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Bu çalışma, Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Araştırma Vakfı bünyesinde araştırmacı Cihan Dizdaroğlu ve stajyerler Murat Bulut ve Öykü Sözen tarafından hazırlanmıştır.

Comparative Political Studies

June 2008, Vol. 41, Issue 6

1. Globalization, Veto Players, and Welfare Spending

Eunyoung Ha

Abstract

This article examines the role of globalization and its interaction with domestic political institutions (veto players) in shaping welfare spending in 18 advanced industrial countries from 1960 to 2000. First, the author evaluates how integrated world markets have influenced welfare expenditures. Results suggest that globalization increased welfare spending in this sample. Second, the author studies how domestic political institutions mediate the impact of globalization on welfare spending. With a new data set on veto players for the years 1960 to 2000, the author finds that as the number of and ideological distance among veto players increases, the upward pressure of globalization on welfare spending is reduced. The results show that globalization has pressured states to expand welfare spending, but the extent to which states have responded to pressure critically depends on the number of and ideological distance among veto players, whose agreement is required to change welfare policy.

<http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/41/6/783>

2. The Mass Media's Political Agenda-Setting Power: A Longitudinal Analysis of Media, Parliament, and Government in Belgium (1993 to 2000)

Stefaan Walgrave, Stuart Soroka, Michiel Nuytemans

Abstract

Do mass media determine or codetermine the political agenda? Available answers on this question are mixed and contradictory. Results vary in terms of the type of political agenda under scrutiny, the kind of media taken into account, and the type of issues covered. This article enhances knowledge of the media's political agenda-setting power by addressing each of these topics, drawing on extensive longitudinal measures of issue attentiveness in media, Parliament, and government in Belgium in the 1990s. Relying on time-series, cross-section analyses, the authors ascertain that although Belgium is characterized by a closed political system, the media do to some extent determine the agenda of Parliament and government. There is systematic variation in media effects, however. Newspapers exert more influence than does television, Parliament is somewhat more likely to follow media than government, and media effects are larger for certain issues (law and order, environment) than for others (foreign policy, economic issues).

<http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/41/6/814>

3. Bad for Business? Entrepreneurs and Democracy in the Arab World

Scott Greenwood

Abstract

Why do business communities in some developing countries support democratization whereas business communities in other developing countries continue to support authoritarian rule? In an effort to answer this question, the author compares the political behavior of entrepreneurs

in one region where entrepreneurs have supported democratization, Latin America, with a region where entrepreneurs have not, the Arab world. Although Latin American business communities supported democratization during the 1980s and 1990s in an effort to reestablish their influence over economic policy making, restore competent management of the economy, and help bring about governments' enjoying greater popular legitimacy, entrepreneurs' continued support for authoritarian rule in the Middle East and North Africa is related to the high incidence of regional conflicts, entrepreneurs' fear that democratization will empower Islamist parties seeking to reverse economic liberalization, and the perceived potential for democratization to lead to increased civil strife.

<http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/41/6/837>

4. The Presidency, Regionalism, and Distributive Politics in South Korea

Yusaku Horiuchi, Seungjoo Lee

Abstract

Although *whether* there is political influence on distributive policies is now indisputable, important debates have emerged about *how* politics distorts distributive policy outcomes. In this article, the authors improve the understanding of distributive politics by focusing on South Korea. They argue that because of Korea-specific institutional and cultural settings, an incumbent president allocates disproportionately larger amounts of pork-barrel benefits not only to his own turf but also to his rival's, while distributing smaller amounts to regions where votes are more evenly divided between the camps. This uneven distribution results from his aspiration to achieve dual objectives: to secure his "graceful retirement" and to achieve uninterrupted operation of government during his term. Using municipality-level data, the authors show that this *U*-shaped relationship between vote and money is statistically significant for both the Kim Young Sam (1993 to 1997) and Kim Dae Jung administrations (1998 to 2002).

<http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/41/6/861>

Electoral Studies

June 2008, Vol. 27, Issue 2

1. The nationalization of electoral change in the Americas

Eduardo Alemán, Marisa Kalam

Abstract

This paper examines the nationalization of electoral change in multiparty settings. We present a method to measure the relative magnitude of national and sub-national shifts in electoral support across parties and elections that is appropriate for the compositional structure of multiparty electoral data. We apply this new method to the analysis of legislative elections in six Latin American countries and the United States. Our findings indicate the widespread influence of local (i.e., state-specific) factors in electoral change, but highlight the drastic impact that intermittent nationalized shifts have on partisan support.

http://www.sciencedirect.com/science?_ob=MIimg&_imagekey=B6V9P-4RTTKJP-1-1&_cdi=5904&_user=3006631&_orig=browse&_coverDate=06%2F30%2F2008&_sk=9997

[29997&view=c&wchp=dGLbVzb-zSkzS&md5=e594ce0803cda6e33b9d3179d384b108&ie=/sdarticle.pdf](http://www.sciencedirect.com/science?_ob=MIimg&_imagekey=B6V9P-4S02T50-1-2&_cdi=5904&_user=3006631&_orig=browse&_coverDate=06%2F30%2F2008&_sk=999729997&view=c&wchp=dGLbVzb-zSkzS&md5=e594ce0803cda6e33b9d3179d384b108&ie=/sdarticle.pdf)

2. Incumbency as a source of spillover effects in mixed electoral systems: Evidence from a regression-discontinuity design

Jens Hainmueller, Holger Lutz Kern

Abstract

In this paper we demonstrate empirically that incumbency is a source of spillover effects in Germany's mixed electoral system. Using a quasi-experimental research design that allows for causal inferences under a weaker set of assumptions than the regression models commonly used in the electoral systems literature, we find that incumbency causes a gain of 1.4–1.7 percentage points in PR vote shares. We also present simulations of Bundestag seat distributions to show that spillover effects caused by incumbency are sufficiently large to trigger significant shifts in parliamentary majorities.

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3. Strategic voting in German constituencies

Michael Herrmann, Franz Urban Pappi

Abstract

We investigate strategic voting at German Bundestag elections. The common intuition about strategic voting holds that supporters of small party candidates split their ticket and cast a constituency vote for the candidate of a viable large party. We show that there is more potential for strategic voting than previously admitted. Based on the multiparty calculus of voting framework, we formulate a decision-theoretic model that allows us to take the full range of situations into account, that voters may encounter in their local constituencies. Applying this model to survey data from the 1998 and 2002 federal elections, we find that voters make use of sophisticated balloting, given the chance to influence the outcome of the constituency election. While the focus of this paper is on Germany, the approach we take is applicable to single seat elections in other countries as well.

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4. Measuring bias: Moving from two-party to three-party elections

Galina Borisyuk, Ron Johnston, Michael Thrasher, Colin Rallings

Abstract

ne method for assessing the extent of electoral bias is that first developed by Brookes. This method decomposes bias into different elements, including efficiency of vote distribution as well as effects separately produced by electorate size and turnout. Brookes' method is used to measure electoral bias largely in two-party systems but the rise of third parties, particularly in

recent UK elections, has prompted the search for a reliable alternative. This paper reports upon findings from an on-going research programme. The nature and theoretical underpinnings of different procedures that might be used for decomposing bias in the three-party case are outlined. Two main procedures are constructed and then tested against the results from actual elections. The evidence shows that these procedures produce similar findings in respect of the 2005 general election but differences emerge when earlier elections are considered. Research continues to assess whether these differences follow from the nature of party competition at each election or the particular procedure employed.

