

## İÇİNDEKİLER

American Political Science Review .....	2
British Journal of Political Science .....	6
Comparative Political Studies .....	8
Comparative Politics .....	10
European Foreign Affairs Review .....	12
European Journal of International Relations .....	15
Foreign Policy Analysis .....	18
International Studies Quarterly .....	20
Journal of Conflict Resolution .....	25
Mediterranean Quarterly .....	27
Middle East Quarterly .....	28
Middle East Policy .....	29
Middle Eastern Studies .....	30
Party Politics .....	31
Survival .....	36
The Middle East Review of International Affairs .....	38
Turkish Studies .....	40

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

# American Political Science Review

May 2008, Vol. 102, Issue 2

## 1. Authoritarian Reversals and Democratic Consolidation

Milan Svobik

### Abstract

I present a new empirical approach to the study of democratic consolidation. This approach leads to new insights into the determinants of democratic consolidation that cannot be obtained with existing techniques. I distinguish between democracies that survive because they are consolidated and those democracies that are not consolidated but survive because of some favorable circumstances. As a result, I can identify the determinants of two related yet distinct processes: the likelihood that a democracy consolidates, and the timing of authoritarian reversals in democracies that are not consolidated. I find that the level of economic development, type of democratic executive, and type of authoritarian past determine whether a democracy consolidates, but have no effect on the timing of reversals in democracies that are not consolidated. That risk is only associated with economic recessions. I also find that existing studies greatly underestimate the risk of early reversals while simultaneously overestimating the risk of late reversals, and that a large number of existing democracies are in fact consolidated.

## 2. Replacing Cabinet Ministers: Patterns of Ministerial Stability in Parliamentary Democracies

John D. Huber, Cecilia Martinez-Gallardo

### Abstract

We examine the stability of individual ministers across parliamentary democracies. Our data show that this stability is only loosely related to the stability of cabinets, making it impossible to rely primarily on arguments about cabinet duration to explain patterns of individual stability. We argue that to explain patterns of individual stability, it is useful to focus on the problems that party leaders have in identifying which individuals have the qualities necessary to do their jobs well. The institutional powers of ministers, coalition attributes, and party-specific variables should affect the uncertainty that party leaders have about which individuals will be successful ministers, on one hand, and the ability of party leaders to replace unsuccessful ministers, on the other. Our empirical tests support these arguments. The analysis therefore has implications for expectations regarding the circumstances under which minister stability should positively or negatively influence the policymaking performance of government.

### 3. The Political Origins of Coordinated Capitalism: Business Organizations, Party Systems, and State Structure in the Age of Innocence

Cathie Jo Martin, Duane Swank

#### Abstract

This paper investigates the political determinants of corporatist and pluralist employers' associations and reflects on the origins of the varieties of capitalism in the early decades of the 20th century. We hypothesize that proportional, multiparty systems tend to enable employers' associations to develop into social corporatist organizations, whereas nonproportional, two-party systems are conducive to the formation of pluralist associations. Moreover, we suggest that federalism tends to reinforce incentives for pluralist organization. We assess our hypotheses through quantitative analysis of data from 1900 to the 1930s from 16 nations and case studies of the origins of peak employers' associations in Denmark and the United States. Our statistical analysis suggests that proportional, multiparty systems foster, and federalism works against, social corporatist business organization; employers' organization is also greater where the mobilization of labor, traditions of coordination, and economic development are higher. These factors also largely explain pre-World War II patterns of national coordination of capitalism. Case histories of the origins of employers' associations in Denmark and the United States further confirm the causal importance of political factors. Although Danish and American employers had similar interests in creating cooperative national industrial policies, trajectories of associational development were constrained by the structure of party competition, as well as by preindustrial traditions for coordination.

### 4. Mill, Political Economy, and Women's Work

Nancy J. Hirschmann

#### Abstract

The sexual division of labor and the social and economic value of women's work in the home has been a problem that scholars have struggled with at least since the advent of the “second wave” women's movement, but it has never entered into the primary discourses of political science. This paper argues that John Stuart Mill's Political Economy provides innovative and useful arguments that address this thorny problem. Productive labor is essential to Mill's conception of property, and property was vital to women's independence in Mill's view. Yet since Mill thought most women would choose the “career” of wife and mother rather than working for wages, then granting that work productive status would provide a radical and inventive foundation for women's equality. Mill, however, is ambiguous about the productive status of domestic labor, and is thereby representative of a crucial failure in political economic thought, as well as in egalitarian liberal thought on gender. But because Mill at the same time develops a conception of production that goes well beyond the narrow limits offered by other prominent political economists, he offers contemporary political scientists and theorists a way to rethink the relationship of reproductive to productive labor, the requirements for gender equality, and the accepted categories of political economy.

## 5. The Strength of Issues: Using Multiple Measures to Gauge Preference Stability, Ideological Constraint, and Issue Voting

Stephen Ansolabehere, Jonathan Rodden, James M. Snyder

### Abstract

A venerable supposition of American survey research is that the vast majority of voters have incoherent and unstable preferences about political issues, which in turn have little impact on vote choice. We demonstrate that these findings are manifestations of measurement error associated with individual survey items. First, we show that averaging a large number of survey items on the same broadly defined issue area—for example, government involvement in the economy, or moral issues—eliminates a large amount of measurement error and reveals issue preferences that are well structured and stable. This stability increases steadily as the number of survey items increases and can approach that of party identification. Second, we show that once measurement error has been reduced through the use of multiple measures, issue preferences have much greater explanatory power in models of presidential vote choice, again approaching that of party identification.

## 6. Genetic Variation in Political Participation

James H. Fowler, Laura A. Baker, Christopher T. Dawes

### Abstract

The decision to vote has puzzled scholars for decades. Theoretical models predict little or no variation in participation in large population elections and empirical models have typically accounted for only a relatively small portion of individual-level variance in turnout behavior. However, these models have not considered the hypothesis that part of the variation in voting behavior can be attributed to genetic effects. Matching public voter turnout records in Los Angeles to a twin registry, we study the heritability of political behavior in monozygotic and dizygotic twins. The results show that a significant proportion of the variation in voting turnout can be accounted for by genes. We also replicate these results with data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health and show that they extend to a broad class of acts of political participation. These are the first findings to suggest that humans exhibit genetic variation in their tendency to participate in political activities.

## 7. Whistleblowing

Michael M. Ting

### Abstract

By skipping managers and appealing directly to politicians, whistleblowers can play a critical role in revealing organizational information. However, the protection of whistleblowers can affect managers' abilities to provide employees with incentives to exert effort. This paper explores this tradeoff with a model of agency decision-making under incomplete information. In the game, an employee's effort determines a project's quality, and a manager chooses whether to approve the project and discipline the employee. The employee and politician wish for only “good” projects to be approved. By whistleblowing, an employee reveals the quality to a politician outside of the organization, who may override the manager's decision. A key finding is that from the politician's perspective, the benefits of whistleblower protections depend on the preferences of the manager. If the manager is inclined toward approving projects, then the costs of lower employee effort may outweigh the informational benefits of

whistleblowing. The optimal policy may then be to ban whistleblowing. By contrast, when the manager is inclined toward rejecting projects, whistleblower protections prevent him or her from suppressing effort and are unambiguously beneficial.

## 8. Design, Inference, and the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism

Scott Ashworth, Joshua D. Clinton, Adam Meirowitz, Kristopher W. Ramsay

### Abstract

In “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism,” Robert Pape (2003) presents an analysis of his suicide terrorism data. He uses the data to draw inferences about how territorial occupation and religious extremism affect the decision of terrorist groups to use suicide tactics. We show that the data are incapable of supporting Pape's conclusions because he “samples on the dependent variable.”—The data only contain cases in which suicide terror is used. We construct bounds (Manski, 1995) on the quantities relevant to Pape's hypotheses and show exactly how little can be learned about the relevant statistical associations from the data produced by Pape's research design.

## 9. Methods and Findings in the Study of Suicide Terrorism

Robert A. Pape

### Abstract

Scott Ashworth, Joshua Clinton, Adam Meirowitz, and Kristopher Ramsay (2008) allege that I have committed the sin of sampling on the dependent variable by considering only the universe of suicide terrorist attacks rather than the universe of all imaginable instances when potential or actual terrorists might have committed suicide attacks, and so cannot measure the effects of any independent variables. They go on to describe a method that they say I should have used, which is not of interest because the accusation that is supposed to motivate this discussion is inaccurate.

The main claim—that my work on suicide terrorism samples on the dependent variable—is simply wrong. Indeed, the authors paid no attention to the large portions of my recent book that explain what we know about factors that make resort to suicide terrorist campaigns more or less likely, and how we know it. Hence, this letter is mainly devoted to updating Ashworth, Clinton, Meirowitz, and Ramsay on my work. I also make a few comments about the general question of whether concerns about “sample bias” should carry significant weight when dealing with the complete universe of a phenomenon, as is the case in my work on suicide terrorism.

# British Journal of Political Science

July 2008, Vol. 38, Issue 3

## 1. The Congressional Debate on Partial-Birth Abortion: Constitutional Gravitas and Moral Passion

Cheryl Schonhardt-Bailey

### Abstract

Automated content analysis is employed to measure the dimensionality of Senate debates on the 2003 Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act and compare these results with the final vote. The underlying verbal conflict leading up to the final roll-call vote contains two important dimensions: (1) an emotive battle over the abortion procedure itself, and (2) the battle over the constitutionality of the bill. Surprisingly, senators appear not to have voted along the first dimension of the verbal conflict, but rather along the second dimension. The analysis of the deliberations of senators not only enables us to understand the complexity of the arguments that is not captured in the vote, but it also uncovers (and measures empirically) the strategies employed by legislators to shape the relevant lines of conflict, and ultimately, the final content of the bill.

## 2. Power Structure and Regime Resilience: Contentious Politics in China

Yongsun Cai

### Abstract

Authoritarian governments may face serious uncertainties when dealing with popular resistance because of the unpredictable consequences of making concessions or repressing opposition. However, a political system with multiple levels of authority can help reduce the uncertainties by granting conditional autonomy to lower-level authorities. Such a power structure prevents excessive repression and unconditional concessions when the priorities of different levels of authority do not match. Under this political arrangement, the central authority can avoid blame when local authorities use repression. The divided power also helps reduce the uncertainties faced by the central authority because it will then have to deal with only a very limited number of instances of resistance. Using the case of China, this article shows that divided state power has allowed the party-state to maintain social stability amid numerous instances of social unrest during the reform era.

