**Midwest**

Political Science Association
63rd Annual National Conference
April 7-10, 2005

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<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
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<tr>
<td>1-105</td>
<td>ROUNDTABLE: JOURNAL PUBLISHING IN POLITICAL SCIENCE</td>
<td>TBA, Thur 8:30</td>
<td>Steven Smith, Washington University, St Louis, Nolan McCarty, Princeton University, John Londregan, Princeton University</td>
<td>Overview: TBA</td>
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<tr>
<td>2-1</td>
<td>VOTER BEHAVIOR IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE</td>
<td>TBA, Thur 8:30</td>
<td>Bonnie M. Meguid, University of Rochester</td>
<td>Michael Clark, University of California, Santa Barbara</td>
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<td>Overview: Using a pooled analysis of Nine Western European Democracies, 1976-1998</td>
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<td>Overview: I examine whether valence issues adversely affect the voteshares of political parties.</td>
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<td>Kwang-Il Yoon, University of Michigan</td>
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<td>Overview: The minimal effects of self-interest on individual’s political attitudes have been explained by symbolic politics in general and American individualism in particular. This paper assesses the validity of these claims by using the British survey data.</td>
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<td>Lawrence Ezrow, UC Santa Barbara</td>
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<td>Garrett Glasgow, University of California, Santa Barbara</td>
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<td>Overview: We explore whether aggregate-level voting patterns in Western Europe support policy expectations theory.</td>
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<td>Promises, Policies, and Voter Responses</td>
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<td>Guy D. Whitten, Texas A&amp;M</td>
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<td>Overview: This paper examines the impact of party promises on policy-making activities and economic outcomes and the subsequent impact of these factors on the electoral fortunes of incumbents.</td>
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<td>Disc. Bonnie M. Meguid, University of Rochester, Susumu Shikano, University of Mannheim</td>
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<td>3-1</td>
<td>CITIZENS, PARTIES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATIFICATION</td>
<td>TBA, Thur 8:30</td>
<td>Irfan Nooruddin, Ohio State University</td>
<td>Guillermo Rosas, Washington University, St. Louis</td>
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<td>Overview: I test whether concerns about income inequality drive support for Mexico’s PRD. I use procedures robust to the aggregation fallacy and incorporate information about inequality at the municipal and state levels within a Bayesian hierarchical model.</td>
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**Paper**

**Political Support across the World – Do Institutions Matter for Political Support?**
Womin Cho, Michigan State University
Overview: Political institutions mediate the relationship between citizens’ political status (majority or minority) and their satisfaction with the way democracy works in the country.

**Duty, Empowerment and Patronage: Patterns of Political Participation in India**
Amit Ahuja, University of Michigan
Pradeep Chibber, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: We argue, the motivations of citizens to vote vary with socio-economic status. In addition to providing empirical evidence that questions the generalizability of current theories of participation, we also develop an explanation for why this happens.

**Is Democracy the Only Game in Town? Testing Linz’s Notion of Democratic Consolidation in East Asia**
Jason M. Wells, University of Missouri
Doh C. Shin, University of Missouri
Overview: This paper investigates democratic consolidation in East Asia using recently collected survey data. We conceptualize consolidation as a mass-level phenomenon and measure consolidation by asking if citizens accept democracy as the only game in town.

**Indigenous Autonomy in Southern Mexico: Good for Democracy? Good for Indigenous People?**
Matthew R. Cleary, Princeton & Syracuse Universities
Overview: This paper offers a discussion of three questions central to the practice of indigenous autonomy in southern Mexico. Why did the federal government grant it? Is it consistent with liberal democratic principles? Does it benefit indigenous Mexicans?

**Development and Life Satisfaction: An Empirical Analysis**
Mark Bean, University of Utah
Overview: Using World Values Survey data and bivariate and multiple regression analysis, paper examines effect of materialist and non-materialist variables on life satisfaction,
supporting comprehensive approach to assessing political and economic development.

**Paper**
**Destabilizing Politics through Active Student Involvement in Emerging Democracies: A Case of Bangladesh**

Abu T. R. Rahman, Baruch College, CUNY

Overview: Students actively involved in achieving independence in many countries. Gradually such involvement extended over time, thereby destabilizing politics and causing serious disruption in education which hindered national development.

**Disc.**
Kristen P. Andersson, Indiana University
Suzanne R. Soule, Center for Civic Education

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**4-1 DEFINING AND DEFENDING HUMAN RIGHTS**

**Room**
TBA, Thur 8:30

**Chair**
Roberto A. Ventresca, King's University College

**Paper**
Cultural and Social Determinants of Political and Civil Human Rights Status (A Cross-National Study)

Woo Paik, TBA

Overview: This paper explains a much less pursued subject: cultural (religion/colonial experience) and social influence (corruption/education) on Political & Civil Human Rights, a fundamental and proxy of democratization, with statistical cross-national method.

**Paper**
Comparing the Attitudes of Victims and the General Public towards South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission Process

David Backer, University of Michigan

Overview: This paper compares attitudes in relation to South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission process, using original data from a survey of victims I conducted in Cape Town and data from a general population survey conducted by Gibson & Gouws.

**Paper**
Human Rights and Political Repression: A Cross-Country Analysis

Matthew M. Carlson, Norwegian University of Science & Technology
Ola Listhaug, NTNU

Overview: TBA

**Paper**

Hunjoon Kim, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

Overview: This cross-national study seeks to explain following question: why do some states seek to address past gross and systemic human rights violations committed by the former regime in a certain way while others not in the period between 1970 and 2000?

**Disc.**
Lee D. Walker, University of Kentucky

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**4-6 DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD**

**Room**
TBA, Thur 8:30

**Chair**
Thomas D. Bundenthal, Miami University

**Paper**
How Do Islamic Movements Advocate Democratic Change?

Mirjam Künkler, Columbia University

Overview: The paper compares the strategies with which two contemporary Islamic movements have attempted to strengthen the rule of law, demand greater accountability from undemocratic rule and aim at institutional change by non-violent democratic means.

**Paper**
Muslims’ Intellectual Civil Wars: The Impasse of Allah’s Spokespersons

Moataz Fattah, Central Michigan University

Overview: Intellectual wars among Muslim opinion leaders reveal five broad political discourses that verifiably influence average Muslims’ attitudes toward democracy. I examine how this intellectual tension impacts Muslim’s perception of democracy.

**Paper**
Democracy Trends in Muslim Countries: The Problem of Sustainability

Ferit M. Ozkaleli, University of Colorado, Boulder
Unmut Ozkaleli, TBA

Overview: Democracy gap, Muslim countries, democracy trends, Arab world, former communist states, democratization, political culture, institutions

**Disc.**
Mark Tessler, University of Michigan
Eleanor Gao, TBA

Overview: This paper uses original public opinion data from 3 Middle Eastern nations to examine the nature and determinants of attitudes toward governance. Hypotheses assess the explanatory power of cultural orientations and political and economic judgments.

**Paper**
An Analysis of a New Trend: Muslimism Versus Islamism: A Comparative Study of Algeria and Turkey

Neslihan K. Cevik, Arizona State University

Overview: This study explains a new trend among Muslims through comparing Algeria and Turkey. This comparison reveals that there is no one unified Islam. Instead Muslims re-construct Islam in different forms which can be fundamental as well as moderate

**Disc.**
Mohamed A. Berween, Texas A&M International University

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**5-1 INCENTIVES BEHIND INTEGRATION: REDEFINING STATE INTERESTS**

**Room**
TBA, Thur 8:30

**Chair**
Warren L. Mason, Miami University

**Paper**
European Union: Challenge of Unbalanced Economic Development Among Member States

Bede Eke, Miami University

Overview: This paper examines the issue of unbalanced economic development among the EU members against the backdrop of ‘neo-realists’ theoretical proposition on state concerns about ‘relative achievement of gains’ as a possible obstacle to cooperation.

**Paper**
Business as Usual: State Autonomy and International Organizations

Ed Petronzio, Miami University

Overview: The paper attempts to answer the question: To what extent, if any, has the WTO and more specifically, the WTO Dispute Settlement Body reduced state autonomy?

**Paper**
Catching the EU Train: The Pros and Cons of the Enlargement or Why the Central and Eastern European States that Share the Soviet Legacy (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, and Slovakia) joined the EU?

Irina G. Aervitz, Miami University

Overview: The paper explores the relative gains and losses that the recent EU enlargement entails for of the five CEECs. This case is used as applicable to the debate between realists and constructivists on the nature of economic self-interest.

**Paper**
Reluctant Europeans and the Economic and Monetary Union: Referendums as Opposition Party Strategies in Denmark, Sweden, and the United Kingdom?

J. Timo Weishaupt, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Overview: This paper focuses on the role of opposition parties on governments’ decisions to hold referendums on issues of European integration and the timing of the vote. Case studies include Denmark, Sweden, and the UK on EMU membership.

**Disc.**
Sheila Croucher, Miami University

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**6-7 PARTICIPATION, CIVIL SOCIETY, AND DEMOCRATIC DEEPENING IN LATIN AMERICA**

**Room**
TBA, Thur 8:30

**Chair**
Richard Stahler-Sholk, Eastern Michigan University

**Paper**
Learning Democracy

Leslie Anderson, University of Florida

Overview: Dodd and Anderson have already submitted this info to the MPSA. They have been told that they can each present a
version of a paper based on their forthcoming book, LEARNING DEMOCRACY.

Overview: This paper argues that federal political polarization is the main determinant of the changes in federal-regional relations in post-Soviet Russia.

Paper Explaining the Origins of Territorial Autonomy
Renat Shaykhutdinov, Texas A&M University
Overview: In this paper I explain the formation of territorial autonomy arrangements in multietnic states. I develop a theory that explains the creation of territorial autonomies as a function of the motivation and bargaining power of states and ethnic groups.

Spyridon Kotsovilis, McGill University
Overview: Why are expectations of post-conflict settlements so different from reality? The paper looks at Balkan cases and examines the approaches of vote-pooling, consociationalism and federal multicultralism, and the alternative of partition.

Alexander C. Pacek, Texas A&M University
Overview: This paper examines the relative impact of political vs. economic conditions on the electoral success of Russia's governors during the first post-communist decade

Paper Democratic Institution Building and Sub-National Separatism in the Former Communist Countries: Chechnya and Crimean Cases
Irina S. Khmelko, Indiana University
Overview: The paper contributes to the literature on democratic institution building in the former Communist countries, nationalism and ethnicity, and conflict resolution.

Disc. Andrew Konitzer, Baylor University

Overview: Why do states ratify constraining articles in human rights treaties? Through quantitative testing I demonstrate that states ratify these mechanisms in response to regional instability.

Paper Explaining State Ratification of Global Human Rights
Heather M. Smith, University of California, San Diego
Overview: Why do states ratify constraining articles in human rights treaties? Through quantitative testing I demonstrate that states ratify these mechanisms in response to regional instability.

Disc. Nancy Birdsall, Brookings Institution

Paper A Markov-Transition Model Relating Human Rights and Democracy
Robert W. Walker, University of Rochester/Dartmouth College
Overview: Employing ordered Markov-transition models, I demonstrate that once a certain level of repression is reached, democracy is orthogonal to human rights abuses, consistent with a theoretical differentiation between contenders for power and mass publics.

Updated 03-01-05
Overview: This paper analyzes a unique database of national and local television news coverage on Iraq during the lead-up to the War, presenting evidence that Congress significantly influences discussions about the use of military force.

Overview: This paper argues that the recent emphasis of the Presidents of Argentina and Brazil on strengthening MERCOSUR is producing a historical change in Argentine immigration policies.

Overview: This paper examines when states stop receiving US foreign aid. It presents evidence that Congress significantly influences discussions about the use of military force.

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motivations to explain patterns of underfunding and to identify conditions under which government anti-terror efforts can be counter-productive.

Paper *Bombs, Bricks, or Butter: Assessing The Lifespan of Terrorist Groups with Hazard Models*
Jonathan Berrohn, University of Colorado
Rand Blimes, University of Colorado
Erin Mewhinney, University of Colorado

Overview: We analyze the lifespan of terrorist groups using hazard models. Specifically, we test the impact of factors such as the nature of a group’s aims, the demographics of its likely recruits, and the response of its target.

Paper *National, International, and Transnational Terror From Comparative Perspective: Motives, Forces, and Characteristics*
Ribhi I. Salhi, Roosevelt University

Overview: Three areas to study terror: national, international, and transnational. Each area has its features, motives, and characteristics.

Paper *Competition and Voice in Terrorist Campaigns, 1968-2002*
Aaron M. Hoffman, Purdue University

Overview: Why do groups claim responsibility for terrorism? I argue that competition from other groups drives this decision. I test this argument on a data set of international terrorist attacks, 1968-2002.

Paper *The Changing Profile of Palestinian Suicide Bombers: A COR Theory Explanation*
Daphna Canetti-Nisim, University of Haifa
Ami Pedahzur, University of Texas, Austin
Stevan E. Hobfoll, Kent State University

Overview: Our question is what brings people to volunteer for suicide missions. Based on COR theory we predict that loss of resources that people experience, and the way in which the paramount coping response is framed by elites may lead to this outcome.

Disc. Eric N. Budd, Fitchburg State College
Daniel Lindley, University of Notre Dame

16-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Presenter *Lifecycle Events and Political Attitudes: the Consequences of Marriage, Children and Retirement*
Jill S. Greenlee, University of California, Berkeley

Overview: I explore whether the effects of lifecycle events on political attitudes are distinct from the effects of age. Using survey data from the Political Socialization Panel Study, I investigate how three lifecycle events shape individuals’ attitudes.

Presenter *Been There, Done That...or Have We? Another Look at Political Socialization in America Today*
Elizabeth Prough, Wayne State University
Mary Herrin, Wayne State University

Overview: This political socialization study examines the responses of 1100 junior and senior high school students. The effect of the micro level context of particular school environments is examined using LISREL analysis.

16-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: COMPARATIVE POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY

Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Presenter *Leaders in Power: The operational codes of Yitzhak Rabin and Ariel Sharon*
Madalina C. Hanes, Louisiana State University

Overview: I measure the operational codes of Y. Rabin and A. Sharon, using the VIC System devised by Walker, Schafer and Young, in order to see if their basic propensities regarding the nature and conduct of foreign policy changed once they became PMs of Israel.

Presenter *Laying on Brushwood and Tasting Gall Chiang Kaishke’s Response to the May 3rd Tragedy in 1928*
Grace C. Huang, University of Chicago

Overview: This paper examines how Chiang Kai-shek used shame to motivate and justify his leadership during his first confrontation with the Japanese in 1928.

16-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PARTY CUES

Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Presenter *Do Party Cues Help or Hinder? Political Parties as Heuristics in Three Countries*
Jennifer Merolla, Claremont Graduate University
Laura Stephenson, University of Western Ontario
Elizabeth Zechmeister, University of California - Davis

Overview: We argue that the value of party labels as heuristic devices depends on individual perceptions of party reputation, including cognition and affect. We test our theory using data collected from university students in the U.S., Mexico and Canada.

16-204 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: RELATIVE DEPRIVATION

Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Presenter *Relative Deprivation: The Hidden Roots and Uneven Branches of a Concept*
Brant Downey, Brandeis University

Overview: TBA

17-3 THE GEOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN POLITICS

Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Chair Tony L. Hill, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Paper *Partisan Bias in the Electoral College: Cheap States and Wasted Votes*
Phillip Ardoin, Appalachian State University
Eric Burnette, Appalachian State University
Bryan Parsons, Appalachian State University

Overview: CW suggests the Electoral College is biased in favor of the Republican Party, but recent analyses suggest otherwise. Our work provides an analysis of the sources of bias within the EC and examines their impact on the 2 parties’ electoral fortunes.

Paper *The Geography of Electoral and Financial Power in U. S. Elections*
Frances E. Lee, University of Maryland
Joshua Kaminski, University of Maryland, College Park
James G. Gimpel, University of Maryland

Overview: Our paper will seek to mesh a spatial perspective with statistical inference to examine the relationship between the size of local electorates and the size of campaign donations emerging from these electorates.

Paper *Voting Behavior and Political Attitudes in the "New" South*
Christopher N. Lawrence, Millsaps College

Overview: Presents results from an exit poll of voters in the greater Jackson area conducted at the November 2004 election, including voting behavior for federal offices, and referenda on same-sex marriage and a publicly-financed convention center.

Paper *Geographic Polarization in American Presidential Elections*
David A. Hopkins, University of California, Berkeley

Overview: This paper describes and analyzes the growing geographical polarization of party support in presidential elections since the 1970s, using both electoral returns and survey data. It also considers whether this trend continued in the 2004 election.

Disc. Tony L. Hill, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Steve Voss, University of Kentucky

17-18 ECONOMIC VOTING IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Chair James A. McCann

Paper *Determinants of Party Preferences and Economic Voting in Turkey*
Hasan Kirmanoglu, Istanbul Bilgi University
Overview: This study aims to determine the factors that shape party preferences in Turkey by estimating an individual vote function. On the whole, multinomial logit estimates provide evidence in favor of the economic voting hypothesis.

Valence Issues and Party Support in Contemporary Britain
Harold D. Clarke, University of Texas, Dallas
David Sanders, University of Essex
Marianne Stewart, University of Texas at Dallas
Paul Whiteley, University of Essex
Paul Tran, University of Texas, Dallas

Overview: This paper uses national survey data from a new NSF-sponsored study to analyze how non-economic valence issues affect party support in contemporary Britain. Models are estimated with random parameter mixed logit procedures.

Fertile Grounds for Extreme Right-Wing Parties: Explaining the Vlaams Blok’s Electoral Success in Flemish Municipal Elections
Hilde Coffie, Vrije Universiteit Brussel
Bruno Heyndels, Vrije Universiteit Brussel
Jan Vermeir, Vrije Universiteit Brussel

Overview: The Vlaams Blok is one of the most successful extreme right-wing parties in Europe. We empirically identify contextual determinants (economic, social and political) that contribute to its political success in the municipal elections in Flanders.