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5. Partisanship in non-partisan electoral agencies and democratic compliance: Evidence from Mexico's Federal Electoral Institute

Federico Estévez, Eric Magar, Guillermo Rosas

Abstract

Scholars argue that electoral management bodies staffed by autonomous, non-partisan experts are best for producing credible and fair elections. We inspect the voting record of Mexico's Instituto Federal Electoral (IFE), an ostensibly independent bureaucratic agency regarded as extremely successful in organizing clean elections in a political system marred by fraud. We discover that the putative non-partisan experts of "autonomous" IFE behave as "party watchdogs" that represent the interests of their political party sponsors. To validate this party influence hypothesis, we examine roll-call votes cast by members of IFE's Council-General from 1996 to 2006. Aside from shedding light on IFE's failure to achieve democratic compliance in 2006, our analysis suggests that election arbiters that embrace partisan strife are quite capable of organizing free, fair, and credible elections in new democracies.

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6. From the parish to the polling booth: Evolution and interpretation of the political gender gap in Italy, 1968–2006

Piergiorgio Corbetta, Nicoletta Cavazza

Abstract

Traditionally, in Western democracies women tended to be more conservative than men. More recently, this difference has significantly weakened, and in some countries men actually appear to be more conservative than women. We analyse the evolution of the political gender gap in Italy between 1968 and 2006, showing that it has disappeared over the course of the 2000s. We interpret this trend in the context of social role theory: the political gender gap is explained by different structural characteristics such as occupational status, education, and religiousness. The latter, in particular, plays a particularly significant role and affects the gender gap through individuals' social networks rather than through the pressure to conform to specific values.

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7. The grey vote: Determinants of older voters' party choice in Britain and West Germany

Achim Goerres

Abstract

To what extent do older people vote differently from younger people? This article tests two generational and two life-cycle hypotheses with British and West German data. First, older voters belong to a political generation whose party preferences are shaped by the party fortunes experienced in early elections. The more de-aligned the party system, however, the less strong and clear generational differences seem to become. Second, New Politics parties are less favoured among older generations. Third, there is no evidence that ageing voters prefer to cast their ballots for economically more conservative parties. Finally, in more proportional electoral systems, older people seem to have a preference for larger parties that can leave repeated impressions on them as they age.

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8. Electoral institutions and popular confidence in electoral processes: A cross-national analysis

Sarah Birch

Abstract

There is a growing interest among comparative political scientists in electoral integrity, yet little is known about what motivates citizen confidence in the electoral process. This article explores the factors that shape perceptions of electoral conduct in a cross-national context, testing the hypothesis that institutional structures that promote a 'level playing field' at each stage of the electoral process will enhance the extent to which voters perceive their elections to be fair. The analyses carried out here are based on 28 elections that formed part of Module 1 of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Project. Multilevel models including both individual- and election-level variables demonstrate that proportional electoral systems and the public funding of parties have positive impacts on confidence in the conduct of elections, while the formal independence of electoral management bodies is negatively associated with this variable.

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9. Ticket-balancing in mixed-member proportional systems. Comparing sub-national elections in Germany

Annika Hennl, André Kaiser

Abstract

This article compares ticket-balancing processes in pure and mixed-member proportional systems, which differ with regard to the type of candidature—party list versus combination of single-member and party list. By comparing sub-national elections in Germany between 2000 and 2004, we analyse the impact of double-nominations on the share of safely listed women. Whereas a cross-sectional multiple OLS-regression analysis finds no direct effect except that women's share is dependent on candidate gender quotas and a minimum of two safe list places, there is clear evidence of an interactive relationship between quotas and nominations. Selectors strategically use candidate selection to fulfil gender quotas and frequently nominate female district candidates on safe list places.

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10. Measuring expectations: Comparing alternative approaches

André Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil, Patrick Fournier, Neil Nevitte, Bruce M. Hicks

Abstract

The paper compares three alternative approaches employed by the Canadian Election Study to measure voters' perceptions of parties' chances of winning in their local constituency. The first approach, used in 2000, consists of asking respondents to rate parties' chances on a 0 to 100 scale in a random sequence. The second, used in 2004, entails first asking whether each party had a chance of winning and then inviting people to rate the chances. In the third approach, adopted in 2006, respondents are first asked which two parties had the best chance of winning and, then, if any other party has a chance, before requesting that they rate the mentioned parties. By comparing “objective” and “perceived” chances of winning, the paper concludes that the third approach provides a more valid measure of voters' expectations. The paper discusses the implications for the measurement of expectations in different types of electoral systems.

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11. Turkey's bid for EU membership, contrasting views of public opinion, and vote choice. Evidence from the 2005 German federal election

Harald Schoen

Abstract

This paper examines the effects of attitudes toward Turkey's entry into the European Union on vote choice in the 2005 federal election in Germany. Building on prior research, the paper contrasts the elitist and the policy voting view. The evidence shows that citizens' opinions about Turkey's accession to the European Union do not merely reflect group-memberships

and political predispositions. They also play a role in influencing voting behaviour with support of Turkey's entry raising the likelihood to vote for the SPD or the Greens while reducing the probability to cast a vote for right-wing parties, the CDU/CSU and the FDP. Finally, low educated voters are disproportionately susceptible to rely on their attitudes toward enlarging the European Union to contain Turkey. In sum, the evidence contradicts the elitist view and lends support the policy voting view implying that there is an electoral incentive for political elites to respond to public opinion on the Turkey issue.

http://www.sciencedirect.com/science?_ob=MIimg&_imagekey=B6V9P-4S69H1B-2-5&_cdi=5904&_user=3006631&_orig=browse&_coverDate=06%2F30%2F2008&_sk=999729997&view=c&wchp=dGLbVtb-zSkWW&md5=04a729ad5e4d11d61195ad52beabbc19&ie=/sdarticle.pdf

Foreign Affairs May/June 2008, Vol.87, Issue 3

1. The Future of American Power: How America Can Survive the Rise of the Rest Fareed Zakaria

Abstract

Despite some eerie parallels between the position of the United States today and that of the British Empire a century ago, there are key differences. Britain's decline was driven by bad economics. The United States, in contrast, has the strength and dynamism to continue shaping the world -- but only if it can overcome its political dysfunction and reorient U.S. policy for a world defined by the rise of other powers.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080501facomment87303/fareed-zakaria/the-future-of-american-power.html>

2. The Age of Nonpolarity: What Will Follow U.S. Dominance Richard N. Haass

Abstract

The United States' unipolar moment is over. International relations in the twenty-first century will be defined by nonpolarity. Power will be diffuse rather than concentrated, and the influence of nation-states will decline as that of nonstate actors increases. But this is not all bad news for the United States; Washington can still manage the transition and make the world a safer place.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080501faessay87304/richard-n-haass/the-age-of-nonpolarity.html>

3. The Price of the Surge

Steven Simon

Abstract

The Bush administration's new strategy in Iraq has helped reduce violence. But the surge is not linked to any sustainable plan for building a viable Iraqi state and may even have made such an outcome less likely -- by stoking the revanchist fantasies of Sunni tribes and pitting them against the central government. The recent short-term gains have thus come at the expense of the long-term goal of a stable, unitary Iraq.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080501faessay87305/steven-simon/the-price-of-the-surge.html>

4. Beyond Darfur: Sudan's Slide Toward Civil War

Andrew S. Natsios

Abstract

While the crisis in Darfur simmers, the larger problem of Sudan's survival as a state is becoming increasingly urgent. Old tensions between the Arabs of the Nile River valley, who have held power for a century, and marginalized groups on the country's periphery are turning into a national crisis. Engagement with Khartoum may be the only way to avert another civil war in Sudan, and even that may not be enough.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080501faessay87306/andrew-s-natsios/beyond-darfur.html>

5. The Trouble With Congo: How Local Disputes Fuel Regional Conflict

S everine Autesserre

Abstract

Although the war in Congo officially ended in 2003, two million people have died since. One of the reasons is that the international community's peacekeeping efforts there have not focused on the local grievances in eastern Congo, especially those over land, that are fueling much of the broader tensions. Until they do, the nation's security and that of the wider Great Lakes region will remain uncertain.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080501faessay87307/severine-autesserre/the-trouble-with-congo.html>