## 3. Policy Mood and Political Sophistication: Why Everybody Moves Mood

Peter K. Enns, Paul M. Kellstedt

### Abstract

This article presents evidence that both micro (individual level) and macro (aggregate level) theories of public opinion overstate the importance of political sophistication for opinion change. It is argued that even the least politically sophisticated segment of society receives messages about the economy and uses this information to update attitudes about political issues. To test this hypothesis, the authors have used General Social Survey data to construct a 31-item measure of policy mood, disaggregated by political sophistication, that spans from

1972 to 2004. They found that all the subgroups generally changed opinion at the same time, in the same direction, and to about the same extent. Furthermore, they show that groups at different sophistication levels change opinions for predominantly the same reasons.

#### **4. Loss of Parliamentary Control Due to Mediatization and Europeanization: A Longitudinal and Cross-Sectional Analysis of Agenda Building in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands**

**Lonneke Van Noije, Jan Kleinnijenhuis, Dirk Oegema**

##### **Abstract**

The central question in this study is whether the power of the media agenda over the political agenda has recently increased. The agenda-building dynamics are established using cross country time-series data on four issues, covering fifteen and eight years respectively of British and Dutch parliamentary debates and newspaper articles. Structural equation models show that the parliamentary agenda is more influenced by the media agenda than the other way around, and that the power balance has shifted even more in favour of the media. It is additionally found that media power is especially associated with issues within the European domain. This study contributes empirically to the ‘mediatization’ debate in a EU context, which is largely limited to the realm of theoretical speculation.

#### **5. Parties’ Policy Programmes and the Dog that Didn’t Bark: No Evidence that Proportional Systems Promote Extreme Party Positioning**

**Lawrence Ezrow**

##### **Abstract**

There is extensive theoretical research that explores the linkages between parties’ policy positions, on the one hand, and the characteristics of the political system (i.e. voting rules and the number of parties) on the other, but empirical research on this topic is less developed. Building on earlier work by Jay Dow, this article reports empirical analyses exploring the connections between the average party policy extremism in fifteen party systems (defined as the average party policy distance from the party system centre), and two important system-level variables: the proportionality of the electoral laws used to select representatives to the national legislature, and the number of political parties. Contrary to expectations – but consistent with recent theoretical work by Norman Schofield and his co-authors – no evidence is found that average party policy extremism increases under proportional representation, nor that policy extremism increases in countries that feature large numbers of parties. These findings have important implications for political representation and for understanding parties’ election strategies.

#### **6. Policy Dissension and Party Discipline: The July 2005 Vote on Postal Privatization in Japan**

**Kuniaki Nemoto, Ellis Krauss, Robert Pekkanen**

##### **Abstract**

This article examines party discipline and party cohesion or defection, offering as an illustration the rebellion over postal privatization in 2005 by members of Japan’s Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). It explores the importance of party rules – especially the seniority

rule and policy specialization for district rewards – as intervening variables between election rules and party defection in a decentralized and diverse party. It is argued that in such cases, party rules like seniority can help prevent defection. When these rules are changed, as in the postal case of 2005, defection is more probable, but it is found that the relationship between defection and seniority is likely to be curvilinear, and also that the curvilinearity is conditional upon each legislator's having different incentives for vote, policy and office.

## 7. The Autoregressive Influence of Social Network Political Knowledge on Voting Behaviour

Sean Richey

### Abstract

Social networking has a powerful influence on voters, but we do not know enough about the mechanisms of network influence. Recent research shows that one network member's influence is highly dependent on the others in the network, i.e. autoregressive. I test whether the influence of social network political knowledge is also autoregressive. I show that a strong predictor of vote choice similarity is the level of knowledge of the discussant, but greater knowledge of the other network members lessens dyadic agreement. Data from the American National Election Study collected in 2000 show that in the presidential election of 2000 having a knowledgeable discussant increases the chance of vote similarity with that discussant by 5 percentage points, but vote similarity decreases by 10 percentage points for each level of residual network knowledge. This research confirms the autoregressive influence of social network political knowledge.

## Comparative Political Studies

July 2008, Vol. 41, Issue 7

### 1. The Quantity and the Quality of Party Systems: Party System Polarization, Its Measurement, and Its Consequences

Russell J. Dalton

### Abstract

Previous research claims that the number of parties affects the representation of social cleavages in voting behavior, election turnout, patterns of political conflict, and other party system effects. This article argues that research typically counts the quantity of parties and that often the more important property is the quality of party competition—the polarization of political parties within a party system. The author first discusses why polarization is important to study. Second, the author provides a new measurement of party system polarization based on voter perceptions of party positions in the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, which includes more than 50 separate elections from established and developing democracies. Third, the author compares party polarization and party fractionalization as influences on cleavage-based and ideological voting and as predictors of turnout levels. The finding is that party polarization is empirically more important in explaining these outcomes.

<http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/41/7/899>

## 2. Squeaky Wheels and Unequal Policy: Executive Authority and Education Reform in Latin America

Clayton Thyne, Erika Moreno

### Abstract

The World Bank has been increasingly involved in reforming Latin America's education systems. However, compliance with World Bank directives varies greatly. Recent scholarship has made significant progress in fashioning an explanation for this variation by focusing on the presence of democracy. This article takes the literature a step further by identifying the mechanism by which democracy matters. Specifically, variations in executive authority are key factors in explaining the adoption of controversial World Bank directives. The authors argue that a government's ability to implement World Bank reforms and overcome popular dissent, if present, is a function of executive authority. They examine executive authority using several measures to test their hypotheses on a 20-year panel of 17 American states from 1980 to 2000. Results indicate that newly democratized governments and strong executives are indeed more successful in passing World Bank reforms.

<http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/41/7/921>

## 3. Competitive Assimilation or Strategic Nonassimilation?: The Political Economy of School Choice in Latvia

Stephen Bloom

### Abstract

This article tests the competitive assimilation and strategic nonassimilation models, using district-level data from Latvia. Unlike the coordination dynamic of the competitive assimilation game, the strategic nonassimilation game highlights the strategic interaction between Russian and Latvian players. Russian parents do not look to other Russian parents when deciding to send their children to Latvian schools; rather, they look to Latvian children. They anticipate whether their children will be accepted or excluded in the Latvian classroom. My chief empirical finding is a significant interactive relationship between the size of Russian population and the strength of Latvian nationalism. In regions with small Russian populations, Latvian nationalism fuels assimilation. In regions with large Russian populations, Latvian nationalism propels nonassimilation.

<http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/41/7/947>

## 4. To Invest or Insure?: How Authoritarian Time Horizons Impact Foreign Aid Effectiveness

Joseph Wright

### Abstract

In this article, the author argues that the time horizon a dictator faces affects his incentives over the use of aid in three ways. First, dictators have a greater incentive to invest in public goods when they have a long time horizon. Second, dictators with short time horizons often face the threat of challengers to the regime; this leads them to forgo investment and instead consume state resources in two forms that harm growth: repression and private pay-offs to political opponents. Third, dictators with short time horizons have a strong incentive to secure personal wealth as a form of insurance in case the regime falls. Using panel data on dictatorships in 71 developing countries from 1961 to 2001, the author finds that time

horizons have a positive impact on aid effectiveness: Foreign aid is associated with positive growth when dictators face long time horizons and negative growth when time horizons are short.

<http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/41/7/971>

## 5. Integration and the Structure of Public Spending

Åsa Hansson, Karin Olofsdotter

### Abstract

The voluminous tax competition literature suggests that increased economic integration leads to reduced tax rates and suboptimal levels of government spending as countries compete for mobile factors of production. Integration may influence not only the size of the government but also the structure of public spending. Comprehensive studies analyzing the effect of integration on the overall structure of government spending are rare, however. This article fills this void by providing an empirical analysis of the effects of economic integration on the overall structure of public spending in a number of Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development countries using panel data on the different government spending components for the period 1970 to 2002. The authors find that integration negatively influences government consumption and investment but that there is no empirical evidence that transfers are positively or negatively affected by integration, as suggested by the compensation and efficiency views, respectively.

<http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/41/7/1001>

# Comparative Politics

July 2008, Volume 40, Issue 4

## 1. Economic Liberalization and Corporate Governance: The Resilience of Business Groups in Latin America

Ben Ross Schneider

### Abstract

Despite decades of economic and political liberalization in Latin America, corporate governance among large domestic firms shows remarkable continuity along many dimensions. Most of the largest firms, or business groups, are still widely diversified, closely held, and family controlled. These continuities challenge most theorizing on corporate governance in developed countries and on globalization more generally. A better way to explain stability is to focus on persistent incentives for and advantages of group governance. The core incentives derive largely from endemic volatility and shallow stock markets. Once formed, groups benefit from preferential access to capital, information, and policy. Complementarities among family control, concentrated ownership, and multisectoral diversification further bolster business group resilience.

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

## 2. Women's Choices in Comparative Perspective: Abortion Policies in Late-Developing Catholic Countries

**Merike Blofield**

### **Abstract**

Examination of abortion policy in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Uruguay, Chile, and Argentina allows for control of religion, level of development, and (with the exception of Italy) democratic history. Woman's right to choose to control her body is measured not only by laws on abortion but also by interpretation, access, and policy outcomes to determine how well countries have dealt with reproductive health and abortion in practice. There are three groups with distinct levels of reproductive rights and policies. Public opinion and women's social, economic, and political position do not explain this variation. Rather, the key factors are, first, class divisions and the differential mobilization of the Catholic church and feminists and, second, their relative influence on right and left politicians and the executive.

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

## 3. The Organizational Origins of the Contemporary Radical Right: The Case of Belgium

**David Art**

### **Abstract**

Recent findings on radical right parties indicate that their organizational structure is an important variable in their electoral performance. However, they do not explain variation in party organization. The legacies of previous far right organization, particularly from the postwar period, strongly influence the ability of radical right parties to build strong organizations. In Flanders, where far right political parties and organizations persisted after World War II and possessed some political and social legitimacy, radical right parties possessed a structural backbone. In Wallonia, where the far right was decimated after the war and consisted only of fringe elements, radical right parties were unable to build functioning party organizations. More attention should be paid to historical legacies and organizational factors in explaining the trajectories of radical right parties in Europe.

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

## 4. The State and Social Capital: An Institutional Theory of Generalized Trust

**Bo Rothstein and Dietlind Stolle**

### **Abstract**

In the discussion of the sources of social capital, it has been stressed that generalized trust is built up by the citizens themselves through a culture that permeates the networks and organizations of civil society. This approach has run into conceptual problems, and empirical evidence has provided only mixed support. An alternate approach is to highlight how social capital is embedded in and linked to formal political and legal institutions. Not all political institutions matter equally, however. Trust thrives most in societies with effective, impartial, and fair street-level bureaucracies. The causal mechanism between these institutional characteristics and generalized trust is illustrated in a cross-national context.

