violence. It creates moral hazard that encourages the excessively risky or fraudulent behavior of rebellion by members of groups that are vulnerable to genocidal retaliation, but it cannot fully protect against the backlash. The emerging norm thereby causes some genocidal violence that otherwise would not occur. Bosnia and Kosovo illustrate that in at least two recent cases the moral-hazard hypothesis explains why members of a vulnerable group rebelled and thereby triggered genocidal retaliation. The article concludes by exploring whether potential interveners could mitigate genocidal violence by modifying their intervention policies to reduce moral hazard.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2007.00491.x>

#### 4. Bilateral Trade in the Shadow of Armed Conflict

Andrew G. Long

##### Abstract

Does the shadow of war decrease trade? I examine the influence of conflict on bilateral trade and argue that trading firms' expectations of armed conflict, both within and between nation-states, should decrease trade along with armed political violence. By assuming that firms care about future profits and assess the likelihood of a domestic or interstate conflict in the future that could disrupt trade, I argue that increasing the expectation of a domestic or interstate conflict raises the transportation, transaction, and production costs of trade. Empirically, contemporaneous trade levels should be negatively related to trading firms' beliefs about the likelihood of domestic and interstate conflicts in the future. Statistical tests, using bilateral trade data from 1984 to 1997, show that expectations of domestic or interstate conflict, in addition to violent armed conflicts, are negatively correlated with bilateral trade levels. Theoretically and empirically, this research advances our understanding of the trade-conflict relationship by demonstrating how trading firms' expectations about future conflict reduce bilateral trade levels.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2007.00492.x>

#### 5. The Deficits of Discourse in IPE: Turning Base Metal into Gold?

Andreas Bieler and Adam David Morton

##### Abstract

This article engages with the debate on how the role of ideas can be conceptualized within International Relations (IR) and International Political Economy (IPE) and how this is related to the discursive production of meanings embedded in the economy. It is argued that although constructivist and poststructuralist approaches can conceptualize the structural relevance of ideas, thereby improving on neorealist and liberal institutionalist approaches, they nevertheless fail to explain why certain ideas dominate over others at a particular moment in time. In response to constructivist and poststructuralist criticism, it is argued that the internal relation of ideas as material social processes is appreciated better through an historical materialist theory of history. In other words, the article shows how ideas can be conceived as material social processes through which signs become part of the socially created world in a way that surpasses the deficits of constructivist and poststructuralist approaches alike, whilst avoiding the problems of economism.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2007.00493.x>

#### 6. Normative Change from Within: The International Monetary Fund's Approach to Capital Account Liberalization

Jeffrey M. Chwieroth

##### Abstract

Beginning in the mid-1980s, in the absence of active encouragement from the IMF's management or member states, the staff began to encourage the liberalization of capital controls as a norm. This behavior constitutes a puzzle for the conventional wisdom, which sees the "Wall Street-Treasury Complex" as responsible for the IMF's approach, as well as a blind spot for rationalist approaches, which offer little insight into processes that shape preference formation "from within" international organizations (IOs). In a context where the

Fund's member states permitted the staff considerable discretion and autonomy, I argue the staff's initial adoption of the norm of capital freedom was largely shaped by three internal processes: administrative recruitment, adaptation, and learning. But norm adoption did not mean the end of internal discussion, and a vigorous debate emerged between "gradualists" and supporters of the "big bang" over how the norm should be interpreted and applied. In this "battle of ideas," I emphasize the critical role of internal entrepreneurship.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2007.00494.x>

## 7. Natural Disasters and the Risk of Violent Civil Conflict

Philip Nel and Marjolein Righarts

### Abstract

Does the occurrence of a natural disaster such as an earthquake, volcanic eruption, tsunami, flood, hurricane, epidemic, heat wave, and/or plague increase the risk of violent civil conflict in a society? This study uses available data for 187 political units for the period 1950–2000 to systematically explore this question that has received remarkably little attention in the voluminous literature on civil war. We find that natural disasters significantly increase the risk of violent civil conflict both in the short and medium term, specifically in low- and middle-income countries that have intermediate to high levels of inequality, mixed political regimes, and sluggish economic growth. Rapid-onset disasters related to geology and climate pose the highest overall risk, but different dynamics apply to minor as compared to major conflicts. The findings are robust in terms of the use of different dependent and independent variables, and a variety of model specifications. Given the likelihood that rapid climate change will increase the incidence of some types of natural disasters, more attention should be given to mitigating the social and political risks posed by these cataclysmic events.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2007.00495.x>

## 8. Shame on You: The Impact of Human Rights Criticism on Political Repression in Latin America

James C. Franklin

### Abstract

The most commonly used weapon in the arsenal of human rights proponents is shaming the violating government through public criticism. But does this really affect the behavior of the violator? This study examines how governments that are targeted for human rights criticism respond to subsequent contentious challenges. Analyzing 873 challenges in seven Latin American countries between 1981 and 1995, it is found that human rights criticism does lead governments to reduce repression of subsequent challenges in cases where there are relatively strong economic ties to other countries. However, the duration of this impact is relatively short—less than 6 months. Examination of the source of human rights criticism shows that criticism by NGOs, religious groups, and foreign governments was more effective than criticism from inter-governmental organizations.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2007.00496.x>

## Journal of Conflict Resolution

### April 2008, Volume 52, No. 2

#### 1. International Organizations Count

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, Jana von Stein, and Erik Gartzke

##### Abstract

This special issue seeks to move forward the development of an empirical research agenda that takes seriously the complexity of how international organizations (IOs) function and the need to study that complexity at all levels of analysis by using robust research tools. We advocate for a broad empirical research approach that molds and sharpens theories about IOs by conducting systematic tests in large-sample environments. Two themes create a common thread throughout this issue. First, shifting the focus from whether IOs matter to how they work requires acknowledgment of the contingency of cause and effect. A second common thread lies in the authors' treatment of IO membership as an aggregate phenomenon—that is, as a set of institutions and relationships evolving over time and with many members rather than as a single organization.

<http://jcr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/52/2/175>

#### 2. Intergovernmental Organizations and the Kantian Peace: A Network Perspective

Han Dorussen, Hugh Ward

##### Abstract

The authors use network analysis to argue that the main contribution of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) to international stability is not necessarily their direct and individual impact, because generally IGOs are institutionally weak. Rather, membership of IGOs creates network ties between states, allowing them, either individually or collectively, to intervene more effectively in latent conflicts. The IGO network also provides direct and indirect communication channels, where indirect links can act as partial substitutes for direct diplomatic ties. Empirically, the authors apply these ideas to the extensive network of international linkages created in the post—World War II period. They demonstrate that indirect links do indeed matter and that they substitute for more direct diplomatic ties. Furthermore, these effects are not limited to ties created by IGOs with specific security functions.

<http://jcr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/52/2/189>

#### 3. The International Law and Politics of Climate Change: Ratification of the United Nations Framework Convention and the Kyoto Protocol

Jana von Stein

##### Abstract

A considerable challenge for the creators of international environmental agreements is how to design mechanisms that deter defection without deterring participation. Relatively "soft" law often garners widespread participation, but it creates few concrete incentives for states to improve behavior. "Harder" commitments make shirking more difficult, but these institutional features may deter from joining the very states whose practices are least consistent with the treaty's requirements. Empirical analyses of ratification of the core

agreements of the climate change regime support these propositions. Flexibility provisions provide one mechanism for states to mitigate this dilemma. The findings with regard to one flexibility mechanism strongly support this argument. The results with regard to a second flexibility mechanism, however, tend to follow an opposite pattern. The author offers a preliminary interpretation of this finding. Finally, this article provides insight into how international social networks and the strength of domestic nongovernmental organizations affect ratification.

<http://jcr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/52/2/243>

#### **4. Democratization and the Varieties of International Organizations**

**Edward D. Mansfield, Jon C. Pevehouse**

##### **Abstract**

Scholars of international relations have devoted remarkably little attention to the issue of why and when states enter international organizations (IOs). We argue that states have particular reason to enter IOs during the process of democratization. In the midst of a democratic transition, state leaders have difficulty making a credible commitment to sustain reforms, since they can benefit from rolling back liberalization. Gaining membership in an IO can enhance the credibility of leaders' commitments to democratic reforms. However, not all IOs are equally useful in this regard. We distinguish between IOs that cover standards in areas such as human rights and environmental protection, those that regulate economic activity, and those that are forums for addressing broad political problems. We argue that democratizing states have greater reason to join standards-based and economic IOs than political organizations. The results of a set of statistical tests support this argument.