6. The Case Against the West

Kishore Mahbubani

Abstract

The West is not welcoming Asia's progress, and its short-term interests in preserving its privileged position in various global institutions are trumping its long-term interests in creating a more just and stable world order. The West has gone from being the world's problem solver to being its single biggest liability

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080501faessay87308/kishore-mahbubani/the-case-against-the-west.html>

International Security Spring 2008, Vol. 32, Issue 4

1. The Rise of Afghanistan's Insurgency: State Failure and Jihad

Seth G. Jones

Abstract

In 2002 Afghanistan began to experience a violent insurgency as the Taliban and other groups conducted a sustained effort to overthrow the Afghan government. Why did an insurgency begin in Afghanistan? Answers to this question have important theoretical and policy implications. Conventional arguments, which focus on the role of grievance or greed, cannot explain the Afghan insurgency. Rather, a critical precondition was structural: the collapse of governance after the overthrow of the Taliban regime. The Afghan government was unable to provide basic services to the population; its security forces were too weak to establish law and order; and there were too few international forces to fill the gap. In addition, the primary motivation of insurgent leaders was ideological. Leaders of the Taliban, al-Qaida, and other insurgent groups wanted to overthrow the Afghan government and replace it with one grounded in an extremist interpretation of Sunni Islam.

http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/IS3204_pp007-040_Jones.pdf

2. No Sign until the Burst of Fire: Understanding the Pakistan-Afghanistan Frontier

Thomas H. Johnson, M. Chris Mason

Abstract

The Pakistan-Afghanistan border area has become the most dangerous frontier on earth, and the most challenging for the United States' national security interests. Critically, the portion of the border region that is home to extremist groups such as the Taliban and al-Qaida coincides almost exactly with the area overwhelmingly dominated by the Pashtun tribes. The implications of this salient fact—that most of Pakistan's and Afghanistan's violent religious extremism, and with it much of the United States' counterterrorism challenge, are contained within a single ethnolinguistic group—have unfortunately not been fully grasped by a governmental policy community that has long downplayed cultural dynamics. The threat to long-term U.S. security interests in this area is neither an economic problem, nor a religious problem, nor a generic "tribal" problem. It is a unique cultural problem. In both southern Afghanistan and the tribal areas of Pakistan, rather than seeking to "extend the reach of the central government," which simply foments insurgency among a proto-insurgent people, the United States and the international community should be doing everything in their means to empower the tribal elders and restore balance to a tribal/cultural system that has been disintegrating since the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979.

http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/IS3204_pp041-077_Johnson_Mason.pdf

3. What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy

Max Abrahms

Abstract

What do terrorists want? No question is more fundamental for devising an effective counterterrorism strategy. The international community cannot expect to make terrorism

unprofitable and thus scarce without knowing the incentive structure of its practitioners. The strategic model—the dominant paradigm in terrorism studies—posits that terrorists are political utility maximizers. According to this view, individuals resort to terrorism when the expected political gains minus the expected costs outweigh the net expected benefits of alternative forms of protest. The strategic model has widespread currency in the policy community; extant counterterrorism strategies seek to defeat terrorism by reducing its political utility. The most common strategies are to fight terrorism by decreasing its political benefits via a strict no concessions policy; decreasing its prospective political benefits via appeasement; or decreasing its political benefits relative to nonviolence via democracy promotion. Despite its policy relevance, the strategic model has not been tested. This is the first study to comprehensively assess its empirical validity. The actual record of terrorist behavior does not conform to the strategic model's premise that terrorists are rational actors primarily motivated to achieving political ends. The preponderance of empirical and theoretical evidence is that terrorists are rational people who use terrorism primarily to develop strong affective ties with fellow terrorists. Major revisions in both the dominant paradigm in terrorism studies and the policy community's basic approach to fighting terrorism are consequently in order.

4. Postconflict Resolution in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed States

Pierre Englebort, Denis M. Tull

Abstract

Postconflict state reconstruction has become a priority of donors in Africa. Yet, externally sponsored reconstruction efforts have met with limited achievements in the region. This is partly due to three flawed assumptions on which reconstruction efforts are predicated. The first is that Western state institutions can be transferred to Africa. The poor record of past external efforts to construct and reshape African political and economic institutions casts doubts on the overly ambitious objectives of failed state reconstruction. The second flawed assumption is the mistaken belief in a shared understanding by donors and African leaders of failure and reconstruction. Donors typically misread the nature of African politics. For local elites, reconstruction is the continuation of war and competition for resources by new means. Thus their strategies are often inimical to the building of strong public institutions. The third flawed assumption is that donors are capable of rebuilding African states. Their ambitious goals are inconsistent with their financial, military, and symbolic means. Yet, African societies are capable of recovery, as Somaliland and Uganda illustrate. Encouraging indigenous state formation efforts and constructive bargaining between social forces and governments might prove a more fruitful approach for donors to the problem of Africa's failed states.

5. Partitioning to Peace: Sovereignty, Demography, and Ethnic Civil Wars

Carter Johnson

Abstract

Some scholars have proposed partition as a way to solve ethnic civil wars. Partition theorists advocate the demographic separation of ethnic groups into different states, arguing that this is the best chance for an enduring peace. Opponents argue that partition is costly in terms of its human toll and that its advocates have yet to demonstrate its effectiveness beyond a limited number of self-selected case studies. This analysis systematically examines the outcome of

partition, highlighting the centrality of demography by introducing an index that measures the degree to which a partition separates ethnic groups. This index is applied to all civil wars ending in partition from 1945 to 2004. Partitions that completely separated the warring groups did not experience a recurrence of war and low-level violence for at least five years, outperforming both partitions that did not separate ethnic groups and other ethnic war outcomes. These results challenge other studies that examine partition as a war outcome. The results also have direct implications for Iraq's civil war, postindependence Kosovo, and other ethnic civil wars.

Journal of Common Market Studies June 2008, Vol. 46, Issue 3

1. The Open Method of Co-ordination: A Way to the Europeanization of Social and Employment Policies?

Martin Heidenreich, Gabriele Bischoff

Abstract

The open method of co-ordination (OMC) can contribute to the co-ordinated modernization of the national systems of employment and social protection in Europe, if it is institutionalized in a relatively stable way at the European level and if the European processes can influence effectively the national reform strategies. The first challenge was met successfully by the bureaucratization, codification and formalization of some co-ordination processes at the European level. These processes can be interpreted as the institutionalization of a social field. The second challenge refers to the need for an effective coupling between the European and the national arenas. Currently, the most important way of coupling these two social fields is based on mutual learning. Given the limitations of such a predominantly cognitive coupling, the Commission can either enforce the 'national ownership' of the co-ordination processes, improve the mutual learning processes or strengthen the strategic ('financial incentives') and normative ('legal obligations') forms of coupling between the European and national social fields.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/action/showPdf?submitPDF=Full+Text+PDF+%28189+KB%29&doi=10.1111%2Fj.1468-5965.2008.00796.x>

2. Who Decides in the Council of the European Union?

Frank M. Häge

Abstract

This study presents reliable cross-sectoral data on the relative involvement of working parties, senior committees and ministers in legislative decision-making of the Council of the European Union. In general, the results challenge the received wisdom that ministers are hardly involved in legislative decision-making. However, the findings also indicate that the involvement of different Council levels varies considerably across policy sectors. The study concludes with a discussion of the implications of these findings for the debate about the democratic legitimacy of Council decision-making