Overview: The dynamics of vote choice in a context of multiple weak parties
Barry Ames, University of Pittsburgh
Andrew Baker, Northern University
Lucio Renno, SUNY-Stony Brook

Overview: Using a three-wave panel study in two Brazilian cities, we explore participation, class, ideology, candidate affect, issues, economic evaluations, and contextual variables in vote choice.

Overview: This study analyzes the conditions under which U.S. cities use intergroup dialogue programs to improve race relations.

Overview: This paper analyzes the conditions under which U.S. cities use intergroup dialogue programs to improve race relations.
Paper: The Deliberative Potential of Public Hearings
Christopher F. Karpowitz, Princeton University
Overview: This paper considers the effectiveness of public hearings as sites of public discourse.

Paper: Competition, Advocacy, and Political Discussion: How to Encourage Deliberation on a Mass Scale
Keena Lipsitz, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: This paper examines how competitive elections affect the likelihood of citizens discussing politics and advocating candidates.

Paper: What Just Happened Here? On the Problem of What to Say about Deliberation and How to Say It
Molly Patterson, Pitzer College
Overview: This paper presents an approach to conceptualizing and analyzing core dynamics of deliberation, with an emphasis on power and face-to-face citizen interaction. This approach is used to explore differences between various deliberative contexts.

Disc. Jane Mansbridge, Harvard University

21-2 POLITICAL ADVERTISING EFFECTS
Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Chair Claes H. deVreese, University of Amsterdam

Milton Lodge, State University of New York, Stony Brook
Charles S. Taber, SUNY, Stony Brook
Christopher Weber, State University of New York at Stony Brook
Overview: To determine the effects of subliminal stimuli in political advertising, we test whether embedding positive and negatively valenced primes influence campaign evaluations.

Paper: Individual Level Effects of Political Advertising—What Voters are Affected by Political Ads?
David M. Greenwald, University of California, Davis
Overview: I examine individual level effects of political advertising on voter choice. I specifically examine the mediating influence of political sophistication—voters with varying levels of political sophistication should react differently to campaign ads.

Paper: The Two Routes for Effects of Negative Advertising
Daniel Stevens, University of Miami, Coral Gables
Overview: This paper looks at two routes by which negative advertising affects individuals. The first, the focus of past research, is a volume effect. The second, almost ignored, is a proportion effect. I find that their effects are systematically different.

Paper: Turning to the Internet: Negative Advertising in Presidential Campaigns
Christopher Latimer, State University of New York, Albany
Heather Trela, SUNY, Albany
Overview: There has been no research that provides definitive answers as to the effect of negative advertising online or which candidates choose to go negative online and why.

Marvin Overby, University of Missouri
Jay Barth, Hendrix College
Overview: Empirical examination of radio ad usage and impacts in contemporary American political campaigns
Disc. Claes H. deVreese, University of Amsterdam

22-204 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: GENDER BASED INSTITUTIONAL NORMS AND VALUES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Presenter The Role of Islam and Islamic Government of Iran in the Segregation of Students by Gender in Schools from Primary to University
Maryam Rezaee, The Institute of Ismaili Studies

Overview: My study is based on a two month research in Iran focusing on the segregation of students by gender in educational institutions. The study focuses on students of Tehran, the capital city, and Mashhad, the major shi pilgrimage city.

Presenter The Meaning of the Veil: An Interpretative Liberal Argument Against the Headscarf in French Public Schools
Helene E. Landemore, Harvard University
Overview: This paper questions the compatibility between the meaning of the headscarves worn by Muslim highschoolers in French public schools and the core liberal value of gender equality that these same public schools are supposed to defend.

23-12 SCHOOLS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT
Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Chair David Leal, University of Texas, Austin

Paper: Representation and Educational Opportunities for Latino Students
Melissa J. Marschall, Rice University
Paru R. Shah, Rice University
Overview: This paper investigates how Latino representation on school boards and in teaching positions influences educational programs offered by local schools.

Paper: Race, Politics and Electoral Bias: The Quality of African American Representation
Kenneth J. Meier, Texas A&M University
Betty C. Ray, Texas A&M University
Overview: This paper examines the quality of African American school board members under various selection systems (at-large, ward, appointed, partian, nonpartisan). Quality is assessed by the ability to gain representation as administrators and teachers.

Paper: Liberals or Latinas: The Impact of Women on Bilingual Expenditures
Anaka D. Rivera, Texas A&M University
Overview: This study assesses the impact that the interaction of race and gender has on the policy preferences of individuals in legislative positions.

Rene R. Rocha, Texas A&M University
Robert D. Wrinkle, University of Texas, Pan American
J. L. Polinard, University of Texas – Pan American
Overview: The paper examines whether different racial coalitions (e.g. Anglo-Latino, Latino-Black) influence the substantive representation of minorities in 200 multi-racial school districts.

Disc. David Leal, University of Texas, Austin

24-1 EARLY-MODERN POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT
Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Chair Fiona Miller, Colgate University

Paper: Individuality and Rebellion in Early Modern Thought
Steven J. Wull, Lawrence University
Overview: Pre-modern political theorists were well aware of the demands of individual conscience. Those fearing civil unrest highlighted individualism’s potential dangers, while those seeking revolutionary change merely masked their appeals to conscience.

Paper: Machiavelli in Crete: Politics, Lies (and no Videotape) Towards a Textual Analysis of The Prince, Between Semantic Universe and Political Relevance
Bruno Anili, University of Oregon
Overview: A study of Machiavelli’s Prince (with brief notes on the Discourses). By using simple instruments of sinitiotic analysis I argue that the text construes the political as the domain of the public whereas the moral is relegated into the private sphere.

Updated 03-01-05
30-301 POSTER SESSION: PRESIDENCY AND EXECUTIVE POLITICS
Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Presenter Who’s Skipping Iowa in 2008? Gaming Early Presidential Primary States, From Carter to Kerry – to Giuliani
Christopher C. Hull, Georgetown
Overview: This paper reviews the history of candidates’ early primary state decisions, builds a model updating recent studies on Iowa and New Hampshire’s importance to the eventual nomination, and provides a glimpse at strategies of likely 2008 contenders.

31-301 POSTER SESSION: LEGISLATIVE INSTITUTIONS
Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Presenter Parties and the Use of Suspended Rules in the Postreform House
Ken W. Moffett, University of Iowa
Overview: TBA
Presenter Estimating the Influence of Partisanship on Senate Roll Call Votes: 1952-2000
Paul E. Rutledge, West Virginia University
Overview: This paper investigates the roll call voting behavior of U.S. Senators by emphasizing and investigating the importance of partisanship as an explanatory variable.
Presenter The Pull of Constituency?: Regional Impact on Congressional Voting Patterns
Brian S. DiSanarro, University of Iowa
Overview: This paper investigates the effect of geographic region as a determining factor in predicting in congressional voting patterns.
Presenter Divided Government, Cohabitation and Legislative Productivity: A Comparative Analysis of the United States and France
Sebastien G. Lazardeux, University of Washington, Seattle
Overview: I propose a comparative analysis of France and the United States to reassess the level of support for previous regional drama in the pre-Civil War United States ~W the so-called "gag rule" that barred the House from receiving petitions concerning the abolition of slavery, from 1836 to 1844.
Presenter Can Parties Change Their Positions When They Want To?: A Case of Defense Spending in Congress from 1890s to 1980s
Jungkun Seo, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: Party members’ distributive concerns often conflict with parties’ electoral strategies. The case of defense spending decision in Congress shows that strategic politicians use the rule of “divide-and-conquer” to win and retain the presidency.

32-1 THE ELECTORAL CONNECTION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Chair Garry Young, George Washington University
Paper The Gag Rule, Congressional Politics, and the Growth of Anti-Slavery Popular Polities
Jeff Jenkins, Northwestern University
Charles Stewart, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Overview: This paper examines one episode in the highly-tense regional drama in the pre-Civil War United States ~W the so-called "gag rule" that barred the House from receiving petitions concerning the abolition of slavery, from 1836 to 1844.
Paper Lawmaking and Direct Election, 1890-1930
John S. Lapinski, Yale University
Overview: This paper evaluates the effects of direct election on lawmaking.
Paper Obstruction and Institutional Change: The Effects of Direct Election on Senatorial Behavior
Gregory J. Wawro, Columbia University
Eric Schickler, Harvard University
Overview: We consider the relationship between the adoption of direct election reforms and behavioral and institutional changes in the Senate.
Disc. Eric Engstrom, University of North Carolina

33-1 COURTS, GOVERNMENTS, AND POLICY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE
Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Chair Chris Zorn, National Science Foundation
Paper Decision-making In the European Court of Justice: Evidence From Forty Years of Case Law
Clifford J. Carrubba, Emory University
Matt Gabel, University of Kentucky
Overview: Using a newly created database that codes detailed information on all decisions made by the European Court of Justice (ECJ) between 1959 and 2000, this study tests the conditions under which the ECJ is responsive to member state government influence.
Paper Inducing Independence: A Strategic Account of Lending and Legal Reform
Gretchen Helmke, Rochester University
Overview: Using a simple game theoretic model based on asymmetric information, this study explores the conditions under which international institutional involvement increases the willingness of domestic politicians to tolerate an independent judiciary.
James Rogers, Texas A&M University
Overview: Relying upon historical sources and formal modeling, this study characterizes and evaluates the U.S. Supreme Court’s evolving “national power” jurisprudence.
Paper Legislative Reactions and Judicial Ambiguity: A Positive Theory of Judicial Opinions
George Vanberg, University of North Carolina
Jeffrey Staton, Florida State University
Overview: Using a series of simple game-theoretic models, this study examines the conditions under which a court would choose to issue ambiguously reasoned decisions that provide little guidance towards how future decisions will be made.
Disc. Chris Zorn, National Science Foundation

33-2 CONTENTIOUS COURT DECISIONS AS LYNCHPINS OF SOCIAL CHANGE: CASE STUDIES IN MOBILIZATION
Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Chair Gerald Rosenberg, University of Chicago
Paper Mobilizing Resentment: Activism For and Against Affirmative Action in Reaction to Bollinger
Katie H. Buckley, Georgetown University
Overview: An examination of the impact of high court decisions on mobilization efforts on both sides of the affirmative action debate.
Shauna L. Shames, Georgetown University
Overview: This second paper examines specifically the reaction of one group (feminist/pro-choice movement leaders) to mobilization by another (the rise of the New Right after Roe v. Wade).
Paper Mobilization of Losers?: Opposition to Gay Marriage and the Massachusetts Supreme Court Decision
Matthew J. Sitman, Georgetown University
Overview: A theory-driven case study of political mobilization, which will look carefully at the strategic interaction of mobilization efforts on both sides of the gay marriage issue.
Disc. Gerald Rosenberg, University of Chicago

33-18 JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS (II)
Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Chair Christopher D. Martin, West Virginia University
Marcus E. Hendershot, Washington University
Overview: This paper is a follow up to an APSA paper on the role of senatorial courtesy in U.S. District Court nominations.

Paper The Politics of State Judicial Selection: Changing How Judges are Selected and Retained
Valerie J. Hoekstra, Arizona State University
Overview: In this paper, I examine the motivations behind states' decision to change how judges are selected and retained. I focus on change from appointive systems to elective systems.

Disc. Christopher D. Martin, West Virginia University

34-2 JUDICIAL POWER AND THE REGULATORY STATE

Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Chair Laura J. Hatcher, University of Wisconsin
Paper Retaliatory Discharge: Policy Cracks in the Employer's Arbitral Shield Against Employee Statutory Claims
Anne L. Draznin, University of Illinois, Springfield
Kathryn E. Eisenhart, University of Illinois, Springfield
Overview: SCt upholds mandatory arbitration of employee disputes. Lower courts have had to devise their own balance of statutory rights and contractual ADR. Retaliatory discharge may be exempt from such arbitration. Is this an anomaly or a trend?

Paper Expanding the Power of Federal Courts Over Regulation By Using State Law
Joseph J. Hinchliffe, University of Illinois
Overview: This paper examines how federal courts use state law to develop national regulatory policy. It examines decisions of the U.S. Court of Appeals interpreting the Restatement (Second) of Torts Sec 402A for their connection to regulatory domains.

Disc. Laura J. Hatcher, University of Wisconsin

35-10 ELECTION AND CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM (Co-sponsored with Political Parties and Interest Groups, see 29-17)

Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Chair Richard F. Winters, Dartmouth College
Paper Legal Restrictions and Campaign Contribution Patterns in State Legislatures
David W. Prince, Bellarmine University
Overview: This paper examines the strategies and motivations of interest groups in providing campaign contributions to state legislators. The focus is on strategies employed when faced with legal restrictions such as limits on contributions during sessions.

Paper State Parties Adjust to BICRA
Sarah M. Morehouse, University of Connecticut
Malcolm E. Jewell, University of Kentucky
Overview: The first post-BICRA election in 2004 permits a comparison between the previous period of the soft money relationship between the national and state parties and the first election cycle with the ban on soft money.

Paper The Determinants of Transfers from National to State and Local Party Committees Before and After McCain-Feingold: Does Anything Matter Other Than Winning in the Short Run?
Robert C. Lowry, Iowa State University
Overview: I conduct multivariate analyses of transfers from national to state and local party committees to determine whether factors other than short-run electoral circumstances have systematic effects before and after the 2002 campaign finance reforms.

Paper State Legislatures and Electoral Reform
Stephanie C. McLean, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: This paper examines responsiveness of state legislatures to electoral problems within the states. I employ data on type of legislature, state demographics, and state political context to analyze compliance with the "Help America Vote Act" by 2004.

Disc. Bertram Johnson, Middlebury College

36-8 THE POLITICS OF POLICING

Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Chair Juliet F. Gainsborough, Bentley College
Paper Policing Urban America: A New Look at the Politics of Agency Size
Elaine B. Sharp, University of Kansas
Overview: The proposed paper will test hypotheses to account for variation in the size of police departments in U.S. cities. Hypotheses focus on racial and class conflict, fiscal capacity, crime, community subculture, and police department innovation.

Paper Suing the City: A Case Study of Police Misconduct Complaints in the City of Pittsburgh and the Litigation and Alternative Dispute Resolution Options Employed
Howard A. Stern, West Virginia University
Overview: The financial costs of litigation and their potential of large awards can consume scarce resources for a city and can affect a community's entire social and financial well-being. This study will explore alternative dispute resolution options.

Paper Police Views of Criminals and Crime Causation
Fred A. Meyer, Ball State University
Ralph E. Baker, Ball State University
Overview: An examination of the criminal justice policy priorities of the police in a medium-sized American community is presented.

Dale P. Kapla, West Virginia University
Overview: This research utilizes a mailed survey that examines the institutional arrangements of all 415 municipal police departments in Wisconsin and the leadership styles and policy choices of their police chiefs.

Disc. Juliet F. Gainsborough, Bentley College

37-1 COMPETING INTERESTS AND PUBLIC POLICY

Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Chair Paul J. Quirk, University of British Columbia
Michael E. Harkin, University of Iowa
Overview: This research utilizes a mailed survey that examines the interplay of public opinion and interest groups in shaping state policy priorities, 1990-2000.

Paper Balancing Competing Interests in American Regional Governance
Elisabeth R. Gerber, University of Michigan
Clark C. Gibson, University of California, San Diego
Overview: We develop and test a model of regional governance that focuses on how regional governance institutions shape the balance between regional and local interests.
Paper Analyzing Policy Outcomes in the Agro-Environmental Policy Subsystem: Changes in Federal Statutes from 1985 to 2004
Thomas Greitens, Northern Illinois University
Overview: This research examines agro-environmental policy since the passage of the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, and Rodenticide Act of 1947 with an emphasis on how policy beliefs and external events influence policy formation.
Disc. Robert S. Wood, University of North Dakota

40-12 BRINGING HISTORY BACK IN: SYMBOLIC INTERACTION, GENDERED NATIONALISM, AND ECONOMIC EXCHANGE IN THE MIDDLE EAST (Co-sponsored with Political Culture, see 42-5)

Paper Understanding Manlik Power: A Survey of Medieval Political Rule Using Symbolic Interactionism
Syed Hashmi, University of Chicago
Overview: TBA

Paper Economic Partnerships between Jews and Arabs in Mandatory Palestine during the 1920s in the Sphere of Civil Society
Nir Yehudai, Haifa University
Overview: The purpose of this paper is to bring to the forefront some activities of a unique nature: economic cooperation within the framework of private partnerships and the involvement of lawyers who dealt with the legal aspects of these partnerships.

Room TBA, Thur 8:30
Chair John Clark, Western Michigan University

Paper Model Campaign USA: Introducing Students to the Game of Politics
Shannon Scootee, Allegheny College
Overview: Model Campaign USA, a mock campaign competition similar to Model UN programs, seeks to counter cynical attitudes about politics by introducing students to the mechanics of a modern political campaign.

Paper Gerryminder: Teaching Undergraduates Redistricting with Hands-on Mapmaking
Jeremy M. Teigen, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: Paper details new homemade software that allows students to play role of partisan mapmaker to better teach redistricting.
Thursday, April 7 – 10:30 am – 12:15 pm

1010 AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: PAUL EIRSON'S POLITICS IN TIME (Co-sponsored with Politics and History, see 40-101)

Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair Daniel Carpenter, Harvard University
Panelist Paul Pierson, Ohio State University
Charles Cameron, Princeton University
Lisa Wedeen, University of Chicago
Overview: TBA

2-2 INSTITUTIONS AND THEIR OUTCOMES

Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair Anthony Mughan, Ohio State University
Paper Actions Speak Louder than Words: The Impact of Institutions on Policy Promise Fulfillment in Parliamentary Democracies

Paper The Effect of Cabinet Portfolio Instability on Budget Deficits in 17 OECD Countries
Akitaka Matsuo, Michigan State University
Overview: This paper examines the cause of the budget deficits in developed countries, focusing on the effects of cabinet post instability. The data analysis from 1970 to 1998 shows that the countries with frequent post changes tend to expand the deficits.

