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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 JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

July 2008, Volume 52, Issue 3

1. Mobilizing Interest: The Effects of Money on Citizen Participation in State Supreme Court Elections

Melinda Gann Hall, Chris W. Bonneau

Abstract

In this article, we investigate one highly significant aspect of the role of money in judicial elections: whether campaign spending increases citizen participation in the recruitment and retention of judges. Specifically, by using a two-stage modeling strategy that allows us to separate the effects of challengers from the effects of money, we assess whether relatively expensive campaigns improve the chances that citizens will vote in the 260 supreme court elections held from 1990 through 2004 in 18 states using partisan or nonpartisan elections to staff the high court bench. We find that increased spending significantly improves citizen participation in these races. Whether measured as the overall spending in each election or in per capita terms, greater spending facilitates voting. We conclude, contrary to conventional wisdom about the deleterious effects of money in judicial elections, that by stimulating mass participation and giving voters greater ownership in the outcomes of these races, expensive campaigns strengthen the critical linkage between citizens and the bench and enhance the quality of democracy.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120748986/PDFSTART>

2. Who Consents? Competing Pivots in Federal Judicial Selection

David M. Primo, Sarah A. Binder, Forrest Maltzman

Abstract

The salience of judicial appointments in contemporary American politics has precipitated a surge of scholarly interest in the dynamics of advice and consent in the U.S. Senate. In this article, we compare alternative pivotal politics models of the judicial nominations process, each capturing a different set of potential veto players in the Senate. We use these spatial models to guide empirical analysis of rejection patterns in confirmation contests for the lower federal courts. Using data on the outcomes of all nominations to the U.S. Courts of Appeals and the U.S. District Courts between 1975 and 2006, we show that models incorporating the preferences of the majority party median and the filibuster pivots best account for confirmation patterns we observe at the appellate and trial court levels, while advice and consent for trial courts has more recently been influenced by home-state senators.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120748982/PDFSTART>

3. Change over Tenure: Voting, Variance, and Decision Making on the U.S. Courts of Appeals

Erin B. Kaheny, Susan Brodie Haire, Sara C. Benesh

Abstract

Existing scholarship on the voting behavior of U.S. Courts of Appeals judges finds that their decisions are best understood as a function of law, policy preferences, and factors relating to the institutional context of the circuit court. What previous studies have failed to consider, however, is that the ability to predict circuit judge decisions can vary in substantively important ways and that judges, in different stages of their careers, may behave distinctively. This article develops a theoretical framework which conceptualizes career stage to account for variability in voting by circuit judges and tests hypotheses by modeling the error variance in a vote choice model. The findings indicate that judges are more predictable in their voting during their early and late career stages. Case characteristics and institutional features of the circuit also affect voting consistency.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120748978/PDFSTART>

4. The Value of Vagueness: Delegation, Defiance, and Judicial Opinions

Jeffrey K. Staton, Georg Vanberg

Abstract

An established line of research demonstrates that vague judicial opinions are less likely to be implemented than clear opinions. Vague opinions thus present a puzzle. Why would judges craft opinions that risk noncompliance? We argue that the relationships between judges and other policy makers in separation-of-powers systems are central to understanding this puzzle. Opinion vagueness can reflect efforts to resolve core tradeoffs associated with judicial policymaking that bear some resemblance to standard accounts of political delegation. Vagueness offers judges the ability to manage their uncertainty over policy outcomes and to hide likely defiance from public view. At the same time, vagueness removes a central source of pressure for compliance that judges can place on other policy makers. Using a game-theoretic model, we identify conditions under which judges use vagueness precisely as legislatures use statutory discretion. We also demonstrate conditions under which judges use vagueness in ways unanticipated by standard delegation accounts.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120748991/PDFSTART>

5. Assessing the "Experience Bonus" Through Examining Strategic Entry, Candidate Quality, and Campaign Receipts in U.S. House Elections

Cherie D. Maestas, Cynthia R. Rugeley

Abstract

This article examines nonincumbent fundraising through the lens of two theories that have not been applied in other studies of fundraising—strategic candidate entry and ambitious amateur candidates—to test whether candidates with prior office experience are advantaged in raising funds for U.S. House campaigns. A selection model that takes into account the

strategic entry of strong candidates demonstrates that electoral experience matters for only a select subset of experienced candidates. In contrast to previous research, the results show that much of the fundraising difference between amateurs and experienced candidates can be attributed to a selection process where the strongest candidates seek the best races. The results have implications for how we understand the relative importance of various conditions that shape fundraising. Competitive local or national conditions that encourage strong candidacies also allow nonincumbents to accumulate sufficient funds to mount credible campaigns.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120748988/PDFSTART>

6. The Color of Devolution: Race, Federalism, and the Politics of Social Control

Joe Soss, Richard C. Fording, Sanford F. Schram

Abstract

In this article, we seek to advance scholarship on the origins and consequences of policy devolution by analyzing state decisions to give local authorities control over welfare policy. The first part of our analysis explores the political forces that systematically influence state decisions to cede policy control to lower-level jurisdictions. In this context, we propose a general Racial Classification Model of how race influences social policy choice. Our findings support this model as well as social control perspectives on welfare provision. Building on these results, we then show how modest but consistent racial effects on policy choices concatenate to produce large disparities in the overall policy regimes that racial groups encounter in the federal system. The empirical findings illuminate the fundamental role that federalism plays in the production of contemporary racial disparities and in the recent turn toward neoliberal and paternalist policies in American poverty governance.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120748984/PDFSTART>

7. The Context Matters: The Effects of Single-Member versus At-Large Districts on City Council Diversity

Jessica Trounstine, Melody E. Valdini

Abstract

Scholars continue to debate the degree to which electoral institutions matter for representation. The literature predicts that minorities benefit from districts while women benefit from at-large elections. The mechanisms by which institutions affect the ability of traditionally underrepresented groups to win seats have been understudied. Using an analysis of over 7,000 cities and interviews with city councilors, we find that compared to at-large systems, district systems can increase diversity only when underrepresented groups are highly concentrated and compose a substantial portion of the population. In addition, we find that the electoral system has a significant effect on representation only for African American male and white female councilors; the proportion of African American women and Latina councilors is not affected by the use of either district or at-large systems.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120748980/PDFSTART>

8. Church Engagement, Religious Values, and Mass-Elite Policy Agenda Agreement in Local Communities

Kim Quaile Hill, Tetsuya Matsubayashi

Abstract

We provide evidence on two prominent but heretofore untested expectations about the relevance of religion for the democratic process: (1) that greater engagement in churches or comparable religious institutions and their organizational life enhances representational processes; and (2) that religious values in a community have greater influence on the latter processes, with more liberal religious values expected to enhance the responsiveness of community leaders to general public preferences. Using data on local communities in the United States in the late 1960s, we find strong support for the expected relevance of religious liberalism for representation, but none for the expected effect of church engagement. We provide evidence, too, that our findings about religious values are generalizable to present-day politics.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120748985/PDFSTART>

9. Outside Funding and the Dynamics of Participation in Community Associations

Mary Kay Gugerty, Michael Kremer

Abstract

The poor and disadvantaged are widely seen as having weak organizations and low rates of participation in community associations, impeding their political representation and economic advancement. Many policy initiatives aim to build civic participation among the disadvantaged by funding local community associations. Taking advantage of random assignment in a program supporting women's community associations in Kenya, we find little evidence that outside funding expanded organizational strength, but substantial evidence that funding changed group membership and leadership, weakening the role of the disadvantaged. The program led younger, more educated, and better-off women to enter the groups. New entrants, men, and more educated women assumed leadership positions. The departure of older women, the most socially marginalized demographic group, increased substantially. The results are generalized through a formal model showing how democratic decision making by existing members of community associations can generate long-run outcomes in which the poor and disadvantaged either do not belong to any associations or belong to weak organizations

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120748981/PDFSTART>

10. Beliefs and Voting Decisions: A Test of the Pivotal Voter Model

John Duffy, Margit Tavits

Abstract

We report results from a laboratory experiment testing the basic hypothesis embedded in various rational voter models that there is a direct correlation between the strength of an individual's belief that his or her vote will be pivotal and the likelihood that individual

incurs the cost to vote. This belief is typically unobservable. In one of our experimental treatments we elicit these subjective beliefs using a proper scoring rule that induces truthful revelation of beliefs. This allows us to directly test the pivotal voter model. We find that a higher subjective probability of being pivotal increases the likelihood that an individual votes, but the probability thresholds used by subjects are not as crisp as the theory would predict. There is some evidence that individuals learn over time to adjust their beliefs to be more consistent with the historical frequency of pivotality. However, many subjects keep substantially overestimating their probability of being pivotal.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120748977/PDFSTART>

11. Of Time and the Development of Partisan Polarization

Laura Stoker, M. Kent Jennings

Abstract

In this article we address the topic of increasing partisan polarization in the American mass public, focusing on the twin influences of individual-level development and cohort replacement and the interaction between the two. We posit a model of individual development that consists of declining openness to change beyond young adulthood, an increase in party-issue constraint as age advances, and cohort-specific responsiveness to changes in the partisan environment. Results from a long-term panel study provide initial evidence of these dynamics. We then use simulations to generate expectations about how these developmental processes play out across cohorts, issues, and time. These expectations are evaluated through a cohort analysis of National Election Studies data from 1972 to 2004. Overall, our results provide a new perspective on the dynamics of individual political development and their implications for the timing, extent, and future trajectory of partisan polarization in the U.S. electorate.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120748990/PDFSTART>

12. Equilibrium Party Government

John W. Patty

Abstract

In this article, I present an equilibrium model of party government within a two-party legislature. The theory is predicated upon members of the majority party having potentially conflicting individual and collective interests. In response to this potential conflict, the members of the majority party endogenously choose a degree of control to grant to their leadership. The equilibrium level of party strength is decreasing in the size of the majority party and increasing in the strength of opposition among members of the minority party. The theory implies that the average performance of W-Nominate estimates of majority party members' ideal points will be a decreasing function of the size of the majority party while the performance of these estimates for members of the minority party will not be affected by the size of the majority party. Using data from the U.S. House and Senate between 1866 and 2004, the theory's predictions are largely consistent with roll-call voting in both chambers.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120748987/PDFSTART>

13. Fear of Floating and the External Effects of Currency Unions

Thomas Plümper, Vera E. Troeger

Abstract

The introduction of the Euro has considerably affected the de facto monetary policy autonomy—defined as independence from monetary policy in the key currency areas—in countries outside the European Currency Union (ECU). Using a standard open economy framework, we argue that de facto monetary policy autonomy has significantly declined for countries that dominantly trade with the ECU and slightly increased for countries that dominantly trade with the Dollar zone. The predictions of our model find support in the data. We estimate the influence of the Bundesbank's/ECB's and the Fed's monetary policies on various country groups. The de facto monetary policy autonomy of both non-Euro EU members and EFTA countries declined with the introduction of the Euro. This effect was slightly stronger for the EU member countries than for EFTA countries as our theory predicts. At the same time, the de facto monetary policy autonomy of Australia and New Zealand vis-à-vis the US Dollar has (moderately) increased.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120748983/PDFSTART>

14. Aristotle's Introduction to the Problem of Happiness: On Book I of the Nicomachean Ethics

Robert C. Bartlett

Abstract

The study of Book I of the Nicomachean Ethics is useful today in part because it deals with a question—the nature of human happiness—whose relevance is obvious. But in dealing with that question, Book I compels us to raise difficulties for ourselves that, far from being obvious, are in danger of being forgotten. Chief among these difficulties are, first, the true character of our hope for happiness and, ultimately, the necessity of there being a kind of divine providence if that hope is to be realized. Inasmuch as we still long for happiness, we must still undergo the pull of that necessity, however distant it may appear to us to be. In bringing out our deepest concern in this way, the study of the first book of the Ethics also prepares us to become serious students of Aristotle's "philosophy of human matters" as a whole, which is concerned with the reality of providence because it is concerned with the possibility of philosophy as a way of life.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120748979/PDFSTART>

Comparative Political Science

August 2008, Volume 41, No. 8

1. Ethnic Defection in Civil War

Stathis N. Kalyvas

Abstract

The study of ethnicity is dominated by constructivist approaches, yet empirical studies of civil war have been oblivious to their insights. In this article, the author examines the relationship between ethnic identity and civil war and points to several empirical instances of fluidity in the behavioral expression of ethnic identities within civil war. The author identifies two processes that are consistent with constructivist theorizing: identity shift and ethnic defection. The author provides several empirical illustrations along with a micro-level test of the determinants of ethnic defection. At the micro level, ethnic defection is best predicted by the extent of territorial control exercised by the incumbent political actor and the level of prior insurgent violence. The author also hypothesizes that at the macro level, ethnic defection is a function of the resources available to incumbent actors and conclude by stressing the need to take seriously the endogenous dynamics of civil wars.