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/action/showPdf?submitPDF=Full+Text+PDF+%28209+KB%29&doi=10.1111%2Fj.1468-5965.2008.00790.x>

3. Dynamics and Countervailing Pressures of Visa, Asylum and Immigration Policy Treaty Revision: Explaining Change and Stagnation from the Amsterdam IGC to the IGC of 2003–04

Arne Niemann

Abstract

The objective of this article is to account for the varying, and sometimes puzzling, outcomes of the past three Treaty revisions of EU/EC visa, asylum and immigration policy. The article focuses on decision rules and the institutional set-up of these policies, subjecting the results of the Intergovernmental Conference negotiations leading to the Treaties of Amsterdam and Nice and the Constitutional Treaty to causal analysis. The article maintains that four factors can explain the various Treaty outcomes: (i) functional pressures; (ii) the role of supranational institutions; (iii) socialization, deliberation and learning processes; and (iv) countervailing forces

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/action/showPdf?submitPDF=Full+Text+PDF+%28193+KB%29&doi=10.1111%2Fj.1468-5965.2008.00791.x>

4. The Council Presidency in the European Union: Responsibility with Power

Robert Thomson

Abstract

The extent of the Council presidency's political influence is the subject of disagreement among both practitioners and researchers. While some describe the presidency as responsibility without power, others suggest that it provides incumbent states with an opportunity to achieve decision outcomes close to their preferences. This article formulates and tests hypotheses on the conditions under which presidents influence the timing and content of decision outcomes in the legislative arena. Decision outcomes are shown to be significantly more favourable to presidents in the chair at the time of adoption than to other Member States, even after controlling for other factors that influence bargaining success

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/action/showPdf?submitPDF=Full+Text+PDF+%28173+KB%29&doi=10.1111%2Fj.1468-5965.2008.00793.x>

5. Competing Models of EU Legitimacy: the Test of Popular Expectations

Piret Ehin

Abstract

What are the appropriate criteria for assessing the legitimacy of the EU? This article uses data from the Eurobarometer to adjudicate between rival perspectives on EU legitimacy. The findings strengthen the case for holding the EU to the same liberal-democratic standard of legitimacy that is applied to political authority in the nation-state.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/action/showPdf?submitPDF=Full+Text+PDF+%28133+KB%29&doi=10.1111%2Fj.1468-5965.2008.00794.x>

6. Narrating the Process: Questioning the Progressive Story of European Integration

Mark Gilbert

Abstract

Underlying scholarship on the EU is the conviction that the institutions of the EU are the outcome of a historical process whereby national institutions are being superseded and replaced by supranational ones. The article criticizes this tendency, for two reasons. First, it argues that the progressive conception has led to the story of the EU being told in oversimplified and unhistorical ways. Second, it suggests that the progressive conception has blinded authors to the possibility that alternative narratives of European integration are possible and that these may come to predominate if the European project loses its aura of success

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/action/showPdf?submitPDF=Full+Text+PDF+%28136+KB%29&doi=10.1111%2Fj.1468-5965.2008.00795.x>

7. The Diplomacy of Opting Out: A Bourdieudian Approach to National Integration Strategies

Rebecca Adler-Nissen

Abstract

How are controversial national opt-outs managed and perceived in the EU? This article argues that the United Kingdom and Denmark compensate diplomatically for the exclusionary effects of their exemptions. A Bourdieudian approach to national diplomacy in the EU is developed to explore how British and Danish officials handle their opt-outs. By drawing on extensive interview data, it is demonstrated that the two opt-out champions employ various sophisticated strategies to overcome the dilemma between autonomy and influence. Some diplomatic strategies reduce marginalization while others enhance it. National opt-outs are ambiguous attempts at avoiding further European integration

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/action/showPdf?submitPDF=Full+Text+PDF+%28133+KB%29&doi=10.1111%2Fj.1468-5965.2008.00799.x>

8. Bargaining Power in the European Council

Jonas Tallberg

Abstract

What grants influence in the European Council? Drawing on general theories of negotiation, this article isolates and illustrates three complementary sources of bargaining power in the European Council: state sources of power, institutional sources of power and individual sources of power. It reports the results of a unique series of elite interviews with European heads of state and government, foreign ministers and top-level civil servants. Elite testimonies suggest that the state dimension of power is the most fundamental, whereas the institutional

and individual dimensions of power play a secondary role and mainly mediate the impact of structural power asymmetries

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/action/showPdf?submitPDF=Full+Text+PDF+%28134+KB%29&doi=10.1111%2Fj.1468-5965.2008.00798.x>

Journal of Peace Research

May 2008, Vol. 45, No. 3

1. From Climate Change to Conflict? No Consensus Yet

Idean Salehyan

Abstract

Many scholars, policymakers, and activists have argued that climate change will lead to resource competition, mass migration, and, ultimately, an increase in armed conflict around the world. This article takes issue with the 'deterministic' view that climate change and resultant resource scarcities will have a direct impact on political violence. Rather, the effect of climate change on armed conflict is contingent on a number of political and social variables, which, if ignored by analysts, can lead to poor predictions about when and where conflict is likely. This article then discusses ways to improve research on the climate change—conflict connection and outlines broad policy suggestions for dealing with this potential problem. Scholars must communicate their findings with the policy community in order to come up with prudent solutions to this problem, while countering unnecessary rhetoric on both sides of the debate.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/3/315>

2. The Contracting Roots of Human Rights

Michael Mousseau, Demet Yalcin Mousseau

Abstract

There is a broad consensus that democracy and economic development are among the key factors that promote better human rights practices in nations, but there is little agreement on how this happens. This article reports evidence that human rights, democracy, and development may all be at least partially explained by a fourth factor: market-contracting. Studies in economic history and sociology have established that in developing countries many exchanges of goods and services occur within social networks of friends and family. New institutionalist approaches posit that daily habits give rise to corresponding values and world-views. This study integrates these two fields of study to show how economic dependency on friends and family can promote perceived interests in discriminating strangers from out-groups and abiding by the orders of leaders. Dependency on strangers on a market, in contrast, can promote more individualistic identities and perceived interests in a state that enforces law and contracts with impartiality. This may cause the governments of nations with marketplace societies to be less likely than others to imprison political opponents and act contrary to law. On a large sample of nations from 1977 to 2000, robust support is found for this view: a change from weak to high levels of market-contracting is associated with a substantial 49% to 61% reduction in risk of state repression in nations. At least some of the variance in state

repression accounted for by democracy and development may be attributed to market-contracting. This article introduces a new and robust variable in the field of human rights research, with direct policy implications: to reduce state repression, a crucial task is the achievement of market-oriented economic development.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/3/327>

3. Third-Party Intervention and the Civil War Process

Dylan Balch-Lindsay, Andrew J. Enterline, Kyle A. Joyce

Abstract

What effect do third parties have on the evolution of civil wars? The authors argue that intervention by third parties is central to the civil war process, a process that is characterized by the duration of hostilities and the type of outcome. The authors examine empirically the effect of third-party intervention into civil wars during the period 1816—1997, using the event history framework of competing risks. From the perspective of competing risks, as a civil war endures, it is at risk of experiencing a transition to one of three civil war outcomes in our sample: military victory by the government, military victory by the opposition group, and negotiated settlement. The competing risks approach provides considerably better leverage on the dynamic qualities of civil wars and, in particular, the influence of interventions by third parties. The analysis suggests that third-party interventions can be decisive in the evolution of civil wars and that third-party interventions have a different effect on the duration than different civil war outcomes. The results show that third-party intervention decreases the time until the supported group achieves military victory. Furthermore, third-party interventions, on both the government and opposition sides, increase the time until a negotiated settlement.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/3/345>