Paper Having a Say? Understanding Cross Party Group Membership in the Scottish Parliament
Christopher J. Carman, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: Cross Party Groups in the Scottish Parliament have developed as a means for MSPs to seek involvement in issue domains and specific policy areas from which they are otherwise excluded.

Chair Anthony Mughan, Ohio State University

3-2 COMPARATIVE DECENTRALIZATION: IMPLICATIONS OF REFORMS FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair Richard Sisson, Ohio State University
Paper TBA

Paper TBA

Paper TBA

Paper TBA

Paper TBA

Disc. Tula Falleti, Pennsylvania State University

3-18 STATE BUSINESS RELATIONS: COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair Joel W. Simons, University of Michigan
Paper When do Controlling Shareholders Support Corporate Governance Reforms and Why?
Tom Kenyon, Princeton University
Overview: I analyze shareholder attitudes towards corporate governance regulation and argue that in deciding to adopt more stringent governance standards, shareholders face a trade-off between the private benefits of control and access to external finance.

Res. Government Business Relations in Transitional Economies:
The Role of Business Associations
Nadra Garas, American University
Overview: This study examines the role of business associations, their interaction and coalitions with state actors to explain the halting progress of economic reforms in transitional economies.

Paper The Influence of Private Sector Participation in Market Regulatory Institutions of Developing Nations: Farmer Participation in Authorities of Coffee Exporting Countries
Carl A. Coe, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: Does market liberalization and the privatization of market authorities affect farmer influence in directing policy? This analysis shows that, when organized coffee farmers participate in the country’s coffee authority, farmers receive higher prices.

Paper Not Rent-Seeking But Clientelism: Why the Washington Consensus MisDiagnosed Economic Reform in Developing Countries
Mona M. Lyne, University of South Carolina

Updated 03-01-05
Overview: Tests interest group theory against clientelist model in explaining ISI policy choices

Isik Ozel, University of Washington
Overview: My paper is on coalition sustainability between states and business in developing countries implementing market reforms. I compare Turkey and Mexico focusing on institutional factors such as the incorporation of societal actors into decision-making.

Disc. Joel W. Simmons, University of Michigan

4-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: MECHANISMS OF DEMOCRATIC PEACE
Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Presenter Social Constructivism, Moral Reasoning and the Liberal Peace: From Kant to Kohlberg
Jon D. Carlson, Rockford College
Overview: I argue that the normative aspect of the democratic peace is one based on social agreement, when evaluated in terms of Kohlberg's levels of moral reasoning, offers a mechanism for understanding the inter-democratic pacification effect of democracy.

5-2 EUROPÊNE IDENTITIES, NATIONAL PREFERENCES AND THE EMERGING EUROPEAN CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER
Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair John D. Robertson, Texas A&M University
Paper Post-National Belonging, Identity, and the Search for Constitutional Order in the EU
Sibel McGee, Texas A&M University
John D. Robertson, Texas A&M University
Overview: To examine the sources of varying adherence among European citizens to a collective European identity in the EU and consider how these sources of identity may affect a single legal and political "personality" implied with the EU constitution.

Paper Elite vs. Popular Identities: Turkey, the EU, and the Complex Nature and Pattern of Identities in ‘New’ and ‘Old’ Europe
Winand Gellner, Universtität Passau
Overview: The paper explores the different patterns of identity across “old” and “new” European citizens, each group further bi-furcated into elites and non-elites, with reference to Turkey membership in the EU.

Paper Local Discourses and European Identity in an Era of Globalization: ATTAC and the Limits of a European Constitutional Order
Marie Leonard, Texas A&M University
Overview: This paper contends that ATTAC is a “selected” supporter.

Paper National Identity as a Legal and Political Entity of the Constitution of the European Union
Juergen Broehmer, Universität des Saarlandes
Overview: This paper explores the constitutional protections for national identities within the European constitution.

Paper Learning and Identity Formation
Zeki Sarigil, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: How does social learning affect individual identifications? This study tests the neofunctionalist hypotheses, which expects that material benefits gained by instrumental action may lead to adoption of new identities.

Disc. Guy Whitten, Texas A&M University

6-2 CLIENTELISM IN A DEMOCRATIC CONTEXT
Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair Melissa Scheier, University of Houston

Paper Putting Poverty Alleviation Back on its Political Place
Ana L. De La O, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Overview: Politicians have more incentives to redistribute toward the poor when they are rewarded with votes. I investigate the electoral consequences of targeted social programs using data on Progresa, a Mexican social program.

Paper Political Competition and Particularism in the Provision of Local Public Goods by Subnational Governments in Mexico and Argentina
Alejandra Armesto, University of Notre Dame
Overview: The paper analyzes the level of particularism in the provision of local public goods by subnational governments in Mexico and Argentina by exploring the composition of subnational legislatures and responses to surveys by legislators and governors.

Paper Patrons and Clients in Mexico's PRD
Tina Hilgers, York University
Overview: Clientelism is pervasive in the PRD. It flourishes in conditions of high socioeconomic inequality - a context in which clientelism cannot be seen as strictly negative - and involves both individuals and groups.

Paper Intra-party Competition and Clientelism: An Analysis of Public Sector Employment in Argentina
Ozge Kemaloglu, Columbia University
Overview: The paper analyzes public sector employment in Argentina to shed light on the political and socio-economic factors that shape how politicians distribute public jobs to their "selected" supporters.

Disc. Melissa Scheier, University of Houston

6-5 MASS PUBLIC ATTITUDES ABOUT DEMOCRACY
Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair John Booth, University of North Texas
Paper Diffuse Violent Crime and Democratic Governability in Latin America
Ryan E. Carlin, Emory University
Overview: This paper compares two theories of democratic citizenry--delegative democracy and stealth democracy. Empirically, we analyze the impact of party system and the level of delegative democratic attitudes in 10 Latin American countries.

Paper Delegative and Stealth Democracy: The Individual and Institutional Foundations of Political Confidence in Latin America
Paul Gronke, Reed College
Barry Levitt, Emory University
Overview: This paper compares two theories of democratic citizenry--delegative democracy and stealth democracy. We analyze the impact of party system and the level of delegative democratic attitudes in 10 Latin American countries.

Paper Democratic Support in Latin America: Causes and Evolution
Mitchell Seligson, Vanderbilt University
Overview: Which economic, institutional and cultural factors influence support for democracy in developing countries over the course of democratic transitions? This paper offers an integrated understanding of democratic legitimacy in Latin America.

Disc. John Booth, University of North Texas

7-2 KOREAN ELECTORAL POLITICS
Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair Manwoo Lee, Millersville University of Pennsylvania
Paper The Emergence of Generational Politics and the Regional Party System in Korea
Jaehyeok Shin, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper examines why a generational politics has emerged in the 2002 presidential election in Korea and what political impact the generational politics has on the Korean regional party system.
Paper Economic Voting vs. Cleavage Voting in the United States, Korea, and Taiwan
Eunjung Choi, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: The purpose of the study is to define circumstances to facilitate or impede economic voting. Utilizing the information processing approach, I expect that economic voting is weaker in Korea and Taiwan than in the U.S.

Paper The 17th National Assembly Election and Legislative Turnover in Korea
Junhan Lee, University of Incheon
Hong Min Park, Northwestern University
Overview: There was a record high legislative turnover (62.5%) in 2004 ever since the 1987 democratic transition by selecting 187 new lawmakers. This essay aims to understand the causes and consequences of the wide legislative turnover in 2004.

Paper Democratization and Legislative Reform in Korean National Assembly
Kyung-Jin Jun, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: Based on the legislative model of U.S. Congress, this paper examines the impact of legislative reform in lawmaking process in Korean National Assembly.

Paper The Sudden Rise of Left-Wing Parties in South Korea
Jungkeun Yoon, Claremont Graduate University
Overview: This paper examines political and economic factors, which contributed to a sudden rise of left-wing parties in South Korea.

Disc. Manwoo Lee, Millersville University of Pennsylvania

8-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: AFRICAN STATES IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Presenter Democracy, Monarchy and Power in Dahomey Land: Today’s Trajectories of Political and Economic Elites in an Ancient West African Kingdom
Roch L. Mongbo, University of Abomey-Calavi
Overview: Major institutions of pre-colonial Dahomey survived, and emerged at the 2002 democratic communal elections. Cases of everyday power yielding and wielding at work are presented and discussed.

Presenter Institutional Change and Organizational Action: Network and Coalition Action in Dahomey (1950-1972)
Brent Never, Indiana University
Overview: The paper tests hypotheses of how costs to collective action affect how networks of actors press for institutional change over long periods of time.

9-1 PARTIES, VOTING AND ELECTIONS IN POSTCOMMUNIST COUNTRIES
Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair Andrew L. Roberts, Northwestern University
Henry E. Hale, Indiana University
Timothy J. Colton, Harvard University
Overview: Using an original survey conducted after the December 2003 Duma elections we test whether party candidates provided electoral benefits that independents lack in single-member-district elections as leading comparative theories expect.

Joshua A. Tucker, Princeton University
Overview: Theories of economic performance and voting for nationalist parties are tested with an original dataset of election results in 19 presidential and parliamentary elections in 5 postcommunist countries 1990-99.

Paper Mandate or Punishment?: Prospective and Retrospective Voting after Communion
Grigore Pop-Eleches, Princeton University
Overview: Analyzes survey data from the year 2004 and 2004 national elections in Romania to test the extent to which vote choice can be explained in terms of prospective and retrospective considerations.

Paper Economic Voting in Postcommunist Countries
Geoffrey Evans, Oxford University
Stephen Whitefield, Oxford University
Overview: This paper will examine patterns of economic voting in postcommunist countries through the analysis of survey data.

Disc. James L. Gibson, Washington University

10-9 INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS AND COOPERATION
Chair David Leblang, University of Colorado
Paper The Emergence of International Bargaining in a Three-Phase Cooperation Framework
David H. Bearce, University of Pittsburgh
Katharine M. Flores, TBA
Overview: International cooperation, bargaining theory, shadow of the future

Paper International Multilateral Agreement Negotiations
Michael J. Gilligan, New York University
Nicole M. Simonelli, New York University
Overview: We present a model of the international multilateral agreement-making process.

Paper Rethinking the Bargain: The Distribution of Benefits from the Nonproliferation Regime
Timothy L. Meyer, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: The aim of this paper is to use rational choice to understand the incentives for compliance with the current nonproliferation regime, and to examine how different policy approaches might enhance the viability of the current legal framework.

Disc. David Leblang, University of Colorado

10-301 POSTER SESSION: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Presenter International Relations and Technological Change
Mark Z. Taylor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Overview: This paper will show that there exists a deep and fundamental causal relationship between international politics and technological change, and that the “accepted wisdom” of domestic politics explanations is not supported by the empirical evidence.

Presenter The Strength of a State: Modeling Hard and Soft Power
Allison M. Nau, College of Wooster
Overview: This paper presents a model of state power that incorporates both hard and soft power, with the assertion that such a model more completely portrays the power of a state than a model that examines only one aspect of power.

Presenter Legal Status of the Caspian Sea: The Advantages of Treating Seabed and Subsoil Separately
Elmur Soltanov, Texas Technical University
Overview: This paper claims that treating seabed and subsoil separately from the body of water in the Caspian, which is legally permissible, the most controversial political dispute among five littoral states turns out to be the least controversial legally.

Presenter The Missing Link: The Absent US Grand Strategy for The Twenty-First Century
Lapo Salucci, University of Colorado at Boulder
Overview: This paper argues that the United States has not designed a consistent Grand Strategy to cope with the challenges of a new international situation. I suggest that this could foster instability in the international system, as it happened after WW I.

Presenter Selling the State: The African Renaissance and the ‘Branding’ of South Africa
Jeremy R. Youde, University of Iowa
Overview: South Africa has embraced the African Renaissance label as an attempt to reposition itself within the international community. This paper examines how successful this project has been and the unintended consequences of such a ‘rebranding’ strategy.

Presenter Post-National Citizenship and Health Related Rights in Developing Countries.
Overview: This paper identifies four models of how national and international human rights are being asserted to address health issues and its implication for understanding "post-national citizenship."

**11-1 COMPLIANCE, SANCTIONS, AND LEARNING IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS**

**Room** TBA, Thur 10:30

**Chair** James Vreeland, Yale University

**Paper Why Comply? The Domestic Constituency Mechanism**

Xinyuan Dai, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Overview: Key words: international institutions, compliance with international agreements, environmental policies, and game theoretic modeling.

**Paper Reputational Costs of Complying with Anti-Money Laundering and Counter-Terrorism Finance Regime: FATF After September 11**

Kathryn L. Lawall, University of Notre Dame

Overview: Why do nations comply with international regimes? What drives this compliance? In this paper, I will empirically assess global compliance (N = 137) and its causal mechanisms with the AML/CFT standards of the Financial Action Task Force.

**Paper Power and Money: Coercive Diplomacy and the Enforcement of International Debt Contracts**

Michael R. Tomz, Stanford University

Overview: Why do governments pay their debts? Studies suggest that creditors used gunboats to compel payment before WWI. I systematically test - and find little evidence for - the gunboat hypothesis. Compliance has been due to reputation, not military force.

**Paper Sanctions as Revelation Mechanisms**

Daniel Verديer, Ohio State University

Overview: Why are so many sanctions not followed by compliance? To reveal information.

**Disc.** James Vreeland, Yale University

**11-2 GLOBALIZATION AND THE PROVISION OF PUBLIC GOODS**

**Room** TBA, Thur 10:30

**Chair** Kenneth Scheve, University of Michigan

**Paper Education Through Globalization: An Open Economy Model of Human Capital Investment**

Benjamin W. Ansell, Harvard University

Overview: This paper examines the extent of the international economy on state provision of human capital. The paper develops a formal model of human capital investment and econometric tests, and finds openness strongly related to investment in education.

**Paper Free Trade: Path to Political Fragmentation or to Government Expansion?**

Muhammet Ali Bas, University of Rochester

Elena V. Platinina, University of Rochester

Overview: This paper presents a unified statistical model to test hypotheses that link country size, openness to international trade and the scope of government.

**Paper Trade Policy Openness, Domestic Political Institutions, and the Environment**

Scott L. Kostner, University of Maryland, College Park

Michael J. Hiscox, Harvard University

Joanne Marraque, University of Maryland, College Park

Overview: Examines the impact of trade policy openness on environmental standards and performance, treating domestic political institutions as intervening variables.

**Disc.** John A. Doces, University of Southern California

Kenneth Scheve, University of Michigan

**11-15 TRADE POLICYMAKING IN THE WTO**

**Room** TBA, Thur 10:30

**Chair** Daniel Y. Kono, University of California, Davis

**Paper Settling the Dispute: Curbing US Unilateralism in the WTO**

Matthew B. Fehr, Duke University

Overview: The paper examines responses to US unilateralism through the lens of the WTO’s dispute settlement mechanism. The paper shows that in terms of international trade, other states are actively trying to reign in the US, and the WTO’s role is critical.

**Paper The USA’s and the EU’s Bilateral/Regional Relations: Global Rivals, Rival Globalizations?**

Ayse Kaya, London School of Economics and Political Science

Overview: The paper analyzes the regional trade agreements (RTAs) negotiated by the USA and the EU. The paper claims the two powers rival each other in these RTAs, exposing differences in the way in which they approach and handle globalization.

**Paper The Liberalizing Effects of GATT/WTO Membership—A Complex Relationship.**

Gregory J. Love, University of California, Davis

Jennifer Ramos, University of California, Davis

Overview: We examine the interactive effect of domestic economic and political factors and GATT/WTO membership on trade liberalization policy. We find that membership in GATT/WTO does affect trade policy, but is mediated by political and economic conditions.

**Paper Dispute Settlement (DS) Strategies in the WTO System: Comparison between the GATT period and WTO period**

Don Moon, KyungHee University

Overview: This paper examines various strategies commanded under the WTO DS system. Because of the strong legal characteristics of the WTO DS system, states’ optimal strategies has changed considerably as compared with those under the GATT system.

**Disc.** Daniel Y. Kono, University of California, Davis

**12-1 THE NEXUS OF INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC LAW**

**Room** TBA, Thur 10:30

**Chair** Jana Von Stein, University of California, Los Angeles

**Paper Trading by the Rules: The Imposition of Trade Protection in the Shadow of WTO Law**

Todd L. Allee, University of Illinois at Urbana, Champaign

Overview: This paper argues that governments are more likely to settle long-standing or politically sensitive WTO disputes through a ruling by a panel of legal experts, as opposed to a negotiated or “out of court” settlement.

**Paper Self-Execution and Political-Execution: The Status of International Agreements in Domestic Law**

Rachel D. Brewster, University of Chicago Law School

Overview: Presents a framework that systematically details how international rules are (or are not) incorporated into domestic law and makes predictions about what type of agreements are likely to domestic law, even if not self-executing.

**Paper The International Court of Justice and the World’s Three Legal Systems**

Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, University of Iowa

Emilia Justyna Powell, Florida State University

Overview: We seek to understand why some countries recognize the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court, while others do not.

**Paper Explaining Gains and Losses in EU Accession Negotiations**

Tobias Schulz, University of St. Gallen

Overview: This paper attempts to apply two recent extensions of ‘two-level’ bargaining-models to the case of the negotiations over the EU enlargement. It finds a second-mover advantage as well as an influence of several ratification constraints.