Key Words: civil war • ethnicity • identity • insurgency • counterinsurgency

<http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/41/8/1043>

2. Unstable Politics: Fiscal Space and Electoral Volatility in the Indian States

Irfan Nooruddin and Pradeep Chhibber

Abstract

What explains variations in electoral volatility? The authors argue that fiscal space—availability of financial resources to enact policy initiatives and provide public programs—possessed by governments can explain the level of electoral volatility. Where governments have fiscal space, citizens reward incumbent parties with their continued support. But when fiscal space is constrained, the incumbent government's ability to provide state resources is drastically reduced. Citizens are therefore less likely to reward the party at the polls and are available to opposition politicians and alternative appeals. Vote-switching ensues, and the incumbent government is voted out of the office. The authors test this argument and others in the existing literature on electoral returns from state assembly elections across 15 major Indian states from 1967 to 2004. The results support the argument that fiscal space influences electoral volatility.

Key Words: fiscal space • electoral volatility • party politics • India

<http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/41/8/1069>

3. Sovereign Bond Ratings and the Democratic Advantage: Portfolio Investment in the Developing World

Glen Biglaiser, Brian Hicks, and Caitlin Huggins

Abstract

As developing countries expose portfolio investors to potential high risk, it is expected that investors will follow the advice of credit rating agencies (CRAs) before sending capital abroad. Controlling for political and economic explanations in the literature, the authors use panel data for 50 developing countries from 1987 to 2003 to determine if changes in CRA ratings affect portfolio flows. Using a two-stage Heckman model, they find that countries that are under newer political institutions and facing economic challenges are more likely to be selected by portfolio investors because they offer risk premia, but that CRA ratings and democracy have significant positive signaling effects on the countries that receive the largest private equity inflows. In fact, democracy and bond ratings are the most important for the poorest developing countries. The results suggest the significance of CRA ratings for equity investors and contribute a revision for the democratic advantage debate.

Key Words: bond ratings • portfolio investment • democratic advantage • developing countries • Heckman model

<http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/41/8/1092>

4. Political Leadership and the Emergence of Radical Mass Movements in Democracy

Takis S. Pappas

Abstract

The perception of liberal democracy as a solidly institutionalized system in which opposition forces moderately compete with legitimate authority is so fixed that people are often surprised when mass radicalism emerges. Why, when, and how do radical mass movements emerge in pluralist (or semipluralist) political systems? The article, by linking radical action at the mass level with strategic choices at the elite level, argues in favor of an explanation based on symbolic framing processes. Radical mass action is best explained by the symbolic-cum-strategic action of individual political entrepreneurs employing specific frames to mobilize large masses of people. The argument is empirically clarified by the examination of three cases in which mass radicalism occurred in recent decades (Greece, Yugoslavia, Venezuela) and is then counterfactually tested in six cases of nonoccurrence (Spain, Portugal, Bulgaria, Romania, Colombia, Ecuador). The present analysis also points to a novel theorization of political charisma and charismatic leadership.

Key Words: mass radicalism • movement leadership • symbolic framing • political charisma • Greece • Yugoslavia • Venezuela

<http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/41/8/1117>

5. Incompetence, Alienation, or Calculation?: Explaining Levels of Invalid Ballots and Extra-Parliamentary Votes

Fredrik Uggla

Abstract

This article focuses on the casting of invalid ballots and voting for extra-parliamentary parties. Drawing on evidence from more than 200 elections in Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and the Americas during the 1980-2000 period, it tests how well four sets of factors serve as explanations for the extent of such behavior in parliamentary contests. The main finding is that the structure of political competition provides an important explanation for extra-parliamentary voting and, in particular, the number of invalid ballots. Thus, rather than being the unfortunate circumstances of an uninformed or incompetent electorate, these forms of voting, to a large extent, appear to reflect a political situation that offers voters little effective choice in the form of clear alternatives.

Key Words: invalid votes • spoilt ballots • extra-parliamentary votes • electoral behavior

<http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/41/8/1141>

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

July/August 2008, Volume 87, Issue 4

1. Rethinking the National Interest

Condoleezza Rice

Abstract

The Secretary of State reflects on the lessons of the past eight years.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080701faessay87401/condoleezza-rice/rethinking-the-national-interest.html>

2. The New Israel and the Old

Walter Russell Mead

Abstract

The real key to Washington's pro-Israel policy is long-lasting and broad-based support for the Jewish state among the American public at large.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080701faessay87402/walter-russell-mead/the-new-israel-and-the-old.html>

3. China's Olympic Nightmare

Elizabeth C. Economy and Adam Segal

Abstract

Failure to plan for predictable problems has turned China's coming-out party into an embarrassment.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080701faessay87403/elizabeth-c-economy-adam-segal/china-s-olympic-nightmare.html>

4. A Partnership of Equals

C. Fred Bergsten

Abstract

Beijing is shirking its responsibilities to the global economy. To encourage better behavior, Washington should offer to share global economic leadership.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080701faessay87404/c-fred-bergsten/a-partnership-of-equals.html>

5. In the Tank

David G. Victor and Sarah Eskreis-Winkler

Abstract

Oil stocks can help buffer economic shocks, but only if Washington radically reforms its handling of them.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080701faessay87405/david-g-victor-sarah-eskreis-winkler/in-the-tank.html>

6. The Future of North America

Robert A. Pastor

Abstract

It's time to integrate further with Canada and Mexico, not separate from them.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080701faessay87406/robert-a-pastor/the-future-of-north-america.html>

7. Building a New Atlantic Alliance

James P. Rubin

Abstract

How the United States can restore its relationship with Europe.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080701faessay87407/james-p-rubin/building-a-new-atlantic-alliance.html>

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

July 2008, Volume 62, Issue 3

1. Protecting Democracy in Europe and the Americas

Darren Hawkins

Abstract

Especially since the end of the Cold War, the Council of Europe (CE) and the Organization of American States (OAS) have acted to protect democracy in their member states from erosion or reversals, with CE policies more robust than those in the Americas. What explains this variation? I develop an argument focusing on institutional permeability, or the extent to which those organizations are accessible to nonstate actors. Permeability consists of three dimensions: range of third parties allowed access, level of decision making at which access is granted, and transparency of IO information to those third parties. Higher levels of permeability are likely to produce higher levels of constraint on state behavior through increasing levels of precision and obligation in international rules and practices. Alternative explanations, summarized as regional democracy norms, domestic democratic lock-in interests, and the power of stable democracies cannot explain the variation in multilateral democracy protection. More broadly, this article suggests that “democratizing” IOs by allowing ever-greater access to nonstate actors is likely to result in stronger, more constraining international rules, even in areas where states most jealously guard their sovereignty, such as the nature of their domestic political institutions.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=1926804&jid=INO&volumeId=62&issueId=03&aid=1926800&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0020818308080193>

2. A New Approach for Determining Exchange-Rate Level Preferences

Stefanie Walter

Abstract

In research on the political economy of exchange rates, a good understanding of who will endorse and who will oppose certain exchange-rate policies is central to understanding how actual exchange-rate policies are made and how the global exchange-rate system changes over time. Since existing classifications of exchange-rate level preferences have several shortcomings, this article proposes a new and more nuanced strategy for identifying preferences on exchange-rate valuation. This approach takes into account the complex interrelationship between exchange-rate and monetary policy, and the effects of these policies on balance sheets. In addition, the approach accounts for the dynamics of preference formation and change. Comparative case studies of currency crises in Hong Kong, South Korea, Thailand, and Taiwan show that considering actors' vulnerabilities to exchange-rate and interest-rate changes enhances understanding of their exchange-rate level preferences. The case studies also indicate that societal preferences affect policy outcomes. Exchange-rate stability was maintained in countries where private actors' vulnerabilities to depreciation were high. However, when pressure intensified, exchange

rates were subsequently depreciated in countries where vulnerabilities to a monetary tightening exceeded the potential costs of depreciation.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=1926744&jid=INO&volumeId=62&issueId=03&aid=1926740&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0020818308080144>

3. Multilateralism, Bilateralism, and Exclusion in the Nuclear Proliferation Regime

Daniel Verdier

Abstract

I use the nuclear proliferation regime to show that dyadic diplomacy is not necessarily incompatible with the building of a multilateral regime; bilateralism is not the opposite of multilateralism, but an efficient component thereof. Although this point will not be new to most students of institutions, no general rationale has so far been offered on the complementarity of bilateral and multilateral diplomacy. Starting from a characterization of proliferation as the result of a large number of prisoner's dilemmas played out between states engaged in local dyadic rivalries, I demonstrate that it is possible for the superpowers to design an optimal mix of threats and bribes in which states with low compliance costs join the regime on the terms of the multilateral treaty alone; states with intermediate compliance costs need additional customized incentives, delivered through bilateral agreements; and states with high compliance costs are not only left out of the regime but also punished for nonparticipation. I draw a few comparative statics that I systematically test on Nuclear Proliferation Treaty (NPT) membership data. I discuss the applicability of the model to the currency, trade, and aid regimes.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=1926756&jid=INO&volumeId=62&issueId=03&aid=1926752&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0020818308080156>

4. Does Flexibility Promote Cooperation? An Application to the Global Trade Regime

Jeffrey Kucik and Eric Reinhardt

Abstract

Do flexibility provisions in international agreements—clauses allowing for legal suspension of concessions without abrogating the treaty—promote cooperation? Recent work emphasizes that provisions for relaxing treaty commitments can ironically make states more likely to form agreements and make deeper concessions when doing so. This argument has particularly been applied to the global trade regime, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and its successor, the World Trade Organization (WTO). Yet the field has not produced much evidence bearing on this claim. Our article applies this claim to the global trade regime and its chief flexibility provision, antidumping. In contrast to prior work, this article explicitly models the endogeneity and selection processes envisioned by the theory. We find that states joining the WTO are more likely to adopt domestic antidumping mechanisms. Likewise, corrected for endogeneity, states able to take advantage of the regime's principal flexibility provision, by having a domestic antidumping mechanism in place, are significantly more likely to (1) join the WTO, (2) agree to more tightly binding tariff commitments, and (3) implement lower applied tariffs as well.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=1926768&jid=INO&volumeId=62&issueId=03&aid=1926764&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0020818308080168>

5. Protecting Free Trade: The Political Economy of Rules of Origin

Kerry A. Chase

Abstract

The design of rules of origin in free trade agreements (FTAs) arouses spirited lobbying campaigns that mostly escape public attention. This article argues that the domestic groups generally most favorable to FTAs differ in their preferences over rules of origin: industries with large returns to scale favor strict rules of origin to gain scale economies in an FTA, while industries with multinational supply chains prefer lenient rules of origin to accommodate offshore procurement. An econometric analysis of rules of origin in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) finds tougher rules of origin the higher the external trade protection and the larger the returns to scale, and more permissive rules of origin the greater the involvement in foreign sourcing. The results suggest that rules of origin may be critical to building domestic coalitions for FTAs. Industry preferences toward rules of origin therefore have important implications for the politics of FTA ratification.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=1926780&jid=INO&volumeId=62&issueId=03&aid=1926776&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S002081830808017X>

6. Disaggregating Ethno-Nationalist Civil Wars: A Dyadic Test of Exclusion Theory

Halvard Buhaug, Lars-Erik Cederman and Jan Ketil Rød

Abstract

Contemporary conflict research usually measures the influence of ethnicity on conflict by capturing ethnic constellations as country-based indices, such as ethnic fractionalization or polarization. However, such aggregated measures are likely to conceal the actual operation of actor-specific mechanisms. In this article, therefore, we introduce a disaggregated model that measures ethnic groups' access to power. We do so by disaggregating both ethnicity and conflict to the level of explicitly geo-coded center-periphery dyads. This procedure allows us to measure the power balance between politically excluded ethnic groups and dominant actors in terms of group sizes, distances between the center and the periphery, and the roughness of the latter's terrain. We rely on geographic information systems (GIS) to compute demographic and ethno-geographic variables. The dyadic analysis enables us to show that exclusion of powerful ethnic minorities increases the likelihood of conflict considerably. In addition, we show that the risk of conflict is positively associated with the extent of rough terrain in the peripheral group's home region and its distance from the political center.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=1926792&jid=INO&volumeId=62&issueId=03&aid=1926788&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0020818308080181>

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Summer 2008, Vol. 33, Issue 1

1. Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict

Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth

Abstract

The historical record indicates that nonviolent campaigns have been more successful than armed campaigns in achieving ultimate goals in political struggles, even when used against similar opponents and in the face of repression. Nonviolent campaigns are more likely to win legitimacy, attract widespread domestic and international support, neutralize the opponent's security forces, and compel loyalty shifts among erstwhile opponent supporters than are armed campaigns, which enjoin the active support of a relatively small number of people, offer the opponent a justification for violent counterattacks, and are less likely to prompt loyalty shifts and defections. An original, aggregate data set of all known major nonviolent and violent resistance campaigns from 1900 to 2006 is used to test these claims. These dynamics are further explored in case studies of resistance campaigns in Southeast Asia that have featured periods of both violent and nonviolent resistance.