<http://jcr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/52/2/269>

#### **5. IO Mediation of Interstate Conflicts: Moving Beyond the Global versus Regional Dichotomy**

**Holley E. Hansen, Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, Stephen C. Nemeth**

##### **Abstract**

Regional and global intergovernmental organizations have grown both in number and scope, yet their role and effectiveness as conflict managers is not fully understood. Previous research efforts tend to categorize organizations solely by the scope of their membership, which obscures important sources of variation in institutional design at both the regional and global levels. International organizations will be more successful conflict managers if they are highly institutionalized, if they have members with homogeneous preferences, and if they have more established democratic members. These hypotheses are evaluated with data on territorial (1816-2001), maritime (1900-2001), and river (1900-2001) claims from the Issue Correlates of War (ICOW) project in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, and the Middle East. Empirical analysis suggests that international organizations are more likely to help disputing parties reach an agreement if they have more democratic members, if they are highly institutionalized, and when they use binding management techniques.

<http://jcr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/52/2/295>

# Journal of Democracy

## April 2008, Volume 19, Number 2

### 1. Russia's Transition to Autocracy

Hassner, Pierre

#### Abstract

Under Putin's rule, Russian policy has considerably hardened both domestically and internationally. It has gone from a mixture of oligarchy, democracy, and anarchy to a regime of autocracy with some fascist features, and from an effort to imitate and join the West to a verbal aggressiveness towards the United States and an effort to reassert Russia's domination over its former empire. An important link between the two evolutions is to be found in the post-imperial nostalgia of the Russian population, in the neo-imperial ambition of its leaders, and in their fear of the spread of "color revolutions" among their neighbors.

### 2. Argentina: From Kirchner to Kirchner

Levitsky, Steven, Maria Victoria Murillo

#### Abstract

Unlike in 2003, Argentina's 2007 presidential election brought few surprises. Peronist candidate Cristina Kirchner—nominated after her husband, Nestor chose not to seek re-election—won easily. This victory was rooted in both the strong performance of Nestor Kirchner's government and the weakness of the non-Peronist opposition. The article examines the impact of the Kirchner government on Argentine democracy. It argues that, notwithstanding Kirchner's concentration of power, the regime remained fully democratic, and that in some areas, its quality improved. The article then examines two problems confronting Argentina's democracy: the collapse of opposition parties and the persistent weakness of political and economic institutions.

### 3. Politics, Markets, and Society in Lula's Brazil

Sola, Lourdes

#### Abstract

Brazil under Lula offers a test case of how politicians and societal interests in developing countries react when economic growth and new possibilities change the name of the game from shock and scarcity to boom and prosperity. Contrary to what a reader of the dominant theoretical work on democratization might expect, Brazil's experience of political democratization and economic liberalization under the adverse economic conditions of the 1980s and 1990s did not bring about a neoliberal "assault on the state."

### 4. Ecuador: Correa's Plebiscitary Presidency

Conaghan, Catherine M.

#### Abstract

With the election of Rafael Correa in 2006, Ecuador joined the ranks of Latin American countries that have taken the "Left Turn" in national politics. Correa views his presidency as

an opportunity to effect profound political change by convoking a constituent assembly to write a new constitution. In the course of campaigning for the constituent assembly, Correa constructed a powerful hyper-plebiscitary presidency—a mode of governance marked by the president’s recurrent appeals to public opinion and special elections that enhances the legitimacy of the executive at the expense of congress. Using the informal and formal powers of his office, Correa was able to govern “over the heads” of existing institutions and greatly debilitate what remained of the political opposition.

## 5. Is the Tide Turning?

**Puddington, Arch**

### **Abstract**

Freedom appeared in a state of decline during 2007, according to the authoritative Freedom in the World survey issued annually by Freedom House. The most significant development was the decline in freedom in a number of strategically significant countries: Russia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Philippines, Egypt, Nigeria, Kenya, and Venezuela. Globally, many countries showed evidence of problems with freedom of association, rule of law, effective governance, and corruption. Freedom House also pointed to a growing “pushback” against democracy in such countries as Russia, Venezuela, Iran, and China. Dictators are employing increasingly sophisticated methods to marginalize opposition parties, censor the press, and marginalize civil society.

## 6. Public Opinion and Democratic Legitimacy

**Chu, Yun-han, Michael Bratton, Marta Lagos Cruz-Coke, Sandeep Shastri, Mark A. Tessler**

### **Abstract**

This paper examines on a global scale how important it is for young democracies to deliver economic welfare to win the hearts of their citizens. A decoupling of popular support for democratic form of government from economic performance is believed to be conducive to the consolidation of young democracies. We found an encouraging global pattern that clearly shows evaluations of economic condition are relatively unimportant in explaining level of popular support for democracy. However, high-income East Asian countries register a glaring exception to this global generalization, suggesting that their distinctive trajectory of regime transition has imposed on democratic regimes an additional burden of sustaining a record of miraculous economic growth of the past.

## 7. China: From Prison to Freedom

**Jianli Yang**

### **Abstract**

We can hope that China’s autocratic rulers will take the initiative to grant their people political rights, but we cannot rely on them to do so. A democratic transition in China is most likely to occur through the growth of popular democratic forces. Our real hope lies with them. Our sacred duty is to nurture their growth.

## 8. Challenges of a “Frontier” Region

**Joseph, Richard A.**

### **Abstract**

“Frontier Africa” captures the interplay of risk, reward and uncertainty of political and economic life. Economic growth and political advances are halted by disputed elections; high corruption erodes the capacity and legitimacy of state institutions; China is now a major actor that can undercut human rights and democracy efforts; and counter-terrorism emboldens autocratic rulers. In the end, basic needs of the masses of the people for healthcare, education, jobs, and physical security are unmet. The tragic aftermath of the 2007 presidential vote in Kenya demonstrates the continuing significance of personal rule, weak institutions, and electoral systems subject to partisan manipulation.

## 9. Presidents Untamed

**Prempeh, K. (Kwasi)**

### **Abstract**

Tolerance for presidential misrule and indefinite presidential tenure may have worn thin in Africa’s democratizing polities, but with voters still caring most about beating the twin scourges of underdevelopment and economic marginalization, belief in the beneficent uses of preponderant executive power continues to run strong. African polities must move beyond the fixation with “strong” leadership and focus instead on building credible and effective institutions at both the national and local levels. If anything, an imperial presidency magnifies the costs of having an incompetent or bad leader at the helm.

## 10. Legislatures on the Rise?

**Barkan, Joel D.**

### **Abstract**

Although legislative performance is uneven across the African continent, the legislature is emerging as a “player” in some countries. It has begun to initiate and modify laws to a degree never seen during the era of neopatrimonial rule or even in the early years after the return of multiparty politics. And in some countries (Kenya, Malawi, and Nigeria), though not in others (Namibia and Uganda), it has blocked presidents from changing the constitution to repeal limits on presidential terms. In short, legislatures in Africa are beginning to matter. That said, there is no uniformity across Africa and we are only beginning to understand and explain the variations.

## 11. The Rule of Law versus the Big Man

**Diamond, Larry Jay**

### **Abstract**

Governance in Africa is in a state of transition, or some would say, suspension. Two powerful trends vie for dominance. One is the longstanding organization of African politics and states around autocratic personal rulers; highly centralized and overpowering presidencies; and hierarchical, informal networks of patron-client relations that draw their symbolic and emotional glue from ethnic bonds. The other is the surge since 1990 of democratic impulses,

principles, and institutions. From the experience of a small but growing number of better-functioning African democracies, we know that the continent is not condemned to perpetual misrule. The challenge now is for international donors to join with Africans in demanding that their governments be truly accountable.