**Disc.** Jana Von Stein, University of California, Los Angeles

**13-2 RATIONALITY AND SECURITY**

**Room** TBA, Thur 10:30

**Chair** Branislav Slanchev, University of California, San Diego

**Paper Is War Rational? The Extent of Miscalculation and Misperception as Causes of War**

Dan Lindley, University of Notre Dame

Overview: Is war a rational pursuit? Pre-1900, war initiators won 73% of wars. Since 1945, the win rate is 33%. Assuming
that states initiate wars planning to win, war’s utility is declining. Miscalculation and misperception now dominate decisions for war.

**Paper**  
**The Rationality of War under Conditions of Complete Information.**  
**Presenter**  
**Hyon Joo Yoo, University of Michigan**  
Overview: Can war occur with complete information? I propose a game-theoretic model to show that war can be rational if rigidities in the bargaining process lead actors with changing relative power to anticipate a large opportunity loss between negotiations.

**Paper**  
**Small Powers' Passive and Proactive Behavior in the Alliance Politics**  
**Presenter**  
**Hyon Joo Yoo, Georgetown University**  
Overview: In dealing with two great powers--the current power and the rising power, small powers take passive and proactive positive feedback toward two powers.

**Paper**  
**National Security and the Role of Mixed Signaling**  
**Presenter**  
**Unisawa M. Wsolek, Ohio State University**  
Overview: The 2004 US campaign rested on a simple message: You can trust the president to send clear signals and the challenger, mixed. This paper asks why we see mixed signals in crises and challenges the conventional wisdom that such signals are detrimental.

**Disc.**  
**Branislav Slanchev, University of California, San Diego**

**16-2 INFORMATION PROCESSING**

**Room**  
TBA, Thur 10:30

**Chair**  
**Sara Margaret Gubala, Michigan State University**

**Paper**  
**Decision Strategies, Information Processing, and Correct Voting**  
**Presenter**  
**David Redlawsk, University of Iowa**  
**Director**  
**Richard R. Lau, Rutgers University**  
Overview: We examine the decision strategies used by voters to make sense of an election campaign. Those strategies, broadly categorized as rational, intuitive, and take the few best, are tested against a correct voting standard.

**Paper**  
**The Relevant Campaign, 1980: Revisiting the NES Major Panel to Analyze Campaign Effects and the Emergence of Voters' Judgments**  
**Presenter**  
**Scott J. Basinger, Stony Brook University**  
**Director**  
**Michael J. Easley, Indiana University**  
Overview: We employ systems of simultaneous equations to analyze the 1980 National Election Study Major Panel, to investigate how voters' judgments about the candidates changed during the campaigns, recognizing voter heterogeneity.
Overview: We test electoral balancing models using data from German state election. The main finding - midterm losses in German state elections only occur under unified government - supports electoral balancing models.

**Disc.** Joel Lieske, Cleveland State University

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**17-19 PRESIDENTIAL FORECASTING MODELS**

**Room** TBA, Thur 10:30

**Chair** Larry Butler, Rowan University

**Paper** The Real Threat of Terrorism: An Assault on Civil Liberties and National Security

**Overview:** Using unique survey data from the 2004 presidential election, we examine the prevalence and influence of incongruities between policy preferences and party identification on presidential vote choice.

**Presenter** Todd Shields, University of Arkansas

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**17-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: HISTORY OF THIRD PARTY VOTING IN AMERICA**

**Room** TBA, Thur 10:30

**Presenter** Third Party Voting Behavior in Nineteenth Century America

**Overview:** This paper provides evidence that the Democratic Party's shift to the left during the New Deal was the cause of the decline in third party electoral support during the 20th Century. We test this explanation against several alternatives.

**Presenter** Why Electoral Support for Third Parties Declined in the United States

**Chair** John Bruce, University of Mississippi

**Paper** Exploring the Effects of Threatening Information on Citizen Support for the Extension Right's Protections to Members of Unpopular Groups

**Overview:** This project extends the study of the interaction between information and citizen willingness to allow unpopular groups to exercise certain fundamental American rights.

**Presenter** Why Existing Models of Presidential Approval are Inadequate: Or, Why Forecasting Luck Runs Out When Relationships Among Macroeconomic Indicators Change

**Chair** April K. Rapp, University of California, Santa Barbara

**Paper** Trade-Offs Between Civil Liberties and National Security

**Overview:** This paper examines the impact of perceptions of threat on trade-offs between civil liberties and national security, and the role of these trade-offs in shaping public policy preferences.

**Presenter** The Constituent Perspective of Representation: The Dynamic Role of National and Local Factors Affecting Perceptions of Member Responsiveness

**Overview:** Using public opinion data collected in the year prior to and immediately following the World Trade Center attacks, this paper demonstrates the willingness of Americans to sacrifice civil liberties in the post-9/11 social climate.

**Presenter** The Real Threat of Terrorism: An Assault on Civil Liberties and National Security

**Chair** Cynthia V. Caravelis, Florida State University

**Paper** The Impact of Information on Civil Liberties and National Security

**Overview:** This project extends the study of the interaction between information and citizen willingness to allow unpopular groups to exercise certain fundamental American rights.

**Presenter** Exploring the Effects of Threatening Information on Citizen Support for the Extension Right's Protections to Members of Unpopular Groups

**Chair** Linda M. Marlowe, Georgetown University

**Paper** Political Tolerance Over Time and Across Individuals

**Overview:** Individual and aggregate level analyses of political tolerance employing a national multiple-generation, four-wave panel study stretching from 1965 to 1997.

**Presenter** The Constituent Perspective of Representation: The Dynamic Role of National and Local Factors Affecting Perceptions of Member Responsiveness

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**Presenter** The Real Threat of Terrorism: An Assault on Civil Liberties and National Security

**Chair** Jesseymb A. Tracy, Florida State University

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**Presenter** The Real Threat of Terrorism: An Assault on Civil Liberties and National Security

**Chair** Ewa Golebiowska, Wayne State University

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**19-13 POLITICAL TOLERANCE AND CIVIL LIBERTIES**

**Room** TBA, Thur 10:30

**Chair** John Bruce, University of Mississippi

**Paper** Exploring the Effects of Threatening Information on Citizen Support for the Extension Right's Protections to Members of Unpopular Groups

**Overview:** This project extends the study of the interaction between information and citizen willingness to allow unpopular groups to exercise certain fundamental American rights.

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**Presenter** The Real Threat of Terrorism: An Assault on Civil Liberties and National Security

**Chair** Ewa Golebiowska, Wayne State University

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**19-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: OPINIONS TOWARD CONGRESS AND REPRESENTATION**

**Room** TBA, Thur 10:30

**Presenter** The Constituent Perspective of Representation: The Dynamic Role of National and Local Factors Affecting Perceptions of Member Responsiveness

**Overview:** Using unique survey data from the 2004 presidential election, we examine the prevalence and influence of incongruities between policy preferences and party identification on presidential vote choice.

**Presenter** The Real Threat of Terrorism: An Assault on Civil Liberties and National Security

**Chair** Robin M. Lauermann, Messiah College

**Paper** The Impact of Information on Civil Liberties and National Security

**Overview:** This project extends the study of the interaction between information and citizen willingness to allow unpopular groups to exercise certain fundamental American rights.

**Presenter** The Constituent Perspective of Representation: The Dynamic Role of National and Local Factors Affecting Perceptions of Member Responsiveness

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**Presenter** The Real Threat of Terrorism: An Assault on Civil Liberties and National Security

**Chair** Ewa Golebiowska, Wayne State University

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**19-204 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: AFRICAN AND GLOBAL POLITICAL ATTITUDES**

**Room** TBA, Thur 10:30

**Presenter** The Constituent Perspective of Representation: The Dynamic Role of National and Local Factors Affecting Perceptions of Member Responsiveness

**Overview:** Using unique survey data from the 2004 presidential election, we examine the prevalence and influence of incongruities between policy preferences and party identification on presidential vote choice.

**Presenter** The Real Threat of Terrorism: An Assault on Civil Liberties and National Security

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**Presenter** The Real Threat of Terrorism: An Assault on Civil Liberties and National Security

**Chair** Ewa Golebiowska, Wayne State University

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**Updated 03-01-05 17**
Paper 20-1  PARTICIPATION IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Overview: This study examines how the Democratic and Republican parties have tailored the positions to court the women's vote in critical Presidential Elections 1980-2004.

Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair Pippa Norris, Harvard University
Mary E. Billard, Sarah Lawrence College
Overview: This paper compares debates about access to formal schooling in Kenya and Ghana and argues that in the context of the decline in educational opportunities in these countries, access has the potential to increasingly become a major political issue.

Paper Property Jobs, Political Patronage, and Voting Turnout in Comparative Perspective
Luis R. Camara-Fuertes, University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras
Thais Reyes, University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras
Overview: In this paper we study effects of government jobs and political patronage on voting turnout. These two variables may be important factors in explaining both, the variance in turnout rates between countries, and within countries through time.

Paper Democracy and Environment: The Effect of Democratization on Environment Outcomes in Asia
Yongjin Chang, American University
Taejun Cho, SUNY-Albany
Overview: This research will study the relationship between democracy (or democratization) and a country’s environmental outcomes in Asia, including carbon dioxide damage and energy depletion etc.

Paper Gender, Trust and Participation in New Democracies
Cindy D. Kam, University of California, Davis
Jennifer R. Wilking, University of California, Davis
Overview: Our project focuses on the impact of trust in government on political participation across established and fledgling democracies. We use the 2001 World Values Survey data to compare levels of trust and participation by gender, across these contexts.

Paper Changing Patterns in Mobilization and Participation In Post-Industrial Democracies
Miki Caul Kittilson, Arizona State University
Overview: This paper examines the links between a citizen’s participation in voluntary organizations and their propensity to participate across several established industrial democracies from the 1960s to the present.

Paper Attitudes, Resources, Opportunities, and Mobilisation: A Multilevel Model of Political Membership
Laura Morales-Diez de Uzurrun, University of Murcia, Spain
Overview: The paper combines the analysis of individual and contextual-level factors, using multivariate multilevel models to assess the combined impact that variables of the political context have on individual political membership.

Disc. Pippa Norris, Harvard University

Paper 21-4  EMOTIONS IN POLITICAL MEDIA

Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair John S. Nelson, University of Iowa
Paper Once More with Feeling: Sights, Sounds, and Words in Political Advertising
John S. Nelson, University of Iowa
Anna L. Nelson, Harvard and Yale Universities
Overview: The essay shows how speech acts, sound effects, musics, and images mobilize emotions in campaign ads. It ties these emotions to populist, republican, and other kinds of politics beyond liberal-democratic representation.

Paper Emotional Cues and Campaign Dynamics in Political Advertising
Ted Brader, University of Michigan
Overview: The paper specifies emotions evoked by political ads in varied situations. It uses experiments, content analysis, and CMAG information on ad buys to show how visual and musical cues work with verbal messages to spur emotions.

Paper Modern Emotions in Political Photography
Robert Hariman, Northwestern University
John L. Lucaites, Indiana University
Overview: The paper taps three current accounts of emotion to analyze three iconic photos for our politics: the 1937 explosion of the Hindenberg, the 1986 explosion of the Challenger, and the ubiquitous mushroom cloud of nuclear explosion.

Paper Anguish: What War Becomes in the Age of Global News
George R. Boynton, University of Iowa
Francis A. Beer, University of Colorado
Overview: The BBC, CNN, and Reuters are creating global TV news. The paper analyzes BBC and CNN broadcasts for five years to how war stories mobilize emotions. It argues that the anguish of noncombatants is replacing the admiration of heroic soldiers.

Paper Communication, Critique, and Emotion: The Audiovisual Grammar of Campaign Advertising and Adwatch Journalism
Glenn W. Richardson, Kutztown University
Overview: The paper explains how ad watches can and should address the emotional dynamics of political spots. It proposes an audiovisual grammar for this purpose.

Disc. Nicole R. Krassas, Eastern Connecticut State University

Paper 22-10  GENDER AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES (Co-sponsored with Political Parties and Interest Groups, see 29-16)

Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair Kathryn Pearson, University of Minnesota
Georgia Duerst-Lahti, Beloit College
Overview: (How) are Democrats the “Mommy party” and Republicans the “Daddy party?” Drawing articles from seven newspapers, I use content analysis to assess the gendered treatment of the parties in news accounts related to the 2004 presidential election.

Paper Courting the Women’s Vote - Critical Presidential Elections 1980-2004
Shirley Anne Warshaw, Gettysburg College
Kathryn L. Mereen, Gettysburg College
Overview: This study examines how the Democratic and Republican parties have tailored the positions to court the women's vote in critical Presidential Elections 1980-2004.

Paper Corporate and Labor PAC Contributions to Women and Minority Candidates
Janna L. Deitz, Western Illinois University
Overview: Examining corporate and labor contributions to congressional candidates in 2000, I find that the effects of both race and gender on receiving labor and corporate money are significantly conditioned by candidate status, party, and ideology.

Disc. Kathryn Pearson, University of Minnesota

Paper 23-7  AMERICAN INDIANS IN US POLITICS

Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair Glenn A. Phelps, Northern Arizona University
Paper American Indian Campaign Contributions in California
Richard Wittmer, Creighton University
Overview: We study the recent growth in political involvement and incorporation by Indian nations by using data on tribal contributions to state elected officials and ballot measures in California over the past five years.

Paper Re-visiting Frybread Federalism: American Indians, Federalism, and Public Policy
John G. Bretting, University of Texas, El Paso
Barbara Morris, University of Redlands
Overview: We examine, contrast, and critically analyze this dominant worldview, informing the theoretical explanations of
contemporary environmental policy, with the American Indian one.

Paper **The Use of Expertise: Exploring Tribes’ Relations with States**
Labra Evans, University of Washington
Overview: This paper examines efforts of American Indian tribes to influence state legislation affecting them. I find that tribes can win certain policy changes—even on contentious or unpopular issues—by cultivating their expertise about policy and politics.

Paper **Is Gaming Good for Indian Health?: New Institutions for Tribal-State Consultation in Indian Health Policy since IGRA**
Lauren M. Morris MacLean, Indiana University
Overview: This study examines why some state governments consult more than others with American Indian tribes on health care policy from 1970 to the present. While Indian gaming has emphasized conflict, health policy issues have spurred more collaboration.

Paper **The Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978: A Case Study**
Steven H. Unger, Howard Sloan Koller Group
Overview: Analysis of the background and politics of one of the most important recent pieces of American Indian legislation, passed with the unanimous support of American Indian tribes and over the opposition of the Executive Branch.

Disc. Glenn A. Phelps, Northern Arizona University

23-17 **THINKING BIG: RACE, CLASS AND NATION**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair Taeku Lee, University of California, Berkeley

Paper **Ending Discrimination: Using Political Economies to Address the Achievement Gap**
Gail A. Corrado, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: Discrimination is based on people's reliance on a link between a sign and some aversive stimuli. Defeating discrimination means making that sign unreliable a signal. Incremental changes won't work because we need to “tip” this reliance.

Paper **The Racial Revolution: The Political Economy of Civil Rights**
Michael J. Fortner, Harvard University
Overview: This paper employs Skocpol’s theory of revolutions to explain the genesis of the Civil Rights movement and its impact on American politics. It emphasizes the usefulness of a state-centered approach to the study of racial politics.

Paper **Punk’d in America: Workers, Race and Capital**
Traci Harris, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: Political theory deems race epiphenomenal. But race has become a foundation of the U.S. Applying Foucault’s theory, docility/utility and Marx’s theory of worker regulation presents a new discourse with which to understand race and its transformation.

Paper **Nationhood, and Race in the Americas: A Race Cycles Approach**
Mark Q. Sawyer, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper examines the formation of American nations and the formation of concepts of race.

Disc. Taeku Lee, University of California, Berkeley

24-2 **GREEK LIFE PHILOSOPHIZED**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair Robert Phillips, Wheeling Jesuit University

Paper **Reason and Glory: Pericles’ View of Citizenship**
Borden Flanagan, American University
Overview: Pericles’ Funeral Speech attempts to provide a rational account of citizenship. This account depends on an appeal to love of glory. Paper explores implications for political rationalism.

Paper **The Evolution of Socrates’ Education of the Politically Ambitious**
Brendan R. Earle, University of California, Davis
Overview: Socrates, having failed to instruct Alcibiades in philosophic virtue, no longer attempts to teach the politically ambitious by exciting their political ambitions and instead attempts to dissuade all his promising students from the political life.

25-2 **RECONSIDERATIONS IN DEMOCRATIC THEORY**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair Eric Beerbohm, Princeton University

Paper **Bridging, Bonding, and Civic Engagement: the Nuances of Tocqueville’s Art of Association**
Mark D. Gismondi, Northwest Nazarene University
Overview: A study of the recent literature on social capital since Putnam, and a consideration of the links between this literature and the main works of Tocqueville.

Paper **Between the Republic and the Class War: What Tocqueville Means by “Democracy”**
Donald J. Maletz, University of Oklahoma
Overview: A study of the reasons leading Tocqueville to prefer the term "democracy" and of the several meanings conferred on this term in his analysis of the United States.

Paper **“But I’m not dead yet!”: John C. Calhoun and the Legacy of James Madison**
James H. Read, College of St. Benedict, St. John’s University
Overview: An examination of Calhoun’s reinterpretation of the Constitution and the federal union, his argument with Madison, and his contributions to the development of constitutional theory.

Paper **“If Any Man Were My Master…”: Woodrow Wilson and Political Philosophy”**
David J. Siemers, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh
Overview: An exploration of Woodrow Wilson’s ambivalent, even hostile, view of the genre of political philosophy, of his preference for Burke and a Burkean "organicism," and of certain exceptions he made for particular political authors.

Disc. Eric Beerbohm, Princeton University

26-7 **CIVIL SOCIETY AND RELATED ISSUES**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair Joan Tronto, Hunter College, CUNY

Paper **What Makes Civil Society Civil? State Capacity and Organizational Life**
Neil Englehart, Lafayette College
Overview: Civil society is better understood as the condition of society under a legal-rational state than as set of organizations opposed to the state. This resolves significant problems for understanding antisocial organizations and failing states.