[http://web.gc.cuny.edu/jcp/rothstein-stolle\\_abstract.htm](http://web.gc.cuny.edu/jcp/rothstein-stolle_abstract.htm)

## 5. Following the Money: Muslim versus Muslim in Bosnia's Civil War

Fotini Christia

### Abstract

A puzzling aspect of the 1992-95 Bosnian war--the intra-Muslim civil war in northwestern Bosnia--can highlight the role of local elites in capturing important interaction effects between micro-level economic incentives and macro-level ethnic cleavages in civil wars. During civil wars where the broader conflict is cast in macro-ethnic terms, economic incentives can still seriously affect intragroup behavior. Ethnic group unity can be undermined by the presence of charismatic local elites who can guarantee the survival of their local constituents, while providing access to micro-level economic payoffs.

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

## European Foreign Affairs Review

### Summer 2008, Vol. 13, Issue 2

## 1. The Council Secretariat's Role in the Common Foreign and Security Policy

Hylke Dijkstra

### Abstract

The Council Secretariat, under the leadership of Javier Solana, has become an indispensable actor in the context of the CFSP. This article gives a comprehensive overview of this institution's development path since the beginning of European Political Cooperation (1970). It argues that with the entry into force of the Amsterdam Treaty and the parallel Cologne European Council (both 1999), the Secretariat received at once a political and a military dimension. This has been the basis for a significant expansion during the last decade. From a wider perspective it shows that the Council Secretariat fills the political absence of the European Commission in the field of the CFSP. The Council Secretariat is basically strong in areas where the Commission is weak. These inter-institutional dynamics are important with a view to the Lisbon Treaty, which will see a partial merger of the CFSP services in both institutions. Lastly this article argues on a theoretical level that while these developments are significant, the rationale behind the Council Secretariat is different from the role of the Commission in the first pillar and this limits its potential.

## 2. EU-Russia Relations Through the Prism of the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument

Steven Blockmans

### Abstract

The joint ownership principle on which EU-Russia relations are based has been put to the test by divergences over recent political and economic developments and the adoption of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). While Russia has excluded itself from the ENP, the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI), the ENP's main financial instrument, extends its coverage to the Russian Federation. This article argues that, with the adoption of the ENPI, the EU has reintroduced a form of conditionality that undermines the

main principle on which the EU–Russia partnership is built. Even if cooperation in the shared neighbourhood, for instance through cross–border projects funded under the ENPI, could be improved, it is by no means certain that such an example could be replicated when it comes to consolidating democracy, promoting human rights and creating development in Russia.

### **3. EU Foreign Policy and the Fight Against Human Trafficking: Coercive Governance as Crime Control**

**Jacqueline Berman, Cornelius Friesendorf**

#### **Abstract**

Since the late 1990s, the European Union has increased significantly its efforts against human trafficking. These efforts have, however, been fraught with contradictions, misconstrued as part of other policy debates (e.g. security, migration and enlargement) and generally ineffective in their ability to fight this global phenomenon. In practice, the EU has built a response to trafficking that privileges certain coercive practices (i.e. stronger borders, internal law enforcement and external state ‘capacity–building’) over comprehensive measures able to redress trafficking (i.e. prevention, prosecution and protection). It is the neglect of the latter that accounts, in part, for the transformation and persistence of the trafficking industry. The EU needs to address path dependencies that have led to the pursuit of a coercive and ineffective counter–trafficking governance system, paying particular attention both to the interaction between external and internal policy and to the unintended effects that this system has had on the practice of human trafficking.

### **4. EU Trade Policy and Non–Trade Issues: The Case of Agricultural Multifunctionality**

**Hans–Ulrich Gösxl**

#### **Abstract**

Non–trade issues are gaining increasing importance in the EU’s trade policy. The case of agricultural multifunctionality is an example of the EU trade policy’s approach in dealing strategically and structurally with non–trade issues in international trade. In the context of the Doha Round, the concept has been of minor direct importance despite its prominent rhetorical promotion at the beginning of the negotiations. Indirectly, the concept has had a more significant impact on the negotiations as it allows the EU to maintain an overall high level of agricultural subventions due to its compliance with WTO rules of non–trade–distorting support. This indirect impact, however, weakens the EU’s negotiating position as it focuses the discussion on traditional agricultural support and puts the EU in a defensive position instead of allowing an offensive promotion of its concept of agricultural multifunctionality. It can furthermore be argued that the strategic use of multifunctionality in the Doha Round does not generally support the EU’s negotiation objectives due to divided competitive advantages on multifunctionality among WTO Members. One of the EU trade policy’s strategies in facing this situation can be found in a shift of agricultural non–trade concerns beyond the WTO framework towards a level of legally non–binding, private–market regulation. This shift can also be seen in the structural impact of agricultural multifunctionality on EU trade policy, illustrated by the semi–formal Civil Society Dialogue of DG Trade and the European Commission’s Corporate Social Responsibility initiatives.

## **5. Capabilities and Coherence? The Evolution of European Union Conflict Prevention**

**Emma J. Stewart**

### **Abstract**

Conflict prevention is now a key EU external relations objective, featuring prominently in EU documents and discourse. Yet how does this rhetorical success translate in terms of concrete policy and resources? This paper traces the evolution of EU conflict prevention policy from the early 1990s to 2006, highlighting some of the problems facing the EU in its development of the policy — in particular, the inherent institutional difficulties associated with the rise of a complex, cross-pillar policy objective. It concludes that EU conflict prevention is being militarized at the expense of the development of a comprehensive, longer-term policy designed to tackle the root causes of conflict. EU military priorities are also reflected in the organization's external cooperation: short-term cooperation with the UN and NATO is favoured over longer-term cooperation with the OSCE. Security on the EU's present and future borders requires more investment in development and civilian solutions, and less on military crisis response.

## **6. How the EU Negotiates Trade and Democracy: The Cases of China's Accession to the WTO and the Doha Round**

**Hubert Zimmermann**

### **Abstract**

The paper explores the characteristics of the EU in international trade negotiations, using the talks about China's accession to the WTO (1985–2001) and the Doha Development Round (1999–2007) as main case studies. These long negotiating processes permit an analysis of the influence of postmodern values, such as democracy promotion, sustainable development and human rights policies, on European trade strategies. Normative concerns play an important role in the official discourse of EU foreign policy. Based on an institutionalist theoretical framework, it will be argued that the Council and the Commission pursue a trade policy with little regard to these objectives (and also other societal interests). Contrary to rhetorical commitments by EU institutions and contrary to the claims of some leading theoretical schools, the system of decision-making in EU foreign trade policy systematically privileges strategic political and economic interests in the case of clashing objectives. On the positive side, this enables the EU to pursue consistent strategies and coherent negotiating positions, especially compared to US international trade policies.

## **7. The EU and the European Security Strategy: Forging a Global Europe**

**Giovanni Grevi**

## **8. Cooperating on Competition in Transatlantic Economic Relations: The Politics of Dispute Prevention**

**Alan P. Dobson**

**9. Die Europäische Union im 21. Jahrhundert: Theorie und Praxis europäischer Aussen- und Sicherheitspolitik [The European Union in the 21st Century: Theory and Practice of European Foreign, Security and Peace Policy]**

**Eva Gross**

**10. The Quest for a European Strategic Culture: Changing Norms on Security and Defence in the European Union**

**Bruno Martins**

**11. Why We're Losing the War on Terror**

**Alasdair Blair**

**12. The Europeanization of French Foreign Policy: France and the EU in East Asia**

**Helen Drake**

## **European Journal of International Relations**

**June 2008, Volume 14, Issue 2**

**1. The Spread of Security Communities: Communities of Practice, Self-Restraint, and NATO's Post—Cold War Transformation**

**Emanuel Adler**

**Abstract**

This article invokes a combination of analytical and normative arguments that highlight the leading role of practices in explaining the expansion of security communities. The analytical argument is that collective meanings, on which peaceful change is based, cognitively evolve — i.e. they are established in individuals' expectations and dispositions and they are institutionalized in practice — because of communities of practice. By that we mean like-minded groups of practitioners who are bound, both informally and contextually, by a shared interest in learning and applying a common practice. The normative argument is that security communities rest in part on the sharing of rational and moral expectations and dispositions of self-restraint. This thesis is illustrated by the example of the successful expansion of security-community identities from a core of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) states to Central and Eastern European countries during the 1990s, which was facilitated by a 'cooperative-security' community of practice that, emerging from the Helsinki Process, endowed NATO with the practices necessary for the spread of self-restraint.

<http://ejt.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/2/195>

## 2. Reframing NGOs: The Identity of an International Relations Non-Starter

Norbert Götz

### Abstract

In this article I aim to provide a better understanding of the concept 'non-governmental organization' and its implications for the politics of international relations. As the prevailing confusion about the term stems largely from poor knowledge about the politics behind its introduction and function, the overarching question asks how NGOs have been socially constructed as actors on the margins of the international stage. To this end, a sound insight into the little-known conceptual history and background of the term 'NGO' in what might be called a 'Westphalian nomenclature' is given. I suggest that the still prevalent NGO terminology is an outcome of political games played by various actors, restricting and containing the signified organizations. The article provides a non-substantial, functional and politics-oriented definition of the term NGO, which differs significantly from previous attempts to attach meaning to it. It also suggests improved choices of terminology for general International Relations theorizing.

<http://ejt.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/2/231>

## 3. Living with a Reluctant Hegemon: The Transatlantic Conflict Over Multilateral Arms Control

Caroline Fehl

### Abstract

Scholars and commentators have long debated a 'unilateralist' tendency in US foreign policy, but have largely neglected the question of how other states attempt to deal with the problem, particularly with increasing US opposition to multilateral treaty initiatives. This article describes and explains European responses to US unilateralism in three transatlantic conflicts over multilateral arms control agreements: the AntiPersonnel Landmines Ban, the UN Process on Small Arms, and the Biological Weapons Protocol. The article shows that European responses have varied between accommodation and resistance, and tests hypotheses about four potential determinants of European choices: expected treaty effectiveness, transatlantic rivalry, consensus norms, and the influence of non-government activists. The findings suggest that European responses reflect a strong concern for treaty effectiveness, but are also constrained by norms of consensual decision-making. Activist pressure can overcome this 'compromise bias' of government diplomacy.

<http://ejt.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/2/259>

## 4. Arrested Development: The Fight to End Commercial Whaling as a Case of Failed Norm Change

Jennifer L. Bailey

### Abstract

The International Whaling Commission's moratorium on commercial whaling took effect in 1986, seemingly marking the adoption of a new norm, that commercial whaling was no longer acceptable. But this norm has failed to become institutionalized. This article uses the norm life-cycle approach as developed by Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) to account for this failure. The effort ran aground because the norm proved unexpectedly ambiguous, a supporting epistemic community failed to emerge, the norm conflicted with other powerful norms, the

prestige of the key anti-whaling states declined relative that of whaling states, and NGO tactics failed to win over the publics in key whaling states and instead created a counter-boomerang effect. The attempt may have resulted in the emergence of an alternative norm, but actors must act now to institutionalize it.