## 12. What Has the United States Been Doing?

**Azpuru de Cuestas, Dinorah, Steven E. Finkel, Anibal S. Pérez Liñan, Mitchell A. Seligson**

### **Abstract**

Using a newly constructed dataset of all U.S. expenditures in foreign assistance channeled via the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) from 1990 through 2005, this essay traces the growth of global democracy assistance since the end of the Cold War. It shows that what had begun as a largely regional effort in Latin America in the late 1980s has grown into a world-wide effort, expanding in magnitude and diversity, branching out into areas such as “good governance” (essentially decentralization and the fight against corruption) that were given little attention in the early 1990s.

## 13. What Has Europe Been Doing?

**Youngs, Richard**

### **Abstract**

European governments are spending more on political aid and democratization in particular. The ways in which this money is being spent have evolved. This has corrected many shortcomings of previous European democracy-promotion policies but also leaves many doubts about the effectiveness of this funding. In particular, it remains uncertain how pertinent the strong European focus on governance and social policies is to broad, systemic-level political change. Some contours of a “European” approach to democracy exist, but significant differences remain between the policies of different member states, and simplistic differentiation from US policies should be resisted.

## Middle East Policy Spring 2008, Volume 15 Issue 1

### 1. Iran's Strategic Concerns and U.S. Interests

Gary Sick, Trita Parsi, Ray Takeyh and Barbara Slavin

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00334.x>

### 2. Iran and the United States: The Nuclear Issue

Anthony H. Cordesman

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00335.x>

### 3. Diplomacy and Hypocrisy: The Case of Iran

Anthony Newkirk

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00336.x>

### 4. Iran's Reformists and Activists: Internet Exploiters

Babak Rahimi, Elham Gheytauchi

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00337.x>

### 5. Arab Economies at a Tipping Point

Marcus Noland, Howard Pack

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00338.x>

### 6. Gulf Cooperation Council Stock Markets Since September 11

Sam R. Hakim

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00339.x>

### 7. Thinking Strategically about Iraq: Report from a Symposium

Colin H. Kahl, Brian Katulis., Marc Lynch

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00340.x>

### 8. Pakistan: Terror War Bolsters Islamism, Nationhood

Mustafa Malik

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00341.x>

### 9. Wars and Rumors of War: The Levantine Tinderbox

Antony T. Sullivan

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00342.x>

**10. Libya and the United States: A Faustian Pact?****Ronald Bruce St John**<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00343.x>**11. The Attack on Middle East Studies: A Historical Perspective****Lawrence Davidson**<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00344.x>

## Middle Eastern Studies 2008, Vol. 44, Issue 2

**1. The Ibadhi Imamate of Muhammad bin 'Abdallah al-Khalili (1920-54): The Last Chapter of a Lost and Forgotten Legacy.****Rabi, Uzi****Abstract**

The article presents a study which deals with the former legacy of Ibadhi Imamate Muhammad bin Abdallah al-Khalili, who is recognized as ruler of Inner Oman. Ibadhi Imamate was a political legacy originated in Omani, from the time that Oman accepted the yoke of Ibadhi Islam. In this study, researchers also examine and assess the historical, intellectual and social perspectives of the Ibadhi Imamate, and emphasize the symbiosis between Ibadhism and tribalism. Furthermore, to a great extent, the Ibadhi-tribal Imamate served as a model of tribal states which existed in the peripheral regions of the land of Islam.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791230405~fulltext=713240930>**2. Intra-Elite Factionalism and the 2004 Majles Elections in Iran.****Kazemzadeh, Masoud****Abstract**

The article presents a study which analyzes the Majles elections held on February 19, 2004 in Iran. In this election, the Council of Guardians disqualified several thousand candidates from standing in the elections, including over a quarter of the sitting deputies. Most of those disqualified were reformists. In protest over 600 candidates refused to take part in the elections. The net result was that in around half the seats there was effectively no alternative to conservative candidates, who turned around a reformist majority.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791230057~fulltext=713240930>

### **3. Man on the Spot: Captain George Gracey and British Policy towards the Assyrians, 1917-45.**

**Fisher**

#### **Abstract**

The article presents a study which examines the execution of British policy in the Middle East during the First World War, and the role of Captain George Gracey towards the Assyrian movement. It was Gracey who was acting the orders of the intelligence service to encourage the Assyrians to organize their resistance against the Turkish. At a conference, in the name of England, Gracey undertook to furnish immediately the funds necessary for the payment of the troops and non-commissioned officers. For the future he promised, the proclamation of the independence of the Assyrian nation.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791230242~fulltext=713240930>

### **4. The Demise of the Kurdish Emirates: The Impact of Ottoman Reforms and International Relations on Kurdistan during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century.**

**Eppel, Michael**

#### **Abstract**

The article presents a study which investigates the impact of the Ottoman reforms and international relations on Kurdistan during the first half of the nineteenth century. The refusal and eventual elimination of the Kurdish emirates led to a decline of the cities which had flourished as the centers of the respective emirates. Furthermore, the elimination of the Kurdish emirates put an end to the harbingers of Kurdish statehood, demolished the basis for development of the Kurdish language, which could have constituted a social basis for a political movement.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791229686~fulltext=713240930>

### **5. The Ottoman Approach to the Western Europeans in the Levant during the Early Modern Period.**

**Bulut, Mehmet**

#### **Abstract**

The article presents a study which examines the difference in the organization of foreign trade between the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe. According to the researchers, this difference was very important for the commercial actors in their business in the Eastern Mediterranean. While the companies and organizations were significant for the Western Europeans, for the Ottomans, capitulations were the most important instruments in the organization of the foreign trade during the early modern period.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791230188~fulltext=713240930>

### **6. Seyyid Bey and the Abolition of the Caliphate.**

**Guida, Michelangelo**

#### **Abstract**

The article presents a study which attempts to reread the abolition of the Caliphate through the life and works of Seyyid Bey, one of the main advocates of the development in the

Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA). Here, the researchers analyze the life and career of Bey, then his perception of the Caliphate after the National Independence War, and his famous speech during the debate in the TGNA. Bey represented the moderate Islamist wing of the party in the Ottoman Parliament and defined himself as an unusual person.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791230225~fulltext=713240930>

## **7. Property and Human Rights in Cyprus: The European Court of Human Rights as a Platform of Political Struggle.**

**Özersay, Kudret; Gürel, Ayla**

### **Abstract**

The article presents a study which examines the property issue and human rights in Cyprus. Here, researchers involve a detailed examination of the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) proceedings on the property-related Greek Cypriot, individual or state, applications against Turkey. The primary objective of the study is to identify the way in which the two sides involved in the proceedings have attempted to advance the critical aspects of their political positions as well as to demonstrate how they have regarded the property issue as a major instrument for promoting their two different national causes.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791230608~fulltext=713240930>

## **8. Economic Cooperation between India and Saudi Arabia: Performance and Prospects.**

**Azhar, Muhammad**

### **Abstract**

The article presents a study which examines the economies of India and Saudi Arabia. Being members of World Trade Organization (WTO), both countries are undergoing a process of liberalization and reforms in the WTO framework. The constant and continuous reforms during the previous decades has resulted in the Indian economy in achieving a high growth rate of 8.4 percent during the fiscal year 2005-2006. Saudi on the otherhand, holds about a quarter of the global petroleum reserves. It is also the largest producer and exporter of petroleum in the world.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791230230~fulltext=713240930>

## Nations and Nationalism

### April 2008, Vol. 14, Issue 2

#### 1. John Doyle Klier: the scholar and the teacher

Joanna B. Michlic

##### Abstract

There is widespread agreement that nationalism emerged in the historical fountainheads of modernity, and was subsequently diffused outwards. Contrary to that, there is a long standing view that nationalism precedes modernity even in the broadly accepted cradles of both modernity and nationalism, such as England or France, neither of which was modern when it engendered nationalism. Besides, some emergent nationalisms ran concurrent with their English or French counterparts, with little evidence of having been spawned by diffusion. Such early or protonationalisms often sprang from resistance to foreign conquest, putting in doubt the invention-diffusion hypothesis. I am therefore suggesting that nationalism has not emerged in few societies, but in many, and that it was engendered by social interactions, not by a particular social formation. While nationalism emerges within society, its genesis occurs in-between social groups and societies, making it a product of their interactions. That makes it u-topic, its cradles socially diverse, and its conception interactional, not gestational.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2008.00343.x>