Paper **The Cultural Preconditions of a Theory of Justice, or How to Nurture Citizens Who Care**
Daniel Engster, University of Texas, San Antonio
Overview: This paper interrogates the cultural preconditions of a just society by looking at the role of family policy, education, and the media in promoting empathetic and caring citizens.

Paper **Freedom for Sale: Restricting Liberties for the Sake of Property Values**
Clement Fatovic, Florida International University
Overview: This paper argues that the growing regulation of residential spaces for the sake of property values is an alarming trend that threatens to undermine the tolerance for inconvenient
and unruly exercises of freedom that is essential to its preservation.

Disc.  Joan Tronto, Hunter College, CUNY

26-15 ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICAL THEORY
Room  TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair  Breena Holland, University of Chicago
       Terence Ball, Arizona State University
Paper  The Normative Implications of Ecological Footprinting
       Steve Vanderheiden, University of Minnesota, Duluth
Overview: In this paper, I trace out the normative implications of the ecological footprint, including the prescriptions that it implies for such current policy issues as economic modernization, global distributive justice, and climate change mitigation.

Disc.  Breena Holland, University of Chicago

28-1 WHEN THEORY AND DATA MEET (Co--sponsored with Empirical Investigation of Theoretical Models, see 50-3)
Room  TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair  James Alt, Harvard University
Paper  Myopic Retrospection and Party Identification
       Christopher H. Achen, Princeton University
       Larry Bartels, Princeton University
Overview: Much evidence indicates that voters rely only on recent events in evaluating incumbent performance. This paper studies whether the same is true when they update their party identifications.

Paper  The Theoretical Implications of the Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models
       Kevin A. Clarke, University of Rochester
       David M. Primo, University of Rochester
Overview: We argue for a new approach to scientific inference that highlights the centrality of models in scientific reasoning, avoids the pitfalls of the hypothetico-deductive method, and offers political scientists a new way of thinking about EITM.

Paper  Measuring Strategic Voting
       Rebecca B. Morton, Princeton and New York Universities
       Thomas A. Rietz, University of Iowa
Overview: We investigate the ability of indirect econometric measures to accurately estimate strategic voting by using experimental data where the true extent of strategic voting is known.

Paper  Investor and Partisan Behavior among Political Action Committees: Quantitative Tests of Qualitative Hypotheses
       Jonathan Wand, Stanford University
Overview: To test and distinguish between formal models of contributor behavior, I develop quantitative tests for the qualitative features of these models. Contributions from PAC in open seat races (1984–2004) are considered.

Disc.  Amy R. Gershkoff, Princeton University
       John Transue, Duke University
       John Aldrich, Duke University
Overview: We test for the presence and prevalence of spillover effects across survey experiments embedded in surveys that contain several experiments.

Disc.  Man-chi Mandy Sha, NORC, University of Chicago

29-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: INTEREST GROUP MEMBERS AND MAINTENANCE
Room  TBA, Thur 10:30
Presenter  Beyond Maintenance: Survival Strategies of Interest Groups and the Principle/Agent Problem
       McGee Young, Marquette University
Overview: This paper assesses the problem of explaining interest group change. In order to successfully account for changes in identity, purpose, and “interest” we must move beyond traditional explanations for organization and mobilization.

Presenter  Aiming at Two Targets: The NRA and its Fight for the First Amendment
       William T. Horner, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: This paper is an examination of the NRA’s recent freedom of speech agenda, aimed at both the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act and the Patriot Act.

29-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POLITICAL SCIENTISTS, POLITICAL PARTIES, AND THE COURT
Room  TBA, Thur 10:30
Presenter  Political Scientists, Political Parties and the Court: A New Model for Amicus Curiae Briefs
       Kyle L. Kreider, Wilkes University
Overview: This paper evaluates the role that political scientists have played in the Supreme Court's political party cases and seeks out ideas on how political scientists can present empirical research in a way that is conducive to our role as scientists.

30-1 EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE BARGAINING
Room  TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair  Steven A. Shull, University of New Orleans
Paper  Executive Discretion in the United States
       Juliana Bambaci, Stanford University
Overview: Executive discretion vis-à-vis the legislature varies extensively. This paper explains why legislatures cede constitutional prerogatives to the executive and tests it empirically by analyzing data on budget legislation for the 50 US states.

Paper  The Substance of Presidential Legislative Success
       Andrew W. Barrett, Marquette University
       Matthew Eschbaugh-Soha, Texas Tech University

Paper  Nixon’s Heresthetics and the Rehnquist Nomination
       William Hixon, Lawrence University
Overview: We explore an underappreciated presidential leadership strategy: heresthetics, restructuring a choice situation to one’s advantage. We show how Richard Nixon’s use of this strategy over typical sources of leverage helped win Rehnquist’s confirmation.
Paper Beyond Swearing and Name-Calling: What Presidents Nixon and Johnson Really Talked About with Members of Congress.
Jennifer J. Hora, Roanoke College
Overview: I fully explore the nature of presidential contacts with members of Congress using conversations from both the Johnson and Nixon administrations.

Paper Coalition of Extremes: Ends Against the Middle in the United States Congress
Wesley Hussey, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper examines the level of compliance in the South with the Supreme Court’s rulings regarding religion in the public schools.

Paper Compliance with Judicial Policy: Schools, Religious Establishments, and the U.S. Supreme Court
Kevin T. McGuire, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: This paper examines the level of compliance in the South with the Supreme Court’s rulings regarding religion in the public schools.

Paper The Impact of Majority-Minority Districts on Congressional Elections
Delia R. Grieg, California Institute of Technology
Overview: We utilize a formal model of redistricting and data from the 1972-2000 House elections to examine the impact of majority-minority districts on the election of minority candidates to office and to test the "perverse-effects" hypothesis.

Paper The Principal-Agent Theory and the Judicial System: Emery Lee, Case Western Reserve University
Overview: This paper examines the response of court of appeals judges to Apprendi v. New Jersey (2000), which threw settled sentencing procedures into doubt.

Paper The Impact of Majority-Minority Districts on Congressional Elections
Jonathan N. Katz, California Institute of Technology
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Paper Policy and Institutional Goals on the United States Courts of Appeals
Jennifer K. Luse, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Overview: This paper will provide a test of the principal-agent theory using Establishment Clause jurisprudence. The goal of this paper is to ascertain the factors that cause the Courts of Appeals to comply with Supreme Court precedent.

Bradley C. Canon, University of Kentucky
Overview: A conceptual study of the psychology, options, and counter-pressures attending governmental agency implementation of judicial decisions that require changes in agency policy and behavior.

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democratic theory for development of international environmental jurisprudence.

Paper
"The Paradox of Omnipotence": Courts, Constitutions, and Commitments
David S. Law, University of San Diego
Overview: Constitutionally entrenched notions of sovereignty can render a state unable to keep its commitments to citizens or to other states. I argue that courts can and do, within limits, help to solve the commitment problems that constitutions create.

Paper
The Electoral Dis-Connection: How the Institutional Structure of the Senate Explains U. S. Hostility Towards the ICC
Charles A. Smith, University of Miami
Heather M. Smith, University of California, San Diego
Overview: Why is the Senate belligerent towards the ICC when no US soldier or citizen could ever be prosecuted before it? We posit that the institutional structure of the senate and its electoral logic result in predictable hostility.

Paper
Legal Pluralism: Explaining an "Anomaly" in the World of Omnipotent Nation-States
Yukel Sezgin, University of Washington
Overview: This paper explains why and how postcolonial states circumscribe their rule-making/implementing capacities as they recognize the jurisdiction of non-state normative orders.

Disc.
Donald D.A. Schaefer, University of Washington
Eugene Kontorovich, George Mason University

35-1
DIRECT DEMOCRACY IN THE U.S. STATES
Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair Michael Hagen, Temple University
Paper
Rational Voters and the Problem of Policy Responsiveness in Ballot Initiative Elections
Joshua J. Dyck, University of Maryland
Overview: Drawing on the current literature, I present a new theory to account both the rational action of the electorate and the lack of responsive policy in ballot initiative elections.

Paper
Hiram Johnson vs. Willie Brown: Does the Citizen Initiative Undermine Party Government in the American States?
Justin H. Phillips, University of California, San Diego
Overview: This paper tests the hypothesis that the existence and use of the citizen initiative attenuates party influence in state fiscal policy-making.

Paper
The Effects of Ballot Initiatives on Tax Policy Changes
Michael J. New, University of Alabama
Overview: This paper attempts to provide insights as to why it is that initiative states tax and spend less than other states (Matussaka 1996). Comparing the behavior of initiatiave and non-initiative states during fiscal shortfalls might provide insights.

Paper
Strategic Timing of Elections: Evidence from Wisconsin School Referenda
Marc N. Meredith, Stanford University
Overview: This paper focuses on the ability of a referendum agenda setter to strategically time elections. A formal model of the strategic scheduling of elections is developed, and then empirically tested using a dataset of school referendum in Wisconsin.

Disc.
Michael Hagen, Temple University

36-10
CONTINGENCIES AND CONSTRAINTS: POLICYMAKING IN URBAN AREAS
Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair Max Neiman, University of California,
Paper
Do Proposed City-County Consolidation Charters Matter?
Suzanne Leland, University of North Carolina, Charlotte
Overview: City-county consolidation is rare.

Paper
Micro-Market Failures and Regulatory “Demand”: The Cost of a Non-Regulatory Response
Jill L. Tao, University of Oklahoma
Overview: I develop a typology of market failures and using an empirical study examine how failures of regulatory policy at the local level of government are often the result of a misdiagnosis of the type of market failure experienced.

Paper
Linking City Economic Development and Growth Management Policy
Richard Feiock, Florida State
Wenjuue Lu, Florida State University
Overview: This paper investigates how city economic development programs constrain or facilitate land use regulation and coordination between growth management with economic development policy based upon a national survey of development and land use policies.

Paper
The Color of Money: Black Mayors and Private Capital Markets
Anirudh V. S. Ruhil, University of Illinois, Chicago
Melissa J. Marschall, Rice University
Overview: In this study we examine if and how Black Mayors' vis-a-vis private capital markets differs from that of their white counterparts due to market- and city-specific structural dynamics.

Disc.
Max Neiman, University of California,
studying the strategic politics of memory. Agents in the
Memories of the Past for Understanding Conflict and Opportunities for
Peacemaking
Overview: Historical studies in many countries focus on the
roles of representations of the past in current efforts to achieve
better relations within and between countries. This report from
the largest clearing house for such studies provides an overview.

The Strategic Politics of Memory in Contemporary
Germany: Comparing Activism for Holocaust and
Expulsion Memorials in Berlin
Jenny Wustenberg, University of Maryland
Overview: A multidimensional framework is offered for
studying the strategic politics of memory. Agents in the
promotion, shaping, and politicization of memory and
monuments are considered against the backdrop of a broader
literature.

Disc. Michael Loriaux, Northwestern University

42-8 SOCIAL CAPITAL/ POLITICAL POWER
Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair John L. Anderson, University of Nebraska, Kearney
Paper The Culture of Public Health: Breastfeeding in a Risk
Society
Joan B. Wolf, Texas A&M University
Overview: The National Breastfeeding Awareness Campaign
demonstrates that the convergence of a risk society with an
ideology of intensive mothering creates a culture where
scientifically unsubstantiated claims about breastfeeding are
politically viable.

Paper British Political Culture and United States Racial Attitudes
Paul Kriese, Indiana University
Overview: This paper will focus on how British ideas and
groups that focus on race helped to form United States attitudes
on race and racist practices.

Paper Social Capital and Government Performance: An Analysis
of County Government in the United States
John R. Tennert, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State
University
Overview: Social capital has created significant speculation as
an explanatory variable of government performance. This paper
will assess the relationship between social capital and
government performance in 34 U.S. counties.

Paper Political Culture and Public Religion: “Kamusal Alan”
Debate in Turkey
Eta Ugur, University of Utah
Overview: An analysis of the roots of controversy over the
public role of religion in general and in Turkey in particular.
The study argues for framing the issue as the relationship
between political culture and utilization of public sphere by
social groups.

Disc. John L. Anderson, University of Nebraska, Kearney

43-1 NATIONAL IDENTITY
Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair John Sides, University of Texas
Paper Foreign Policy Public Opinion as a Function of Diversity
Glory Kolen, Indiana University
Overview: This study addresses the relationship between
demographic diversity and foreign policy public opinion in an
effort to determine whether citizens of low diversity states
exhibit more isolationist attitudes than their high diversity
counterparts.

Paper The Devolution Gamble: State, Nation, and Identity in
England
Bryan S. Glass, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: A (re)emergence of identity in England is occurring
following the allocation of devolution to Scotland and Wales.
This paper discusses why English identity is forcing
Westminster to overhaul the administrative structure of the UK
once again.

44-7 COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF ISLAM
Room TBA, Thur 10:30
Chair Kathleen Collins, University of Notre Dame
Paper A Pro-Islamic Democratic Party? Promises and Limits of
Turkey’s Justice and Development Party
Sultan Tepe, University of Illinois, Chicago
Overview: Many have described Turkey’s Justice and
Development Party as the first Islamic Democratic party in
Muslim world. This paper questions whether and how the JDP
is a model Islamic democratic party using my 127 in-depth
interviews with JDP leaders.

Paper Political Islam in Southeastern Europe since 1989
Valeria Heuberger, Austrian Institute of East and Southeast
European Studies
Overview: Since the end of the 1980s there is an increase of an
imported political Islam among the various Balkan muslim
communities. I will examine its impact on them and its results
within their respective country and in an international context.

Paper Rational Islamists: A Realist Theory of Islamist Rhetoric
and Action.
Anas Malik, Xavier University
Overview: Parsimonious realist assumptions regarding the
rational pursuit of power, resources, survival, and domination
yield new hypotheses and predictive power about Islamist
rhetoric, political participation, and violence.

Paper Christianity, Islam and Political Culture in Sub-Saharan
Africa
Robert Dowd, University of Notre Dame
Overview: This paper asks what explains the effects of religious
institutions on the ideological orientation of individual members
and how institutions’ effects vary.

Paper Resembling Europe: Evolution of Political Islam and
Democracy in the Middle East
Sebnem Gamuscu, University of Virginia
Overview: The paper looks at causes of moderation of political
Islamic movements. The hypothesis drawn from the experience
of the confessional parties in Europe will be tested in the
political Islamic experience in Turkey, Egypt, and Algeria.

Disc. Ghaffar Mughal, Santa Clara University

Updated 03-01-05
Overview: This paper argues that the course of study or 'Philosopher's Curriculum' proposed by Socrates in Plato's Republic Book VII must be read seriously, and understood in light of the other images of compulsory education offered in the dialogue.

Chair A. Carl LeVan, University California, San Diego
Paper Central Policies and Local Politics: The Conditions for Polycentric Resource Governance in Latin America
Krister F. Andersson, Indiana University
Overview: I study the effects of multi-level interactions on local government performance in four Latin American countries and find that a focus on the incentive structures of local politicians helps explain variation in local government provision.

Maria Inclan, Pennsylvania State University
Overview: I study the local and national factors influencing Zapatista protests. Using event history models, I analyze Zapatista protests across localities in Chiapas. The results show that national conditions do not matter as much as local conditions.

Paper Decentralization, Development, and Economic Growth: A Simultaneous Equations Model Analysis
Chih-cheng Meng, University of Texas, Austin
Renat Shaykhutdinov, Texas A&M University
Claudia Avellaneda, Texas A&M University
Overview: In the paper we elaborate on the relationship between decentralization and economic growth. We suggest that the relation is based on countries’ level of development. To test our theory we will use the Simultaneous Equations Model.

Paper The Virtue of “Lying”: Poetry and Politics in the Republic of Plato
Nathan W. Schlueter, St Ambrose University
Overview: This paper will show why Plato’s treatment of lying is closely related to his treatment of poetry, and why both are central to the argument of the dialogue.

Panelist TBA
Overview: TBA

Chair A. Carl LeVan, University California, San Diego
Paper Federal Civil Service Employees Perceptions about the Value of Bureaucratic Neutrality Working in an Ethnic Federalism
Elizabeth Vogel, Old Dominion University
Berhanu Mengistu, Old Dominion University
Overview: Results of a survey addressing bureaucratic neutrality and merit practices in an ethnic federalism, Ethiopia, are presented. Implications for bureaucratic neutrality in a government facing challenges of legitimation and ethnic conflict are examined.

Panelist Lawrence Jacobs, University of Minnesota
Lawrence Mead, New York University
Larry Bartels, Princeton University
Paul Pierson, Ohio State University
Theda Skocpol, Harvard University
Overview: TBA

Chair A. Carl LeVan, University California, San Diego
Mohamed A. Berween, Texas A&M International University
Overview: Crisis of Leadership: A Case Study of the Arab Countries. It is about the role of political leadership in the societies and the cost of its failure.

Paper The "Institutionalization" of the Lebanese Republic: 1926-1946
T. S. Hattar, University of Washington, Seattle
Overview: This paper begins with examining a range of militant and political strategies that were adopted over the years by Palestinian groups. It focuses more on recent changes and challenges in Palestinian-Israeli relations.
Overview: This paper revisits the concept of “institutionalization,” reformulating it, drawing both on post-modern theory and on the new rational choice institutionalism. The paper illustrates the concept using Lebanon as a case study.

Disc. Emile Sahliyeh, University of North Texas
Moataz A. Fattah, Central Michigan University
Emile M. Sahliyeh, University of North Texas

4-2 DEMOCRATIZATION: THEORIES AND CRITIQUES

Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair Shawn H. Williams, University of North Texas
Leslie E. Anderson, University of Florida
Lawrence C. Dodd, University of Florida
Overview: Nicaragua’s democratic transition results not from specific material conditions such as affluence but from procedural foundations of citizen voting – information, ideology and inclusive party contestation.