<http://ejt.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/2/289>

## **5. Norms, Strategies and Political Change: Explaining the Establishment of the Convention on the Future of Europe**

**Dionyssis Dimitrakopoulos**

### **Abstract**

Norms affect political outcomes by shaping the strategies that political actors use to advance their interests. Norms do so by shaping the terms of the debates that underpin political decision making. Unlike existing literature that highlights the importance of persuasion, this article demonstrates that through the mechanism of rhetorical action, norms induce self-interested political actors to adapt their strategy and accept political change that they would normally oppose. The case of the advent of the Convention on the Future of Europe examined here shows that by considering the impact of norms on the behaviour of the opponents of change, ideational analyses can incorporate agency in the explanation of political change.

<http://ejt.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/2/319>

## **6. Recognition and Collective Identity Formation in International Politics**

**Brian Greenhill**

### **Abstract**

Applying the model of 'recognition politics' to international relations can help to explain the identity-based elements of international conflicts that rationalist models leave out. This article uses psychological theories of identity formation to critically assess the recent move by constructivist scholars (most notably Alexander Wendt) to bring the Hegelian idea of the 'struggle for recognition' into the study of IR. Examining recognition theory in this way shows that while the insights of 'identity theory' developed in the symbolic interactionist tradition lend support to the idea that recognition of the 'other' is essential to constituting the identity of the 'self', much of the experimental work carried out within Social Identity Theory and its related fields fails to support the claim that recognition leads to the formation of an over-arching collective identity. Without a credible mechanism for collective identity formation, recognition theory fails to predict fundamental change in the international system.

<http://ejt.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/2/343>

## Foreign Policy Analysis

July 2008, Vol. 4, Issue 3

### 1. Inside Out or Outside In: Domestic and International Factors Affecting Iranian Foreign Policy Towards the United States 1990–2004

Graeme A. M. Davies

#### Abstract

This article tests three theories of state behavior with reference to Iran's interactions with the United States between 1990 and the end of 2004. The study evaluates whether the Iranians alter their foreign policy in response to domestic instability, as proposed by the Diversionary Theory of War, whether the Iranians become more cooperative with the United States when the U.S. President is unpopular or the U.S. economy is underperforming, as proposed by the theory of Strategic Conflict Avoidance and finally whether the European Union, Russia and China can influence Iranian behavior toward the United States through either coercion or engagement. These theories are tested on two time-series of data pre and post the invasion of Iraq in order to assess whether Iranian behavior toward the United States has been affected by the ongoing U.S. occupation of Iraq. The analysis suggests that domestic instability decreases rather than increases Iranian aggression toward the United States, as the regime in Tehran tries to deal with internal difficulties. The results also suggest that the Iranians become more cooperative with the U.S. when the U.S. economy is performing badly supporting the theory of Strategic Conflict Avoidance. The study indicates that the United States, China, and the European Union are able to influence the behavior of the Iranian regime. Finally, the study suggests that the Iranians have tended to exploit the difficulties that the United States is facing in Iraq becoming more hostile toward the United States when President George Bush is unpopular.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/action/showPdf?submitPDF=Full+Text+PDF+%28200+KB%29&doi=10.1111%2Fj.1743-8594.2008.00067.x>

### 2. Subnational Foreign Policy Actors: How and Why Governors Participate in U.S. Foreign Policy

Samuel Lucas McMillan

#### Abstract

U.S. governors lead overseas missions seeking investment and promoting trade, establish international offices, meet with heads of government, receive ambassadors, and take positions on foreign policy. This paper describes how governors are involved in participating in U.S. foreign policy, explains why governors seek to voice their views and play an active role in working with leaders and issues beyond their state's borders, and argues that U.S. states and governors need to be better conceptualized and considered in both international relations theory and foreign policy analysis. This study reveals that governors with greater institutional powers—such as appointment and budgetary control—as well as personal powers—derived from their electoral mandate, ambition, and public approval—are more likely to have higher degrees of foreign policy activity. These actions are more likely to take place during wartime and also from governors representing U.S. states bordering Canada or Mexico.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/action/showPdf?submitPDF=Full+Text+PDF+%28195+KB%29&doi=10.1111%2Fj.1743-8594.2008.00068.x>

### **3. Political Institutions and Constrained Response to Economic Sanctions**

**Susan Hannah Allen**

#### **Abstract**

Institutional constraints within the target state not only influence a leader's ability to resist economic sanctions, but they also affect the decision-making process within the target state and the nature of information that a sender can ascertain about likely response. Autocratic leaders, who are less constrained, send noisier signals about their probable behavior. This lack of constraint also allows more freedom to resist sanctions, as they can shunt the costs of sanctions off onto the general public, who have little influence over policy outcomes or leadership retention. Democratic leaders are more constrained and more susceptible to sanctions pressure. As result, there is less uncertainty for senders about probable response. Using a heteroskedastic probit model to explore potential systematic components of the variation surrounding sanctions response, the impact of sanctions is shown to differ by regime type—both in the response to coercion as well as in the variance surrounding that response. The results presented here suggest that as expected, democracies are more susceptible to sanctions pressure, but the response of mixed and authoritarian systems are more difficult to predict. These findings have implications for the design of future sanctions policy as well as suggesting which states make the best targets for economic coercion.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/action/showPdf?submitPDF=Full+Text+PDF+%28189+KB%29&doi=10.1111%2Fj.1743-8594.2008.00069.x>

### **4. Indian-Americans and the U.S.–India Nuclear Agreement: Consolidation of an Ethnic Lobby?**

**Jason A. Kirk**

#### **Abstract**

The transformation of U.S.–India relations has been, arguably, one of the most significant developments in American foreign policy in the past decade. Both countries' leaderships regard a recent nuclear cooperation agreement as the most important step yet in their emerging "strategic partnership." But the deal is also deeply controversial—critics see it as a major departure from decades-standing nonproliferation norms—and its approval by the U.S. Congress in 2006 was far from assured. This paper argues that an increasingly professional and well-funded "India lobby" among Indian-Americans was critical in pressing members of Congress to support the nuclear agreement. Moreover, this episode may portend its emergence as one of the most important ethnic communities seeking influence over U.S. foreign policy in the 21st century—if it can sustain momentum for its ambitious long-term goals, such as securing a permanent seat for India on the UN Security Council, through the uncertain near-term future of the nuclear agreement itself.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/action/showPdf?submitPDF=Full+Text+PDF+%28173+KB%29&doi=10.1111%2Fj.1743-8594.2008.00070.x>

## 5. Curing the Somalia Syndrome: Analogy, Foreign Policy Decision Making, and the Rwandan Genocide

Darren C. Brunk

### Abstract

If Rwanda had been better understood at the outset of the 1994 genocide, would the world have responded differently? That the international community was afflicted with a "Somalia Syndrome," suppressing the appetite for intervention in Rwanda, is not a new claim. What is new, however, is the effort this article makes to unravel the reasons for which two largely unrelated and distinct conflicts—Somalia and Rwanda—were perceived within many critical policy-making quarters around the international community as identical "African" conflict-types. It raises and explores the possibility that had Rwanda been perceived outside of this contorting "African" schema and its associated Somalia analogy, different policy responses could have been legitimized, opening the potential for a radically different international response.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/action/showPdf?submitPDF=Full+Text+PDF+%28136+KB%29&doi=10.1111%2Fj.1743-8594.2008.00071.x>

## International Studies Quarterly

June 2008, Vol. 52, Issue 2

### 1. Contagion or Confusion? Why Conflicts Cluster in Space

Halvard Buhaug, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch

### Abstract

Civil wars cluster in space as well as time. In this study, we develop and evaluate empirically alternative explanations for this observed clustering. We consider whether the spatial pattern of intrastate conflict simply stems from a similar distribution of relevant country attributes or whether conflicts indeed constitute a threat to other proximate states. Our results strongly suggest that there is a genuine neighborhood effect of armed conflict, over and beyond what individual country characteristics can account for. We then examine whether the risk of contagion depends on the degree of exposure to proximate conflicts. Contrary to common expectations, this appears not to be the case. Rather, we find that conflict is more likely when there are ethnic ties to groups in a neighboring conflict and that contagion is primarily a feature of separatist conflicts. This suggests that transnational ethnic linkages constitute a central mechanism of conflict contagion.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/action/showPdf?submitPDF=Full+Text+PDF+%28900+KB%29&doi=10.1111%2Fj.1468-2478.2008.00499.x>

## 2. Laissez Fear: Assessing the Impact of Government Involvement in the Economy on Ethnic Violence

David A. Steinberg, Stephen M. Saideman

### Abstract

Does government involvement in the economy promote ethnic peace, or does it contribute to ethnic violence? Two theories, grievances and opportunity, suggest that government involvement in the economy reduces ethnic violence. We present an alternative security-based logic that focuses on the role of economic rents in political competition. Our theory of insecurity predicts that free market economies reduce violent ethnic conflict by reducing fear and insecurity. We present statistical analyses, using data from the Minorities at Risk project and the Index of Economic Freedom, showing that government involvement in the economy increases ethnic rebellion. Our results suggest that the overall size of the public sector is less important than government interference with the market allocation mechanism. We conclude by discussing the policy implications of our findings.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2008.00500.x>

## 3. The Genesis, Design and Effects of Regional Institutions: Lessons from East Asia and the Middle East

Etel Solingen

### Abstract

Why do regional institutions emerge, what accounts for their variation in design, and what are their effects? Several conceptual and epistemological perspectives—neorealism, neoliberal-institutionalism, constructivism, and domestic politics—provide competing and complementary answers to these questions. I focus on regional organizations as productive arenas for developing contingent propositions on institutions more generally. The purpose is to advance cross-paradigmatic dialogue in two ways: through sensitivity to scope conditions and to institutional genesis, forms, and effects, in an effort to transcend axiomatic debates that often conflate different dependent variables. The empirical analysis includes the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the Arab League. The main findings from these cases suggest that understanding the nature of dominant domestic coalitions is often crucial for explaining incentives to create, design, and fine-tune the effects of institutions. However, this is mainly the case when the consequences of creating or designing institutions for power distribution, transaction costs, and norms are negligible or hard to estimate. In many cases these consequences are sizeable, reducing the explanatory influence of domestic coalitions. The latter often provide no more than permissive conditions for the emergence, design, and effect of institutions. Their influence is most decisive in explaining institutional genesis but is often underdetermining in explaining their design.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2008.00501.x>