#### 2. Language, history and the nation: an historical approach to evaluating language and cultural claims

Vicki Spencer

##### Abstract

In contrast to the abstract commitment to individual rights found in liberal critics of Bill 101 and the equally ahistorical approach of multicultural theorists like Bhikhu Parekh, this paper proposes that the particular historical circumstances surrounding the current minority status of different groups is crucial in evaluating the legitimacy of one cultural group to promote its cultural needs over another group within existing states. When the culture of a group residing within a particular state is secure in a neighbouring jurisdiction, the issue at stake is not necessarily the survival of a unique culture but the cultural needs of particular individuals. It does not follow that they have no legitimate claims against the state. However, in examining the language policies in Quebec and the newly independent Baltic states, it is argued that they are different in kind to the rights due to long-standing communities struggling for linguistic survival.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2008.00334.x>

#### 3. Popular perceptions of Europe and the Nation: the case of Italy

Anna Triandafyllidou

##### Abstract

To date, European identity has not mobilised a feeling of belonging or solidarity that would be comparable to the ways in which national identities stir people's passions and make them ready 'to die for' their nations. However, much of the related political debate and scholarly analysis has paid little attention to citizens' understanding of European identity and the way

this relates to national identity. This paper aims to contribute towards filling this gap. It explores qualitatively the relationship between national and European identity among Italian citizens with a view to answering the following research questions: How do Italian citizens define Europe? Who is a European? How does feeling European relate to feeling Italian? How do citizens perceive the European integration process? The article is based on 24 qualitative interviews with Italian citizens of varying age, gender, locality of residence and socio-economic status, conducted in spring and summer 2003. The methodology adopted follows the discourse analytical tradition.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2008.00321.x>

#### **4. Alternative identity, alternative religion? Neo-paganism and the Aryan myth in contemporary Russia**

**Marlene Laruelle**

##### **Abstract**

As in all post-Soviet states, the Russian intelligentsia has been preoccupied with the construction of a new national identity since the beginning of the 1990s. Although the place of Orthodox religion in Russia is well documented, the subject of neo-paganism and its consequent assertion of an Aryan identity for Russians remains little known. Yet specialists observing the political and intellectual life of contemporary Russia have begun to notice that the development of references to ‘Slavic paganism’ and to Russia’s ‘Aryan’ origin can be found in the public speeches of some politicians and intellectual figures. This article will attempt, in its first section, to depict the historical depth of these movements by examining the existence of neo-pagan and/or Aryan referents in Soviet culture, and focusing on how these discourses developed in different spheres of post-Soviet Russian society, such as those of religion, historiography, and politics.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2008.00329.x>

#### **5. The ummah as nation: a reappraisal in the wake of the ‘Cartoons Affair’**

**Robert A. Saunders**

##### **Abstract**

In the wake of the 2006 ‘Cartoons Affair’ which saw international protests by Muslims against the publication of cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad, it is clear that identity based on membership in the Islamic ummah goes far beyond simple religious affiliation. This essay presents a novel argument for treating the ummah (the transnational community of Muslim believers) as a nation. I begin with a theoretical treatment of the ummah as nation which employs historic and current interpretations of what constitutes nationhood. I then turn to the current state of the ummah; my findings present a potent nexus of information and communications technology (ICT), emergent elites, and Muslim migration to the West that has facilitated a hitherto impossible reification of the ummah. I also discuss how globalisation, Western media practices, and the nature of European society allow ‘ummahist’ elites to marginalise other voices in the transnational Muslim community. Based on the global events surrounding the Danish cartoons controversy of 2005–06, I conclude that there is need to recognise ummah-based identity as more than just a profession of faith – it represents a new form of postnational, political identity which is as profound as any extant nationalism.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2008.00322.x>

## **6. The global and regional constitution of nations: the view from East Asia**

**Prasenjit Duara**

### **Abstract**

While the origins of nationalism are sought in global historical trends, few analysts have shown how nations themselves are constituted and re-shaped by circulating global power, ideas and models. The view from East Asia shows that these circulations are mediated by regional developments and interactions which bind these nations together in rivalry and interdependence. The histories of China, Japan and Korea have been closely tied together since the end of the nineteenth century and, with a gap of about thirty years during the Cold War, have intensified once again. The global and regional constitution of nations produces a dialectic between its global form and aspirations and misrecognition of this constitution arising from the self-perception of nationalism as historically immanent. This tension between the global constitution and national misrecognition contributes to the tenacity of nationalism. It also allows us to get a better grasp of the relationship between historical change and structure in nationalism and the relationship between state and popular nationalisms in the countries of the region.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2008.00328.x>

## **7. From nation to population: the racialisation of 'Métis' in the Canadian census**

**Chris Andersen**

### **Abstract**

Between 1996 and 2001 the 'Métis population' of Canada skyrocketed from 204,000 to 292,000, an astonishing and demographically improbable increase of 43 per cent. Most puzzling about this 'increase' is not so much the unpersuasive explanations offered by statisticians and others but, more fundamentally, the underlying assumption that such a thing as a 'Métis population' exists at all. In contrast, I argue that such an idea constitutes an artifact of Canada's racial/colonial episteme in which 'the Métis' – formerly an indigenous nation invaded and displaced in the Canadian nation-state's westward expansion – have been reduced in public and administrative discourse to include any indigenous individual who identifies as Métis: reduced, in other words, to (part of) a race. The paper argues further that the authority of the Canadian census as a privileged forum of contemporary meaning-making in Canadian society is such that the lack of explicit Census categories to distinguish Métis Nation allegiance further naturalises a racialised construction of Métis at the expense of an indigenously national one.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2008.00331.x>

## **8. Mediterranean heritage: ancient marvel, modern millstone**

**David Lowenthal**

### **Abstract**

The wealth, variety and seaborne accessibility of Mediterranean societies since late prehistory have made the region's cultural heritage the world's most widely acclaimed. But since the fall of the Roman Empire the Mediterranean has been increasingly disadvantaged, its history compromised, its legacy beleaguered. Two millennia of invasion and rapine, religious vendetta, foreign conquest, imperial dominion and colonial subjugation have left Mediterranean peoples with fewer resources and weaker infrastructures than those of

transalpine and transatlantic nation-states. The consequences for the care and control of Mediterranean heritage are parlous. That heritage is both the region's self-defining pride and its economic mainstay, yet a crippling burden to protect and maintain, let alone to interpret and celebrate. It is everywhere beset by natural and human attrition. Weathering and erosion, illicit excavation and pillage, tomb robbery and the international antiquities market exact tolls that legal codes and police forces are all but impotent to stem. Recent social and political trends suggest potential remedies for some of these dilemmas.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2008.00313.x>

## Political Analysis Winter 2008, Volume 16, Number 1

### 1. Expert Opinion, Agency Characteristics, and Agency Preferences

Joshua D. Clinton and David E. Lewis

#### Abstract

The study of bureaucracies and their relationship to political actors is central to understanding the policy process in the United States. Studying this aspect of American politics is difficult because theories of agency behavior, effectiveness, and control often require measures of administrative agencies' policy preferences, and appropriate measures are hard to find for a broad spectrum of agencies. We propose a method for measuring agency preferences based upon an expert survey of agency preferences for 82 executive agencies in existence between 1988 and 2005. We use a multirater item response model to provide a principled structure for combining subjective ratings based on scholarly and journalistic expertise with objective data on agency characteristics. We compare the resulting agency preference estimates and standard errors to existing alternative measures, discussing both the advantages and limitations of the method.

### 2. Statistical Backwards Induction: A Simple Method for Estimating Recursive Strategic Models

Muhammet Ali Bas, Curtis S. Signorino, and Robert W. Walker

#### Abstract

We present a simple method for estimating regressions based on recursive extensive-form games. Our procedure, which can be implemented in most standard statistical packages, involves sequentially estimating standard logits (or probits) in a manner analogous to backwards induction. We demonstrate that the technique produces consistent parameter estimates and show how to calculate consistent standard errors. To illustrate the method, we replicate Leblang's (2003) study of speculative attacks by financial markets and government responses to these attacks.