2. How American Treaty Behavior Threatens National Security

Antonia Chayes

Abstract

In recent years, American treaty behavior has produced growing concern among both allies and less friendly nations. On such fundamental issues as nuclear proliferation, terrorism, human rights, civil liberties, environmental disasters, and commerce, the United States has generated confusion and anger abroad. Such a climate is not conducive to needed cooperation in the conduct of foreign and security policy. Among U.S. actions that have caused concern are the failure to ratify several treaties; the attachment of reservations, understandings, and declarations before ratification; the failure to support a treaty regime once ratified; and treaty withdrawal. The structural and historical reasons for American treaty behavior are deeply rooted in the United States' system of government and do not merely reflect superpower arrogance.

3. Closing Time: Assessing the Iranian Threat to the Strait of Hormuz

Caitlin Talmadge

Abstract

How might Iran retaliate in the aftermath of a limited Israeli or U.S. strike? The most economically devastating of Iran's potential responses would be closure of the Strait of Hormuz. According to open-source order of battle data, as well as relevant analogies from military history and GIS maps, Iran does possess significant littoral warfare capabilities,

including mines, antiship cruise missiles, and land-based air defense. If Iran were able to properly link these capabilities, it could halt or impede traffic in the Strait of Hormuz for a month or more. U.S. attempts to reopen the waterway likely would escalate rapidly into sustained, large-scale air and naval operations during which Iran could impose significant economic and military costs on the United States—even if Iranian operations were not successful in truly closing the strait. The aftermath of limited strikes on Iran would be complicated and costly, suggesting needed changes in U.S. force posture and energy policy.

4. The Window of Vulnerability That Wasn't: Soviet Military Buildup in the 1970s **Pavel Podvig**

Abstract

The Soviet strategic modernization program of the 1970s was one of the most consequential developments of the Cold War. Deployment of new intercontinental ballistic missiles and the dramatic increase in the number of strategic warheads in the Soviet arsenal created a sense of vulnerability in the United States that was, to a large degree, responsible for the U.S. military buildup of the late 1970s and early 1980s and the escalation of Cold War tensions during that period. U.S. assessments concluded that the Soviet Union was seeking to achieve a capability to fight and win a nuclear war. Estimates of missile accuracy and silo hardness provided by the U.S. intelligence community led many in the United States to conclude that the Soviet Union was building a strategic missile force capable of destroying most U.S. missiles in a counterforce strike and of surviving a subsequent nuclear exchange. Soviet archival documents that have recently become available demonstrate that this conclusion was wrong. The U.S. estimates substantially overestimated the accuracy of the Soviet Union's missiles and the degree of silo reinforcement. As the data demonstrate, the Soviet missile force did not have the capability to launch a successful first strike. Moreover, the data strongly suggest that the Soviet Union never attempted to acquire a first-strike capability, concentrating instead on strategies based on retaliation.

5. Divining Nuclear Intentions: A Review Essay **William C. Potter and Gaukhar Mukhatzhanova**

Abstract

Although projections of nuclear proliferation abound, they rarely are founded on empirical research or guided by theory. Even fewer studies are informed by a comparative perspective. The two books under review—*The Psychology of Nuclear Proliferation: Identity, Emotions, and Foreign Policy*, by Jacques Hymans, and *Nuclear Logics: Alternative Paths in East Asia and the Middle East*, by Etel Solingen, are welcome exceptions to this general state of affairs, and represent the cutting edge of nonproliferation research. Both works challenge conventional conceptions of the sources of nuclear weapons decisions and offer new insights into why past predictions of rapid proliferation failed to materialize and why current prognoses about rampant proliferation are similarly

flawed. While sharing a number of common features, including a focus on subsystemic determinants of national behavior, the books differ in their methodology, level of analysis, receptivity to multicausal explanations, and assumptions about decisionmaker rationality and the revolutionary nature of the decision. Where one author emphasizes the importance of the individual leader's national identity conception in determining a state's nuclear path, the other explains nuclear decisions primarily with regard to the political-economic orientation of the ruling coalition. Notwithstanding a tendency to overinterpret evidence, the books represent the best of contemporary social science research and provide compelling interpretations of nuclear proliferation dynamics of great relevance to scholars and policymakers alike.

JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY

July 2008, Volume 19, Number 3

1. Three Kinds of Movements

Tamara Cofman Wittes

<http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/gratis/Wittes-19-3.pdf>

2. Going Back to the Origins

Husain Haqqani & Hillel Fradkin

<http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/gratis/HaqqaniFradkin-19-3.pdf>

3. Are They Democrats? Does It Matter?

Tarek Masoud

4. Turkey's AKP in Power

Ihsan Dagi

5. Participation Without Power

Malika Zeghal

6. Institutions Make the Difference

Laith Kubba

7. Why They Can't Be Democratic

Bassam Tibi

8. A Boon or a Bane for Democracy?

Amr Hamzawy & Nathan Brown

9. The Real Causes of the Color Revolutions

Lucan Way

Abstract

The "color revolutions" in the postcommunist countries cannot be attributed to diffusion alone. Structural factors offer a better explanation of why such revolutions have succeeded in some countries and not in others.

10. ASEAN's "Black Swans"

Donald K. Emmerson

Abstract

Can regionalism help to redress the uneven spread and internal weaknesses of democracy in Southeast Asia? Unforeseen events in the region and positive political entrepreneurship may yet transform ASEAN into a force for democracy.

11. A New Look at Ethnicity and Democratization

Mark R. Beissinger

Abstract

Conventional scholarly wisdom holds that ethnic diversity within a given society generally dims democracy's prospects. Careful reflection on the experience of many post-Soviet states, however, suggests that this need not be so.

12. Has the Northern Ireland Problem Been Solved?

John Coakley

Abstract

The 1998 Good Friday Agreement provided a framework for peace and democracy in Northern Ireland. But it was a particular set of internal circumstances that allowed for the pact's successful implementation.

Supplemental Graphics

13. Latin America: Eight Lessons for Governance

Scott Mainwaring & Timothy R. Scully

Abstract

Latin America's recent experience shows that effective democratic governance is difficult to achieve and depends on many factors, some of them context-specific. Nonetheless, it is possible to draw some general lessons.

14. South Korea's Miraculous Democracy

Hahm Chaibong

Abstract

Despite South Korea's messy democratic trajectory, it has miraculously achieved consolidation. Though far from perfect, South Korea's democracy has turned obstacles into opportunities for reform and development.

15. The Remarkable Story of Somaliland

Seth Kaplan

Abstract

Emerging from one of the world's most notorious failed states, Somaliland has become an oasis of relative democratic stability in the troubled Horn of Africa. What does its story teach us about democratic state-building?

16. The Orange Revolution and Beyond

Kateryna Yushchenko

Abstract

Ukraine gained independence in 1991, but its people gained their freedom only in 2004 with the Orange Revolution—an uprising of the human spirit in which Ukrainians joined together to gain a voice in their future.

17. The Crisis in Kenya

Maina Kiai

Abstract

For years Kenya was regarded as one of Africa's sturdiest democracies. The fraudulent 2007 presidential election, however, exposed the fragility of Kenya's democratic framework.

JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH

July 2008, Volume 45, No.4

1. The Aftermath of Civil War

Ibrahim Elbadawi, Håvard Hegre, and Gary J. Milante

Abstract

This article introduces the special issue on 'The Aftermath of Civil War' and presents the research project from which the articles in this issue originate. The article presents a few empirical observations that demonstrate the increasing importance of the post-conflict situation for actors that engage to reduce the global incidence of armed conflict. The global incidence of conflict was reduced from 1992 to 2002, since there were more terminations than onsets. Although this trend seems to have halted, a scrutiny of the onsets shows that they increasingly are recurrences of conflicts that have been inactive for a period. In 2005 and 2006, there were no new conflicts. The article then briefly introduces the six contributions to the special issue. The articles investigate the importance of peacekeeping troops, elections, aid, capital flight, and exclusion of parties from peace agreements in post-conflict situations. The articles are also applicable to countries that have not had armed conflicts, as the authors investigate the relationship between ethnic diversity and military spending and the determinants of youths' decisions to participate in rebel groups.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/4/451>

2. Post-Conflict Risks

Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler, and Måns Söderbom

Abstract

Post-conflict societies face two distinctive challenges: economic recovery and reduction of the risk of a recurring conflict. Aid and policy reforms have been found to be effective in economic recovery. In this article, the authors concentrate on the other challenge — risk reduction. The post-conflict peace is typically fragile: nearly half of all civil wars are due to post-conflict relapses. The authors find that economic development substantially reduces risks, but it takes a long time. They also find evidence that UN peacekeeping expenditures significantly reduce the risk of renewed war. The effect is large: doubling expenditure reduces the risk from 40% to 31%. In contrast to these results, the authors cannot find any systematic influence of elections on the reduction of war risk. Therefore, post-conflict elections should be promoted as intrinsically desirable rather than as mechanisms for increasing the durability of the post-conflict peace. Based on these results, the authors suggest that peace appears to depend upon an external military presence sustaining a gradual economic recovery, with political design playing a somewhat subsidiary role. Since there is a relationship between the severity of post-conflict risks and the level of income at the end of the conflict, this provides a clear and uncontroversial principle for resource allocation: resources per capita should be approximately inversely proportional to the level of income in the post-conflict country.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/4/461>

3. Partial Peace: Rebel Groups Inside and Outside of Civil War Settlements

Desirée Nilsson

Abstract

Previous research proposes that peace is more likely to become durable if all rebel groups are included in the settlement reached. The argument implies that if actors are excluded and continue to pursue the military course, this could have a destabilizing effect on the actors that have signed an agreement. This article argues that all-inclusive peace deals — signed by the government and all rebel groups — are not the panacea for peace that many seem to believe. Given that the parties are strategic actors who are forward-looking when making their decisions, the signatories should anticipate that the excluded parties may continue to fight. Therefore, the risk of violent challenges from outside actors is likely to already be factored into the decisionmaking calculus when the signatories decide to reach a deal, and so does not affect their commitment to peace. Implications from this theoretical argument are tested using unique data on the conflict behavior of the government and each of the rebel groups in internal armed conflicts during the post-Cold War period. The results are well in line with the theoretical expectations and show that whether an agreement leaves out some actor does not affect whether the signatories stick to peace. The results demonstrate that, even when excluded rebel groups engage in conflict, this does not affect the signatories' commitment to peace. Hence, the findings suggest that partial peace is possible.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/4/479>

4. Disarming Fears of Diversity: Ethnic Heterogeneity and State Militarization, 1988—2002

Indra De Soysa and Eric Neumayer

Abstract

This study investigates whether ethnic and other forms of social diversity affect militarization of society. Recent scholarship in economics finds that high diversity leads to lower provision of public goods. At the same time, many conflict studies find that highly diverse societies face a lower risk of civil war, as opposed to relatively more homogenous populations. The authors explore whether diversity prompts governments to militarize heavily in order to prevent armed conflict, which would then crowd out spending on other public goods in a 'guns versus butter' trade-off. Thus, 'preventive militarization' would explain both outcomes. Yet the authors find the opposite: higher levels of ethnic diversity predict lower levels of militarization. If high diversity lowers the hazard of civil war, as many find, then it does not happen via preventive militarization. If diverse societies spend less on public goods, then this is not because they are crowded out by security spending. The results support those who suggest that diversity may, in fact, pose a lower security threat to states, since it is highly likely that states facing potential social strife would prioritize state militarization.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/4/497>