4. Rebel—Military Integration and Civil War Termination

Katherine Glassmyer, Nicholas Sambanis

Abstract

Civil wars are far less likely to end in peace agreements than are international wars, and more than a third of civil wars restart within a few years. This may be due to the time-inconsistency of peace settlements in civil wars: once the rebels demobilize, they lose bargaining power and the government can renege on its promises. This makes rebels reluctant to stop fighting and quick to remobilize for a fight. A self-enforcing agreement could prevent this, but it is difficult to create such agreements. Recent efforts to structure self-enforcing agreements after civil wars have involved the integration of former rebels in a new national army. This solution should make unilateral defection from peace settlements more costly. This is an increasingly popular mechanism used in peace settlements, but it is not yet well understood. We do not know if it works or under what conditions it is likely to be used. This article provides the first systematic study of rebel—military integration agreements and considers if and how such agreements can help build peace. It also analyzes the conditions under which such agreements will be reached and implemented. The analysis suggests that rebel—military integration has not been an effective peacebuilding mechanism, but this is often due to poor implementation of the agreements.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/3/365>

5. Strategic Cooperation, the Invasion of Iraq and the Behaviour of the 'Axis of Evil', 1990—2004

Graeme A.M. Davies

Abstract

The study, using an autoregressive model and a time series of events data, tests whether Iran, Syria and North Korea have altered their behaviour towards the USA in response to the US occupation of Iraq. In particular, the study posits a modified theory of 'strategic conflict avoidance', suggesting that perceived failings in US policy towards Iraq that manifest in low popularity ratings have, in fact, constrained the US president from initiating future aggressive actions. Potential targets of US aggression, rather than becoming more cooperative towards an unpopular US president, as suggested by strategic conflict avoidance theory, now become more hostile as they take advantage of public unease with an adventurous foreign policy. The analysis provides mixed support for the hypothesis, finding that North Korea has altered its strategic conflict avoidance behaviour in response to the Iraq occupation. Syria has become more hostile towards the USA, whereas, surprisingly, Iran is relatively uninfluenced by US domestic politics. The article suggests that coercive strategies might provide an opening in current US negotiations with North Korea, but also worryingly concludes, on the basis of the evidence, that the chances of a negotiated settlement with Iran are small.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/3/385>

6. Covering Death in Conflicts: Coverage of the Second Intifada on Israeli and Palestinian Television

Gadi Wolfsfeld, Paul Frosh, Maurice T. Awabdy

Abstract

This exploratory study attempts to explain how journalistic routines for covering violent conflict lead to the construction of ethnocentric news. A distinction is made between two sets of routines. One set is permanent and ensures ethnocentric control over the flow of information, while a second set varies as journalists construct coherent narratives for particular events. This latter set of routines is further broken down into what are labeled the 'Victims Mode' and 'Defensive Mode' of reporting. The Victims Mode is used when one's own citizens have suffered an especially tragic loss of life, while the Defensive Mode is employed when one's forces have carried out an attack that has inflicted a similar loss on the enemy. It is argued that each of these modes of reporting parallels psychological reactions that have been found in individuals. The ideas raised in the theoretical discussion are investigated by comparing coverage of two events by Israeli and Palestinian television. Two events were chosen for analysis: a Palestinian suicide bombing that killed 19 Israelis, and the killing of Hamas leader Sheik Salach Shehadeh in which 16 Palestinians were killed. An in-depth reading of the six news broadcasts provides important insights into how journalists' routines ensure a steady flow of culturally acceptable news stories that reinforce hatred between enemies.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/3/401>

7. Religion, Pragmatic Fundamentalism and the Transformation of the Northern Ireland Conflict

Gladys Ganiel, Paul Dixon

Abstract

Since 11 September 2001, the religious dimension of conflict has been the focus of increasing attention. In *The Clash of Civilizations*, Huntington has identified the West in religious—cultural terms, as Christian with a dominant democratic culture emphasizing tolerance, moderation and consensus. The persistence of conflict in Northern Ireland among 'White' Protestant and Catholic Christians undermines this simplistic argument and demands a more subtle understanding of the role of religion and fundamentalism in contemporary conflict. Modernization theory — which is echoed among some theorists of globalization — had predicted the declining importance of religion as the world became industrialized and increasingly interconnected. This is echoed by those who argue that the Northern Ireland conflict is 'ethno-national' and dismiss the role of religion. On the other hand, others have claimed that the conflict is religious and stress the role of Protestant fundamentalism. This article draws on new evidence from Northern Ireland of the complex and subtle ways in which religion impacts on the conflict there, incorporating insights about the pragmatism of fundamentalist Protestants and how religious actors are contributing to conflict transformation. This analysis leads to three broader conclusions about understanding conflicts with religious dimensions. First, the complexity of religion must be understood, and this includes a willingness to recognize the adaptability of fundamentalisms to particular contexts. Second, engaging with fundamentalists and taking their grievances seriously opens up possibilities for conflict transformation. Third, governments and religious actors within civil society can play complementary roles in constructing alternative (religious) ideologies and structures as part of a process of transformation. In a world in which the impact of religion is persistent, engaging with the religious dimension is a vital part of a broader-based strategy for dealing with conflict.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/3/419>

New Left Review March/April 2008

1. Afghanistan: Mirage of the Good War

Tariq Ali

Abstract

Reasons for the West's stalemate in Afghanistan sought neither in lack of troops and imperial treasure, nor in Pakistani obstruction, but in the very nature of the occupation regime. Tariq Ali on the actual results of 'state-building' in the Hindu Kush, as a broken country is subjected to the combined predations of NGOs and NATO.

<http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2713>

2. Exit Suharto

Benedict Anderson

Abstract

What explains the extraordinary longevity of Indonesia's 'New Order', and what are the legacies of three decades of dictatorship? Benedict Anderson details Suharto's career, from colonial army to crony capitalism, and explores the consequences of his rule—political, social, cultural—for a disorientated, amnesiac present.

<http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2714>

3. The Subprime Crisis

Robin Blackburn

Abstract

As reverberations from the stricken mortgage market reach the real economy, Robin Blackburn reveals the origins of the crunch in the shadowy realms of financialization. Precedents from the bubbles and crash of the 1920s, warnings from pioneers and venture capitalists, and proposals for how to turn the crisis to socially redistributive effect.

<http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2715>

4. Casino Colony

Shih-Diing Liu

Abstract

The transformation of the former Portuguese enclave of Macau into East Asia's gambling capital by an alliance of local elites and Las Vegas entrepreneurs, under the approving gaze of Beijing. A frenzy of construction, rising inequalities and rampant corruption as outcomes of a neon-lit decolonization.

<http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2716>

Party Politics

May 2008, Volume 14, No. 3

1. The Christian Democratic Phoenix and Modern Unsecular Politics

Kees van Kersbergen

Abstract

Christian democracy is still posing theoretical problems of definition and empirical puzzles of classification and interpretation. Analyses based on secularization theory produce puzzles and anomalies and have little to offer as explanations for the variation in Christian democratic power mobilization. Empirically, this article focuses on Christian democracy in The Netherlands and offers an explanation of the party's decline in the 1990s and its remarkable recovery. From this, lessons are drawn for further theory-building on party and party system

change, and on Christian democracy. It seems that modern Christian democratic politics is evolving as neither religious nor secular, but as a version of unsecular politics.

<http://ppq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/3/259>

2. Parties and Leader Effects: Impact of Leaders in the Vote for Different Types of Parties

Marina Costa Lobo

Abstract

In this article, I analyse whether the electorate of different party types attributes different degrees of importance to leaders, as suggested by a recent party typology. Based on expert advice, 15 parties in six democracies were assigned to the following party types: class-mass, denominational and catch-all. Individual level data are used to determine the relative importance of leader effects for voters of different types of party vis-à-vis other explanatory factors. The article shows that there are indeed statistically significant differences in the importance of leader effects concerning mass-based parties (class-mass and denominational) and catch-all parties. Electors of mass-based parties are less sensitive to leaders than electors of catch-all parties at the ballot box. This is in accordance with previous studies in the party literature regarding the emphasis placed by different parties on the leader during election campaigns, and is an introduction to the nature of the party as a contextual factor of voting behaviour.