### 3. Bayesian and Likelihood Inference for 2 x 2 Ecological Tables: An Incomplete-Data Approach

Kosuke Imai, Ying Lu, and Aaron Strauss

#### Abstract

Ecological inference is a statistical problem where aggregate-level data are used to make inferences about individual-level behavior. In this article, we conduct a theoretical and empirical study of Bayesian and likelihood inference for 2 x 2 ecological tables by applying the general statistical framework of incomplete data. We first show that the ecological inference problem can be decomposed into three factors: distributional effects, which address the possible misspecification of parametric modeling assumptions about the unknown distribution of missing data; contextual effects, which represent the possible correlation between missing data and observed variables; and aggregation effects, which are directly related to the loss of information caused by data aggregation. We then examine how these three factors affect inference and offer new statistical methods to address each of them. To deal with distributional effects, we propose a nonparametric Bayesian model based on a Dirichlet process prior, which relaxes common parametric assumptions. We also identify the statistical adjustments necessary to account for contextual effects. Finally, although little can be done to cope with aggregation effects, we offer a method to quantify the magnitude of such effects in order to formally assess its severity. We use simulated and real data sets to empirically investigate the consequences of these three factors and to evaluate the performance of our proposed methods. C code, along with an easy-to-use R interface, is publicly available for implementing our proposed methods (Imai, Lu, and Strauss, forthcoming).

### 4. Ignoramus, Ignorabimus? On Uncertainty in Ecological Inference

Martin Elff, Thomas Gschwend, and Ron J. Johnston

#### Abstract

Models of ecological inference (EI) have to rely on crucial assumptions about the individual-level data-generating process, which cannot be tested because of the unavailability of these data. However, these assumptions may be violated by the unknown data and this may lead to serious bias of estimates and predictions. The amount of bias, however, cannot be assessed without information that is unavailable in typical applications of EI. We therefore construct a model that at least approximately accounts for the additional, nonsampling error that may result from possible bias incurred by an EI procedure, a model that builds on the Principle of Maximum Entropy. By means of a systematic simulation experiment, we examine the performance of prediction intervals based on this second-stage Maximum Entropy model. The results of this simulation study suggest that these prediction intervals are at least approximately correct if all possible configurations of the unknown data are taken into account. Finally, we apply our method to a real-world example, where we actually know the true values and are able to assess the performance of our method: the prediction of district-level percentages of split-ticket voting in the 1996 General Election of New Zealand. It turns out that in 95.5% of the New Zealand voting districts, the actual percentage of split-ticket votes lies inside the 95% prediction intervals constructed by our method.

## 5. A Robust Transformation Procedure for Interpreting Political Text

Lanny W. Martin and Georg Vanberg

### Abstract

In a recent article in the *American Political Science Review*, Laver, Benoit, and Garry (2003, "Extracting policy positions from political texts using words as data," 97:311–331) propose a new method for conducting content analysis. Their Wordscores approach, by automating text-coding procedures, represents an advance in content analysis that will potentially have a large long-term impact on research across the discipline. To allow substantive interpretation, the scores produced by the Wordscores procedure require transformation. In this note, we address several shortcomings in the transformation procedure introduced in the original program. We demonstrate that the original transformation distorts the metric on which content scores are placed—hindering the ability of scholars to make meaningful comparisons across texts—and that it is very sensitive to the texts that are scored—opening up the possibility that researchers may generate, inadvertently or not, results that depend on the texts they choose to include in their analyses. We propose a transformation procedure that solves these problems.

## Political Science Quarterly Spring 2008, Volume 123, Number 1

### 1. On To the Convention!

Bello, Jason; Shapiro, Robert Y

### Abstract

Jason Bello and Robert Y. Shapiro argue that the extended campaign needed to determine the 2008 presidential candidates for the Democratic Party was not surprising, given the current delegate selection rules across the states. The 2008 campaign is a test case for whether the national party conventions themselves, not the voters, will ever again be the final deciders of the presidential candidates.

### 2. Ideological Change and Israel's Disengagement from Gaza

Rynhold, Jonathan; Waxman, Dov

### Abstract

Jonathan Rynhold and Dov Waxman posit that ideological change within the right-wing Likud party generated support for the partition of Israel that was a vital prerequisite to the Sharon government's adoption of the Gaza disengagement plan in 2005. Although international and domestic pressures were important in determining certain elements of the withdrawal, they did not dictate the policy of disengagement.

### **3. Casualty Sensitivity in a Post-Soviet Context: Russian Views of the Second Chechen War, 2001-2004**

**Gerber, Theodore P.; Mendelson, Sarah E.**

#### **Abstract**

Theodore P. Gerber and Sarah E. Mendelson analyze Russian public opinion about the second war in Chechnya. They show that concern over Russian military casualties and the war's economic costs were the dominant sentiments, despite the Russian government's monopoly on media coverage of the conflict. Moreover, they argue that the war appears to have fueled ethnic animosity toward Chechens.

### **4. The President as Chief Administrator: James Landis and the Brownlow Report** **Brand, Donald R.**

#### **Abstract**

Donald R. Brand examines the relationship between the Brownlow Report and James Landis's The Administrative Process. He argues that both of the interlocutors in this implicit debate have valuable insights, but that both are ultimately insufficient because they are not attentive to the constitutional and political context of administration.

### **5. Are African Voters Really Ethnic or Clientelistic? Survey Evidence from Ghana** **Lindberg, Staffan I.; Morrison, Minion K.C.**

#### **Abstract**

Staffan I. Lindberg and Minion K. C. Morrison look at voting rationales in Ghana's 1996 and 2000 elections and find that citizens in a new democracy like Ghana are more "mature" democratic voters than the literature would have us to expect. While voting is no doubt patterned along ethnic and tribal lines, it appears that voting behavior is also explained at the individual level by rational policy calculations constrained by classic information problems.

### **6. Greek-Turkish Rapprochement: Rhetoric or Reality?** **Öniş, Ziya; Yılmaz, Şuhnaz**

#### **Abstract**

Ziya Öniş and Şuhnaz Yılmaz discuss the nature of the current Turkish-Greek rapprochement. They conclude that while the relations have improved, in order to reach a durable partnership and to move beyond the existing stalemate, a more proactive approach from both sides on core issues of conflict is necessary.

### **7. David or Goliath? The Israel Lobby and Its Critics** **Little, Douglas**

#### **Abstract**

Douglas Little reviews John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt's controversial new book, The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy. He concludes that despite their prosecutorial tone, the

authors have sparked a long-overdue public debate about America's special relationship by questioning whether domestic politics drives the United States to act against its own national security interests.

## Quarterly Journal of Political Science 2008, Volume 3, Issue 1

### 1. In the Eye of the Beholder: How Information Shortcuts Shape Individual Perceptions of Bias in the Media

**Matthew A. Baum, Phil Gussin**

#### **Abstract**

Research has shown that humans are biased information processors. This study investigates an important potential example of biased information processing: when ex ante assessments of a media outlet's ideological orientation cause individuals to perceive bias in balanced news coverage. We conduct an experiment in which participants evaluated the content of a news report about the 2004 presidential election identified as originating from CNN, FOX or a fictional TV station. Our results suggest that in an increasingly fragmented media marketplace, individuals not only distinguish between media outlets but, more importantly, outlet brand names, and the reputations they carry, function as heuristics, heavily influencing perceptions of bias in content. As a result, individuals sometimes create bias, even where none exists.

### 2. Communitarian versus Universalistic Norms

**Jonathan Bendor, Dilip Mookherjee**

#### **Abstract**

The celebration of communitarianism by political philosophers (Sandel 1982) has apparently been extended to strategic analyses of ascriptively attuned norms (Fearon and Laitin 1996) — an intriguing development, given game theory's individualistic premises. We believe, however, that game theory offers little comfort to prescriptive theories of communitarian rules: a hardheaded strategic analysis supports the Enlightenment view that such norms tend to be Pareto inefficient or distributionally unjust. This paper uses a specific criterion — supporting cooperation as a Nash equilibrium — to compare communitarian norms, which turn on people's ascriptive identities, to universalistic ones, which focus on people's actions. We show that universalistic rules are better at stabilizing cooperation in a broad class of circumstances. Moreover, communitarian norms hurt minorities the most, and the advantages of universalism become more pronounced the more ascriptively fragmented a society is or the smaller is the minority group.