5. Postwar Capital Flight and Inflation

Victor A.B. Davies

Abstract

This article provides empirical evidence on the effects of inflation on postwar capital flight flows. It tests the hypothesis that inflation has a positive differential effect on capital flight in postwar economies. It uses a new panel dataset of 77 developing countries, of which 35 experienced at least one episode of war between 1971 and 2000. The rest enjoyed peace throughout this period. Ordinary Least Squares, Generalized Least Squares, Within-Group and Arellano-Bond estimation methods are applied to four capital flight measures — Cline, World Bank, Morgan Guaranty and Dooley. The results support the research hypothesis: in postwar economies, a percentage point increase in the inflation rate is associated with a differential increase in annual capital flight flows of about 0.005 to 0.01 percentage points of GDP. This constitutes the positive differential impact of inflation on capital flight after war. This finding is robust to alternative specifications of the capital flight equation, the different measures of capital flight and econometric estimation methodologies. Given the average level of capital flight flows and the high and sustained inflation rates in some postwar economies, the overall effect could be substantial. The implication is that low inflation helps to curb capital flight in postwar economies.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/4/519>

6. Oil and the Probability of Rebel Participation Among Youths in the Niger Delta of Nigeria

Aderoju Oyefusi

Abstract

This article attempts to explain the determinants of the probability of willingness to join rebel groups by youths in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, using primary data from a sample of 1,337 individuals drawn from 18 communities. A cardinal objective is to test the theoretical explanations of the motivation for rebellion in resource-based societies and to examine the kind of factors that present rebel opportunity. Fifteen variables are used to reflect motives and opportunity for rebellion, and a logit regression model is employed to estimate the probability of willingness to participate. While grievance appears to be pervasive among individuals- and is systemically explained by the data, it is not seen to have high statistical effect on the probability of having a disposition to rebel participation. Rather, individual- and community-level factors that reduce the opportunity cost and risk of participation, or increase the perceived benefits, appear to be more important. The findings suggest that strategies to achieve long-lasting civil peace in Nigeria's Delta must go beyond grievance to address individual-level factors that determine the opportunity cost of participation in violence, such as low income level and low educational attainment, and community-level factors that create an opportunity to profit from extreme forms of civil

disobedience, such as low infrastructure. Some of these strategies choices are found also to have the potential to address grievance.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/4/539>

7. Civil Conflict, Federalism and Strategic Delegation of Leadership

Colin Jennings and Hein Roelfsema

Abstract

This article analyzes negative externalities that policymakers in one region or group may impose upon the citizens of neighboring regions or groups. These externalities may be material, but they may also be psychological (in the form of envy). The latter form of externality may arise from the production of 'conspicuous' public goods. As a result, decentralized provision of conspicuous public goods may be too high. Potentially, a centralized legislature may internalize negative externalities. However, in a model with strategic delegation, we argue that the median voter in each jurisdiction may anticipate a reduction in local public goods supply and delegate to a policymaker who cares more for public goods than she does herself. This last effect mitigates the expected benefits of policy centralization. The authors' theory is then applied to the setting of civil conflict, where they discuss electoral outcomes in Northern Ireland and Yugoslavia before and after significant institutional changes that affected the degree of centralization. These case studies provide support for the authors' theoretical predictions.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/45/4/557>

Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans

2008, Volume 10, Issue 2

1. Europeanization and the variable influence of the EU: national parties and party systems in Western and Eastern Europe

Robert Ladrech

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a795059765~fulltext=713240930>

2. Changes in the party politics of the new EU member states in Central Europe: patterns of Europeanization and democratization

Paul G. Lewis

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a795059754~fulltext=713240930>

3. Europeanization and party system mechanics: comparing Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro

Danica Fink-Hafner

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a795059741~fulltext=713240930>

4. Have democratization processes been a catalyst for the Europeanization of party politics in Slovenia?

Alenika Kraovec; Damjan Lajh

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a795059797~fulltext=713240930>

5. Parties and the party system of Serbia and European integrations

Slavia Orlovi

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a795059811~fulltext=713240930>

6. Impact of the Europeanization process on the transformation of the party system of Montenegro

Zlatko Vujovi; Olivera Komar

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a795059773~fulltext=713240930>

Mediterranean Politics

2008, Volume 13, Issue 2

1. Introduction: Outlines of a New Politics of Memory in the Middle East Sune Haugbolle; Anders Hastrup

Abstract

While the historical trajectories of emergent attempts to deal with legacies of political violence in the Arab Middle East differ widely, certain commonalities can help us understand this new field across the region. On the one hand, evidence presented in this volume suggests that grassroots movements have to some extent succeeded in ending the politics of pretence and denial that long dominated Arab states. On the other hand, particular political groupings and media monopolize discourses of a universally applicable process of truth and reconciliation in a way that consciously makes use of international idioms, but effectively obfuscates other aspects of social and political justice and reform.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794318895~fulltext=713240930>

2. 1948 After Oslo: Truth and Reconciliation in Palestinian Discourse Tom Hill

Abstract

The failure of the Oslo Accords has been widely attributed to its exclusion of issues of truth and reconciliation from the political process. As a result, the period since the Accords has witnessed a resurgence of the status of memory in Palestinian discourse, manifested in increasing commemorations of the Palestinian nakba and oral history projects. The article examines this upsurge of memory and 'truth and reconciliation' as political idioms in the discourse of Palestinian intellectuals, historians and civil society organizations. It examines the key means whereby the public acknowledgement of Palestinian and Israeli collective memories of violence in 1948 have been increasingly cast as preconditions for the endurance of any political order. It argues that the most sustainable Palestinian truth and reconciliation discourse is that which calls both for Israel to acknowledge responsibility for the creation of the refugee problem and for Palestinians to actively engage with the means whereby Israelis might be brought to recognize the necessity of an apology for it.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794317386~fulltext=713240930>

3. The Syndrome of One-Time Exceptions and the Drive to Establish the Proposed Hariri Court Muhamad Mugarby

Abstract

Based on Lebanese and international juridical sources and the author's long experience in the Lebanese legal system, this article questions the exclusive focus on the murder of Hariri

in the ongoing drive to find and try suspects by a special quasi-international court under the aegis of the UN Security Council. It historicizes the judicial procedures for dealing with political crimes in Lebanon and argues that while sincere adoption of universal justice is highly desirable in principle, universal jurisdiction should supplement, and not replace, local judicial systems. The Hariri Tribunal is problematic because it restricts prosecution to Hariri and a small number of related victims. Instead, the paper argues that a more potent and general form of universal jurisdiction should be made available through a combination of Lebanese judicial reform and the creation of an international human rights tribunal with the right of appeal from local courts.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794319333~fulltext=713240930>

4. Violating Darfur: The Emergent Truth of Categories

Anders Hastrup

Abstract

The article explores how various institutions and individuals have compiled facts and accounted for the truths about Darfur, with a focus on the referral of named individuals to the International Criminal Court in The Hague. Collecting evidence for the use in the ICC in The Hague is an exercise of translating local events in Darfur to an international vocabulary of judgment and justice. The referral makes the crisis transcend locality and become the responsibility of the international community. By providing a deeper semantic analysis of the meanings associated with international justice, the article explores how it is possible for a local series of atrocities in a remote corner of the Arab world to be recast in the moral vocabulary of a Western judicial system.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794318777~fulltext=713240930>

5. National Reconciliation and General Amnesty in Algeria

George Joff

Abstract

Reconciliation and amnesty have become an accepted way of dealing with the process of transition after civil conflict or political repression. Algeria's Charter for National Reconciliation and Peace was, however, more limited than most such initiatives in that one side in the violence of the 1990s was given blanket amnesty and immunity whilst the other was required to submit to the authority of the state. It is questionable, therefore, how successful this initiative will be in achieving genuine reconciliation. This, in turn, may have implications for future stability.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794317246~fulltext=713240930>

6. Morocco: From Mobilizations to Reconciliation?

Frdric Vairel

Abstract

In Morocco, resorting to a Truth and Reconciliation Commission - the Instance quit et Rconciliation (IER) - to deal with the past was imposed under the pressure of the Moroccan Forum for Truth and Justice, an association of 'years of lead' victims. The article places the IER both in the context of other attempts by the Moroccan authorities to close the file of human rights violations, and in the context of victims' claims and mobilizations. Finally, it explains that by focusing on victims but not naming torturers, the authorities found a way to accommodate international and national pressure for truth and reconciliation without threatening the regime.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794320705~fulltext=713240930>

7. Reconciliation Dilemmas in Post-Ba'athist Iraq: Truth Commissions, Media and Ethno-sectarian Conflicts

Ibrahim Al-Marashi; Aysegul Keskin

Abstract

Based on field work conducted in post-Ba'ath Iraq, as well as a study of official statements, print and broadcast media and insurgent communiqués and interviews with proponents of truth and reconciliation in post-war Iraq, this article examines attempts to create a truth and reconciliation committee to settle differences and tensions between former members of the party and communities affected by its collective policies. It shows that in 2003 the Coalition Provisional Authority failed to endorse plans based on the South African model. Instead, it embarked on a policy of de-Ba'athification which eventually fed into the insurgency. Since then, the Arab League and Prime Minister Maliki have launched attempts to foster national reconciliation. The article argues that these initiatives failed because the idea of reconciliation from the outset was tied to greater political dynamics.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794316188~fulltext=713240930>

8. Imprisonment, Truth Telling and Historical Memory in Syria

Sune Haugbolle

Abstract

This article explores narratives of imprisonment in Syria and the implication of public narration of incarceration in the Arab Middle East more broadly. Since the late 1990s, 'victim tales' of Syrian political prisoners have become part of a counterculture against the present regime which calls for political reforms, an independent judiciary, free media and free and fair elections. This new focus on individual victimization corresponds to a trend in Arab countries, where political actors use the victim's tale to de-legitimize the postcolonial state's monopoly over violence. The article situates this conflict between post-colonial nationalism and post-modern individualism at the heart of current contentions over the

meaning and legality of the Arab state, democratization, punishment and truth and reconciliation.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794318110~fulltext=713240930>

9. A 'Union for the Mediterranean' ... or for the EU?

Richard Gillespie

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794318151~fulltext=713240930>

MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES

2008, Volume 44, Issue 4

1. Urban Mobilization in Iraqi Kurdistan during the British Mandate: Sulaimaniya 1918-30

Jordi Tejel Gorgas

Abstract

Great Britain created 'Southern Kurdistan', an autonomous Kurdish entity with Sulaimaniya as its capital, under British political supervision in November 1918. Sulaimaniya became a political and social testing ground in the hands of British officers who participated in the process of building local identities by defining the arena in which the elites entered into competition, by defining the categories into which the political blocs were arranged, and by defining which leaders were recognized. Furthermore, the creation of 'Southern Kurdistan' allowed the extension of nationalist rhetoric among its inhabitants culminating in the radicalization of Sulaimaniya's notables. Paradoxically, the peak of nationalist agitation in urban areas in 1930 coincided with the Kurdish mobilization shifting its centre of gravity to the countryside.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794799971~fulltext=713240930>

2. Creating the 'New Woman' in Early Republican Turkey: The Contributions of the American Collegiate Institute and the American College for Girls

Faith J. Childress

Abstract

This article examines the ways in which two American schools, the American College for Girls and the American Collegiate Institute, contributed to the development of the early Turkish republic's ideal of the 'new' Turkish woman. Kemalist rhetoric exhorted women to

serve the nation as educated women while fulfilling their traditional roles as wives and mothers. This article first describes the founding and early development of the two American schools and then discusses how the changes in their goals, curricula, and extracurricular activities both supported and transcended the Kemalist Westernizing project.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794799623~fulltext=713240930>

3. The Cultural Economy of Development in Egypt: Economic Nationalism, Hidden Economy and the Emergence of Mass Consumer Society during Sadat's Infitah

Relli Shechter

Abstract

The article presents a new overview on economic transition in Egypt, emphasizing the role of culture in shaping its recent economic history. Since partial independence, and culminating in the heyday of the Nasserite regime, 'economic nationalism' became a predominant national identity mark and a concept central to a local sense of authenticity. The article discusses the meaning of economic nationalism and why it turned such a powerful symbol of Egyptianness. The prevalence of this idea slowed down a transformation to an alternative economic regime when the development effort associated with economic nationalism partially failed. Instead, a huge and unregulated ('hidden') economy emerged, together with a corollary local consumer society. Fiercely resisted in a public discourse captivated by an older economic imagination, both have still shaped the Egyptian economy ever since.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794799948~fulltext=713240930>