## 4. Anarchy, Failed States, and Armed Groups: Reconsidering Conventional Analysis

Anthony Vinci

### Abstract

Systemic theories of international politics divide the world into anarchic and hierarchic systems. Conventionally, the boundary of each system is based on juridically defined

territorial borders. This article argues that within collapsed and "fragmented" states there exist autonomous armed groups, which make these states by definition anarchic systems. Unlike earlier accounts of such "domestic anarchy," this article argues that the domestic anarchy is "open" or connected to the international anarchic system. By taking this approach, it is possible to integrate the theoretical understanding of the relations between armed groups and (external) states. Specifically, the article illustrates how there can be "mixed security dilemmas" between states and armed groups, and that other theoretical concepts usually reserved for describing interstate relations can potentially be used to describe state-armed group relations.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2008.00502.x>

## 5. The Effect of Changing Conditions and Agreement Provisions on Conflict and Renegotiation Between States with Competing Claims

**Michaela Mattes**

### Abstract

Can agreements that states sign in order to manage competing claims help ensure a durable peace? This article examines the effect of "conciliatory agreements" that include attempts to address differences after significant conflict has occurred, such as peace agreements, as well as agreements designed to manage competing claims before they reach the level of violence. I argue that provisions specified in conciliatory agreements make the existing peaceful equilibrium more robust against the potentially disruptive effect of shocks, such as changes in relative capabilities or regime type. Conciliatory agreements not only increase the likelihood that peace is maintained but also impact the kind of peace maintained. Specifically, competing states may remain at peace either because they retain the status quo or because they peacefully renegotiate. Varying agreement provisions can account for why some states resort to force, while others peacefully renegotiate. I test the propositions concerning the effect of shocks and agreement provisions on the durability of peace and the likelihood of renegotiation using cases of territorial claims.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2008.00503.x>

## 6. Choosing How to Cooperate: A Repeated Public-Goods Model of International Relations

**Randall W. Stone, Branislav L. Slantchev and Tamar R. London**

### Abstract

International relations theory has borrowed important intuitions from Olson's static public-goods model (hegemonic stability) and the repeated prisoners' dilemma (theories of international cooperation), and arguments often combine implications from both models. We develop a general, repeated public-goods model. We then allow the qualitative dimensions of cooperation to emerge endogenously: agreements can have broad or narrow membership and entail deep or shallow commitments; they can be multilateral or discriminatory; they can be ad hoc or institutionalized. We find that the relationship between the distribution of power and international cooperation is complex: a large leading state forms a narrow coalition of intensive contributors, and builds institutions, while a smaller leading state forms a broader coalition that makes shallow contributions, and is more inclined to multilateralism.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2008.00504.x>

## 7. Coordination in Large Numbers: An Agent-Based Model of International Negotiations

David C. Earnest

### Abstract

How do states solve n-choice cooperation problems? Although classical game theory offers useful insights into how states achieve cooperation, its focus on equilibria means that it is largely silent on the processes of negotiation, particularly when multiple solutions to a cooperation problem exist. To explore the path histories of international cooperation, this article uses an agent-based model to explore how states solve a coordination game with three equilibria. To further enrich the analysis, the model explores how domestic constraints may affect coordination games. Such state-level constraints may present negotiators with considerable informational costs and high barriers to understanding each other's preferences. The model finds that the process of communicating preferences can greatly affect the prospects for cooperation, independent of distributional consequences and concerns about cheating. It also finds that, contrary to collective goods theory, a large number of states coordinate a solution to the problem easier than small groups. This is because larger groups create denser networks that communicate preferences more efficiently. The agent-based model thus illustrates how simulation as a method can challenge our extant thinking about cooperation among nation-states. These findings have implications for research on interstate coordination, since it suggests transnational linkages may help states overcome information barriers that frustrate agreements.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2008.00505.x>

## 8. Power and Authority in the Production of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

Laura J. Shepherd

### Abstract

United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 was adopted in 2000 with the aim of ensuring all efforts toward peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction, as well as the conduct of armed conflict itself, would entail sensitivity toward gendered violence and gendered inequalities. In this article, I contrast two accounts of the writing of UNSCR 1325 that issue from the two institutions that claim authority over the document: the United Nations Security Council and the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security. I make a broader theoretical argument about the importance of paying analytical attention to the discursive terrain of international institutions when analyzing the formulation and implementation of security policy, concluding that contemporary theorizing of international institutions is product/productive of a particular configuration of political authority and legitimacy that can, and should, be challenged.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2008.00506.x>

## 9. Taking Stock Seriously: Equity-Market Performance, Government Policy, and Financial Globalization

Layna Mosley, David Andrew Singer

### Abstract

Are equity markets just another facet of global finance, or are they unique in their responses to—and influences on—government policies and institutions? Recent work has explored the impact of political factors on bond market behavior and foreign direct investment, but little

attention has been paid to stock markets. On the basis of the particular concerns of equity investors, we hypothesize a positive association between stock-market valuations and levels of democracy, shareholder rights, legal traditions, and capital-account liberalization, a negative association with real interest rates, and no association with fiscal deficits or surpluses. We assess our expectations by analyzing the political and institutional determinants of aggregate price-to-earnings ratios for a sample of up to 37 countries from 1985 to 2004, using both cross-sectional and time-series cross-sectional analyses. We find support for most, but not all, of our hypotheses. Our findings suggest that we must disaggregate the effects of different asset markets to understand the impact of economic globalization on government policies.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2008.00507.x>

## **10. The Tariff and the Lobbyist: Political Institutions, Interest Group Politics, and U.S. Trade Policy**

**Sean D. Ehrlich**

### **Abstract**

During the twentieth century, the United States shifted from embracing protectionism to being an advocate for global free trade. Scholarly debate has focused on whether this shift was solely because of changes in preferences or if changes to institutions also played a role. Relying upon access point theory, this article argues that an institutional change, delegation to the President, led to endogenous changes in preferences. Delegation makes it harder for interest groups to gain access to policy makers, which should raise the costs of all lobbying. As protectionists dominate lobbying due to their collective action advantage, they will be disproportionately hurt. Thus, delegation should lead to less lobbying and lower tariff rates. These arguments are tested on time series data of tariff rates using an Error Correction Mechanism model and on data on interest group testimony before Congressional committees.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2008.00508.x>

## Journal of Conflict Resolution

June 2008, Volume 52, Issue 3

### 1. The Dynamics of Reciprocity, Accountability, and Credibility

Patrick T. Brandt, Michael Colaresi, John R. Freeman

#### Abstract

Do public opinion dynamics play an important role in understanding conflict trajectories between democratic governments and other rival groups? The authors interpret several theories of opinion dynamics as competing clusters of contemporaneous causal links connoting reciprocity, accountability, and credibility. They translate these clusters into four distinct Bayesian structural time series models fit to events data from the Israeli—Palestinian conflict with variables for U.S. intervention and Jewish public opinion about prospects for peace. A credibility model, allowing Jewish public opinion to influence U.S., Palestinian, and Israeli behavior within a given month, fits best. More pacific Israeli opinion leads to more immediate Palestinian hostility toward Israelis. This response's direction suggests a negative feedback mechanism in which low-level conflict is maintained and momentum toward either all-out war or dramatic peace is slowed. In addition, a forecasting model including Jewish public opinion is shown to forecast *ex ante* better than a model without this variable.

<http://jcr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/52/3/343>

### 2. On the Usefulness of Memory Skills in Social Interactions: Modifying the Iterated Prisoner's Dilemma

Isabell Winkler, Klaus Jonas, Udo Rudolph

#### Abstract

The present experiment introduces a modification of the iterated prisoner's dilemma (PD). In contrast to classical dilemma situations with only one interaction partner, participants ( $N = 120$ ) interacted with five fictitious interaction partners within one game, either in a random order (change condition) or against each of the interaction partners in succession (block condition). The authors assume that the change condition simulates the social interactions of a real environment more accurately and that individual memory skills are more important in the change condition as compared to the block condition. As dependent variables, the participants' score in the game was recorded, as well as the participants' memory performance concerning information about their interaction partners. Results show that good memory performance with respect to biographical information leads to higher scores only in the condition with changing interaction partners, but not in the block condition.

<http://jcr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/52/3/375>

### 3. The Political Consequences of Assassination

Zaryab Iqbal, Christopher Zorn

#### Abstract

The assassination of a political leader is among the highest-profile acts of political violence, and conventional wisdom holds that such events often have substantial political, social, and

economic effects on states. We investigate the extent to which the assassination of a head of state affects political stability through an analysis of all assassinations of heads of state between 1952 and 1997. We examine the political consequences of assassination by assessing the levels of political unrest, instability, and civil war in states that experience the assassination of their head of state. Our findings support the existence of an interactive relationship among assassination, leadership succession, and political turmoil: in particular, we find that assassinations' effects on political instability are greatest in systems in which the process of leadership succession is informal and unregulated.

<http://jcr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/52/3/385>

#### **4. The Effect of Political Regime on Civil War: Unpacking Anocracy**

**James Raymond Vreeland**

##### **Abstract**

Research published in the American Political Science Review shows that anocracies—as defined by the middle of the Polity index of political regime—are more susceptible to civil war than are either pure democracies or pure dictatorships. Yet, certain components of the Polity index include a factional category, where political competition is “intense, hostile, and frequently violent. Extreme factionalism may be manifested in the establishment of rival governments and in civil war” (Gurr 1989, 12). Not surprisingly, these components exhibit a strong relationship with civil war. When they are removed from the Polity index, however, the original relationship disappears. I conclude that the original finding is not driven by the relationship between political institutions and civil war but rather by a less provocative relationship between political violence and civil war.

<http://jcr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/52/3/401>

#### **5. The Costs of Reneging: Reputation and Alliance Formation**

**Douglas M. Gibling**

##### **Abstract**

Reputations are supposed to matter. Decision makers consistently refer to reputations for resolve, and international relations theories confirm the value of being able to credibly signal intentions during times of crisis. However, empirical support for the effects of reputation has been lacking. Problems of strategic selection have hampered previous quantitative tests, and the qualitative literature provides scant support for the concept in individual crises. In this article, the author shifts the focus from crisis behavior to alliance commitments and examines the effects that opportunities to uphold previous commitments have on future alliance commitments and conflicts. The results demonstrate that alliance reputations do affect both alliance formation and dispute behavior.