### 3. Do Community-Based Voter Mobilization Campaigns Work Even in Battleground States? Evaluating the Effectiveness of MoveOn's 2004 Outreach Campaign

Joel A. Middleton, Donald P. Green

#### Abstract

One of the hallmarks of the 2004 presidential election was the unusual emphasis on face-to-face voter mobilization, particularly face-to-face mobilization conducted within neighborhoods or social networks. Unlike previous studies of face-to-face voter mobilization, which have focused largely on nonpartisan campaigns conducted during midterm or local elections, this study assesses the effects of a campaign organized by MoveOn.org, an organization that allied itself with the Democratic Party in 2004 to aid presidential candidate John Kerry. A regression discontinuity analysis of 46,277 voters from 13 swing states demonstrates that neighbor-to-neighbor mobilization substantially increased turnout among target voters during the 2004 presidential election. Contact with MoveOn volunteers increased turnout by approximately nine percentage-points. This finding corroborates experimental findings showing the effectiveness of door-to-door canvassing but contradicts results suggesting that such mobilization is ineffective in the context of high-salience elections.

### 4. Deliberation Rules and Voting

Richard Van Weelden

#### Abstract

Most models of pre-vote deliberation assume that voters send messages simultaneously. In practice, however, communication is almost always sequential. This review shows that sequential communication makes it even more difficult to induce truthful communication. Specifically, I show that for any voting rule truthful communication can only be achieved if all voters will agree on the preferred outcome in any state.

## South European Society & Politics 2008, Vol 13, Issue 1

### 1. Brand New, Somewhat New or Rather Old? The Italian Legislative Process in an Age of Alternation

Marco Giuliani

#### Abstract

This special issue of South European Society & Politics explores the transformation of Italy's law-making process, and presents fresh data and a series of original analyses, with regard to four key topics: the role played by the bicameral structure of parliament; the effects and dynamics of the amendment process; the overall level of consensualism in the adoption of most bills; and finally, the more adversarial, complex nature of the budgetary process. Here, we offer a brief introduction to the Italian legislative process during the 1996-2006 decade, as a framework for subsequent in-depth analyses, followed by the reasons for our choice of topics for discussion.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a792045710~fulltext=713240930>

## 2. Dividing Parliament? Italian Bicameralism in the Legislative Process (1987-2006)

Francesco Zucchini

### Abstract

Italian bicameralism is a constitutional feature that is quite often the object of criticism from both politicians and scholars. It is also a somewhat neglected topic within Italian political science. The main aim of the present article is to evaluate the level of congruence between the two chambers of the Italian parliament, using original data on legislative activity in the last legislature of Italy's first republic (the 10th legislature) and the last two legislatures of the second republic (the 13th and 14th legislatures). Regardless of the measurement we employ, our study clearly shows that the congruence between the two chambers has declined. As a careful empirical analysis suggests, this phenomenon cannot be solely accounted for by the difference in distribution of party seats or by changes to the law-making rules in the two chambers. The article hypothesizes that the diminishing intraparty cohesion could be the main explanatory factor of such dynamics.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a792043642~fulltext=713240930>

## 3. Casting Light on the Black Hole of the Amendatory Process in Italy

Giliberto Capano; Rinaldo Vignati

### Abstract

The amendatory process is a hidden aspect of Italian law-making. All scholars and observers are perfectly aware of the importance of the complex, sometimes apparently chaotic, dynamics of the process of amending bills. However, despite this awareness, the amendatory process as such has rarely been the subject of empirical investigation: hence the present article's intention to try to fill this void, using a consistent, representative data-set to construct a substantial, quantitative description of the amendatory games played out in Italy's chamber of deputies during the period from 1997 to 2006, and to compare the two legislatures covering that period. This is the first systematic attempt to shine a little light on the 'black hole' of the Italian legislative process.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a792044979~fulltext=713240930>

## 4. Patterns of Consensual Law-making in the Italian Parliament

Marco Giuliani

### Abstract

The transformation of the Italian political system, which began in the early 1990s, should have had an impact upon internal parliamentary dynamics, and in particular upon the degree of consensualism within the legislative process. In this article we are going to examine this hypothesis in the light of the new empirical evidence we have regarding the analysis of Italy's legislative process, and we shall provide a series of explanations for the unexpected degree of persistence of those legislative patterns characteristic of the so-called 'first republic'.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a792045602~fulltext=713240930>

## 5. Still a Difficult Budgetary Process? The Government, the Legislature and the Finance Bill

Elisabetta De Giorgi; Luca Verzichelli

### Abstract

The so called 'budget session' has been the most crucial issue on the Italian parliamentary agenda since the late 1970s, when the annual finance bill was introduced into the political system. Since then, the practice of fiscal governance has been significantly transformed, paving the way for an important phase of budget consolidation throughout the period of convergence to the Economic and Monetary Union. However, the effectiveness of the performance of the budgetary process - and particularly its parliamentary phase - is still under discussion. This article aims to emphasize the changing modes of interaction between the executive and parliamentary branches during the annual budget session. Parliamentary impact on the structure of the annual finance bill and the degree of involvement of the parliamentary opposition during the discussion of budget proposals will be analysed in depth, focusing on the period 1996 to 2005.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a792044226~fulltext=713240930>

## 6. An Afterword - But Not the Last Word

Francesco Zucchini

### Abstract

The articles included in this issue display a healthy scepticism towards any naïve parallelism between the changes in the party system, the electoral rules or political communication, and the changes that have taken place in the legislative process. The former are linked to the evolution of the legislative process in indirect, complicated ways which merit a more in-depth examination. All articles do share a common view of what the Italian political system is not: Montecitorio is clearly still quite some distance from Westminster. From the legislative perspective, the Italian political system during the second republic still appears to be a moving 'target'. The comparison between rough legislative figures for the 15th legislature and the equivalent information for previous legislatures does not really help understand in which direction that system is heading.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a792046429~fulltext=713240930>

## 7. Roman Catholicism, Secularization and the Recovery of Traditional Communal Values: The 1998 and 2007 Referenda on Abortion in Portugal

Paul Christopher Manuel; Maurya N. Tollefsen

### Abstract

In the 34 years since the 25 April 1974 Carnation Revolution, there have been sporadic efforts by progressive forces to legalize abortion in Portugal. This activity has intensified over the past nine years, culminating with two national referenda on the subject. This article investigates the Roman Catholic Church's contemporary role in Portuguese society. That is, would the Church maintain its traditional influential role over public policy formation in a secularizing Portugal, especially related to its moral teaching? Additionally, the authors identify another dimension of the national debate over abortion: the pro-choice side's successful harmonization of its rhetoric to certain traditional communal values found in

Portuguese society - namely compassion, solidarity and support - and, in so doing, forged a recovery of those values.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a792045795~fulltext=713240930>

## **Studies in Conflict & Terrorism**

### **April 2008, Volume 31, Issue 4**

#### **1. Terrorist Organization Typologies and the Probability of a Boomerang Effect**

**Boaz Ganor**

##### **Abstract**

Since the 1970s, many researchers have proposed typologies to sort the phenomenon of terror into different categories and to divide terror organizations into groups based on various characteristics of their activities. These typologies were designed to facilitate understanding of the phenomenon of terror and of terror organizations' processes, structures and operative methods. They relied on a variety of diagnostic criteria such as: motives for using terror, targets of the attacks, terrorists' demands, organizational structure; arenas of operation; and more. This article surveys major typologies of terror, notes the differences between them, presents a model to combine the different classifications of the typologies into a single typology, and proposes a new typology that sorts terror organizations by the variables that limit their activities. The proposed typology makes it possible to analyze terror organizations' behavior and even to forecast their reactions to a situation in which they are attacked by the enemy state - the boomerang effect.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791769774~fulltext=713240930>

#### **2. Harsh State Repression as a Cause of Suicide Bombing: The Case of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict**