4. An 'Informal' Revolution: State-Business Conflict and Institutional Change in Iran

Nimah Mazaheri

Abstract

This study examines the causes of conflict between the Iranian state and the country's informal economic sectors during the years prior to the 1979 revolution. It adopts an institutionalist approach to argue that the state's introduction of new norms to guide the behaviour of key economic institutions resulted in acute conflict between the state and informal economic sectors. Institutions of credit lending, norms of reputation, and the characteristics of Iran's 'bazaar sectors' are examined in detail to substantiate the study's central arguments.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794799966~fulltext=713240930>

5. The Sudanese Factor in the 1952-53 Anglo-Egyptian Negotiations

Fadwa A. A. Taha

Abstract

The Sudanese factor was indeed a primary factor for the settlement of the Anglo-Egyptian dispute over the Sudan and the conclusion of the 12 February 1953 Agreement. Based on British primary sources as well as Egyptian and Sudanese literature, this article discusses the role of this factor, tracing its development and showing how the new military leaders in Egypt reckoned on it to support their stand during the negotiations held with the British Government between November 1952 and February 1953. The article analyses the political agreements signed between the Egyptian Government and the Sudanese political parties. It goes further to discuss the dominance of the Sudanese factor during the transitional period that preceded the declaration of independence on 1 January 1956.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794799785~fulltext=713240930>

NATIONS AND NATIONALISM

July 2008, Volume 14, Issue 3

1. The lenses of nationhood: an optical model of identity

Eric Kaufmann

Abstract

This paper tries to make the case for a model of political identity based on an optical metaphor, which is especially applicable to nations. Human vision can be separated into sentient object, lenses and inbuilt mental ideas. This corresponds well to identity processes in which 'light' from a bounded territorial referent is refracted through various lenses (ideological, material, psychological) to focus in certain ways on particular symbolic resources like genealogy, history, culture or political institutions. Distinguishing between referent, lenses and resources helps us more precisely situate many hitherto disparate problems of national identity. These include the 'ethnic-civic' dilemma, the mystery of national identity before nationalism, and the relationship between local and national, and individual and collective, identities. The model also clarifies the place of universalist ideology, which currently fits poorly within the leading culturalist and materialist theories of nationalism.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120736482/PDFSTART>

2. Byron to D'Annunzio: from liberalism to fascism in national poetry, 1815–1920

David Aberbach

Abstract

From Byron's death at Missolonghi in 1824 to D'Annunzio's capture of Fiume for Italy in 1919, the nationalism of universal liberalism and independence struggles changed, in literature as in politics, to cruel dictatorial fascism. Byron was followed by a series of idealistic fighter-poets and poet-martyrs for national freedom, but international tensions culminating in World War I exposed fully the intolerant, brutal side of nationalism. D'Annunzio, like Byron, both a major poet and charismatic war leader, was a key figure in transforming nineteenth-century democratic nationalism into twentieth-century dictatorial fascism. The poet's 'lyrical dictatorship' at Fiume (1919–20) inspired Mussolini's seizure of power in 1922, with far-reaching political consequences. The poet became the dangerous example of a Nietzschean *Übermensch*, above common morality, predatory and morally irresponsible. This article shows how the meaning of nationalism was partly determined and transformed by poets, illustrating their role as 'unacknowledged legislators of the world'.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120736469/PDFSTART>

3. Reimagined communities: Union veterans and the reconstruction of American nationalism

Susan-Mary Grant

Abstract

American commemoration of the Union dead and the role this played in the development of post-war American nationalism is a topic of growing interest. Those who survived, however, are too often left out of the discussion: unsettling reminders of the sectional conflict at the time, the veterans' role in the reconstruction of American nationalism was rather more ambiguous than historians have made it seem. To trace the lineaments of American national identity after the Civil War requires some assessment of the ways in which the veteran was incorporated into or detached from the home front during the war itself and, later, from post-war society. The evidence suggests that, in contrast to the ambiguity surrounding the veteran, the dead could, in many ways, be more easily accommodated by the new nationalist discourse emerging from the war. Positioning the veteran at the centre of the debate on war and nationalism, indeed, challenges the very concept of an imagined community emerging from or through civil conflict.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120736471/PDFSTART>

4. Civitatis Ghaniensis Conditor: Kwame Nkrumah, symbolic nationalism and the iconography of Ghanaian money 1957 – the Golden Jubilee

Harcourt Fuller

Abstract

During his tenure as premier from independence in 1957 until he was ousted by a military and police coup in 1966, Kwame Nkrumah was the living personification of the Ghanaian nation-state. As the self-proclaimed Civitatis Ghaniensis Conditor– Founder of the State of Ghana – his image was minted on the new national money and printed on postage stamps. He erected a monument of himself in Accra, changed the national anthem to make references to himself, customised the national flag to match the colors of his CPP party, made his birthday a national day of celebration (National Founder's Day), named streets and universities after himself, and amended the constitution whereby he became Life President. Since the coup, many of the symbols of nationhood that Nkrumah constructed have been debated, demolished, reconsidered and reengineered by successive governments to rewrite the Ghanaian historical narrative. This article analyses the contentions of one of Nkrumah's first expressions of symbolic nationalism – that of the national coinage.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120736487/PDFSTART>

5. Economic nationalism in Flanders before the Second World War

Oliver Boehme

Abstract

In this article the author makes the claim that economic nationalist ideas had their origins in the Flemish Movement before the First World War and were further developed in the interwar period. This is an important modification of the classical view that Flemish nationalism before the Second World War was mainly focused on the linguistic and cultural situation in Belgium. Central to this contribution is the view of economic nationalism as an ideology using social and economic means for nationalistic purposes, although there are variations in the degree to which economy and nationalism are tools or purpose. In any case there was not much consistency, because there were different views on what constituted the interests of the 'Flemish nation', and which social and economic principles should be adopted. In addition, a movement that did not show much unity could not construct a homogeneous social-economic agenda.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120736481/PDFSTART>

6. Constructions of Australia in pro- and anti-asylum seeker political discourse

Danielle Every, Martha Augustinos

Abstract

Whilst there has been a proliferation of research on the role of nationalism in the exclusion of asylum seekers, less attention has been paid to how nationalism can be mobilised in accounts opposing, rather than supporting, harsh anti-asylum seeker regimes. This paper compares the ways in which 'Australia' is constructed and used in parliamentary speeches

on asylum seekers by both refugee advocates and those seeking harsher asylum seeker laws in Australia. This dual focus is particularly important as it highlights the flexibility of nationalist discourse, in that the same constructions of the nation may be used for both exclusive and inclusive purposes. Whilst typologies of inclusive and exclusive nationalisms, such as Smith's (1991) ethnic/civic typology, focus on the content of nationalist ideologies, we argue that the inclusivity or exclusivity of nationalism can best be determined by examining the subject positions, political solutions and social realities they make possible, and who these discourses benefit and oppress.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120736488/PDFSTART>

7. Helping the enemy? Why transnational Jewish philanthropic foundations donate to Palestinian NGOs in Israel

Oded Haklai

Abstract

This article asks why transnational Jewish donor organisations have been increasingly providing financial support to Palestinian social movements and NGOs in Israel when many of the main recipients are strong critics of the Jewish character of the state and act to promote Palestinian national claims within Israel. The article evaluates a number of plausible explanations, some generated by interest-centric theories while others are driven by ideational underpinnings. The study concludes that the donors do not view the interests of the Jewish state and the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel (PAI) in zero-sum terms. Having internalised liberal values of minority rights and pluralism in their countries of residence (mainly the United States), donating foundations believe that the development of the PAI is both normatively desirable and strengthens Israel as a whole because it facilitates the minority's integration into Israel's society and bolsters its civic culture, and therefore, it also contributes to the country's security. These findings are theoretically significant because they demonstrate how the interpretation of communal interest is strongly related to the normative social environment in which transnational activists operate.

<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/120736468/PDFSTART>

New Left Review

May/June 2008

1. Interview: Tibetan Questions

Tsering Shakya

Abstract

The leading historian of modern Tibet discusses the background to recent protests on the Plateau. What has been the evolution of its culture, modern and traditional, under the impact of the PRC's breakneck development and market reforms?

<http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2720>

2. 1940 Survey of French Literature

Walter Benjamin

Abstract

Benjamin's last, unpublished report on the literary situation in France. Critical reflections on the fiction, philosophy, memoirs and art criticism of the time—and on Paris, Surrealism and the logic of Hitlerism—moving constantly from the realm of letters to a world at war.

<http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2721>

3. The Tailor of Ulm

Lucio Magri

Abstract

How should the Left think about the Communist experience today? A founding theorist of *Il Manifesto* reflects on the need for critical examination of the past—and the lessons to be drawn for the future from the PCI's trajectory.

<http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2722>

4. The Greening of Istanbul

Cihan Tugal

Abstract

Its population swollen by six million new arrivals in thirty years, Istanbul has sprawled outwards from the Bosphorus with dramatic speed. Cihan Tugal analyses the contradictions of an urban Islamism, wedded both to vote-winning populism and to financial markets.

<http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2723>

5. Flag and Headscarf

Ece Temelkuran

Abstract

An iconoclastic journalist looks at the thinning substance behind the AKP's façade of 'democratization', and demagogic responses from Turkey's secular establishment and army.

<http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2724>

6. After Rome

Brent Shaw

Abstract

Assessing Chris Wickham's sweeping historical survey, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, Brent Shaw questions linear narratives of a transition from Roman Empire to feudalism. What conclusions might derive from alternative analytical categories—markets, wars, modes of belief?

<http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2725>

7. Contesting the Peninsula

Charles Armstrong

Abstract

Heightened insecurity and inequality as outcomes of a decade of centre-left rule in South Korea. Can neoliberalism advance further across the ROK's shifting political terrain, as a newly elected President's popularity crumbles in face of public resentment?

<http://www.newleftreview.org/?page=article&view=2726>

Political Analysis

Summer 2008, Vol. 16 Issue 3

1. Pass the Pork: Measuring Legislator Shares in Congress

Benjamin E. Lauderdale

Abstract

Linear regression models are frequently used to analyze distributive politics in the U.S. Congress; however, authors have used a variety of specifications with different implicit assumptions about how bicameralism shapes legislative bargaining. I derive a model that describes district or state spending authorizations as the aggregation of spending secured by multiple legislators working on behalf of overlapping constituencies. This bicameral shares model allows the disaggregation of House and Senate influence through simultaneous estimation of the relative bargaining power of the two chambers and the advantages that accrue to legislators holding partisan, committee, and other relevant affiliations. In the 2005 transportation bill, the model better predicts the functional form of small state advantage than recently employed specifications in the literature.

<http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/16/3/235>

2. Strategic Interaction and Interstate Crises: A Bayesian Quantal Response Estimator for Incomplete Information Games

Justin Esarey, Bumba Mukherjee, Will H. Moore

Abstract

Private information characteristics like *resolve* and *audience costs* are powerful influences over strategic international behavior, especially crisis bargaining. As a consequence, states face asymmetric information when interacting with one another and will presumably try to learn about each others' private characteristics by observing each others' behavior. A satisfying statistical treatment would account for the existence of asymmetric information and model the learning process. This study develops a formal and statistical framework for incomplete information games that we term the *Bayesian Quantal Response Equilibrium Model* (BQRE model). Our BQRE model offers three advantages over existing work: it directly incorporates asymmetric information into the statistical model's structure, estimates the influence of private information characteristics on behavior, and mimics the temporal learning process that we believe takes place in international politics.

<http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/16/3/250>

3. Modeling Committee Chair Selection in the U.S. House of Representatives

Damon M. Cann

Abstract

For many years, committee chairs have been selected on the basis of seniority. Recent work has suggested that alternative factors, specifically financial support of party goals and party

unity, have diminished the importance of seniority in committee chair selection. However, previous work has either failed to quantify these effects or has done so with inappropriate methods. This paper argues for the use of a Bayesian conditional logit estimator to correctly model committee chair selection in the U.S. House of Representatives. Results show a declining commitment to seniority throughout the Republican era and support the importance of fundraising as a determinant of committee chair selection. This paper shows that two other factors, financial support of party goals and party unity, have essentially replaced seniority as the central criteria for selecting committee chairs.