<http://jcr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/52/3/426>

#### **6. Ballistic Missile Proliferation: An Empirical Investigation**

**Daniel Barkley**

##### **Abstract**

This analysis examines ballistic missile proliferation in the context of strategic interactions among neighboring states. The analysis finds that when faced with ballistic missile threats,

nations respond rationally and acquire ballistic missiles as a deterrent. Using a panel data set of 119 countries from 1967 to 1997, this study shows that the probability of a country procuring ballistic missiles increases nonlinearly as the number of bordering states with ballistic missiles increases. Although international norms arising from the Missile Technology Control Regime reduced the probability of missile proliferation, these externalities did not offset a state's decision to arm in response to ballistic missile arsenals in neighboring states. This analysis also finds that surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) increased the probability of proliferation in two ways: first, because ballistic missiles provided states "ensured penetration" of a rival's air defenses; and second, because SAMs reduced the ability of a rival to retaliate against a ballistic missile attack.

<http://jcr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/52/3/455>

## Mediterranean Quarterly

### Spring 2008, Volume 19, Number 2

#### 1. Twenty Years of Change: Tunisia's Journey of Progress Continues

Mohamed Nejjib Hachana

#### 2. Lessons Learned from the 1994 Rwanda Genocide

Charles Murigande

#### 3. The Rising Euro and Sinking Dollar: Explanations and Implications

Shalendra D. Sharma

#### 4. The Question of Arab Solidarity in the 1948 War: Political Interests versus Military Considerations

Ronen Yitzhak

#### 5. Searching for a Brother Lost in Albania's Gulag

Nikolaos A. Stavrou

#### 6. The Post-9/11 American Conundrum: How to Win the War of Ideas in the World of Islam

Ehsan Ahrari

#### 7. The Kurdistan Workers' Party Turns against the European Union

Emrullah Uslu

## Middle East Quarterly

### Summer 2008, Vol 15, No 3

#### 1. The Economics of Democracy in Muslim Countries

Saliba Sarsar and David B. Strohmetz

##### Abstract

Last year was a tumultuous one for democracy in Muslim-majority countries. On July 22, 2007, despite Turkish military warnings three months earlier about the danger to secularism posed by the impending election, the Islamist Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi—AKP) won the Turkish parliamentary elections, leading Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to proclaim "democracy, security, and stability" to be the real winners." Then, on November 3, 2007, General Pervez Musharraf declared a state of emergency in Pakistan, suspending the constitution. Shortly after, assassins gunned down Benazir Bhutto, the leading secular oppositionist. Such events demonstrate not just the fragility of democracy in Muslim countries, but the complicated role that the military plays in such states—sometimes as a protector of secularism, but frequently, as an enforcer of the power of anti-democratic regimes.

<http://www.meforum.org/article/1921>

#### 2. The Costs of Relying on Aging Dictators

Caroline Sevier

Troubled succession ahead for anti-democratic strongmen.

#### 3. Does Foreign Aid Fuel Palestinian Violence?

Steven Stotsky

The disturbing-and ignored-correlation between money and violence.

#### 4. European Converts to Terrorism

Milena Uhlmann

Security officials worry about a new breed of radical Islamists.

#### 5. Tactical Hudna and Islamist Intolerance

Denis MacEoin

Helping Westerners understand what Muslims mean by truce.

#### 6. The Rise of the Chechen Emirate?

Dmitry Shlapentokh

The struggle in Chechnya between Islamists and nationalists.

#### 7. An Israeli Watershed: Strike on Syria

Eyal Zisser

Did Israel's air strike change the balance of power?

## Middle East Policy

### Summer 2008 - Vol. 15 Issue 2

#### **1. Hamas and the Two-State Solution: Villain, Victim or Missing Ingredient?** **Sherifa Zuhur, Ali Abunimah, Haim Malka, Shibley Telhami**

##### **Abstract**

The following is an edited transcript of the fifty-second in a series of Capitol Hill conferences convened by the Middle East Policy Council. The meeting was held on Friday, April 11, 2008, in the Gold Room of the Rayburn House Office Building with Chas. W. Freeman, Jr., presiding.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00346.x>

#### **2. Interview: Fatma Khafagy**

Dr. Khafagy is a women's rights activist in Egypt, where she currently works as a policy expert for the German Cooperation Agency. Prior to that she was a legal/policy expert for the European Commission Project on the Economic Role of Women in the Mediterranean Region and also headed the Office of Ombudsperson for Gender Equality at Egypt's National Council for Women. She worked for 15 years for the United Nations, including as head of the Gender and Development Program of UNICEF in Egypt. Dr. Khafagy has long been associated with various NGOs and is currently a board member of the Alliance for Arab Women. She was interviewed for Middle East Policy by Roger Gaess and Eva Soriano, freelance journalists based in New York.

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00347.x>

#### **3. Afghanistan's Security: Political Process, State-Building and Narcotics** **Bulent Aras and Sule Toktas**

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00348.x>

#### **4. Shiism and Ethnic Politics in Iraq**

**Mehdi Noorbaksh**

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00349.x>

#### **5. Lubricated with Oil: Iran-China Relations In a Changing World**

**Manochehr Dorraj and Carrie L. Currier**

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00350.x>

#### **6. The Caspian Sea: Rivalry and Cooperation**

**Mahmoud Ghafouri**

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00351.x>

#### **7. The Gulf Sovereign Wealth Funds: Myths and Reality**

**Jean-François Seznec**

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00352.x>

#### **8. Combating Extremism: A Brief Overview of Saudi Arabia's Approach**

**Abdullah F. Ansary**

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00353.x>

**9. Dubai: The Security Dimensions of the Region's Premier Free Port**

**Christopher Davidson**

<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1475-4967.2008.00354.x>

## Middle Eastern Studies

### Volume 44, Issue 3, 2008

**1. Bin Ladin, Palestine and al-Qa'ida's Operational Strategy**

**Asaf Maliach**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793323316~fulltext=713240930>

**2. The Rise and Fall of Iranian Classes in the Post-Revolutionary Decades**

**Farhad Nomani; Sohrab Behdad**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793320476~fulltext=713240930>

**3. The Evolution of Western Aid for Palestinian Civil Society: Bypassing Local Knowledge and Resources**

**Benoit Challand**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793319743~fulltext=713240930>

**4. Political Developments and Intelligence in Palestine, 1930-40**

**Yitzhak Gil-Har**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793325379~fulltext=713240930>

**5. The Struggle over Turkish Village Coffeehouses (1923-45)**

**Serdar Öztürk**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793320819~fulltext=713240930>

**6. Women between Tradition and Change: The Justice and Development Party Experience in Turkey**

**Zana Çitak; Özlem Tür**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793341900~fulltext=713240930>

**7. Anti-Americanism in Turkey: Past and Present**

**Aylin Güney**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a763030588~fulltext=713240930>

**8. The Middle Class versus the Ruling Party during the 1950s in Israel: The 'Engine-Coach Car' Dilemma**

**Avi Bareli; Uri Cohen**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793324305~fulltext=713240930>

## 9. Cultural Identity, Minority Position and Immigration: Turkey's Jewish Minority vs. Turkish-Jewish Immigrants in Israel

Şule Toktaş

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793322876~fulltext=713240930>

# Party Politics

July 2008, Volume 14, No. 4

## 1. Centre—Right Parties and Political Outcomes in East Central Europe

Milada Anna Vachudova

### Abstract

The emergence of moderate centre—right parties in East Central Europe after 1989 was closely related to the strength and nature of organized opposition during the late communist period. Where such opposition was strong enough to take power, it went on to become the ideological, organizational and elite base for one or more moderate right parties. Where it was weak, moderate right parties were eclipsed by what I call 'independence right' and 'communist nationalist' parties that dominated the party system using nationalism and other forms of right-wing discourse. Identifying what kind of party dominates this discourse helps explain the very different political outcomes that followed regime change in 1989, including the different structures of party competition and the diverging quality of democracy. Over time, however, political change and the exigencies of qualifying for European Union (EU) membership empowered the centre—right, prompting most 'independence right' and 'communist nationalist' parties to become mainstream left-wing or right-wing parties. But the EU is now playing another role in party politics in the region, as those conservative centre—right parties that vow to protect the country from integration have become somewhat more powerful compared to their liberal counterparts.

<http://ppq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/4/387>

## 2. Sticking Together: Explaining Comparative Centre—Right Party Success in Post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe

Seán Hanley, Aleks Szczerbiak, Tim Haughton, and Brigid Fowler

### Abstract

In this article, we attempt to explain varying patterns of centre—right success between 1990 and 2006 in three post-communist states — Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic. Success is understood as the ability to construct broad and durable parties. Both macro-institutional explanations, focusing on executive structures and electoral systems, and historical—structural explanations, stressing communist regime legacies, have limited power to explain the observed variance. The introduction of a more sophisticated framework of path dependence, stressing the role of choices and political crafting at critical junctures, adds some insight, but the lack of strong 'lock-in' mechanisms required by such approaches makes such a model unconvincing when applied to Central and Eastern European centre—right party development. Other explanations that stress the importance of elite characteristics and capacity are needed to supplement the shortcomings of these approaches, in particular: (a) the

presence of cohesive elites able to act as the nucleus of new centre—right formations; and (b) the ability of such elites to craft broad integrative ideological narratives that can transcend diverse ideological positions and unite broad swathes of centre—right activists and voters.

<http://ppq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/4/407>

### **3. From the Politics of State-Building To Programmatic Politics: The Post-Federal Experience and the Development of Centre—Right Party Politics in Croatia and Slovakia**

**Tim Haughton and Sharon Fisher**

#### **Abstract**

The post-federal experience was important in shaping the structure of party competition in Central and Eastern Europe in the 1990s, particularly on the centre—right. The cases of Slovakia and Croatia demonstrate not only how and why appeals relating to national autonomy/statehood became salient in some states in the region, but also why dominant parties stressing such themes were unable to lock in their support. Strategic crafting, particularly in the absence of consensus over continuation of the federation, appears key in explaining the rise of dominant parties in the two cases. Nonetheless, where appeals to the nation were combined with illiberalism and were received unfavourably by strategically important international clubs, public support for such parties declined. Following removal from power, these dominant parties undertook bouts of reinvention, attempting to rebrand themselves as mainstream European centre—right parties with mixed results.

<http://ppq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/4/435>

### **4. Searching for the Right Organization: Ideology and Party Structure in East-Central Europe**

**Zsolt Enyedi and Lukás Linek**

#### **Abstract**

The article examines four centre—right parties in East-Central Europe in order to assess the impact of ideology on party organization and revisit the thesis of organizational weakness in the region. The data collected indicate that, together with electoral success, inherited resources and national context, ideology does indeed shape the style of organization. Centre—right parties, as opposed to leftist parties, tend to be less bureaucratized, have fewer staff members, a simpler structure, more individualized leadership and the 'party-in-public-office' tends also to have a more elevated role. Parties that have more individualistic ideologies tends also to have 'lighter' organization and weaker embeddedness, while parties subscribing to a more collectivist and corporatist type of conservatism have developed more complex party organization and rely more heavily on affiliate organizations. Analysis of temporal changes uncovers a degree of organizational vitality that is surprising given that the literature on both centre—right and on post-communist politics points towards organizational weakness.