**Bader Araj**

##### **Abstract**

Although students of social movements have established that state repression strongly affects protesters' choice of tactics, this finding has been ignored by most analysts of suicide bombing. Based on data collected from various sources, including 88 interviews the author conducted in 2006 with senior leaders of six Palestinian political organizations and close relatives and friends of Palestinian suicide bombers, this article argues that harsh state repression is a major cause of suicide bombing. It shows that understanding the effect of state repression is crucial to clarifying many of the unsolved puzzles concerning the rationales of organizations that employ suicide bombing, the motivations of individual suicide bombers, and the reasons why this tactic has become popular in some societies. The article concludes that there are three types of organizational rationales underlying the use of suicide bombing. Suicide bombing may be an extreme reaction to extreme state repression, a combined reactive and strategic action, or a purely strategic action. Different contexts and organizations typify these organizational rationales.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791769989~fulltext=713240930>

### 3. Male and Female Suicide Bombers: Different Sexes, Different Reasons?

Karen Jacques ; Paul J. Taylor

#### Abstract

This article analyzes the motivations and recruitment of female suicide terrorists. Biographical accounts of 30 female and 30 male suicide terrorists were coded for method of recruitment, motivation for attack, and outcome of attack. A log-linear analysis found that female suicide terrorists were motivated more by Personal events, whereas males were motivated more by Religious/nationalistic factors. Females were equally likely as males to be recruited through peer influence, exploitation, or self promotion, whereas males were more likely to be recruited as a result of religious persuasion. The results highlight the need for continued research into female terrorism.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791770262~fulltext=713240930>

### 4. Connecting a Thousand Points of Hatred

Justin Magouirk

#### Abstract

This article addresses a key debate within the terrorism literature - the relative importance of madrassahs for training terrorists. It argues that the two contending positions - madrassahs are not important for recruitment of terrorists and madrassahs are breeding grounds for terror are both overstated. Using a dataset constructed from Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) members, the author finds that JI-linked radical madrassah exposure is strongly associated with terrorist activity and is associated with more important roles on terrorist operations in Indonesia. The article argues that traditional scholarly theories and public debates on the importance of madrassahs are misguided because they only address top-down ideological indoctrination. The author's theory is that radical madrassahs provide a staging ground for both top-down recruitment and the creation of focal points that lead to tight knit social networks that radicalize members. In effect, they provide a "ready-made social network" for males, "give religious and ideological focus" to these groups, and provide a "particular action-oriented focus."

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791769699~fulltext=713240930>

### 5. Welfare as Warfare: How Violent Non-State Groups Use Social Services to Attack the State

Alexus G. Grynkewich

#### Abstract

Several violent non-state groups also administer social services. Although earlier works stress the effects of social service provision on support and sympathy for violent groups, this article emphasizes a broader challenge. Namely, social welfare organizations threaten to rob the state of the legitimacy it derives through the social contract. Abolishing these organizations can cause humanitarian crises, radicalize populations, and erode domestic and international policy support. Ignoring them invites the continued erosion of state power. The way out of this dilemma is through a strategy of "displacement," whereby the state eradicates non-state social services while concurrently extending its own welfare capacity.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791769652~fulltext=713240930>

## Survival Global Politics and Strategy 2008, Volume 50, Issue 2

### 1. Kosovo's Moment, Serbia's Chance

David Gowan

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791671372~fulltext=713240930>

### 2. Kenya's Retrograde Election

Jonathan Stevenson

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791673444~fulltext=713240930>

### 3. Europe, Russia and American Missile Defence

Walter B. Slocombe

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791674852~fulltext=713240930>

### 4. Medvedev's Choice

Oksana Antonenko

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791671755~fulltext=713240930>

### 5. The Impending Oil Shock

Nader Elhefnawy

#### Abstract

The peak-oil theory asserts that oil production follows a bell-shaped curve, rising exponentially early on, hitting a peak and then declining terminally. As world oil production reaches its peak, energy importers will enjoy somewhat greater political weight; the economic balance of power among major industrial states will change according to their relative abilities to adapt to a scarcity of fossil fuels; and there will be increased risk of state failure, resource conflict and even nuclear-energy-related problems. These dangers might be minimised through national and international programmes designed to rapidly maximise energy efficiency and promote non-fossil-fuel energy sources.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791675196~fulltext=713240930>

### 6. The Anbar Awakening

Austin Long

#### Abstract

The United States and its allies in Iraq have embraced a tribal strategy to provide security and fight al-Qaeda in Mesopotamia. This approach is not new. Saddam Hussein also sought to use tribal alliances to provide internal security. His experience, and that of the present-day Coalition, demonstrates the prospects and perils of using tribes to provide security. Tension exists between the United States' two main strategic goals of defeating al-Qaeda in Mesopotamia and building a democratic, unified Iraq. There is also the danger that Iraqi tribes will defect from the Coalition in future.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791671368~fulltext=713240930>

## 7. Historical Myths of a Divided Iraq

Reidar Visser

### Abstract

The idea of a soft partitioning of Iraq along ethno-sectarian lines has gained traction in some US policymaking circles. However, the model of an Iraq divided into three ethno-sectarian entities lacks historical resonance and is likely to increase instability in Iraq rather than reduce it. The most persistent trend in Iraqi history since medieval times is the status of Baghdad as a regional proto-capital for an area from the Gulf to the mountains north of Mosul - an area which was frequently referred to by its inhabitants as 'Iraq' from pre-modern times. Conversely, there is no precedent for subdividing the Iraqi territory on the basis of sectarian identities, and Iraq's long history exhibits almost no examples of secessionist movements based on Shia or Sunni ideology.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791673796~fulltext=713240930>

## 8. South Asia's Nuclear Decade

Bruce Riedel

### Abstract

In May 1998 India surprised the world by testing five nuclear weapons, and despite the pleas of the international community, Pakistan followed suit a few days later. The global effort to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons in South Asia never recovered. The recent United States-India nuclear deal is a wise accommodation to reality but puts no constraints on the nuclear arms race in South Asia. Meanwhile, Pakistan is unlikely to conclude such a deal, especially given the A.Q. Khan affair. In the last decade the two neighbours have fought a small war and mobilised for a much larger one, and cross-border terrorism could provoke another crisis at any time. The danger of a nuclear confrontation remains serious and should be addressed by creative diplomacy to deal with the underlying issues that have divided the subcontinent since partition in 1947, most notably Kashmir.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791672944~fulltext=713240930>

## 9. The Threat to Young Democracies

Nathan Converse

### Abstract

Recent backsliding in such countries as Bolivia, Venezuela, Georgia and Russia has raised concerns about the viability of democracy in the developing world. Understanding why fledgling democracies sometimes fail is essential for determining what the international community might do to help such states stay on track toward political stability. In particular, public officials in both the industrial and developing worlds should adopt the policy mix (including foreign-aid policies) best suited to democratic consolidation, with a focus on ensuring that government leaders, who might otherwise abuse their power, are constrained by effective checks and balances.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791670884~fulltext=713240930>

## 10. The Making of Macedonia

Christopher S. Chivvis

### Abstract

In 2001 Macedonia's large ethnic Albanian minority revolted against the country's Slav-dominated state. In a victory for transatlantic relations, Europe and the United States worked together to defuse the crisis and avert what could easily have become another Balkan disaster. Since then, there has been progress in rebuilding Macedonia, and the EU deserves credit. This success, however, was predicated on strong US backing and the promise of NATO and EU membership. Although this has made the country something of a political hybrid, Macedonia belongs in NATO, and eventually, the European Union.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791671284~fulltext=713240930>

## West European Politics 2008, Volume 31, Issue 3

### 1. Transnational Legitimacy in a Globalising World: How the European Union Rescues its States

Anand Menon; Stephen Weatherill

### Abstract

This article addresses claims regarding the limited legitimacy of international institutions. It argues that the two original appointed supranational institutions of the European Union play a crucial, if systematically underestimated, role not merely in providing legitimacy for the Union itself, but also in shoring up that of its constituent member states. We illustrate that supranationalism enhances national legitimacy in functional, political and administrative terms. It does so by helping member states produce outputs they otherwise could not (particularly by enabling them to deal with transboundary policy problems they would struggle to confront if acting in isolation) and by embedding within national political and administrative systems legally enforceable obligations to respect the interests of actors whose voice is excluded or muffled (de jure or de facto) within purely national political processes. The article contends that the claims to legitimacy made by the EU and its member states are of distinctive character but interdependent and mutually reinforcing