<http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/16/3/274>

4. Model Specification in Instrumental-Variables Regression

Thad Dunning

Abstract

In many applications of instrumental-variables regression, researchers seek to defend the plausibility of a key assumption: the instrumental variable is independent of the error term in a linear regression model. Although fulfilling this exogeneity criterion is necessary for a valid application of the instrumental-variables approach, it is not sufficient. In the regression context, the identification of causal effects depends not just on the exogeneity of the instrument but also on the validity of the underlying model. In this article, I focus on one feature of such models: the assumption that variation in the endogenous regressor that is related to the instrumental variable has the same effect as variation that is unrelated to the instrument. In many applications, this assumption may be quite strong, but relaxing it can limit our ability to estimate parameters of interest. After discussing two substantive examples, I develop analytic results (simulations are reported elsewhere). I also present a specification test that may be useful for determining the relevance of these issues in a given application.

<http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/16/3/290>

5. Legislative Productivity of the U.S. Congress, 1789–2004

J. Tobin Grant, Nathan J. Kelly

Abstract

We measure legislative productivity for the entire history of the U.S. Congress. Current measures of legislative productivity are problematic because they measure productivity for a limited number of decades and because they are based on different aspects of productivity. We provide a methodology for measuring (1) a Legislative Productivity Index (LPI) and (2) a Major Legislation Index (MLI). We use the W-CALC algorithm of Stimson (1999, *Public opinion in America: Moods, cycles, and swings*. 2nd ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press) to combine information from previously used indicators of productivity into measures of the LPI and the MLI. We provide examinations of content, convergent, and construct validity. The construct validity model includes potential determinants of legislative productivity. We conclude that the LPI and the MLI are superior measures of productivity than other measures used in the literature.

<http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/16/3/303>

6. Two Sides of the Same Coin? Employing Granger Causality Tests in a Time Series Cross-Section Framework

M. V. Hood, III, Quentin Kidd, Irwin L. Morris

Abstract

In this paper, we introduce a recently developed methodology for assessing the assumption of causal homogeneity in a time series cross-section Granger framework. Following a description of the procedure and the analytical contexts for which it is appropriate, we implement this new approach to examine the transformation of the post-World War II party system in the South. Specifically, we analyze the causal relationship between black mobilization and GOP growth in the region. We find that black mobilization Granger caused Republican growth throughout the South, whereas Republican growth Granger caused black mobilization only in the deep South. We discuss the substantive significance of our results and conclude with guidelines for the appropriate use of this procedure and suggestions for future extensions of the method.

<http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/16/3/324>

7. Wouldn't It Be Nice ...? The Automatic Unbiasedness of OLS (and GLS)

Robert C. Luskin

<http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/16/3/345>

Political Science Quarterly

Summer 2008, Vol. 123, Issue 2

1. Incumbency Advantage in U.S. Presidential Elections: The Historical Record

David R. Mayhew

Abstract

DAVID R. MAYHEW examines U.S. presidential elections from 1788 through 2004. He highlights the importance of incumbency advantage. He concludes that in-office parties have kept the White House two-thirds of the time when they have run incumbent candidates, but they have fared only 50-50 in open-seat elections

2. Fairness Considerations in World Politics: Lessons from International Trade Negotiations

Ethan B. Kapstein

Abstract

ETHAN B. KAPSTEIN argues that in recent years a growing number of activists, scholars, and policymakers have claimed that the global economy and, specifically, the current international trade regime have been □□unfair□□ to the developing countries. He concludes that, while the trading system can hardly be considered a level playing field for each and every state, fairness considerations do appear to play a role in shaping trade agreements.

3. Intelligence Failure Reframed

John A. Gentry

Abstract

JOHN A. GENTRY discusses the nature of U.S. intelligence □□failures.□□ He argues that excessive expectations for the performance of intelligence agencies mean that many charges of intelligence failure are misplaced and many reform proposals are misdirected. He concludes that policymakers and policy-implementing agencies often cause intelligence-related failures.

4. Does One Right Make a Realist? Conservatism, Neoconservatism, and Isolationism in the Foreign Policy Ideology of American Elites

Brian C. Rathbun

Abstract

BRIAN C. RATHBUN looks at whether we can speak meaningfully of an ideological □□right□□ in foreign policy. Through a brief historical review and an analysis of a survey of American political elites, he argues that there are in fact three ideological rights, bound together by an egoistic pursuit of the national interest but utilizing very different strategies.

http://www.psqonline.org/cgi-bin/99_article.cgi?year=2008&bmonth=summer&a=04free&format=view

5. Anti-Americanism and Electoral Politics in Korea

Byong-Kuen Jhee

Abstract

BYONG-KUEN JHEE analyzes Korean public attitudes toward the United States and whether and how voters □ anti-American perceptions affect their electoral choices. He concludes that the surge of anti-Americanism in Korea may have a marginal impact on the country □s existing favorable relationship with the United States.

South European Society & Politics

2008, Vol. 13, Issue 2

1. Redefining Identity in the Turkish-Cypriot School History Textbooks: A Step Towards a United Federal Cyprus

Yücel Vural; Evrim Özuyanık

Abstract

Since coming to power in the 'TRNC' in late 2003, the CTP government has initiated novel attempts at the official level towards redefining collective identity and the boundaries of the nation. Revisions to school history textbooks manifest the inclination to stress the importance of the territorial rather than the ethnic dimension of identity. This paper compares the old and new mechanisms of cultural indoctrination through history teaching and concludes that the strategy of the CTP-led government to redefine nation and identity is consistent with the notion of a united federal Cyprus in the sense that it incorporates the territorial element into the collective identity, demilitarizes history teaching and reduces 'self-other' confrontation.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794284029~fulltext=713240930>

2. Small and Divided Parties in Multi-Level Settings: Opportunities for Regional Government Participation, the Case of Izquierda Unida in Spain

Irina Stefuriuc; Tania Verge

Abstract

Izquierda Unida/United Left (IU) has recently moved from its traditional opposition role to a new governing status. Despite lacking governing experience, having a non-pivotal and non-central ideological position, and displaying high degrees of factionalism, IU managed to establish itself as a governing partner for an array of very different parties. This article examines how the opportunities offered by multi-level institutional systems (such as the Spanish state) allow the leaderships of small, radical and divided parties to overcome their governing inexperience, diversify party goals, counteract factionalism and develop a hinge-party profile.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794282034~fulltext=713240930>

3. Social Capital in Greece: Measurement and Comparative Perspectives

Nikoleta Jones; Chrisovaladis Malesios; Theodoros Iosifides; Costas M. Sophoulis

Abstract

The primary aim of this article is to analyze components of aggregate social capital in Greece. Through the comparison with other European countries, it is concluded that social capital in the country may be characterized as weak. In addition, similarities among South European countries are underlined. Finally, an index of social capital scores across Greek

regions is created and presented. The need for further research is emphasized, regarding mainly the impacts of social capital on several aspects of Greek society, along with the formulation of the appropriate policies for strengthening it.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794248306~fulltext=713240930>

4. The Gordian Knot of Turkish Politics: Regulating Headscarf Use in Public **Evren Çelik Wiltse**

Abstract

The Justice and Development Party of Turkey passed two constitutional amendments in 2008, in order to lift the headscarf ban in higher education. This act of Parliament stirred up Turkey's perennial debate over the role of religion in a secular republic. This article attempts to clarify the sides of the debate, and present an accurate account of their arguments. It places this topical issue in a historical context by discussing briefly the evolution of political Islam in Turkey, and the legal background of the headscarf issue. Finally, the article draws connections between the current headscarf debates and the endemic problem of gender inequality in Turkey.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794281057~fulltext=713240930>

5. A New Communist Surprise - What's Next? Presidential Elections in the Republic of Cyprus, February 2008 **Christophoros Christophorou**

Abstract

The election of the communist party leader to the Presidency of the Republic of Cyprus constituted a surprise for many, despite the party's broad appeal. This article argues that this achievement can be explained by the party's choices and adaptation to changing conditions on the island and in the world. Cautious changes to ideology kept on board old voters, while broadening the party's appeal beyond its traditional electorate. At the same time, AKEL has shown restraint and patience for decades before contesting executive power. This course, along with the personality of the new President, played a decisive role in AKEL's success.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794281106~fulltext=713240930>

Studies in Conflict & Terrorism

July 2008, Vol. 31, Issue 7

1. Rifling Through the Terrorists' Arsenal: Exploring Groups' Weapon Choices and Technology Strategies

Brian A. Jackson; David R. Frelinger

Abstract

In terrorist operations, weapons technologies are the tools groups use to pursue their violent ends. Because of differences in what they can do, different weapons are useful for different types of operations. Using a random sample of terrorist incidents from the RAND-MIPT Terrorism Incident Database, this article explores (1) how terrorists in general used particular weapons technologies and (2) the variation in the technology choices of individual terrorist groups. The results demonstrate significant differences in the ways different weapons are used, in the versatility of individual technologies, and among the technology strategies of different terrorist organizations.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794419748~fulltext=713240930>

2. Multimedia Content Coding and Analysis: Unraveling the Content of *Jihadi* Extremist Groups' Videos

Arab Salem; Edna Reid; Hsinchun Chen

Abstract

This article presents an exploratory study of *jihadi* extremist groups' videos using content analysis and a multimedia coding tool to explore the types of video, groups' modus operandi, and production features that lend support to extremist groups. The videos convey messages powerful enough to mobilize members, sympathizers, and even new recruits to launch attacks that are captured (on video) and disseminated globally through the Internet. They communicate the effectiveness of the campaigns and have a much wider impact because the messages are media rich with nonverbal cues and have vivid images of events that can evoke not only a multitude of psychological and emotional responses but also violent reactions. The videos are important for *jihadi* extremist groups' learning, training, and recruitment. In addition, the content collection and analysis of extremist groups' videos can help policymakers, intelligence analysts, and researchers better understand the extremist groups' terror campaigns and modus operandi, and help suggest counterintelligence strategies and tactics for troop training.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794424887~fulltext=713240930>

3. The Drama of Media Coverage of Terrorism: Emotional and Attitudinal Impact on the Audience

Anat Shoshani; Michelle Slone

Abstract

The symbiotic relationship between terrorism and its media coverage is explored from the perspective of audience reactions. In an empirical study, effects of television broadcasts of terrorism on viewers' emotional and attitudinal reactions are examined. Participants were 300 Israeli adults randomly allocated to terrorism or violent nonterrorism broadcasts. Anxiety, anger, stereotypes, and enemy perception were measured prior and subsequent to media exposure. Findings revealed higher levels of both emotional and attitudinal measures consequent to the terrorism versus nonterrorism media exposure. These findings reflect the significant emotional and attitudinal impact on the audience of terrorism's mechanism of self-empowerment via the media.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794421035~fulltext=713240930>

4. Search Engines: Terrorism's Killer App.

Victor Asal; Paul Harwood

Abstract

This article investigates whether a relationship exists between the number of fatalities caused by a terrorist group and the number of websites returned via the Google search engine when a search for the group is conducted. It is hypothesized that search engines' algorithms facilitate such an association, and search engines' role as the Web's "gatekeeper." Much attention has been paid to understanding the role the news media, particularly television, has within a terrorist's campaign. Today, terrorism is understood as being partly theater—carefully choreographed events created not solely to kill, but to capture transnational television screens, and arouse a heightened state of public apprehension, and achieve a terrorist group's psychological devastation goal. This article questions whether such offline terrorist violence has a similar agenda-setting function online.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794421069~fulltext=713240930>

5. Corsica: France's *Petite* Security Problem

W. Alejandro Sánchez

Abstract

The island of Corsica has experienced for the past thirty years a wave of low-scale terrorism. Self-declared Corsican nationalists fight for their homeland to become independent from mainland France, without much success, and with diminishing support from the island's population. Even though the level of violence has never reached the levels of destruction and casualties as in other European homegrown-terrorist groups, it is important for the Nikolas Sarkozy administration to deal with Corsican pseudo-separatism

once and for all. This movement (whether criminal in nature or truly nationalistic) has proven to be long-lasting, resourceful, and deadly, thus it should not be underestimated.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794428650~fulltext=713240930>