<http://ppq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/4/455>

## 5. Why Is There No Christian Democracy in Poland — and Why Should We Care?

Tim Bale and Aleks Szczerbiak

### Abstract

Despite the fact that almost all Poles are Roman Catholics and that religion has played an important part in contemporary Polish politics, no self-declared Christian Democratic party has been successful in post-1989 Poland. None of the currently successful Polish centre—right parties profile themselves as Christian Democratic, nor can they be labelled as such objectively. While, superficially, Poland looks like fertile ground for Christian Democracy, the factors that were crucial to the formation and success of Christian Democratic parties in post-war Western Europe were largely absent during the emergence of democratic, multiparty politics in post-1989 Poland. Of course, parties are never simply produced and sustained by 'cleavages', they are more than institutional responses to some kind of social demand. The formation and success, or otherwise, of Christian Democratic parties owes much to the interplay between social realities and sponsors, on the one hand, and the institutional and ideological crafting of entrepreneurial politicians, on the other.

<http://ppq.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/14/4/479>

## Security Studies

2008, Vol 17, Issue 2

### Neoconservatism, Realism, and the Ideological Origins of the Iraq War

#### 1. The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War: Neoconservatives Versus Realists

Brian C. Schmidt; Michael C. Williams

### Abstract

The aim of this article is to contribute to our understanding of both the debate over the war in Iraq and its implications for the future of U.S. foreign policy by examining the relationship between neoconservatism and realism. The article begins by establishing the connection between the tenets of neoconservatism and the arguments for war against Iraq. The primary focus is on the neoconservative Bush Doctrine that served as the primary justification for the Iraq War. Next, we turn to the arguments that realists put forth in their attempt to steer America away from the road to war. The realists, however, proved to be unsuccessful in their attempt to prevent war and in the final section we address the central question of the article; why did realism fail in the debate over Iraq?

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794088841~fulltext=713240930>

#### 2. Origins of Regime Change: “Ideapolitik” on the Long Road to Baghdad, 1993-2000

Russell A. Burgos

### Abstract

How was the ouster of Saddam Hussein defined as the solution to America's Iraq problem? Current scholarship on the U.S. invasion of Iraq tends to focus on the post-9/11 road to war, promoting models of policy capture, intelligence manipulation, threat-inflation, or rhetorical

coercion of Bush administration opponents. In this essay, I trace the “Ideapolitik” of regime change in the 1990s and show that Bush's post-9/11 rhetoric was firmly embedded in a preexisting foreign policy consensus defining Saddam Hussein as the “problem” and his overthrow as its “solution.” Drawing upon recent research in international relations and public policy, I show how the idea of regime change prevailed in redefining American strategy for Iraq. While the September 11, 2001 attacks had important effects on the Bush administration's willingness to use force, the basic idea that ousting Saddam Hussein would solve the Iraq problem was already embedded in elite discourse. Saddam Hussein's ouster was not simply the result of idiosyncratic or nefarious decision-making processes within the Bush administration, but was instead the realization of a social choice made by U.S. foreign policy elites well before George W. Bush came to power.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794084270~fulltext=713240930>

### **3. Unexpected Affinities? Neoconservatism's Place in IR Theory**

**Aaron Rapport**

#### **Abstract**

Is neoconservatism a coherent theory of international politics? Many previous efforts to illuminate what might be called the neoconservative worldview have been limited to descriptions of policies favored by neoconservatives, while illumination of an underlying ontology is largely absent. This article proceeds by drawing a series of premises about the social world from authors who identify with neoconservative political thought. Despite similarities with liberalism and realism, the core assumptions of neocon theory collectively represent a systemic constructivist account of IR. Neoconservatives put forth a set of propositions which lead to generalizable conclusions regarding the outcomes of state interactions in the international system.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794084800~fulltext=713240930>

### **4. A Rose by Any Other Name: Neoclassical Realism as the Logical and Necessary Extension of Structural Realism**

**Brian Rathbun**

#### **Abstract**

Neoclassical realism is often criticized by non-realists for being an ad hoc and theoretically degenerative effort to explain away anomalies for neorealism. In this paper, I argue instead that neoclassical realism is a logical extension and necessary part of advancing neorealism. Structural realism argues that the system constrains but does not determine state action and where foreign policy departs from what would be ideal behavior given a state's structural position, domestic politics and ideas are generally the cause. This focus on mistakes and maladaptive behavior, seen in such neoclassical realist concepts as over-or under-balancing, is necessary to avoid falling into the trap of merely using domestic politics and ideas to make neorealism more determinate and explain residual variance in foreign policy choice unaccounted for by structure. The article attempts to correct the mistaken presumption that particular paradigms own domestic politics and ideas, asserting instead that each paradigm has access to these variables but must make them their own.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794083222~fulltext=713240930>

## 5. Explaining Civil-Military Relations in Complex Political Environments: India and Pakistan in Comparative Perspective

Paul Staniland

### Abstract

This article argues that military intervention into politics can only be understood by studying both the nature of threats and of domestic political arrangements. I offer a theory of the military in politics built around the interaction between threat configuration, political institutionalization, and civilian government legitimacy. The argument is tested with paired-comparison case studies of Indian and Pakistani civil-military relations since independence. Despite their similarities at the time of partition, these two militaries took completely different political trajectories. The cases reveal how structures of domestic politics interact with military threat perceptions to explain civilians' ability to maintain varying levels of control over the military.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794081447~fulltext=713240930>

## 6. If Not Soft Balancing, Then What? Reconsidering Soft Balancing and U.S. Policy Toward China

Kai He; Huiyun Feng

### Abstract

Some scholars argue that soft balancing is a typical state behavior against the hegemon under unipolarity. Others contend that soft balancing against the hegemon is ineffective. We challenge both arguments and suggest that soft balancing is not only a product of specific configurations of the power distribution in the system, unipolarity, but also a rational behavior under another condition, economic dependence. We argue that the interplay between power disparity and economic dependence shapes a state's decision in choosing different balancing strategies. The higher the power disparity and economic dependence, the more likely a state chooses soft balancing to pursue its security. Using U.S. policy toward China after the Cold War as a crucial test, we suggest that the huge power gap and increasing economic interdependence between the United States and China shape U.S. soft balancing rather than hard balancing toward China. We conclude that future U.S.-China relations depend on whether the United States declines as a result of China's rise and on the degree of economic interdependence between the two countries.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794094010~fulltext=713240930>

## Survival

### 2008, Volume 50, Issue 3

#### 1. A Gaullist By Any Other Name

**Justin Vaisse**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793490174~fulltext=713240930>

#### 2. What Price Energy Transformation?

**R. Andreas Kraemer**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793486926~fulltext=713240930>

#### 3. Nuclear Threat Reduction: Cooperating in Troubled Times

**Jack Caravelli**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793491296~fulltext=713240930>

#### 4. The Strategic Implications of Climate Change

**Alan Dupont**

##### **Abstract**

Climate change of the magnitude and time frames projected by the world's leading climate scientists poses fundamental questions of human security, survival and the stability of nation states. While state weakness and destabilising internal conflicts are a more likely outcome than inter-state war, climate change will be a stress multiplier for all nations and societies, especially those already at risk from ethnic and religious conflicts, economic weakness and environmental degradation. Prudence and sensible risk management suggest that policymakers need to take this issue far more seriously. And strategic planners ought to include worst-case climate-change scenarios in their contingency planning, as climate change is set to rank with terrorism, pandemic diseases and major war as one of the principle challenges to security in the twenty-first century.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793493840~fulltext=713240930>

#### 5. The Return of State Capitalism

**Ian Bremmer**

##### **Abstract**

After the Soviet collapse, the dynamism and market power of the United States, Japan, and Western Europe established the dominance of a liberal economic mode fuelled by private wealth, private investment and private enterprise. Yet, over the past several years, public wealth, public investment, and public enterprise have made a remarkable comeback. An era of state capitalism has dawned, the natural by-product of a global economy which will increasingly depend for most of its growth on China, the Persian Gulf states, and other emerging market countries, many of which are predisposed toward statist models of economic development. This trend is generating plenty of anxiety, particularly among American and

European policymakers, who fear that the growth of national oil companies, state-owned enterprises and sovereign wealth funds threatens their countries' economic well-being and national security.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793485891~fulltext=713240930>

## 6. China's Falklands Lessons

Lyle Goldstein

### Abstract

The People's Liberation Army's lack of recent combat experience leads Chinese defence analysts to a major, systematic effort to look outward in the pursuit of insights about the emerging strategic environment. In Chinese military literature, the 1982 Falklands War has achieved noteworthy prominence. The PLA's objective and sophisticated understanding of the war in the South Atlantic may help explain both specific Chinese military approaches toward the analogous Taiwan situation and wider trends in Chinese military development.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793485389~fulltext=713240930>

## 7. Europe's Role in Nation Building

James Dobbins

### Abstract

Despite continuing difficulties, European institutions for the management of civil-military operations have developed to the stage where more than brief, tentative experiments can be embarked upon with some confidence. The greatest challenges faced by the EU are not in the efficacious employment of armed force, but rather in formulating and applying the broader political-military strategy which must underlie it. Outside of Europe, the most efficient way for European governments to contribute to international peace operations will be to assign national contingents directly to UN peacekeeping missions. It is, thus, time for European governments, militaries and populations to get over the trauma of Srebrenica and related UN failures in the Balkans in the early 1990s, take on board the subsequent improvement in the UN's performance, and begin once again to do their share in manning, as they are already doing in paying for, these efforts.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793489010~fulltext=713240930>

## 8. The Strategic Dimensions of Civil Resistance

Peter Ackerman; Berel Rodal

### Abstract

The sequenced, sustained application of nonviolent operations has engendered historical results: tyrants have capitulated, governments collapsed, occupying armies retreated and political systems that denied human rights been delegitimated and dismantled. Those threatened by such campaigns are prone to define a 'regime change' desired and driven by outside parties as the object and prize. In fact, the object is transformation in the way people themselves can determine how they are governed. Individuals and institutions who care about democracy and freedom, peace and security need to work together to develop a set of modern norms for how citizens and civil societies may freely work together across national

boundaries and permit universal access to knowledge and resources necessary to protect rights, especially when denied or threatened by oppressive rule.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793492410~fulltext=713240930>

### **9. Thinking the Unthinkable**

**Jeffrey Mazo**

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793486223~fulltext=713240930>

## **The Middle East Review of International Affairs**

**June 2008, Volume 12, No 2**

### **1. Islamist Political Activism in Jordan: Moderation, Militancy, and Democracy**

**Curtis R. Ryan**

#### **Abstract**

While democracy has proven to be a fragile and elusive form of politics in the modern Arab world, Islamist movements have flourished--ranging from grass-roots pro-democracy activism to militant jihadism and terrorism. Whether Arab politics witnesses more political liberalization in the near future will depend in large part on the nature of Islamist movements, as well as ruling regimes' reactions to them. This article examines the broad range of Islamist alternatives within one of the more liberalizing Arab states--the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan--with a view to understanding the depth and breadth of Islamist forms of political mobilization.