Paper Interest Groups and Interests in Non-Pluralist Regimes, Transitional Democracies and Developing Societies: Components for a Theoretical Framework
Clive S. Thomas, University of Alaska, Juneau
Overview: The paper identifies common elements and differences in interest group activity in non-pluralist, transitional democracies and developing systems to provide an explanation of the development of interest groups in these systems.

Paper A Contextual Measurement of Democracy
Michael Stoiber, University of Darmstadt
Heidrun Abromeit, University of Darmstadt
Overview: Indices of democracy identify democracy with Western representative systems. They produce an institutional fallacy in measuring democratic quality, because they ignore the respective societal, institutional context. We develop and test a new index.

Paper Contextual Democratic Development: Moving Forward, Not Looking Back
Luke E. Perry, University of Massachusetts
Overview: This paper presents a prospective, case-centered approach for building democracy from the bottom up, in contrast to the retrospective, model-centered approach of the transitions paradigm.

Paper Issues of Models and Shaping of the Democracy and Democratization in the Contemporary Political Theory and Practice
Zoran Z. Krstic, TBA
Overview: The importance of modelling democracy in the time of spreading democracy throughout the world: To identify some basic models of democracy and their applicability to the post-communist countries: To emphasize some prerequisites for democracy.

Disc. William J. Crotty, Northeastern University

5-11 EXTREMIST MOVEMENTS AND PARTIES IN EUROPE

Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair Odul Celep, Binghamton University
Paper Casting the Anti-Immigrant Vote in Fortress Europe: Contextual Effects
Barbara S. Kinsey, University of Central Florida
Juan Gabriel Gomez Albarello, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: We examine the anti-immigrant vote across electoral districts within Western European countries. We apply the power theory of intergroup relations and expect effects to vary depending on the immigration policy and citizenship laws across countries.

Jason E. Kehrberg, University of Iowa
Overview: I examine how differences in institutions contribute to the success of extreme right parties in legislative elections in France, Poland, and Britain. Three types of differences are investigated: district magnitude, thresholds, and proportionality.

Paper Explaining the Formation of Minimal Coalitions: Anti-System Parties and ‘Anti-Pact’ Rules
Benny Geys, Vrije Universiteit Brussel
Bruno Heyndels, Vrije Universiteit Brussel
Jan Vermeir, Vrije Universiteit Brussel
Overview: The paper analyses the proposition that ‘anti-pact’ rules lead to oversized coalitions. Using data on 298 Flemish municipalities (1976-2000), we find that the refusal to coalesce with Vlaams Blok decreases the probability of oversized coalitions.

Paper Religion and Nationalism in Europe: A Fuzzy Set Approach
Philip W. Barker, University of Colorado
Overview: This project uses fuzzy-set QCA analysis to examine potential necessary and sufficient conditions for religious nationalism across Europe. The role of religious frontiers, threats, economic development, and church-state relationships are considered.

Paper Explaining the Vote-Share Potential of the Extreme Right-Wing Parties in Western Europe
Odul Celep, Binghamton University
Overview: This study explores the individual determinants of voting for the extreme right-wing parties in Western Europe. In particular, it focuses on issue proximity and discontentment regarding democratic institutions.

Paper The Politics of the Past in Western Europe
David Art, Holy Cross College
Overview: This paper argues that the ways in which Germany, Austria, France and Italy have confronted their Nazi or fascist pasts have been consequential for the development of right-wing populist and far right parties in them over the last several decades.

Disc. Sylvia G. Maier, Georgia Institute of Technology

6-301 POSTER SESSION: LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS

Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Presenter Religion and Politics in Post-Authoritarian Brazil
Jose A. da Cruz, Armstrong Atlantic State University
Overview: This paper will examine the role of religion, here broadly defined to include not only catholicism but also all other religious belief in Brazil, and its function as a factor in national, state, and local elections.

7-3 FINANCE AND POLITICS IN EAST ASIA

Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair Hebron Lui, Eastern Washington University
Eunyoung Ha, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: A significant determinant of the Asian financial crisis in 1997-98 was financial market liberalization combined with poor institutional foundations for investor protection.

Paper The Politics of Globalization and Popular Culture in East Asia
Siho Nam, Pennsylvania State University
Overview: Cultural aspects of globalization have emerged as key issues for East Asia. This paper seeks to understand the local and global implications of cultural flow in the region with a focus on the roles played by national cultural and media policies.

Paper Economic Liberalization, Party-Dominant Regime, and Democratic Transition in Taiwan
Tieh-chih Chang, Columbia University
Overview: Taiwan’s old ruling party, due to its strong institutional capacity, had been able to benefit from economic liberalization by distributing new rents to rebuild support coalitions to maintain political power during democratization.

Disc. Hebron Lui, Eastern Washington University

Updated 03-01-05
8-101  ROUNDTABLE: AFROBAROMETER SURVEYS: WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED?

Room  TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair  Jennifer C. Seely, SUNY, Potsdam
Panelist  Michael Bratton, Michigan State University
E. Gyimah-Boadu, Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)
Robert Mattes, Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA)
Devra Moehler, Cornell University
James Gibson, Washington University

Overview: How well do the Afrobarometer surveys help us understand African politics? The second round of surveys from 15 countries was released in 2004. What have we learned so far, and how useful will the results be for political scientists in the future?

9-11  NEW DATA AND NEW METHODS IN EURASIAN POLITICS

Room  TBA, Thur 1:45
Franklin Steves, University of Essex
Alan Rousse, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Overview: The paper presents a new metric for the intensity of anti-corruption programmes in the transition countries and finds that – with the exception of legal reforms – they are generally ineffective in reducing levels of corruption and state capture.

Paper  Informal Institutions Underpin or Undermine Formal Institutions? Evidence from a Survey Business Elites in Russia
Timothy Frye, Ohio State University

Overview: This essay examines the relationship between informal institutions, such as reputations and social networks, and formal state institutions, such as courts, using a survey of 600 businesspeople in 12 regions in Russia conducted in the fall of 2004.

Paper  Disentangling Ethnicity, Language and Region as Sources of Political Attitudes: The Ukrainian Case
Lowell Barrington, Marquette University
Stephen Shulman, Southern Illinois University

Overview: TBA

10-17  COOPERATION IN EUROPE

Room  TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair  Suzette R. Grillot, University of Oklahoma
Paper  The EU Constitution and Security Cooperation: IR Theory Examined
Ryan C. Hendrickson, Eastern Illinois University

Overview: Under the EU’s new constitution, Javier Solana was appointed as the EU’s first foreign minister. Realist, neoliberal and constructivist theories are tested to determine which theory best captures this development in EU foreign and security policy.

Paper  The Road Toward A United European Voice In International Relations
Stanislav M. Rosenberg, University of California, Los Angeles

Overview: A theoretical, historical, and practical account of Europe's development of its CFSP and NATO's side-payment response.

Paper  Poland’s Accession to the European Union: Fiscal Policy Challenge
Assem M. Dandashly, University of Oklahoma

Overview: This paper deals with the pros and cons of the EU enlargement. It focuses on how Poland succeeded in accessing to the EU, and if it will be able to perform the necessary fiscal adjustments to join the EMU in 2009.

11-3  GLOBALIZATION, ENDOGENOUS INSTITUTIONS, AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Room  TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair  Jude Hays, University of Michigan

Paper  How Do You Stop a Bull From Charging? Financial Crises, Monetary Institutions, and Leader Duration
Randall J. Blimes, University of Colorado
David Leblang, University of Colorado

Overview: We seek to explain how leaders attempt to use monetary institutions to insulate themselves from economic shocks.

Paper  Globalization and Accountability for the Economy Around the World
Timothy Hellwig, University of Houston
David Samuels, TBA

Overview: The effects of globalization on accountability are explored. Employing data from over 500 elections in 76 countries, we show that the integration of national markets reduces voter incentives to hold policymakers accountable for past performance.

Paper  Can Domestic Institutions Explain Exchange Rate Regime Choice? The Political Economy of Monetary Institutions Reconsidered
Beth A. Simmons, Harvard University
Jens Hainmueller, Harvard University

Overview: This paper explores why governments claim they have one type of exchange rate policy, but actually implement another. It challenges the findings of recent research on domestic institutions and exchange rate regime choice.

11-12  POLITICAL REGIMES AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY MAKING

Room  TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair  Xiuyuan Dai, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Junga Kim, Stanford University

Overview: This study provides an empirical evidence showing the relationships between the level of domestic institutional constraints, or the number of veto players, and the likelihood to default on sovereign debts.

Paper  Do Democracies Have More Restrictive Immigration Policies Than Dictatorships?
Nikola Mirilovic, University of Chicago

Overview: This paper looks at the shortcomings of modern IR theory in studying transboundary protected areas and instead explores. Employing data from over 500 elections in 76 countries, we show that – with the exception of legal reforms – they are generally ineffective in reducing levels of corruption and state capture.
Overview: Democracies adopt more restrictive immigration policies than dictatorships, because dictators maximize tax revenue while democracies are concerned with wages. I test this claim by comparing immigration policies of rich democracies and dictatorships.

Paper

Type and Exchange Rate Defenses
Thomas Sattler, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH) Zurich
Overview: This paper tests the hypothesis that authoritarian governments are committed more strongly to a fixed exchange rate than democratic overcomings. Large-sample analysis of speculative attacks in developing countries confirms the hypothesis.

Paper

Tatiana Vashchilko, Pennsylvania State University
Overview: This paper tests the theoretical model of Alesina and Tabellini (1989) that the capital outflows is affected by the changes in a political regime type. The empirical analysis shows that capital outflow is negatively related to the democratization.

Disc. Xinyuan Dai, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

12-2 INSTITUTIONS: DOMESTIC & INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair Chad Rector, George Washington University
Paper

Locating Authority: Domestic Politics and Delegation to International Institutions
Byoung-Inn Bai, University of Washington
Overview: By elaborating the model of international delegation, this paper argues that delegation to supranational bodies is more likely as the policy preferences of domestic political actors diverge given high level of economic interdependence.

Paper

The Secrecy Dilemma in World Politics: Information, Institution, and False Alarms
Michael P. Colaresi, Michigan State University
Overview: This paper tests the theoretical model of Alesina and Tabellini (1989) that the capital outflows is affected by the changes in a political regime type. The empirical analysis shows that capital outflow is negatively related to the democratization.

Paper

Electoral Incentives and the Pacific Effect of International Institutions
Songying Fang, University of Rochester
Overview: The paper empirically investigates the argument that domestic politics provides a link between the informational role of international institutions and foreign policy decisions of democracies.

Paper

Making Promises, Keeping Promises: Democracy, Ratification, and Compliance in International Human Rights Law
Jana von Stein, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper examines when and why states ratify and comply with international human rights agreements. It empirically tests my hypotheses by examining two fundamental human rights conventions on child labor and women’s wage equality.

Disc. Chad Rector, George Washington University

13-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: UNEXPECTED COMPANIONS

Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Presenter Unexpected Companions: How Territorial Disputes Improve Bilateral Cooperation Between Opposing States
Krista Wiegand, Wake Forest University
Overview: This study examines how opposing states involved in territorial disputes increasingly cooperate on other bilateral relations in order to gain territorial concessions or prevent provocation in the dispute.

Presenter National Security of India: A Cultural (Re)construction?
Shivaji Kumar, Purdue University
Overview: The proposed research treats the concept of national security as a product of social norms, ethnic identities, and culture of India that either supply constituent material for national identity or affect its external behaviour in significant ways.

13-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: RMA’S AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Presenter History, Strategy, and Organizations: Testing the Consequences of Previous Revolutions in Military Affairs for the International Security Environment
Michael Horowitz, Harvard University
Overview: This paper uses rigorous methods, both statistical analysis and case studies, to determine the way historical periods of rapid change in what makes militaries effective influence the international security environment.

Presenter India’s Pursuit of the Latest RMA: What This Means for the Region and the World
Harsh V. Pant, University of Notre Dame
Overview: This paper will examine the incentives or motives for India to adopt new practices associated with the latest RMA and its implications the Indian regional security environment and for the ability of India to tackle its security threats.

14-4 THIRD PARTIES IN CONFLICT

Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair J. David Singer, University of Michigan
Paper Crossing the Militarized Threshold: Bilateral vs. Third Party Conflict Management
Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, University of Iowa
Overview: We compare bilateral and third party peaceful settlements, showing that jointly democratic dyads can resolve things on their own early in the conflict process, but become open to third party involvement when the issue becomes militarized.

Paper

The Dynamics of Multilateral Conflicts: Collective Dispute Initiation and Third Party Interventions
Renato Corbetta, Grand Valley State University
Overview: The paper explores systematic differences between conflicts that start as multilateral and conflicts that become multilateral through third parties’ intervention. Power-based and steps-to-war accounts of multiparty conflict dynamics are compared.

Paper

Bargaining in the Shadow of War: Bias and Coercion in U.S. Mediation, 1945-1990
Katja I. Favretto, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: Relying on a formal model and an analysis of U.S. involvement in 179 bilateral crises, this paper tests whether a superpower’s affinity for actors ensmeshed in a foreign crisis affects the manner and the outcome of its involvement in the crisis.

Presenter State of Concern in US's Security Strategy: The Case of Iran
Ribhi I. Salhi, Roosevelt University
Wael J. Haboub, Northeastern Illinois University
Overview: This paper examines the political hostility between the US and Iran, war with Iran is impossible, and any future improvement is linked to the Israel-Iran rivalry.

Presenter Democratic Hegemony and the Principle of State Sovereignty
Ajin Choi, Yonsei University

Overview: I would like to examine under which conditions certain ideas became a dominant norm and foreign policy practice focusing on the changes in the principles of state sovereignty over time.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Negotiating Peace: The Role of Third Parties in Managing Conflict in the Sudan</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Jennifer De Maio, University of California, Los Angeles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>I conduct a detailed case study of negotiations in the Sudan to consider the interaction between various third party actors in conflict management and assess the policy implications of my analysis for conflict resolution.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Give War a Chance Revisited: The Effect of Non-Intervention on Peace Duration</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Anne Etienne, University of North Texas; Ekon Peters, TBA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>This research project attempts to operationalize Luttwak's contention that non-intervention in civil war promotes durable peace after the end of a civil war.</td>
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| Disc. | Michael Gilligan, New York University |

**15-5 DOMESTIC SOURCES OF FOREIGN POLICY**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Bryan W. Marshall, Miami University; Brandon C. Prins, Texas Tech University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>The goal of this project is to examine the effects of Congress and the congressional environment in explaining presidential decisions to exercise military force abroad from 1953-2003.</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Partisanship, Congressional Position-Taking, and the Presidential Use of Force: You're Either With Us or Against Us</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Dennis M. Foster, Virginia Military Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>This paper seeks to develop a nuanced perspective of the impact of co-partisan opposition to an executive's foreign policies on the presidential propensity to use force abroad.</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Why Is It Always So Difficult to Redesign the U.S. Intelligence Community?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Thomas H. Hammond, Michigan State University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>This paper argues that there are some genuine -- almost insoluble -- dilemmas which are involved in redesigning the U.S. intelligence community.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Ethnic Minority Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy: An Experimental Study</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Trevor Rubenzer, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; Steven B. Redd, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>Using an experimental design, we test the impact of ethnic minority interest groups on presidential decision-making in U.S. foreign policy. Our results indicate the degree to which the president responds to diasporic pressure to change policy.</td>
</tr>
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| Disc. | James McCormick, Iowa State University |

**16-12 FRAMING AND VALUES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Source Effects in Political Decision Making: An Addendum to Prospect Theory</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Brent Stratham, Ohio State University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>This paper examines the specification phase of prospect theory through an exploration of source effects -- i.e., comparative judgments on the source of information. I show how source perceptions may matter in political decisions.</td>
</tr>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>The Many Faces of Patriotism: The Effects of Elite Civic Patriotic Rhetoric on Mass Participation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Nadia Khatib, Stony Brook University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>This study uses multiple methods of inquiry to develop valid measures of patriotism and national identity and experimentally examine the political consequences of elite patriotic rhetoric on political engagement and participation.</td>
</tr>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Shared Border, Different Worldviews: Issue Framing and Public Opinion on Trade Policy between Mexico and the United States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Julia Rabinovich, Northwestern University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>This study analyzes how the news media cover “natural” disasters in order to evaluate their framing of these events as visitations of nature or as problems caused or worsened by government policies.</td>
</tr>
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| Disc. | Karen J. Callaghan, Vanderbilt University |

**17-211 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE EFFECTS OF TV ON VOTING**

| Room | TBA, Thur 1:45 |
| Paper | The Golden Age of Television and Voting |
| Author| Michael P. McDonald, George Mason University |
| Overview| I investigate the relationship between television ownership and voter turnout in the 1952 presidential election. |

**17-212 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: NEW APPROACHES TO ISSUE VOTING**

| Room | TBA, Thur 1:45 |
| Paper | Neither Proximity Nor Directionality: A Subjective Approach to Issue Voting |
| Author| Riccardo Pelizzo, Singapore Management University |
| Overview| The paper introduces a new subjective approach to the study of issue voting. The subjective approach provides a framework for spatial analysis that accounts for the social character of the vote choice. |

**17-301 POSTER SESSION: ELECTIONS AND VOTING BEHAVIOR**

| Room | TBA, Thur 1:45 |
| Paper | Voting Correctly in US House and Senate Elections |
| Author| Carrie A. Chihasky, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee |
| Overview| Voting “correctly” assumes an individual makes their vote decision the same way they would have under the conditions of full information. This paper examines whether or not individuals vote “correctly” in US House and Senate elections. |

| Paper | Modeling Corrupt Elections |
| Author| Alberto Simpser, Stanford University |
| Overview| Models of democracy assume all cast votes are counted. This is not true in rigged elections. I use simple models of elections to study the strategic logic of electoral corruption. Informational effects yield counterintuitive implications. |

| Paper | Predictions of Third Party Voting: What’s in Your ‘D’ Term? |
| Author| Carl L. Palmer, University of California, Davis |
| Overview| This paper aims to answer the following: What are the factors that predict the probability of voting for a third party? Is it in any way conditional on external factors, such as closeness of the election, or prominence of the candidates? |

| Paper | Stepping in the Same Election Four Times: Low Voter Turnout in the Serbian Presidential Elections |
| Author| Julia Gray, University of California, Los Angeles |
| Overview| Who says you can't run the same election twice? I analyze data from the Serbian presidential elections, where low voter turnout forced a repeat of the same election four times. |

| Paper | “Second-Order” Elections and Voter Turnout in American State Politics |
| Author| Mary G. Currin-Percival, University of California, Riverside; Garrick L. Percival, University of California, Riverside |
| Overview| As “second-order” elections we can expect turnout to be lower in statewide elections than federal elections. We find turnout in statewide elections is to a large extent explained by the relative importance of state government to voters. |
19-2 PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL

Room: TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair: John Clark, Western Michigan University
Mark A. Roeder, University of Cincinnati
Overview: This study, an examination of individual level explanations of presidential approval, presents a comprehensive model and two rival explanations of approval: perception of presidential persona and change in the meaning of the approval question.