The Journal of Politics

July 2008, Vol. 70, Issue 3

1. Two Genes Predict Voter Turnout

James H. Fowler, Christopher T. Dawes

Abstract

Fowler, Baker, and Dawes (2008) recently showed in two independent studies of twins that voter turnout has very high heritability. Here we investigate two specific genes that may contribute to variation in voting behavior. Using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, we show that individuals with a polymorphism of the MAOA gene are significantly more likely to have voted in the 2004 presidential election. We also find evidence that an association between a polymorphism of the 5HTT gene and voter turnout is moderated by religious attendance. These are the first results ever to link specific genes to political behavior.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=1927200&jid=JOP&volumeId=70&issueId=03&aid=1927196&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0022381608080638>

2. Hobbes, Rousseau and the Modern Conception of the State

Peter J. Steinberger

Abstract

Obvious and numberless differences between the principal political writings of Hobbes and Rousseau—differences of language and style, of descriptive focus and prescriptive detail, of cultural and historical context—should not blind us to certain profound agreements of doctrine. If Hobbes's great triumph is to have unearthed and delineated a conception of the state that is implicit in and underwritten by modern notions of individualism, I will argue that Rousseau, as another modern individualist, embraced a conception of the state that is, at the most basic structural level, deeply and decisively similar. In the first half of the essay, I examine exactly what it is that the social contract is thought to have created and propose in that context a fundamental distinction, shared by Hobbes and Rousseau, between an authorizing entity that constitutes the legitimate foundation of the state and an instrumental entity the activity of which has been legitimated by the former. The second

half considers the question of absolutism and accountability and suggests that the apparent large gap between Hobbesian and Rousseauian approaches is, in this respect as in several others, more apparent than real.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=1927212&jid=JOP&volumeId=70&issueId=03&aid=1927208&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S002238160808064X>

3. Reconsidering the Effects of Education on Political Participation

Cindy D. Kam, Carl L. Palmer

Abstract

The consensus in the empirical literature on political participation is that education positively correlates with political participation. Theoretical explanations posit that education confers participation-enhancing benefits that in and of themselves cause political activity. As most of the variation in educational attainment arises between high school completion and decisions to enter postsecondary institutions, we focus our inquiry on estimating the effect of higher education on political participation. Our primary purpose is to test the conventional claim that higher education causes political participation. We utilize propensity-score matching to address the nonrandom assignment process that characterizes the acquisition of higher education. After the propensity-score matching process takes into account preadult experiences and influences in place during the senior year of high school, the effects of higher education per se on participation disappear. Our results thus call for a reconsideration of how scholars understand the positive empirical relationship between higher education and participation: that higher education is a proxy for preadult experiences and influences, not a cause of political participation.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=1927224&jid=JOP&volumeId=70&issueId=03&aid=1927220&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0022381608080651>

4. Two Persistent Dimensions of Democracy: Contestation and Inclusiveness

Michael Coppedge, Angel Alvarez and Claudia Maldonado

Abstract

Because democracy is central to much comparative and international political research, it is crucial for political scientists to measure it validly. We challenge the common assumption that most existing indicators of democracy measure the same single dimension. We present 11 different streams of evidence to show that about three-quarters of what Polity, Freedom House, and other indicators of democracy have been measuring consists of variation on the two dimensions of democracy that Robert Dahl proposed in Polyarchy—contestation and inclusiveness. These two dimensions were consistently fundamental to the most commonly used indicators of democracy from 1950 to 2000. Our analysis produces new indicators of contestations and inclusiveness for most countries from 1950 to 2000.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=1927236&jid=JOP&volumeId=70&issueId=03&aid=1927232&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0022381608080663>

5. Winning Alone: The Electoral Fate of Independent Candidates Worldwide

Dawn Brancati

Abstract

Independent candidates are widely believed to influence the quality of representation through issues as fundamental to democracy as government accountability, responsiveness, and electoral turnout. Their impact, however, hinges on their electoral strength, which varies widely within and across countries. In order to explain this variation, this study examines which aspects of electoral systems affect independents the most and why. Based on a statistical analysis of 34 countries around the world between 1945 and 2003, this study finds that electoral systems influence the electoral strength of independent candidates by defining the opportunities for independents to compete for office (i.e., ballot access requirements), the degree to which politics is candidate centered versus partisan driven (i.e., majority/plurality rule, district magnitude, open-list PR, and democratic transitions), and the extent to which small vote getters win seats (i.e., district size and electoral thresholds). Accordingly, not only do independents influence the nature of representation, but so too do the ways in which electoral systems influence independent candidates.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=1927248&jid=JOP&volumeId=70&issueId=03&aid=1927244&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0022381608080675>

6. Financial Regulation, Monetary Policy, and Inflation in the Industrialized World

Mark S. Copelovitch, David Andrew Singer

Abstract

This article argues that the institutional mandates of central banks have an important influence on inflation outcomes in the advanced industrialized countries. Central banks that are also responsible for bank regulation will be more sensitive to the profitability and stability of the banking sector and therefore less likely to alter interest rates solely on the basis of price stability objectives. When bank regulation is assigned to a separate agency, the central bank is more likely to enact tighter monetary policies geared solely toward maintaining price stability. An econometric analysis of inflation in 23 industrial countries from 1975 to 1999 reveals that inflation is significantly higher in those countries with central banks that are vested with bank regulatory responsibility, although this effect is conditional on the choice of exchange rate regime and the relative size of the banking sector. We also conduct a case study of the Bank of England, which lost its bank regulatory authority to a new agency in 1998. We find that the new Labour government under Tony Blair imposed the institutional change on the Bank of England in part to remove the bank stability bias from its monetary policymaking. These findings suggest that the mandates of central banks not only have important influences on macroeconomic outcomes, but may also be modified in the future by governments seeking to impose their own monetary policy preferences.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=1927260&jid=JOP&volumeId=70&issueId=03&aid=1927256&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0022381608080687>

7. Electoral Contests, Incumbency Advantages, and Campaign Finance

Adam Meirowitz

Abstract

Most campaigns do not revolve around policy commitments; instead, we think of campaigns as contests in which candidates spend time, energy, and money to win. This paper develops models of electoral competition in which candidates select levels of effort. The analysis offers insights about which causes of the incumbency advantage are consistent with the empirical record. Marginal asymmetries in costs or technology can explain the advantage; asymmetries in voter preferences cannot. The analysis also speaks to the consequences of campaign finance reform. Reforms can be interpreted as shocks to the cost of influencing voters' perceptions; limits generally increase the likelihood that advantaged incumbents win, and even limits that target incumbents do not improve the welfare of disadvantaged challengers. Alternatively, caps on the amount of effort can either increase or decrease the probability that the disadvantaged candidate wins. Ironically, with very tight caps, the advantaged candidate wins for sure.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=1927272&jid=JOP&volumeId=70&issueId=03&aid=1927268&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0022381608080699>

8. Group Identities and Theories of Justice: An Experimental Investigation into the Justice and Injustice of Land Squatting in South Africa

James L. Gibson

Abstract

In land controversies around the globe, the unfairness of the past confronts the fairness of the present as alternative conceptions of justice collide and conflict. South Africa represents a useful case for investigating such issues of transitional justice since the country faces a massive problem of squatting and land grabbing. Using a formal experiment embedded within a 2004 national survey of South Africans, I investigate the means by which ordinary people adjudicate conflicts among alternative principles of justice. The findings indicate that South Africans of every race judge evictions as more fair when squatters are extended procedural justice. Moreover, the group identities of blacks significantly structure their justice judgments, weighting some types of justice more heavily than others. Thus, this analysis yields important insights into the connection between group identities and how citizens apply multidimensional theories of justice to conflicts over historical land injustices.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=1927284&jid=JOP&volumeId=70&issueId=03&aid=1927280&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0022381608080705>

9. Gender on the Agenda: How the Paucity of Women Judges Became an Issue

Sally J. Kenney

Abstract

Analyzing how the virtual absence of women in high judicial office in the United Kingdom came to concern policy makers expands our understanding of agenda setting. By

identifying the idiosyncratic barriers that impeded diffusion of innovation, this case suggests that an issue may get on the governmental agenda and policy change occur without a threshold groundswell of support or consensus that one sees in more typical cases. Policy change may help more to produce a consensus after the fact than reflect it. This case also seems exceptional for both feminist policy change and change driven by legal mobilization in that a very few uncoordinated actors made the difference. The agents of change in this case linked their cause to other governmental priorities as key personnel changed. Litigation provided one vehicle for this discursive work.

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=1927296&jid=JOP&volumeId=70&issueId=03&aid=1927292&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0022381608080717>

10. Measuring District-Level Partisanship with Implications for the Analysis of U.S. Elections

Matthew S. Levendusky and Jeremy C. Pope and Simon D. Jackman

Abstract

Studies of American politics, particularly legislative politics, rely heavily on measures of the partisanship of a district. We develop a measurement model for this concept, estimating partisanship in the absence of election-specific, short-term factors, such as national-level swings specific to particular elections, incumbency advantage, and home-state effects in presidential elections. We estimate the measurement model using electoral returns and district-level demographic characteristics spanning five decades (1952–2000), letting us assess how the distribution of district partisanship has changed over time, in response to population movements and redistricting, particularly via the creation of majority-minority districts. We validate the partisanship measure with an analysis of congressional roll-call data. The model is easily extended to incorporate other indicators of district partisanship, such as survey data.

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11. Are Americans Confident Their Ballots Are Counted?

R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall, Morgan H. Llewellyn

Abstract

Building on the literature that investigates citizen and voter trust in government, we analyze the topic of voter confidence in the American electoral process. Our data comes from two national telephone surveys where voters were asked the confidence they have that their vote for president in the 2004 election was recorded as intended. We present preliminary evidence that suggests confidence in the electoral process affects voter turnout. We then examine voter responses to determine the overall level of voter confidence and analyze the characteristics that influence the likelihood a voter is confident that their ballot was recorded accurately. Our analyses indicate significant differences in the level of voter confidence along both racial and partisan lines. Finally, we find voter familiarity with the electoral process, opinions about the electoral process in other voting precincts, and both

general opinions about voting technology and the specific technology the voter uses significantly affect the level of voter confidence.

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12. From My Cold, Dead Hands: Democratic Consequences of Sacred Rhetoric

Morgan Marietta

Abstract

Political rhetoric often appeals to sacred values, or nonnegotiable convictions grounded in transcendent authority rather than reasoned consequences. Sacred convictions are treated as absolutes that resist normal value tradeoffs and cast doubt on the moral standing of citizens who violate them. This study examines the political meaning of this form of persuasion in political domains such as guns, gay marriage, the death penalty, and the environment. Experimental evidence suggests that the distinctive effects of sacred appeals are on citizens' political reasoning and motivation rather than on their expressed opinions. Sacred rhetoric is not more effective in changing minds, but in shifting the nature of public discourse and increasing levels of political intensity. The democratic consequences of sacred rhetoric include greater citizen participation but lesser prospects for meaningful deliberation, a contradictory influence on the health of American democracy.

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13. The Perils of Unearned Income

Alastair Smith

Abstract

In addition to the internal risk of deposition, which is modeled using selectorate politics (Bueno de Mesquita et al. 2003), leaders risk being deposed by mass political movements such as revolutions. Leaders reward supporters with either public goods, which reward the whole of society, improve economic productivity, and increase the ability of revolutionaries to organize, or private goods. If confronted with a revolutionary threat then leaders respond by either suppressing public goods—which prevents revolutionaries organizing—or increasing public goods, so citizens have less incentive to rebel. Unearned resources, such as natural resource rents or aid, increase the likelihood of revolutionary onset and effect how leaders best respond to the threat. The results address the resource curse, the potentially pernicious effects of foreign aid and incentives to democratize.

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14. Demography, Democracy and Disputes: The Search for the Elusive Relationship Between Population Growth and International Conflict

Skyler J. Cranmer, Randolph M. Siverson

Abstract

We examine the propensity of states to initiate international conflict conditioned on four primary explanatory variables: (1) changes in population over varying lags, (2) democratic status of the state, (3) the power status of the state, and (4) changes in the state's level of energy consumption. We hypothesize that the responsiveness of a government to the needs of its citizens is sufficiently important that the effect of population growth cannot be properly examined independently of democracy and that major powers tend to become involved in disputes for a much wider set of reasons than minor powers. Thus, we expect to find the strongest effect of population change on conflict initiation in democratic minor powers. We also expect that decreases in energy consumption concurrent with increases in population will lead to conflict initiation. A series of negative binomial regressions over 20 yearly time lags lends robust support to our expectations.