<http://ppq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/3/281>

3. Factions, Parties and the Durability of Parliaments, Coalitions and Cabinets: The Case of Thailand (1979—2001)

Paul Chambers

Abstract

Did Thailand's multiple parties and factions influence cabinet and coalition durability in the period 1979 to 2001? If so, which one — parties or factions — was the more significant? Taking a Transaction Costs Analysis approach, this article addresses these questions and argues that intra-party factions, as the building blocks of Thai parliamentary politics, have been more important than parties, such that each additional faction in a cabinet triggers a reduction in the longevity of prime ministerial terms and cabinets while affecting the durability of coalitions. Furthermore, while factions tend to shorten parliamentary and cabinet terms, they have the opposite effect on coalition terms. The study suggests that where parties are less cohesive, informal institutions within parties are of considerable importance.

<http://ppq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/3/299>

4. The Political Representation of Ethnic Minorities: Denmark as a Deviant Case

Lise Togeby

Abstract

In general, ethnic minorities are strongly under-represented in representative bodies; however, there is no rule without exceptions. In the municipal elections in Denmark in 2001, the number of ethnic minorities who won election to the local councils throughout the country almost corresponded to their percentage in the general population. The explanation for this

can be found in the Danish local election system, with its combination of proportional representation and preferential voting. This system is exceptionally conducive to collective mobilization, which results in a relatively high voter turnout among ethnic minorities and a fair representation in local councils. Since 1981, foreign citizens with permanent residence in Denmark have had the right to vote in local elections. This article describes the development in the representation of ethnic minorities since that time based on a study of all the municipalities in Denmark.

<http://ppq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/3/325>

5. Factors Influencing the Decision of the Young Politically Engaged To Join a Political Party: An Investigation of the Canadian Case

William Cross and Lisa Young

Abstract

Situated in the literature concerning the decline of party members, and the dearth of young party members, this article considers the factors that influence the decision of a politically engaged young person to join, or not join, a political party. Making use of a unique dataset, we examine the attitudes and socialization of a large group of politically active young Canadians, a group that includes a significant number of both party members and non-party members. The article finds significant attitudinal differences towards political parties, with non-members highly suspicious of parties in terms of their general democratic performance, their efficacy in achieving social and political change and in the ability of grassroots members to influence party decision-making. We also find important socialization effects, the most significant being that young party members are considerably more likely than non-members to have a parent who is a party member. Recruitment through family members appears to be a principal path to party membership for young voters

<http://ppq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/3/345>

Political Analysis

Spring 2008, Volume 16, Number 2

1. The Constrained Instability of Majority Rule: Experiments on the Robustness of the Uncovered Set

William T. Bianco, Michael S. Lynch, Gary J. Miller, and Itai Sened

Abstract

The uncovered set has frequently been proposed as a solution concept for majority rule settings. This paper tests this proposition using a new technique for estimating uncovered sets and a series of experiments, including five-player computer-mediated experiments and 35-player paper-format experiments. The results support the theoretic appeal of the uncovered set. Outcomes overwhelmingly lie in or near the uncovered set. Furthermore, when preferences shift, outcomes track the uncovered set. Although outcomes tend to occur within the uncovered set, they are not necessarily stable; majority dominance relationships still produce instability, albeit constrained by the uncovered set.

2. Analysis of Cluster-Randomized Experiments: A Comparison of Alternative Estimation Approaches

Donald P. Green and Lynn Vavreck

Abstract

Analysts of cluster-randomized field experiments have an array of estimation techniques to choose from. Using Monte Carlo simulation, we evaluate the properties of point estimates and standard errors (SEs) generated by ordinary least squares (OLS) as applied to both individual-level and cluster-level data. We also compare OLS to alternative random effects estimators, such as generalized least squares (GLS). Our simulations assess efficiency across a variety of scenarios involving varying sample sizes and numbers of clusters. Our results confirm that conventional OLS SEs are severely biased downward and that, for all estimators, gains in efficiency come mainly from increasing the number of clusters, not increasing the number of individuals within clusters. We find relatively minor differences across alternative estimation approaches, but GLS seems to enjoy a slight edge in terms of the efficiency of its point estimates and the accuracy of its SEs. We illustrate the application of alternative estimation approaches using a clustered experiment in which Rock the Vote TV advertisements were used to encourage young voters in 85 cable TV markets to vote in the 2004 presidential election.

3. Is Partial-Dimension Convergence a Problem for Inferences from MCMC Algorithms?

Jeff Gill

Abstract

Increasingly, political science researchers are turning to Markov chain Monte Carlo methods to solve inferential problems with complex models and problematic data. This is an enormously powerful set of tools based on replacing difficult or impossible analytical work with simulated empirical draws from the distributions of interest. Although practitioners are generally aware of the importance of convergence of the Markov chain, many are not fully aware of the difficulties in fully assessing convergence across multiple dimensions. In most applied circumstances, every parameter dimension must be converged for the others to converge. The usual culprit is slow mixing of the Markov chain and therefore slow convergence towards the target distribution. This work demonstrates the partial convergence problem for the two dominant algorithms and illustrates these issues with empirical examples.

4. Testing the Predictions of the Multidimensional Spatial Voting Model with Roll Call Data

Gyung-Ho Jeong

Abstract

This paper develops a procedure for locating proposals and legislators in a multidimensional policy space by applying agenda-constrained ideal point estimation. Placing proposals and legislators on the same scale allows an empirical test of the predictions of the spatial voting model. I illustrate this procedure by testing the predictive power of the uncovered set—a solution concept of the multidimensional spatial voting model—using roll call data from the U.S. Senate. Since empirical tests of the predictive power of the uncovered set have been

limited to experimental data, this is the first empirical test of the concept's predictive power using real-world data.

5. Comparing Legislators and Legislatures: The Dynamics of Legislative Gridlock Reconsidered

Fang-Yi Chiou and Lawrence S. Rothenberg

Abstract

Although political methodologists are well aware of measurement issues and the problems that can be created, such concerns are not always front and center when we are doing substantive research. Here, we show how choices in measuring legislative preferences have influenced our understanding of what determines legislative outputs. Specifically, we replicate and extend Binder's highly influential analysis (Binder, Sarah A. 1999. The dynamics of legislative gridlock, 1947–96. *American Political Science Review* 93:519–33; see also Binder, Sarah A. 2003. *Stalemate: Causes and consequences of legislative gridlock*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution) of legislative gridlock, which emphasizes how partisan, electoral, and institutional characteristics generate major legislative initiatives. Binder purports to show that examining the proportion, rather than the absolute number, of key policy proposals passed leads to the inference that these features, rather than divided government, are crucial for explaining gridlock. However, we demonstrate that this finding is undermined by flaws in preference measurement. Binder's results are a function of using W-NOMINATE scores never designed for comparing Senate to House members or for analyzing multiple Congresses jointly. When preferences are more appropriately measured with common space scores (Poole, Keith T. 1998. *Recovering a basic space from a set of issue scales*. *American Journal of Political Science* 42:964–93), there is no evidence that the factors that she highlights matter.