Robert C. Rodgers, University of Texas, Dallas
Overview: This paper uses recent advances in time series econometrics to reassess rival models of presidential approval. Monthly data for 1978-2004 are employed. Special attention is given to Bush II with analyses focusing on gender and class heterogeneity.

Paper: Hawks, Bears, and the Media: Explaining Presidential Approval Rally Effects
Brian J. Gaines, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Brian D. Roberts, University of Illinois
Overview: Presidential approval levels of George W. Bush are examined in time-series models that explore the influence of "rally events," economic indicators, and tone of media coverage.

Paper: Terror Tactics: The Link Between Terror Alerts and Presidential Approval'
Morgen S. Johansen, University of Kansas
Overview: This paper proposes that terror alerts keep the public's attention off of domestic issues, which is favorable to the president's approval ratings.

Paper: Public Opinion on the Imperial Presidency
Geoffrey D. Peterson, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire
Steven C. Kerbaugh, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire
Overview: This paper will examining public opinion regarding attempts to concentrate power in the office of the presidency.

Disc. John Clark, Western Michigan University
Brian Schaffner, American University

19-15 RACE, ETHNICITY AND PUBLIC OPINION

(Co-sponsored with Race, Class and Ethnicity, see 23-2)

Room: TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair: Katherine Cramer Walsh, University of Wisconsin
Paper: Inter-Racial Differences in Response to Arguments Against the Death Penalty
Mark Peffley, University of Kentucky
Jon Hurwitz, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: This paper examines how blacks and whites respond to a survey experiment that manipulates different arguments against the death penalty.

Paper: Overlapping Communities: The Effect of Racial Context and Identity on a California Proposition
Cara Wong, University of Michigan
Overview: This paper examines the interactions between racial context and social identity and how they explain the political attitudes of whites, blacks, Latinos, and Asian Americans across a range of geographic contexts.

Paper: Black and White Talking Heads: How Racialized Sources Shape Public Support for Ostensibly Non-Racial Issues
Ismail K. White, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: This paper analyzes the significance of the 2004 presidential debates on young voters, particularly in terms of the impact of different debate formats.
Paper The Big Mo from 1980 to 2004: Is Technological 'e-mentum' Amplifying Key Events in Presidential Races?
Christopher C. Hull, Georgetown University
Overview: Is technology amplifying momentum in presidential races? Does a world of online fundraising and instant email make momentum pay off more? To find out, this paper builds a model based on an original database including 2004 results.

Paper Weapons of Candidate Destruction: The Impact of Political Advertising in the 2004 Presidential Campaign
Lynda Lee Kaid, University of Florida
Overview: This paper analyzes the role that was played in the presidential election by negative advertising sponsored by candidates and by independent groups.

Disc. Michael Parkin, University of Minnesota

22-2 WOMEN POLITICIANS AND POLITICAL PARTIES IN POST-COMMUNIST SYSTEMS
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair Dawn E. Nowacki, Linfield College

Paper Women's Representation in the Political Parties of Central and Eastern Europe
Richard E. Matland, University of Houston
Denitza Bojinova, University of Houston
Overview: Trends in women's representation across political parties in Eastern Europe are affected by internal institutional and societal factors, as well as formal party ties to European sister parties, and party support for EU membership.

Paper Women's Representation and Political Party System Change in the Russian Regional Assemblies Under Federal Executive Dominance
Dawn E. Nowacki, Linfield College
Melinda K. Wegner, Linfield College
Overview: The more women affiliate with Unified Russia, the greater will be their representation in regional parliaments on the PR side. This is a significant change from past results, when more women were elected as independents in SMD races.

Paper Choosing the Right Party: Key to Women's Success in Post-Soviet Single Member Districts
Raminta Stockute, Texas Tech University
Overview: To win an SMD race in Russia and Ukraine both men and women have to rely on their personal resources, such as political experience, and choose an affiliation with a more institutionalized political party.

Paper Democratic Values and the Status of Women in Ukraine: Moving towards Congruence?
Jill N. Wittrock, University of Iowa
James Krueger, University of Iowa
Vicki L. Hesli, University of Iowa
Andriy Gorbachyk, Tatras Shevchenko National University
Overview: Previous work in post-Soviet states suggests support for democratic values legitimates democratic institutions. This paper builds on this literature and links it with support for socioeconomic gender equality using survey data gathered in Ukraine.

Disc. Dawn E. Nowacki, Linfield College

23-10 RACE, CLASS AND NATIONAL POLICY
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair Harris-Lacewell, University of Chicago

Paper The Organized Representation of American Ethnic Groups: Ethnic Mobilization or Interest Group Politics
Matthew Grossmann, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: This paper analyzes the activities of organizations that claim to speak on behalf of American ethnic groups. I present an interest group model that better predicts their activities than models drawn from the ethnic mobilization literature.

Paper An Eye for an Eye and We All Go Blind: The Death Penalty and the Influence of Discrimination
Sarah Neal, University of Houston
Kevin P. Allen, University of Houston
Overview: This paper uses data from the 2000 National Election Survey to assess the effects of perceived racial discrimination on support for capital punishment while controlling for partisanship, religiosity and standard demographic variables.

Paper Shifting Priorities: The NAACP and National Urban League's Advocacy on Behalf of the Poor during the 1960s and 1980s
Catherine Paden, Northwestern University
Overview: This paper analyzes the NAACP's and Urban League's attention to anti-poverty policy during the 1960s and 1980s and demonstrates that inter-organizational competition and group structure will affect how organizations arrive at their priorities.

Paper The Curvilinear Nature of Race and the Welfare State: Rethinking the Linear Assumption
Robert R. Preuhs, University of Colorado, Boulder
Overview: This paper argues for a need to re-evaluate the common linear functional shape of racial determinants of welfare policy. Several recent studies are re-analyzed with a curvilinear form with increasing explanatory power.

Disc. Melissa Harris-Lacewell, University of Chicago

24-3 THE AMERICAN FOUNDING
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair Ann Davies, Beloit College

Paper The Rhetorical Construction of Crisis in Thomas Paine's Common Sense
Benjamin H. Ponder, Northwestern University
Overview: This paper explores the ways in which Paine used language to create a moment of urgent decision and to shape public opinion in early 1776.

Paper The Relevance of John Adams: Combining Liberal and Republican Ideals in Early American Political Thought
John C. Evans, University of Wisconsin
Overview: This essay examines the political thought of John Adams with particular attention the idea of virtue in his writing. A primary goal of the essay is to demonstrate his contemporary relevance in efforts to hybridize liberal and republican thought.

Paper Reading the Founding Documents in the "Culture Wars"
Carl M. DiBella, University of Michigan, Dearborn
Overview: An explication of texts could break new ground and help resolve some of the specific issues in the long-standing general controversy over the relationship between the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution.

Paper
Redefining the Founding: Recent Scholarship on Multiple Traditions, Popular Ideologies, and Forced and Forgotten Founders
Alan R. Gibson, California State University, Chico
Overview: Unlike previous accounts of the question “how democratic was the Founders’ Constitution?,” this paper pursues an apologetic assessment by judging the original design against core democratic values and comparing it to several democratic systems.

Disc. Steven Wulf, Lawrence University

25-10 LANGUAGE AND THE POSSIBILITY OF HUMAN ACTION
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair John Bokina, University of Texas
Paper Max Weber and the Linguistic Turn
Ivan A. Ascher, TBA
Overview: Strict adherence to the written word is, on Weber’s account, a feature that accounts for bureaucracy’s efficiency. Yet writing carries a risk that the linguistic sign might arrest the gaze, introducing contingency and ambiguity in administration.

Paper Is a Heideggerian Environmentalism Possible?
Brian D. Solis, University of Maryland, College Park
Overview: Recently, there have been efforts made to label Heidegger a supporter of the environmental movement. These interpretations are misguided due to his unenvironmental anthropocentric descriptions of the origins of Dasein as expressed in Being and Time.

Paper Why Wittgenstein is not Conservative: Conventions and Critique
Christopher C. Robinson, Clarkson University
Overview: This is a paper on contemporary political theory that explores why Wittgenstein has not had much influence on theorizing today and seeks to show the potential of his philosophical insights for a new critical political theory.

Gregory Bruce Smith, Trinity College
Overview: The paper deals with an alternative to modern constructivism that saves the modern moral and political yield without a descent into self-invalidating anti-foundationalism.

Disc. Joanna Vecchiarelli Scott, Eastern Michigan University

26-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PLURALISM
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Presenter Nationalism or Pluralism: Who Decides?
Burke A. Hendrix, Cornell University
Overview: This paper focuses on questions about the "authenticity" of minority nations, suggesting that we face difficulties in recognizing real cultural differences from manipulated or self-interested nationalisms.

Presenter The Old Friends of Pluralism: When They Go Too Far
Paul Schumaker, University of Kansas
Overview: Rawls’ idea of an overlapping consensus within pluralism is developed and applied to conservative, liberal, and socialist doctrines to identify when these old friends of pluralism pursue ideals that are at odds with that consensus.

Presenter Coercion and the Role of the Original Position in Overcoming the Violation of Rights
Mandi E. Boyd, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: Political theory confronts differing ideas of coercion by the state. Using examples from the modern welfare state and voting incentives, I will examine the connection between state coercion and the power to limit/expand the force of political opinion

26-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POWER, COERCION AND CORRUPTION
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Presenter Coercion and the Role of the Original Position in Overcoming the Violation of Rights
Mandi E. Boyd, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: Political theory confronts differing ideas of coercion by the state. Using examples from the modern welfare state and voting incentives, I will examine the connection between state coercion and the power to limit/expand the force of political opinion

Presenter The Appearance Standard and Good Government
Jerry Herbel, Georgia College and State University
Overview: The appearance of corruption is seen by many to be as dangerous, or even more dangerous, than actual corruption. This view ignores fundamental ideas of democratic theory and may inadvertently hinder efforts to foster good government.

27-301 POSTER SESSION: FORMAL MODELING
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Presenter The Agenda Setter Model
Allen Brierly, University of Northern Iowa
Overview: This study demonstrates the conditions under which equilibria exist, are unique, and converge to a Nash equilibrium in the agenda setter model.

29-1 INTEREST GROUPS AND ELECTIONS
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair John Green, University of Akron
Casey B. K. Dominguez, University of California, Berkeley
Kathryn L. Pearson, University of Minnesota
Overview: Comparing donations made to parties and 527s before and after the enactment of BCRA, we analyze the extent to which large soft-money donors have found indirect and less accountable ways of financing federal campaign activities in the post-BCRA era.

Paper The New Stealth PACs: Political Activities of 501(c) Non-Profit Groups
Craig B. Holman, Public Citizen
Overview: Discusses the legal obligations of 501(c) non-profit groups when it comes to political activity and documents the extent of electioneering activities by 501(c) non-profit groups.

Paper The Role of the NRA in House Elections: Endorsements, Members, and Turnout
Christopher B. Kenai, Louisiana State University
Michael McBurnett, RBC Centura
David Bordua, University of Illinois
Eric Jenner, Louisiana State University
Overview: This paper examines the ability of the National Rifle Association to affect turnout in House races in 1994, 1996, and 1998. We construct models of turnout in congressional elections that include NRA candidate endorsements and membership numbers.

Paper Electoral Turnout and the Influence of Interest Groups in the United States
Tim C. Wegenaar, Pompeu Fabra University
Overview: The paper will analyze the relationship between electoral turnout and the influence of interest groups within the US states. The leading hypothesis is that interest groups are stronger in states with lower turnout.

Disc. David Kirchner, Hamline University

29-3 ADVOCACY FOR IDEOLOGICAL CAUSES: ABORTION AND THE FAMILY
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair Margaret Carne, Rhodes College
Paper Across the Great Values' Divide: A National & State Level Analysis of Family Policy Focused Interest Groups
Brent D. Lollis, Lander University
Overview: The growth and proliferation of groups focused upon a growing diversity of "the family" has grown dramatically. Today, this values' conflict is increasingly sharp and populated by numerous and focused groups defending their many approaches.

Paper Evolving Strategies: Interest Groups and the Abortion Issue
Jessica C. Gerrity, Indiana University
Overview: In this paper I examine the evolution of PAC activity surrounding the abortion issue. I posit that as the abortion issue grew increasingly more partisan and more salient that interest group strategies changed in response.

Paper The Campaign Finance Strategies of Ideological Interest Groups

Updated 03-01-05
Margaret Carne, Rhodes College
Overview: This paper examines why interest groups concerned with abortion issues disproportionately use independent expenditure campaigns, and how they strategically use these expenditures to accomplish their organizational and political goals.
Disc. David Karol, University California, Berkeley

30-3 THE IMPACT OF THE BIPARTISAN CAMPAIGN REFORM ACT (BCRA)
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair David B. Magleby, Brigham Young University
Paper The Impact of BCRA in the 2004 Florida Presidential Election
Robert E. Crew, Florida State University
Terri Susan Fine, University of Central Florida
Susan MacManus, University of South Florida
Overview: A detailed case study of the 2004 Florida presidential election campaign.
Paper The Impact of BCRA in the 2004 Iowa Presidential Election
Art Sanders, Drake University
Overview: A detailed case study of the 2004 Iowa presidential election campaign.
Paper The Impact of BCRA in the 2004 New Mexico Presidential Election
Lonna Rae Atkeson, University of New Mexico
Nancy Carrillo, University of New Mexico
Mekoce Walker, University of New Mexico
Overview: A detailed case study of the 2004 New Mexico presidential election campaign.
Paper The Impact of BCRA in the 2004 Ohio Presidential Election
Stephen Mockabee, University of Cincinnati
Michael Margolis, University of Cincinnati
Dan Birdsong, University of Cincinnati
Overview: A detailed case study of the 2004 Ohio presidential election campaign.
Disc. Brian S. DiSarro, University of Akron

31-2 CONGRESSIONAL CAREERS: AMBITION, PARTISANSHIP, AND POSITIONING
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair David Rohde, Michigan State University
Paper Party Defection in Congress: Why Do They Stay, Why Do They Go?
Jennifer A. Cooper, Emory University
Overview: This paper tests a model of party switching by comparing the behavior of party switchers to legislators who experience high levels of ideological dissonance, yet did not defect.
Paper Roll Call Voting of United States Senate Majority Leaders
Andrea C. Hatcher, Vanderbilt University
Overview: This paper reports findings about effects of leadership on roll call voting among Senate Majority Leaders. It treats leadership as an explanatory factor, not as an outcome. Findings fit other theoretical studies of Congress.
Paper Leaving the House: Explaining the Higher Retirement Rate of Republicans
Michael H. Murakami, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: This paper examines why Republican members of the U.S. House of Representatives continue to retire at a higher rate than their Democratic colleagues, even though they have been the majority party for a decade.
Paper Progressive Ambition and Legislative Organization: The House Judiciary Committee as Senate Incubator
Gregory Robinson, Michigan State University
Stewart L. French, Michigan State University
Overview: We propose a theory that views progressive ambition as an important factor shaping the internal structures of Congress. We focus on the House Judiciary Committee as an ‘incubator’ for progressively ambitious members.
Paper “Hey, Congressman, want a promotion?” Getting Busy in the House
Jennifer N. Victor, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: Using a cross-sectional time-series dataset of the legislative activity of House members elected in the 1970s, I analyze the careers of 380 members in order to determine when and how higher office seekers change their congressional behavior.
Disc. David Rohde, Michigan State University

31-3 EXPLAINING PARTY COHESION AND POLARIZATION
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair Jon R. Bond, Texas A&M University
Paper Safety in Numbers? Seat Shares and Discipline in Legislative Parties
Robin Best, Binghamton University
William B. Heller, Binghamton University
Overview: We will test the effect of party legislative seat shares on party discipline, focusing in particular on the question of whether potential rebels might be able to play pivotal roles in some aspect of legislative decision making.
Paper Polarization, Leadership, and “Partisan Moments” in the United States Congress
Matthew N. Green, Yale University
Overview: The paper examines whether, and to what extent, assertive acts of legislative leadership by the majority party explain changes in party polarization in the U.S. Congress since the late nineteenth century.
Paper Managing Conflict in the U.S. House of Representatives: The Role of the House Speaker
Scot Schraufnagel, University of Central Florida
Overview: The case is made for two-dimensional legislative conflict in the House of Representatives. The research tests the role of the Speaker in the management of the two distinct forms of discord.
Paper The Institutional Explanation for Party Polarization in Congress
Sean Theriault, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: Changes within the institutional rules are a major explanation for why the parties are more polarized.
Disc. Jon R. Bond, Texas A&M University
Christian Grose, Lawrence University

31-7 LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES: ASSIGNMENTS AND COMPOSITION
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair Christopher Deering, George Washington University
Paper A New Look at Committee Theories in the States
James Battista, University of North Texas
Overview: I discuss and model the representativeness of committees in all 99 state legislative chambers to test theories of legislative organization.
Paper Descriptive Representation, the Redistribution of Campaign Funds, and Institutional Advancement in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1990-2002
Eric S. Heberlig, University of North Carolina, Charlotte
Bruce A. Larson, Fairleigh Dickinson University
Overview: We analyze movements into prestige committee assignments and extended leadership positions to assess the relative influence of the amount of campaign funds redistributed by the member of Congress versus his or her descriptive characteristics.
Paper Conference Committees in the United States and European Union in a Principal-Agent Perspective
Anne Rasmussen, University of Copenhagen
Overview: The paper uses the principal-agent model to develop and test hypotheses about when conference committee delegations can be expected to act autonomously in the US and the EU.
Paper Self Selection by High-Demanders to Informational Committees: Ideology and Committee Outliers
Jesse T. Richman, Carnegie Mellon University
Overview: I synthesize the informational and distributive models to illuminate the boundaries of the informational ‘no outliers’ prediction. As expected, when there is more (ideological) uncertainty, more state legislative committees are outliers.