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15. Interrupted Presidencies in Third Wave Democracies

Young Hun Kim, Donna Bahry

Abstract

Since 1974, popularly elected presidents in a number of Third Wave democracies have resigned or been removed from office, casting doubt on classic assumptions about the inflexibility of presidential terms. Accounting for this pattern of interruptions has been difficult, however, since some cross-national studies rely on limited samples and some yield conflicting results. We reexamine the sources of presidential interruptions in new democracies from 1974 through 2003. We find several factors that increase presidential vulnerability: lack of partisan resources in congress, a low share of the first-round vote, an imbalance in presidential power, a declining economy, and public mobilization against the incumbent. We also find that presidential survival is separate from democratic survival in most regions of the world. Presidents may fall, but democratic governments usually continue. Democratically elected presidents in sub-Saharan Africa, however, tend to be removed by force, with the result that democracy itself is more likely to be suspended.

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16. Made in Congress? Testing the Electoral Implications of Party Ideological Brand Names

Jonathan Woon, Jeremy C. Pope

Abstract

We investigate the connection between legislative parties and election outcomes, focusing on ideological party brand names that inform voters. If the source of information conveyed by brand names is the party's aggregate roll-call record, then changes in legislative party membership should influence election returns. We formalize the argument with an expected utility model of voting and derive district-level hypotheses, which we test on U.S. House elections from 1952 to 2000. We test alternative specifications that vary with respect to the specificity of voter information and find that party positions and heterogeneity both affect vote share independently of incumbents' positions. The results provide modest support for the expected utility model but nevertheless suggest that Congress is an important source of the public's beliefs about the parties, and this effect is clearest for challengers, rather than incumbents, who run under the party's label.

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17. Buying In: Testing the Rational Model of Candidate Entry

Jeffrey Lazarus

Abstract

Most studies of candidate entry focus on the general election challenger, ignoring all other candidates. This limits the study of entry in two ways. First, results are not generalizable. Variables which have been found to correlate with the presence of an experienced challenger in the general election might not correlate with amateur entry or the entry of incumbent-party challengers. Second, existing tests of the "Rational Model of Candidate Entry" are weak tests. Studies regularly find a correlation between the presence of experienced challengers in the general election and the outparty's prospects of winning, but this is not a sufficient condition of the model. Amateurs are also more likely to run when the probability of winning is high, and if this correlation is as strong as that between experienced challenger entry and the prospects of winning, this would violate a prediction of the model. I address both issues by separately estimating the entry of experienced challengers and amateurs. Two primary results follow. First, evidence indicates strong support for the rational model. Second, correlates of entry are different for different types of challengers.

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18. Race, Structure, and State Governments: The Politics of Higher Education Diversity

Alisa Hicklin, Kenneth J. Meier

Abstract

This paper examines the politics of higher education diversity for both African Americans and Latinos, by investigating how the structure of the bureaucracy affects the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation. The key theoretical determinants of minority college enrollments are legislative representation, bureaucratic structure, university-level policies, and restrictions on affirmative action. A hierarchical linear model of 500+ universities over an 11-year period shows that each of these factors affects minority enrollments.

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19. The Consistency of Judicial Choice

Paul M. Collins

Abstract

Despite the fact that scholars of judicial politics have developed reasonably well-specified models of the voting behavior of U.S. Supreme Court justices, little attention has been paid to influences on the consistency of the choices justices make. Aside from the methodological problems associated with failure to account for heteroskedasticity with regard to the justices' voting behavior, I argue that variance in judicial choice is also of theoretical import. Simply put, by uncovering influences on the stability of judicial choice, a more complete understanding of judicial decision making is provided. I explore this possibility by developing a theoretical framework that identifies influences on the consistency of judicial choice, which are then subjected to empirical testing. I show that the stability of judicial decision making is affected by attitudinal and strategic factors, as well as the Court's informational environment. The result is a more fully integrated model of Supreme Court decision making.

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20. Religious Preferences and Social Science: A Second Look

Clyde Wilcox, Kenneth D. Wald, Ted G. Jelen

Abstract

Although finding considerable value in Joshua Mitchell's recent JOP article about political science commentary on religion, we take issue with his contentions about empirical work on religious influence in politics. We argue that Mitchell has propounded an individualized conceptualization of religion that overlooks the communal nature of religious interaction, a dimension central to translating religious perspectives into political action. Moreover, we argue that conceptualizing religion in terms of preference, values, identity, and choice—

which Mitchell regards as antithetical to the true nature of the religious experience—is in fact consistent with the lived religion of most people. Approaches to religious influence in politics rooted in such concepts have yielded considerable predictive power, the appropriate standard by which measurement decisions should be assessed.

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21. A Reply to My Critics

Joshua Mitchell

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayFulltext?type=6&fid=1927440&jid=JOP&volumeId=70&issueId=03&aid=1927436&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0022381608080833>

West European Politics

July 2008 Vol. 31, Issue 4

1. Tradition and Innovation: Europe's Accumulated Executive Order

Deirdre Curtin, Morten Egeberg

Abstract

With the advent of the European Union and its predecessors, Europe's executive order has become qualitatively different from the intergovernmental order inherited from the past. We ascribe this phenomenon in particular to the consolidation of the European Commission as a new and distinctive executive centre at the European level. This institutional innovation triggers significant centrifugal forces within national governments due to the Commission's strategy of establishing direct partnerships with semi-independent national agencies that are crucial for the implementation as well as the formulation of EU policies. The new order does not replace former orders; instead it tends to be layered around already existing orders so that the result is an increasingly compound and accumulated executive order. Such an order raises sensitive questions about which actors should be held to account: holding governments to account may no longer be enough and may need to be complemented with mechanisms and forums that focus both on the accountability of supranational executive bodies as well as national agencies with dual loyalties.

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2. Mapping the European administrative space

Herwig C. H. Hofmann

Abstract

The European administrative space is the area in which increasingly integrated administrations jointly exercise powers delegated to the EU in a system of shared sovereignty. Its development has been evolutionary and fluid. Its structures have been established on a case-by-case basis in different policy areas. Despite this differentiation, the phenomenon of administrative cooperation has led to an 'integrated administration' in the form of an intensive and often seamless cooperation between national and supranational administrative actors and activities. This article explores the reasons for and consequences of this development

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3. Bureaucratic change in the European administrative space: The case of the European commission

Tim Balint, Michael W. Bauer, Christoph Knill

Abstract

In this article, we compare bureaucratic change in the European Commission with developments in the public administrations of the member states of the European Union using two standard features of the study of comparative public administration: the degree of politicisation of the higher management and the degree of openness of the career system. The empirical data shows that the Commission started as a public administration in the Continental tradition and over time partially moved towards the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian models. At the same time, the majority of the member states remained rather stable with regard to their position along the two administrative dimensions under study. We argue that none of the mechanisms commonly invoked to explain organisational change-functional adaptation, path dependency, isomorphism or policy windows-can convincingly account for the complete pattern and the magnitude of change that we observe in the case of the European Commission. While we find no convincing support for the relevance of functional adaptation or path dependency, the concepts of isomorphism and policy windows provide a more promising basis for understanding at least some aspects of the empirical development.

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4. Beyond the myth of nationality: Analysing networks within the European commission

Semin Suvarierol

Abstract

Literature on the European Commission refers to the influence of nationality in the functioning of the Commission and, in particular, to the reliance on networks based on nationality, but it fails to provide much evidence apart from anecdotes. This empirical

study takes a systematic approach by applying concepts from organisational network analysis to examine the networking patterns of Commission officials and to explore the effect of nationality therein. The data clearly show that nationality is not a significant factor in shaping officials' task-related informal networks. While variables related to nationality and socialisation fail to explain the variation, the size of the member state in terms of the number of officials it has and whether the contacts occur within the Directorate-General determine whether an official relies on compatriots for information and advice. The organisational structure of the Commission renders nationality irrelevant for its daily work. <http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/ftinterface~content=a794282319~fulltext=713240930>

5. Who consults? The configuration of expert groups in the European union

Ase Gornitzka, Ulf Sverdrup

Abstract

This article examines and explains the committee system of the EU as a crucial property of the EU governance system using a database on the European Commission's experts groups. What is the extent of the expert consultative system? What is the distribution of expert groups? Are these groups best understood as loose networks or do they constitute a stable, well-established consultative system? We observe a proliferation of expert groups over time and across sectors. They have become permanent properties of the EU governance system; yet they are remarkably unevenly distributed among different policy domains. Sectoral differentiation is accentuated by weak horizontal coordination between the Directorates-General. We argue that this heterogeneity is not only a result of deliberate design attempts and differences in policy tasks, but also the result of differences in legal and administrative capabilities, as well as the gradual development of different routines and norms among the DGs.

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6. At a critical juncture? Change and continuity in the institutional development of the council secretariat

Thomas Christiansen, Sophie Vanhoonacker

Abstract

This article provides a historical institutionalist perspective on the General Secretariat of the Council of Ministers-an institution that has expanded significantly over the course of the integration process and whose role in the institutional politics of the EU has been recognised as significant in the recent literature on the subject. Charting the history of the institution, we demonstrate the way in which the original institutional design contributed to a particular trajectory which can be understood as a 'path-dependent' development. However, we also identify recent developments which can be seen as a break with the historical legacy of the Secretariat-an observation which raises the question as to whether the institution is at a critical juncture in its development. The article closes with an examination of the present and future challenges the Council Secretariat is facing at this time.

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7. European administration: Centralisation and fragmentation as means of polity-building?

Johannes. Pollak, Sonja. Puntscher Riekmann

Abstract

The creation of a unified administrative space is part and parcel of all polity-building processes. We hold that the accelerating agencification in the European Union has created a complex administrative space characterised by simultaneous centralisation and fragmentation. Due to the fact that the finalité of integration is open-ended, this complexity is not just a passing occurrence but a defining moment of the EU. Administrative cooperation within and outside primary law, the establishment of a growing number of agencies with divergent powers, scope, and depth support this claim. Hence, we witness a development which impacts considerably on the democratic quality of the Union. The area of police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters serves as a case in point. This article discusses potential problems which might arise from the creation of regulatory agencies in light of classical theories of representative democracy and their constitutional frameworks governing the member states as well as the Union.

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8. Delegation of powers in the European union: The need for a multi-principals model

Renaud Dehousse

Abstract

Whereas a principal-agent model has widely been used to analyse the establishment of manifold autonomous agencies at the European level, it fails to capture some key elements of this process, such as the recurrent inter-institutional struggle of agency institutional design or the Commission's basic ambivalence vis-à-vis independent regulators. In contrast, acknowledging the absence of a clearly defined principal in the EU enables us to understand the relative weakness of existing agencies and the multiplicity of controls to which they are subjected. In such a system, strong EU regulators are unlikely to be established.

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9. Reshaping european regulatory space: An evolutionary analysis

Mark Thatcher, David Coen

Abstract

The article examines European institutions for implementing EU regulation. It assesses their development using seven different models that have been introduced or discussed for organising implementation. It argues that the development of European regulatory space has followed an evolutionary pattern involving gradual reshaping through a series of steps,

with previous stages influencing later stages and institutions being built on existing structures. Despite pressures and frequent discussions of comprehensive change, existing organisations have managed to limit and shape reforms. The result has been institutional 'layering' and 'conversion' instead of streamlining, and a gradual strengthening of networks of national independent regulatory agencies. The analysis therefore suggests that evolutionary analysis based on historical institutionalist approaches seems highly appropriate to the EU. Equally, it shows how even if there are strong demand-side pressures for centralisation of regulation, existing institutional arrangements and organisations limit and shape the supply of new institutions, so that debates about radical change coexist with a fragmented, cluttered and complex European regulatory space.

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10. Halfway house: The 2006 comitology reforms and the European parliament

Kieran St Clair Bradley

Abstract

Although rejecting it in principle, the European Parliament has implicitly accepted the comitology system. In 2001, it agreed with the other institutions that financial services legislation adopted under co-decision could be limited to basic principles, with the adoption of detailed rules being delegated to the Commission, the so-called 'Lamfalussy arrangements'. In return, the Commission proposed a reform of the comitology system, though Parliament had to resort to different tactics to overcome the Council's reluctance to take a decision. Notwithstanding significant legal and political constraints, in July 2006 the institutions agreed on a new scrutiny procedure which gives both Parliament and the Council the possibility to block the adoption of draft implementing measures of general scope which amend basic legislation. The new procedure improves the democratic control over an important category of secondary legislation, though it leaves this question open as regards the other procedures.

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