6. Taking the Measure of Congress: Reply to Chiou and Rothenberg

Sarah A. Binder

Abstract

Chiou and Rothenberg raise important questions about how to measure key concepts in the study of legislative stalemate in the U.S. Congress. In challenging my choice of measures to capture bicameral differences, Chiou and Rothenberg argue that my findings are the artifact of measurement error. In this reply, I review the hurdles involved in measuring policy views over time and across institutions and suggest that the preferred measure of Chiou and Rothenberg falls short for measuring bicameral differences. Second, I assess the extent to which measurement choices affect the robustness of my findings about the determinants of gridlock. Drawing on new measures and model specifications, I show that my results are robust to alternative specifications. I conclude with an assessment of the broader challenges posed by how we measure critical concepts in the study of congressional performance.

7. The Search for Comparability: Response to Binder

Fang-Yi Chiou and Lawrence S. Rothenberg

Abstract

Binder (n.d., Taking the measure of Congress: Reply to Chiou and Rothenberg. Political Analysis. Forthcoming) highlights areas of agreement and disagreement with our discussion of preference measurement and legislative gridlock. We now both agree that W-NOMINATE scores—employed in Binder (1999, The dynamics of legislative gridlock. American Political Science Review 9:519–33) to measure key independent variables, including bicameral differences—should not be used when examining multichamber legislatures over time. We continue to disagree over whether Common Space scores or Binder's conference vote measure is superior. In this response, we show that, although several of the theoretical and statistical objections that Binder (n.d.) raises to our Common Space measure do not apply, they are all relevant for her conference vote analog. Additionally, we detail how, despite protests to the contrary, the conference vote measure is plagued by insufficient data. Finally, we demonstrate how new efforts to show that Binder's (1999) results continue to hold are not robust.

Political Research Quarterly June 2008, Vol. 61, No. 2

1. A Clash of Civilizations? The Influence of Religion on Public Opinion of U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East

Jody C Baumgartner, Peter L. Francia, and Jonathan S. Morris

Abstract

The authors argue in this study that religious beliefs play a significant role in predicting American public opinion on foreign policy issues in the Middle East. Their findings reveal that Evangelical Christians have remained strong supporters of a hawkish foreign policy toward the Middle East, even as overall public support for the Iraq War declines. They also find that Evangelicals are among the strongest supporters of Israel and hold more negative views of Islam than others. These results reinforce the growing importance of the "faith factor" in public opinion and American politics as a whole.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/2/171>

2. God's Party? Race, Religion, and Partisanship over Time

Eric L. McDaniel and Christopher G. Ellison

Abstract

The Republican Party has aggressively attempted to recruit black and Latino Evangelicals; however, the success of these efforts has been questioned. The authors argue that the GOP's diminished success in recruiting these groups, compared to Anglos, is based on differing religious worldviews. Using data that allow them to track partisanship over two decades, the authors examine how religious conservatism has shaped Anglo, Latino, and black partisanship. They find that the GOP has been most successful in recruiting Anglos, followed

by Latinos. Blacks appear to be unaffected. In addition, they find support for their underlying assumption of differing religious worldviews among the racial/ethnic groups.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/2/180>

3. Belonging, Behaving, and Believing: Assessing the Role of Religion on Presidential Approval

Laura R. Olson and Adam L. Warber

Abstract

We operationalize three dimensions of religion—religious affiliation, religious commitment, and religious belief—to offer a detailed analysis of how religion affects presidential approval ratings. Using data from the 1992, 1996, 2000, and 2004 American National Election Studies, we demonstrate that operationalizing religion as a rudimentary Protestant—Catholic affiliation dichotomy masks its influence on presidential approval. We find that religious affiliation, even when measured more precisely than with a Protestant—Catholic dichotomy, contributes less to models of presidential approval than do measures of religious commitment and (especially) orthodoxy of religious belief.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/2/192>

4. From the Gap to the Chasm: Gender and Participation among Non-Hispanic Whites and Mexican Americans

Cindy D. Kam, Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, and Jennifer R. Wilking

Abstract

This article focuses on gender and ethnic inequalities in political participation across non-Hispanic whites and Mexican Americans. Using a mainstream model of participation, the authors find that differences in the levels of resources, motivations, and opportunities effectively account for gender gaps within the two populations. However, this mainstream model leaves largely unexplained the chasm in participation across non-Hispanic whites and Mexican Americans. The authors incorporate socialization experiences specific to Mexican Americans to identify the roots of participatory inequality across these groups. Differences in linguistic, educational, and general assimilation account for participatory differences across Mexican Americans and non-Hispanic whites. Equalizing these factors closes the chasm in participation.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/2/205>

5. Gender, Race, and Intersectionality on the Federal Appellate Bench

Todd Collins and Laura Moyer

Abstract

While theoretical justifications predict that a judge's gender and race may influence judicial decisions, empirical support for these arguments has been mixed. However, recent increases in judicial diversity necessitate a reexamination of these earlier studies. Rather than examining individual judges on a single characteristic, such as gender or race alone, this research note argues that the intersection of individual characteristics may provide an alternative approach for evaluating the effects of diversity on the federal appellate bench. The results of cohort models examining the joint effects of race and gender suggest that minority

female judges are more likely to support criminal defendants' claims when compared to their colleagues on the bench, even after controlling for other important factors. This suggests that our understanding of judicial behaviors may be assisted by the inclusion of how individual characteristics overlap rather than examining those characteristics alone.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/2/219>

6. Sex Differences in the Acceptability of Discrimination

Timur Kuran and Edward J. McCaffery

Abstract

A large telephone survey conducted after the attacks of September 11, 2001, suggests that the willingness to tolerate discrimination varies significantly across domains, with a very high tolerance of discrimination against poorly educated immigrants and a strikingly low tolerance of discrimination against the genetically disadvantaged. Regardless of domain, tolerance is greater among men than among women. A survey conducted simultaneously over the World Wide Web, using volunteer panels, replicated the phone survey results and revealed an even larger sex gap. This finding suggests that a social desirability bias leads women to overstate and men to understate their tolerance of discrimination in public.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/2/228>

7. Press Coverage of Mayoral Candidates: The Role of Gender in News Reporting and Campaign Issue Speech

Lonna Rae Atkeson and Timothy B. Krebs

Abstract

Some research on gender bias in news coverage of political campaigns indicates that the media portray male and female candidates differently. Research to date, however, has focused only on elections to national or statewide offices, where confounding variables such as party, incumbency, and competitiveness are present. The authors resolve this problem by focusing their analysis of media campaign coverage on nonpartisan, open-seat, and competitive mayoral races. The authors' content analysis of press coverage in six mayoral elections suggests that press coverage is not biased in favor of male candidates. The authors, however, find that the presence of a woman on the ballot expands the range of issue coverage in local campaigns in ways favorable to perceived strengths of female candidates.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/2/239>

8. Political Attitudes and Ideologies of Multiracial Americans: The Implications of Mixed Race in the United States

Natalie Masuoka

Abstract

A contemporary rise in multiracial self-identification provokes a number of questions about the significance that this racial identity may hold for American politics. This research focuses on the political attitudes of multiracial Americans to determine how multiracial identities may influence individual public opinion. I offer a test of three competing theoretical models of multiracial political attitude formation: Classic Assimilation, Minority Trumping, and New

Identity Formation. This research finds that, generally, multiracial individuals who self-identify as such develop political opinions that parallel with their minority counterparts.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/2/253>

9. The Political Resocialization of Immigrants: Resistance or Lifelong Learning?

Stephen White, Neil Nevitte, André Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil, and Patrick Fournier

Abstract

Theories of political socialization contain competing expectations about immigrants' potential for political resocialization. Premigration beliefs and actions may be resistant to change, exposure to the new political system may facilitate adaptation, or immigrants may find ways to transfer beliefs and behaviors from one political system to another. This analysis empirically tests these three alternative theories of resocialization. The results indicate that both transfer and exposure matter; there is little evidence that premigration beliefs and actions are resistant to change. Moreover, how immigrants adapt depends on which orientation or behavior is being considered and on what kind of political environments migrants come from.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/2/268>