<http://www.merijournal.com/en/asp/journal/2008/june/ryan/1.pdf>

### **2. Iraq's Future: The War and Beyond**

**Panel Discussion**

#### **Abstract**

On March 27, 2008, the U.S. Department of State's International Information Programs in Washington D.C., the Public Affairs Office at the U.S. Embassy in Israel, and the Global Research in International Affairs (GLORIA) Center jointly held an international videoconference seminar focusing on Iraq. Brief biographies of the participants can be found at the end of the article. This seminar is part of the GLORIA Center's Experts Forum series.

<http://www.merijournal.com/en/asp/journal/2008/june/panel/2.pdf>

### **3. Saudi Arabia's Agricultural Project: From Dust to Dust**

**Elie Elhadj**

#### **Abstract**

Arid conditions have always prevented the development of any sizeable settled agricultural communities in the Arabian Desert. This article examines the events that led to and the

lessons that may be drawn from a failed, politically determined economic and ecological policy created by poorly informed elite enjoying rentier economic circumstances. Beginning in the early 1980s, however, Saudi Arabia spent enormous amounts of money and exhausted massive volumes of water from mainly nonrenewable aquifers in an ostensible effort to achieve food self-sufficiency. On January 8, 2008, the Saudi government abandoned its food independence strategy and decided instead to import the country's entire wheat needs by 2016 <http://www.merijournal.com/en/asp/journal/2008/june/elhadj/3.pdf>

#### **4. Iran's 2008 Parliamentary Elections: A Triumph of the System**

**Raz Zimmt**

##### **Abstract**

Elections for the eighth Iranian Majlis, held in March-April 2008, redefined the political struggle between the main political factions: conservatives and reformists. Though reformists did not lose seats, the results showed conservative success in limiting reformists and the reformists' inability to present themselves as a real alternative capable of solving Iranian economic problems and implementing political reforms. In addition, the election exposed the internal conservative split. Overall, however, the campaign showed the Iranian political system's relative stability and the conservative leadership's ability to maintain its political strength.

<http://www.merijournal.com/en/asp/journal/2008/june/zimmt/4.pdf>

#### **5. Japan's Gulf Policy and Response to the Iraq War**

**Shirzad Azad**

<http://www.merijournal.com/en/asp/journal/index.asp>

#### **6. The Iran-Syria Alliance: The Economic Dimension**

**Nimrod Raphaeli and Bianca Gersten**

<http://www.merijournal.com/en/asp/journal/index.asp>

#### **7. The Lebanese Civil War**

**Tony Badran**

<http://www.merijournal.com/en/asp/journal/index.asp>

## Turkish Studies

### 2008, Volume 9 Issue 2

Special Issue: The Turkish Elections of July 27, 2007

#### 1. Expecting the Unforeseeable: The 2007 Turkish Elections in the Media

Canan Balkir; Susan Banducci; Didem Soyaltin; Huriye Toker

##### Abstract

This study presents an analysis of how the media reported the 2007 elections in Turkey. Past research on election campaign media coverage, particularly newspapers, suggests that the media can play an important role in informing voters. However, much of the research on campaign media coverage has focused on Western democracies with little attention paid to how features of the media system such as press regulations, ownership structures, journalistic practices, and partisan alignment in the press can both shape how election news is reported and its possible influence on voting decisions. In order to expand understanding of campaign media coverage outside Western democracies, this study examines how four Turkish newspapers covered parties and issues during the 10 weeks prior to the July 2007 elections.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793325016~fulltext=713240930>

#### 2. Trends in Party System Indicators for the July 2007 Turkish Elections

Eser Şekercioglu; Gizem Arikan

##### Abstract

The stellar success of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) has led to the interpretation of the 2002 and 2007 elections as sharp deviations from past political trends. Through an analysis of national and regional-level party system indicators in the post-1980 period, the authors find that the success of the AKP should rather be seen as the continuation of trends that started in the early 1990s. Throughout the 1990s, the pro-Islamist and nationalist bloc had already established a strong base in Central Anatolia, and the success of the AKP is due to its expansion of this voter base to Western regions and some of the predominantly Kurdish provinces in the southeast.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793321221~fulltext=713240930>

#### 3. The Electoral System and the 2007 Elections: Effects and Debates

William Hale

##### Abstract

Over the last 50 years, Turkey's electoral system has been subjected to frequent changes. It is still the subject of controversy, since it has significant effects on the functioning of the political system. Following the introduction of a form of proportional representation in 1961, its most controversial feature is the provision that no party winning less than 10 percent of the national vote is entitled to any seats in parliament, which has been applied since 1983. The effects of this were particularly striking in the 2002 elections, in which only two parties exceeded the threshold. In 2007 it also appears that it heavily influenced the voters' choices, with a significant flow of votes away from the small parties towards those which were

expected to exceed 10 percent. Small parties also took steps to evade the threshold, either by trying to form alliances with their bigger rivals or by running their candidates as nominal independents, to whom the 10 percent rule did not apply. Further changes to the system can be expected as part of the new Constitution, which is expected to be enacted in 2008. The conclusion is that some important changes may be emerging in the structure of the party system, partly arising from a more realistic appreciation of the effects of the electoral system on the likely result by both voters and parties.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793325545~fulltext=713240930>

#### **4. Voter Preferences in İzmir from the November 3, 2002 to the July 22, 2007 Elections: Has the Election Map Altered?**

**Gülgün E. Tosun; Tanju Tosun**

##### **Abstract**

İzmir occupies a place of its own in the Turkish election geography. It is a place where political parties with strong centrist tendencies have always prevailed in both local and general elections, ever since the establishment of a multiparty political system more than half a century ago. In this outcome, the sui generis socioeconomic and political characteristics of İzmir play a determining role. Since the mid-1990s, the representational crisis that the center-right-wing political parties in particular have suffered has laid the ground for the rise of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in İzmir. This party was established before the 2002 elections, and despite its origins on the Islamic right, it has since evolved into a representative of the new liberal-conservative trend in politics. In the July 22, 2007 elections, this party won 30 percent of the votes. In this essay, a comparative analysis of the electoral preferences in İzmir in the November 3, 2002 and the July 22, 2007 elections and the changes in electoral preferences together with their underlying reasons are presented.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793320577~fulltext=713240930>

#### **5. Attitudinal Orientation to Party Organizations in Turkey in the 2000s**

**Ersin Kalaycıoğlu**

##### **Abstract**

The Turkish party system experienced a serious blow in the early 1980s, when the military government in power closed down all the former legal political parties. Therefore, little evidence of strong psychological ties between voters and the political parties they supported at the polls is expected. This essay draws upon existing literature on voting behavior to develop four hypotheses to explain partisan affiliations of Turkish voters. Each of the hypotheses is then put to empirical tests, using data collected by means of a nationally representative survey. The four independent variables used in the four hypotheses are the role of parents' party identification (socialization), ideological orientations, economic expectations, and the ethnic identities of voters. Socialization emerges as a major determinant of partisan affiliation with the relatively older Republican People's Party (CHP) and Nationalist Action Party (MHP), while identifiers with the governing Justice and Development Party (AKP) take few cues from their parents and pay more attention to the economic performance of that party in government. Ideology seems to play a major role in determining the psychological orientations of those who feel attached to the CHP versus the AKP or the MHP but little role in differentiating AKP from MHP voters. Ethnicity only plays a role in partisan affiliation with the MHP.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793323023~fulltext=713240930>

## 6. Ideology or Economic Pragmatism?: Profiling Turkish Voters in 2007

Ali Çarkoğlu

### Abstract

The July 2007 general elections took place in an atmosphere of polarization around debates concerning the changing nature of the Turkish political regime. The election victory for the incumbent Justice and Development Party (AKP) seemed to depend on two competing sources of influence upon voters in their choice for political parties. One was primarily long-term ideological orientations built on left-right self-placement, religiosity, and conservatism. The other was relatively short-term evaluations of government performance, especially on the economic front. This essay evaluates these two branches of influence upon voters' choice, using survey data collected before and after the July election.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793322372~fulltext=713240930>

## 7. The 2007 Elections and Parliamentary Elites in Turkey: The Emergence of a New Political Class?

Sabri Sayari; Alim Hasanov

### Abstract

This essay analyzes the impact of the 2007 elections in Turkey on the structure of the parliamentary elites. The article begins with an examination of the recent trends in turnover rates. The electoral earthquake of 2002 resulted in the highest turnover in modern Turkish politics. In 2007, the turnover rate declined to 59.3 percent as a result of the relative stabilization of party competition. In the subsequent sections of the essay, the data on the social backgrounds of the deputies with respect to age, gender, occupation, education, and knowledge of the Arabic language are examined. The analysis reveals some notable differences as well as similarities between the political parties that entered the Grand National Assembly in 2007. Of particular importance is the fact that 73 out of 341 AKP deputies know Arabic, presumably as a result of their training at the Imam-Hatip schools. The essay concludes with the observation that the AKP's decisive electoral victories in 2002 and 2007 have facilitated the rise of a new political class of parliamentary elites in Turkey.

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## 8. Turkish Voters and Losers' Consent

Richard Rose

### Abstract

This paper tests four hypotheses of “losers' consent”—that is, the extent to which evaluations of democratic governance are shared by citizens who voted for the Justice and Development Party (AKP), the winner at the 2007 Turkish elections, and those who voted for the opposition parties, the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Nationalist Action Party (MHP). It uses survey data about governance evaluations from the 2007 Turkish Election Study. The evidence rejects the idea that losers withhold consent, creating polarized pluralism. It gives some support to a winner's effect. It finds a substantial degree of similarity in views of governance across party lines. Differences between voters for the two losing parties are

sometimes greater than differences with the AKP. Regardless of dissatisfaction with some features of governance, there is an overwhelming consensus rejecting a change of regime to military or Shari'a rule.

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## 9. Conclusion

Ali Çarkođlu

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a793322881~fulltext=713240930>