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791942904~fulltext=713240930>

### 2. Images of Agency Governance in the European Union

Jarle Trondal; Lene Jeppesen

### Abstract

Diagnosis of the transformation of executive governance in Europe should incorporate the diverse dynamics of EU-level agencies. Recent years have witnessed comprehensive reform efforts in the European Commission aimed partly at increasing institutional effectiveness and efficiency. One constituent ingredient thereof has been the institution of non-majoritarian EU-level agencies with regulatory and non-regulatory discretionary competences beneath the

Community institutions. This article conceptualises theoretically and explores empirically three complementary images of agency governance in the EU. Based on a rich body of survey (N = 265) and interview (N = 29) data among three regulatory and four non-regulatory EU-level agencies, the article demonstrates that EU-level agencies tend to combine the roles as autonomous administrative spaces, multilevel epistemic networks and Community institutions. EU-level regulatory and non-regulatory agencies blend all three images of agency governance. This article thus demonstrates that agency governance is only marginally affected by the regulatory-non-regulatory dichotomy

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791943024~fulltext=713240930>

### 3. Understanding EU Attitudes in Multi-Level Governance Contexts: A Social Identity Perspective

**Frank Mols; S. Alexander Haslam**

#### Abstract

The present research examines the way in which politicians' attitudes towards the EU are affected by comparative identity processes. Interviews among regional politicians in two peripheral regions in the UK (Study 1: Wales and Cornwall) and two peripheral regions in the Netherlands (Study 2: Friesland and Limburg) show that when the relationship between nation-state and European Union is perceived to be negative (i.e., in UK regions), the national government is defined by emphasising the regions' pro-Europe sentiments. When central government is perceived to hold positive EU attitudes (i.e., in The Netherlands), politicians in peripheral regions accuse the national government of over-conformity to the EU, while emphasising the greater historical and cultural link between their region and Europe than between region and nation-state. Discussion focuses on the context-dependent nature of EU attitudes and on the importance of identity considerations at the regional level when examining attitudes towards the EU.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791944176~fulltext=713240930>

### 4. The Foreign Relations of European Regions: Competences and Strategies

**Joachim Blatter; Matthias Kreutzer; Michaela Rentl; Jan Thiele**

#### Abstract

The article traces the foreign relations of 81 European regions by looking first at the constitutional competences which these regions enjoy within their nation-states. We discover that the regions in federal states have expanded their competences in two directions: conducting autonomous foreign activities and influencing national foreign policy. How far the Belgian regions, as well as the German and the Austrian Länder go in both directions depends very much on the scope of their competences in domestic politics. In non-federal states (France, GB, Italy), regionalisation brought rather more leeway to conduct a certain level of autonomous foreign activity than regional influence in national foreign policy. When we - in a second step - trace the strategies or directions of international activities which the regions pursue it becomes obvious that setting up an office in Brussels in order to adapt to political integration is very common among West European regions. In contrast, much more variety can be observed when examining the regions' strategies to adapt to fundamental economic and cultural transformations. Some European regions invest heavily in economic promotion offices and in transnational partnerships while others lack the motivation or ability to invest in these forms of foreign relations.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791943121~fulltext=713240930>

## **5. Evasion, Reinterpretation and Decoupling: European Commission Responses to the 'External Dimension' of Immigration and Asylum**

**Christina Boswell**

### **Abstract**

Since 1999, the European Commission has been responsible for 'integrating' immigration and asylum goals into the EU's external relations. This article explores how different Directorates-General have responded to this requirement. Rejecting prevalent rationalist theories, it draws on organisational sociology to argue that administrative organisations are preoccupied with internal social and psychological tasks, and only selectively read and respond to signals from their political environment. Depending on characteristics of the organisation and policy area, one can hypothesise four ideal-typical responses: full adaptation, evasion, institutional decoupling, and reinterpretation. An analysis of Commission responses suggests that DG Justice, Liberty and Security fully adapted to the agenda, while DG External Relations adopted a strategy of institutional decoupling. DG Development shifted from initial evasion to reinterpretation, contributing to the rather incoherent mix of goals that emerged in the 2005 Global Approach. The article considers the implications of this account for theories of policy change.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791943859~fulltext=713240930>

## **6. Empowering Epistemic Communities: Specialised Politicians, Policy Experts and Policy Reform**

**Patrik Marier**

### **Abstract**

A handful of Swedish parliamentarians, assisted by experts within the civil service, generated one of the most discussed pension reforms since the Chilean reform of the 1980s. This article argues that they formed a successful epistemic community. The group shared similar pension values, a commitment to finding a long-term solution, and a devotion to improving the pension system. The inclusion of politicians within epistemic communities is essential to transpose knowledge into policy. Politicians involved in committees possess political knowledge necessary to bridge the gap between the experts and other legislators and the specialised knowledge needed to interact with members of the scientific community. Contrary to a 'traditional' epistemic community, this 'political' epistemic community had privileged access to the state and could translate directly the results of its discussions into concrete policy proposals.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791942756~fulltext=713240930>

## **7. Transnational Parliamentary Assemblies: A Remedy for the Democratic Deficit of International Governance?**

**Christiane Kraft-Kasack**

### **Abstract**

While international governance may improve the legitimacy of its policies by producing better outputs, it reduces legitimacy on the input side as decisions are taken further away from

the citizens. This article examines transnational parliamentary assemblies and assesses whether they might add legitimacy to decision-making beyond the state. While the parliamentary route to legitimacy is often belittled within the realm of international relations, many such assemblies already exist. The study gives an overview of such assemblies and compares the European Parliament, the Nordic Council and the Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference in detail. They represent three types of transnational parliamentary assemblies: parliament, assembly and conference. The article reaches the conclusion that a parliament can further democratic legitimacy in supranational contexts, whereas assemblies can provide additional legitimacy to processes of international cooperation. The conference type does not fulfil the criteria set for democratic legitimacy

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791944852~fulltext=713240930>

## **8. Conditional Punishment: A Comparative Analysis of the Electoral Consequences of Welfare State Retrenchment in OECD Nations, 1980-2003**

**Klaus Armingeon; Nathalie Giger**

### **Abstract**

Do incumbent parties that retrench the welfare state lose votes during the next election? That is the guiding question for our paper. We analyse elections and social policy reforms in 18 established OECD democracies from 1980 to 2003. We show that there is no strong and systematic punishment for governments which cut back welfare state entitlements. The likelihood of losing votes is the same for governments that retrench the welfare state as for those that do not. Rather, electoral punishment is conditional on whether governments have the chance to stretch retrenchment over a longer period of time, and whether social policy cuts are made an issue in the electoral campaign. If other political parties and the mass media do not put the theme on the agenda of the campaign, and if the retrenchment can be carried out in small steps during a longer governmental term, governments may considerably reduce welfare state effort without fear of major electoral consequences.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791944769~fulltext=713240930>

## **9. The Eduskunta and the Parliamentarisation of Finnish Politics: Formally Stronger, Politically Still Weak?**

**Tapio Raunio; Matti Wiberg**

### **Abstract**

According to the 'decline of parliaments' thesis that dominates the literature, the executive branch has increased its powers vis-à-vis the legislature. However, at the same time most studies indicate that the parliaments in the Nordic region are on average stronger than their counterparts in central and southern European countries. This article examines the validity of the 'decline of parliaments' thesis in the context of Finland, a country where recent constitutional reforms have strengthened parliamentarism by reducing the powers of the president and empowering the government and the parliament. Analysing the constitutional balance of power between state organs, the interaction between the government and the opposition, and the ability of the parliament to hold the cabinet accountable, this article argues that despite its stronger constitutional position, the Eduskunta faces considerable difficulties in controlling the government.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791943503~fulltext=713240930>

**10. The Greek General Election of 2007: You Cannot Lose If Your Opponent Cannot Win**

**Elias Dinas**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791944608~fulltext=713240930>

**11. The Swiss Elections of 21 October 2007: Consensus Fights Back**

**Clive H. Church**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a791944226~fulltext=713240930>