10. Improving Causal Inference: Strengths and Limitations of Natural Experiments

Thad Dunning

Abstract

Social scientists increasingly exploit natural experiments in their research. This article surveys recent applications in political science, with the goal of illustrating the inferential advantages provided by this research design. When treatment assignment is less than "as if" random, studies may be something less than natural experiments, and familiar threats to valid causal inference in observational settings can arise. The author proposes a continuum of plausibility for natural experiments, defined by the extent to which treatment assignment is plausibly "as if" random, and locates several leading studies along this continuum.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/2/282>

11. Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options

Jason Seawright and John Gerring

Abstract

How can scholars select cases from a large universe for in-depth case study analysis? Random sampling is not typically a viable approach when the total number of cases to be selected is small. Hence attention to purposive modes of sampling is needed. Yet, while the existing qualitative literature on case selection offers a wide range of suggestions for case selection, most techniques discussed require in-depth familiarity of each case. Seven case selection procedures are considered, each of which facilitates a different strategy for within-case analysis. The case selection procedures considered focus on typical, diverse, extreme, deviant, influential, most similar, and most different cases. For each case selection procedure, quantitative approaches are discussed that meet the goals of the approach, while still requiring information that can reasonably be gathered for a large number of cases.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/2/294>

12. The Effects of Measurement and Methods Decisions on Committee Preference Outlier Results

Mary Sprague

Abstract

Studies of outlying committee preferences have been conducted with different preference measures and methodological approaches and have generated conflicting results. To assess the effects of these study design differences, I use multiple methodological approaches to examine committee-floor differences with jurisdiction-specific interest group data during a longer time period than earlier studies. After comparing results across methods, I compare them to past findings using the same method but different preference measures. I find that differences in preference measures largely explain previous contradictory results. Additionally, outlying tendencies exist among all committees expected to be outliers under conditional claims of the distributive theory.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/2/309>

13. Justice and the Environment in Nussbaum's "Capabilities Approach": Why Sustainable Ecological Capacity Is a Meta-Capability

Breana Holland

Abstract

What principles should guide how society distributes environmental benefits and burdens? Like many liberal theories of justice, Martha Nussbaum's "capabilities approach" does not adequately address this question. The author argues that the capabilities approach should be extended to account for the environment's instrumental value to human capabilities. Given this instrumental value, protecting capabilities requires establishing certain environmental conditions as an independent "meta-capability." When combined with Nussbaum's nonprocedural method of political justification, this extension provides the basis for adjudicating environmental justice claims. The author applies this extended capabilities approach to assess the distribution of benefits and burdens associated with climate change.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/2/319>

14. State Policy Innovation in Perspective: Courts, Legislatures, and Education Finance Reform

Christine H. Roch and Robert M. Howard

Abstract

Why and when courts will change policy has been the subject of significant scholarly attention, but there has been little effort to integrate this research within the existing research of determinants of state legislative policy change. In this article, the authors incorporate both of these research areas to answer the question of whether policy change will occur through the legislature or through the courts, examining the important issue of education finance reform. To understand and predict this change, the authors characterize the state policy environment as consisting of political, legal, and strategic factors. The authors find that a combination of political and strategic factors influences legislatures and the courts, but that law matters greatly to the courts, particularly state constitutional education clauses. The authors also find that institutional structure influences the degree to which politics matters to the courts.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/2/333>

15. Allocating Lobbying Resources between Collective and Private Rents

R. Kenneth Godwin, Edward J. Lopez, and Barry J. Seldon

Abstract

How do firms allocate their lobbying resources among their political goals? The authors approach this question using a game-theoretic model that integrates three concepts from the lobbying literature: the distinction between private and collective rents, the competition for a rent, and the impacts of political institutions. The model indicates how competition and political institutions affect lobbying expenditures and expected net returns for private and collective lobbying. The outcomes predicted differ with those of past formal models and produce the counterintuitive expectation that competition typically reduces expenditures. The authors test the model's predictions by examining the lobbying decisions of sixty-two firms.

<http://prq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/61/2/345>

Studies in Conflict & Terrorism May 2008, Volume 31, Issue 5

1. War in the Gray: Exploring the Concept of Dirty War

M. L. R. Smith; Sophie Roberts

Abstract

This study explores the meaning of “dirty war;” a term that has been in increasing usage in popular and academic discussion. It endeavors to detach the phrase from its normative connotations, and using a strategic methodology along with supporting case studies, seeks to arrive at a theoretical exposition of the dirty war concept. The investigation attempts to provide a working definition that helps make sense of the term, and develops some notions of what dirty war might constitute in contradistinction to its antonym, clean war. It is argued that dirty war represents a form of strategic practice occurring in the gray area between the criminal justice and war models of counterinsurgency, and possesses its own distinctive escalatory path. Finally, the analysis returns to the ethical and normative features implicit in the term, pointing to the outstanding dilemmas that continue to permeate the study of war.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10576100801980492>

2. Circles Drawing Toward High Risk Activism: The Use of Usroh and Halaqa in Islamist Radical Movements

Frank Hairgrove; Douglas M. Mcleod

Abstract

Kurzman (2004) argued that social movements research and Islamic studies “followed parallel trajectories, with few glances across the chasm that have separated them.” This article will illuminate one influential process that has relevance to both these areas, the use of small groups for the purpose of radical mobilization. Specifically, it examines the impact of the use of small Islamic study groups (usroh and halaqa) for fundamental and radical Islamic movements. Although small-group mobilization is not unique to Islam, the strategic use of these study groups empowered by the Islamic belief system has yielded significant returns in capacity building for high-risk activism.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10576100801995201>

3. Foreign Fighters and the Case of Chechnya: A Critical Assessment

Cerwyn Moore; Paul Tumelty

Abstract

The aim of this article is to explore and analyze the role of foreign fighters in the recent episodes of Russo-Chechen violence in the North Caucasus. The article begins by offering a preliminary theoretical consideration of foreign fighters, indicating how the events in Afghanistan combined with the development of a Salafi-Jihadist movement that would shape subsequent conflicts in the North Caucasus throughout the 1990s. The article will then move on to identify the role of Arab foreign fighters in Chechnya, demonstrating how a complex local and global social networks enable and motivate volunteers.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10576100801993347>

4. Terrorists and Laser Weapons Use: An Emergent Threat

Robert J. Bunker

Abstract

The trends leading to the emergent threat of terrorist laser weapons use are that a military weaponry transition from conventional to Directed Energy Weapons is taking place; that laser weapons offer clear tactical and operational advantages over conventional weapons; that laser prices are dropping while laser performance is increasing; that criminals, criminal-soldiers, and foreign militaries have all utilized laser devices and weapons for counteroptical purposes; and that criminal-soldiers are evolving and getting more sophisticated from both an organizational and weaponry use perspective. This article will look at the aforementioned trends, analyze them, and then offer some concluding thoughts concerning terrorist laser weapons use futures.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10576100801980294>

5. The Grey Threat: Presence of Jihadist Terrorism and Failings in the Portuguese National Security System

Jose Vegar

Abstract

This article starts by establishing a link between the nature of the threats created by jihadist terrorism and global organized crime and the investigation model used by Portuguese intelligence and police entities to detect and eliminate them. The visible manifestations of jihad terrorism and related organized crime recorded in Portugal since 2001 are also documented. The article goes on to analyze most recent theories produced on the importance of intelligence work and criminal investigation in combating these threats. On this basis, the article raises the hypothesis that Portugal's capacity to confront these threats has been dangerously weakened by the investigation powers constraints and conflicts of jurisdiction in the national security system, the lack of effective coordination in the whole system, and delays in the necessary reforms for over a decade.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10576100801980252>