Disc. Glenn R. Parker, Purdue University
J. Mark Wrighton, University of New Hampshire

32-4 ISSUES AND ISSUE SALIENCE IN CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS

Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair Robert Dion, University of Evansville
Ryan L. Schoen, George Washington University
Mitchell Killian, TBA
Aaron Dusso, TBA
Overview: We propose a conditional model of midterm voting behavior in which individual vote choice is influenced by the interaction of issues salient to an individual and his or her evaluations of those issues.

Paper Issue Avoidance Among Candidates for the United States House of Representatives
Gretchen S. Carnes, Pennsylvania State University
Overview: This paper examines position-taking and issue avoidance by candidates for the U.S. House. Using information gathered from in-depth interviews with members of the House I explain how characteristics of congressional districts affect issue avoidance.

Disc. Tracy Sulkin, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

33-4 LEGAL ACTORS IN THE COURTS

Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair Bradley Canon, University Kentucky
Paper So, What Do You Think? Inviting the Solicitor General to Participate
Michael J. Bailey, Georgetown University
Forrest Maltzman, George Washington University
Overview: We look at the causes and motivations that lead justices to invite the Solicitor General to file an amicus brief.

Paper Why the Supreme Court Cannot Make Liberal Economic Policy
Vanessa A. Baird, University of Colorado
Overview: Profit minded litigants are discouraged from litigating when the Supreme Court has handed down liberal economic decisions. This prevents the Supreme Court from getting the cases necessary to build on previous liberal economic decisions.

Paper Amicus Participation by Congress in the United States Supreme Court
Darryn C. Beckstrom, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: This paper examines the motivations of legislators when they file amicus briefs before the Supreme Court. The goal of is to further discern when and why groups engage in amicus participation and to better understand the behavior of legislators.

Paper Attorneys, Information, and Judicial Decision Making
Susan Haire, University of Georgia
Todd A. Collins, University of Georgia
Bill Gillespie, Kennesaw State University
Overview: To assess the informational role played by lawyers in “ordinary” appellate cases, this paper examines whether judges are more likely to adopt the positions of litigants represented by attorneys with more experience and expertise.

Paper Group Decisions: Amicus Curiae in the United States Courts of Appeals
Wendy L. Martinik, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute
Overview: This research examines interest group decisions to participate as amicus curiae in the U.S. Courts of Appeals

Disc. Bradley Canon, University Kentucky
Corey A. Ditslear, University of North Texas

33-7 JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE AND LEGITIMACY

Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair Tom Clark, Princeton University
Paper Institutional Viability and High Courts: A Comparative Analysis
Kirill M. Bumin, University of Kentucky
Kirk Randazzo, University of Kentucky
Lee Walker, University of Kentucky
Overview: By considering temporal changes in judicial influence in a number of cases in Eastern Europe and Latin America, we explain when the courts become viable political actors and why some courts assume an important policy-making role faster than others.

Paper Judging a Court’s Cover: Compositional Diversity and the Perception of Court Legitimacy
Karen D. Halperin, Florida State University
Jeffery J. Mondak, Florida State University
Overview: Experimentally tests if demographically diverse courts are perceived as more legitimate, in both court decisions and as an institution. 2x2x3 test manipulates diversity; source cue (court, legislative committee, or none); and nature of the case

Paper The Legitimacy of African Courts: An Analysis of Public Trust
Lee R. Remington, University of Kentucky
Overview: This paper examines the factors that drive trust levels in African courts, leading to a better understanding of the relationship that trust can have upon legitimacy within countries possessing varying economic and democratic levels.

Paper Institutional Models of Judicial Independence
Julio Rios-Figueroa, New York University
Overview: In this paper, I identify eight institutional models of judicial independence and propose a set of variables that allow us to classify countries according to their model. I also show how this classification make meaningful comparisons possible.

Disc. Tom Clark, Princeton University
Kevin Scott, Texas Technical University

34-7 PRIVACY RIGHTS AND FAMILY RIGHTS

Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair Dennis J. Goldford, Drake University
Paper Machines Racing Past the Law; How Advanced Technologies in an Age of Anti-Terrorism Challenge Existing Understandings of Privacy Rights
Wayne McLatcho, University of Maryland, College Park
Steve Simon, University of Maryland, College Park
Overview: Privacy jurisprudence balances privacy interests against governmental ends; this paper explores why that approach is inadequate in an age of anti-terrorism, and advanced technologies which unsettle the line between public and private.

Paper Tales from the Blackmun Papers: The Stubborn Persistence of the Constitutional Right to Privacy and the Legacy of Harry A. Blackmun"
Joseph F. Kobylka, Southern Methodist University
Overview: When the Blackmun papers opened to the public, abortion dominated their press coverage. This missed Blackmun’s marginal role in “saving” the privacy right. I examine how Roe and the privacy right survived the demise of their strongest advocate.

Paper Redefining Due Process Analysis: Justice Anthony Kennedy and the Concept of Emergent Rights
Lisa K. Parshall, Indiana University
Overview: This paper argues that Justice Kennedy’s recent gay-rights rulings reflect an alteration of the Court’s traditional due process approach to include a middle-ground approach for the recognition of new, emergent rights.

Paper The Price of Victory: Goodridge and the Struggle Over Same-Sex Marriage
Ellen A. Andersen, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis
Updated 03-01-05
Overview: This paper examines the impact of Goodridge v. Dept of Public Health on the struggle by LGBT people to obtain the right to marry.

Disc. Susan Mczey, Loyola University Chicago
  Judith Baer, Texas A&M University

35-2 STATE LEGISLATIVE INSTITUTIONS AND INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair Christopher A. Cooper, Western Carolina University
Paper Bureaucracies and Budgets: Government Growth and Professionalism in United States State Legislatures
Neil A. Malhotra, Stanford University
Overview: This paper analyzes the determinants of professionalization in American state legislatures. Two-wave panel analyses find that increases in professionalism are inversely related to bureaucratic expansion yet directly related to expenditure growth.

Paper Ripping the Heart out of the People’s House: The Impact of Term Limits on Balance of Power Between State Houses of Representatives and State Senators
William T. Horner, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: An examination of the new strength gained by state senates as a result of term limits, primarily as a result of the shifting emphasis of lobbyists and others trying to influence policy at the state level.

Paper How Important are Parties in Legislatures? Legislative Behavior in Partisan and Non-Partisan Settings
Eric W. Manning, University of Iowa
Overview: This paper tests the effects of partisanship on legislators that served in both a nonpartisan and partisan setting. I find that partisan effects are pronounced and strong in a partisan setting.

Paper Term Limits and Career Choice in U.S. State Legislatures
Jerome Maddox, University of Pennsylvania
Overview: TBA

Paper Who Sets the Size of State Government? Comparing Models of Interbranch Conflict
Justin H. Phillips, University of California, San Diego
Thad Kousser, University of California, San Diego

Disc. David W. Prince, Bellarmine University

36-11 COOPERATION VERSUS COMPETITION: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair Rick Feiock, Florida State University
Paper Cooperate or Die: Interlocal Contracting in Metropolitan Detroit
Kelly LeRoux, Wayne State University
Jered B. Carr, Wayne State University
Overview: This paper reports findings from a study of interlocal cooperation among the 127 general purpose local governments in SE Michigan.

Paper Assessing the Micro-Foundations of the Tiebout Model: A Four Metro-Area Study of Citizen Preferences for Residential Mobility
Kenneth N. Bickers, University of Colorado
Lapo Salucchi, University of Colorado
Robert M. Stein, Rice University
Overview: This paper argues that there are distinct life cycle phases of households influencing the weights assigned to bundles of public and private goods. We empirically estimate weights assigned to bundles of goods and their impact on residential mobility.

Paper Taming the Local Leviathan: Political Institutions and the Incentive to Exploit
Michael C. Craw, Case Western Reserve University
Overview: Prior tests of the Leviathan hypothesis focus on interjurisdictional competition’s impact on government size. I argue that political institutions interact with competition to affect local government size.

Paper Interlocal Agreements as an Urban Management Tool: Applicability of Network Analysis to Understanding Interlocal Cooperation
Simon A. Andrew, Florida State University
Overview: This paper argues that interlocal agreement is another form of formal contractual arrangement between cities. Network analysis is used to determine patterns of interlocal cooperation, where interlocal agreements are treated as ties that link cities.

Disc. Nicholas G. Bauroth, North Dakota State University

37-205 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PREVENTING YOUTH ACCESS TO DRUGS AND TOBACCO
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Presenter Reducing Youth Access to Tobacco: Variations in Regulatory Effectiveness
Michael J. Licari, University of Northern Iowa
Overview: This paper analyzes the variations across states in regulatory effectiveness regarding youth access to tobacco. Hypotheses from public policy and public administration are tested to provide information on these variations.

Presenter An Advocacy Coalition Approach to Youth Substance Abuse Policy
Angela Yancik Baldasare, The Partnership
Patricia E. Campie, University of Arizona
Robert Done, The Partnership
Charles Palm, The Partnership
Overview: This paper examines growth in national spending and deficit financing to evaluate potential for near-term change in macro-policy.

37-206 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: BUDGETS AND PUBLIC POLICY
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Presenter The Federal Budget and Low-Income Housing
Keith Smith, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: Federal low-income housing policy has undergone a shift from a system of direct provision to a system of private-market subsidies. The argument advanced is that this shift is, in part, a result of changes in congressional budget rules.

Presenter Deficits R Us: Can Budgeting Save Us from Policy?
James L. True, Lamar University

Presenter Stakeholder Incentives in Collaborative National Forest Planning: A Question of Carrots or Sticks
Nancy Manring, The Partnership
Overview: This paper examines the incentives for voluntary participation in collaborative national forest planning. The analysis explores the implications of eliminating appeals ? adding a stick? as an incentive for participation in collaborative planning.
prices. U.K. and France to handle the complex accountability situation using GSS data.

organizational commitment of public and private employees regression will be used to study public service attitudes and attitudes and organizational commitment is examined. Logistic, David J. Houston

crucial in shaping the political struggles over the adoption of Medicare and the Politics of Race, 1957-1965

hypothesis that a history of African chattel slavery conditions and heterogeneity on social spending. It specifically tests the Melissa D. Mason

States. Inequality accounted for almost 30 percent of the total decline in support for these programs in NES surveys between 1985 and 2000.

Paper Medicare and the Politics of Race, 1957-1965

Gerard W. Boychuk, University of Waterloo

Overview: The dynamics generated by the politics of race were crucial in shaping the political struggles over the adoption of Medicare in the 1957-1965 period. These dynamics were critical in shaping the key characteristics of the programs.

Disc. Robert C. Lieberman, Columbia University

Paper Legacies of Slavery and the Implications for the Effects of Ethnic Heterogeneity on Social Spending

Melissa D. Mason, Yale University

Overview: This paper examines the interaction effect of slavery and heterogeneity on social spending. It specifically tests the hypothesis that a history of African chattel slavery conditions the negative relationship between heterogeneity and social spending.

Paper Variations in Administrative Culture Between Local Offices - How Do They Arise, are Being Reproduced and Changed?

Helena B. Stensota, Goteborg University, Sweden

Overview: The paper develops an analytic framework which aims at specifying how administrative standard-operating procedures develop on the local level within social administration, paying attention to the individual decision-processes and interactions.

Paper The Ontology of Red Tape in English Local Government

Gene A. Brewer, University of Georgia

Richard M. Walker, University of Hong Kong & Cardiff University, Wales

Overview: Red tape is an important theme in governmental reform. This study utilizes a large-scale survey of English local governments, 2001-2003, to investigate the ontology of red tape, identify its antecedents, document its prevalence, and more.

Paper Let's Shake Things Up a Bit: Factors That Lead to Organizational Change

Gregory C. Hill, Texas A&M University

Overview: This analysis looks at the factors that lead to organizational change in terms of managerial succession from both the organizational perspective and the managerial perspective. It builds upon and adds to the emerging public management literature.

Paper Modeling the Determinants of Civil Service Reform

Ellen V. Rubin, University of Georgia

Overview: This paper explores the causes of civil service reform by studying the experiences of six federal agencies. Opportunities for comprehensive reform at the federal level are considered in light of the lessons learned from the case studies.

Disc. Alisa Hicklin, Texas A&M University

Morris A. Taylor, Southern Illinois University

Gregory D. Saxton, SUNY, Brockport

Justin Marlowe, University of Kansas


Ulises Carrillo, University of Oxford

Overview: The political economy literature provides evidence on ethnic diversity as an important determinant of economic growth. This essay extends some propositions to try to assess whether ethnic diversity affects the commitment to welfare spending.

Paper The Effect of Growing Income Inequality on Public Support for Redistribution to Racial Minorities in the United States

Duncan C. MacRae, University of California, Los Angeles

Overview: I find that growing income inequality reduced support for redistribution to racial minorities in the United States. Inequality accounted for almost 30 percent of the total decline in support for these programs in NES surveys between 1985 and 2000.

Paper Accountability in Liberalized Market: Electricity and Telecommunication in Europe

Dorit Rubinstein, University of California, Berkeley

Overview: comparing strategies used by NRAs in Sweden, the U.K. and France to handle the complex accountability situation facing them following deregulation of the electricity and telecommunication markets in relation to setting interconnection prices.

Paper States' Adoption and Implementation of Innovative Policy Programs in Water Pollution Control: Water Pollution Permit Trading in the United States

Felix K. G. Anebo, Southern Illinois University

Overview: This paper analyzes the adoption of innovative environmental policy in water pollution control in the United States. A logistic regression model is employed to test the factors that influence the adoption of such innovative policy instruments.

Paper Municipal Budget Variance Redux: A Longitudinal Test of Three Explanations

Justin Marlowe, University of Kansas

Overview: This paper provides an empirical test of three proposed explanations for municipal budget variance. It tests these propositions using data from a sample of 145 local governments in Minnesota from 1990-2001.
state’s per capita number of television and radio stations increases support for the party on the Senate floor.

Paper: Selection of the Vice-Presidential Nominee at National Party Conventions
William D. Adler, Hunter College
Overview: Vice presidential selection has changed significantly since the 19th century. Instead of focusing on geographical considerations, ideology has become the primary factor.

Samuel DeCanio, Ohio State University
Overview: Many claim high rates of 19th century voter turnout ensured democratic control of public policy. As such studies ignore evidence that elections turned on ethno-religious issues, not economic policy, they underestimate state autonomy in this period.

Disc. G. Patrick Lynch, Liberty Fund

Thursday, April 7 – 3:45 pm – 5:30 pm

1-2 MICROFOUNDDATIONS OF CONFLICT: TERRORISM
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Barbara Walter, University of California, San Diego
Panelist John C. Berg, Suffolk University
Overview: TBA

Paper: The Politicization of Religion in Brazil and Its Implications for the Faithful in Brazil
Marilene Barros, Florida International University
Overview: This paper will examine the political participation of "ordinary" religious citizens in Indonesia. The focus is on the forms, frequencies, and determinants of political participation pre- and post-Suharto.

Disc. Nolan McCarty, Princeton University

1-114 ROUNDTABLE: RETROSPECTIVE ON THE 2004 ELECTIONS
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Nolan McCarty, Princeton University
Panelist Larry Bartels, Princeton University
Overview: The major focus of this investigation is to examine how feminist voices did or did not impact ART-debates and related policy outcomes in Germany and in three U.S. states.

Paper: On Terrorism and Electoral Outcomes: Theory and Evidence from the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
Claude Berrebi, Rand Corporation
Overview: This paper seeks to explain why the Canadian

Paper: Left, Right or Front?
Room TBA, Thur 1:45
Chair James R. Simmons, University of Wisconsin
Overview: What explains the variation in family policies across countries? I create an index of family policy and test competing hypotheses drawn from the welfare state literature and from recent business-centered explanations.

Paper: How Dynamics of Increasing Returns Shape Industrial Adjustment: The Case of Canada’s ‘Third Option’
Prosper M. Bernard, City University of New York
Overview: This paper seeks to explain why the Canadian government in the 1970s and early 1980s failed to implement effectively the programs of the ‘Third Option.’

Helena B. Stensota, Goteborg University, Sweden
Overview: The argument is that changing living patterns of men and women in Sweden into more equal patterns, contributed to a

Updated 03-01-05
normative change. The hypothesis finds support within care- oriented policies, however only partly in Law Enforcement policy.

Disc.  Saundra Schneider, Michigan State University

Johannes Lindvall, Gotteborg University

3-13 POLITICS OF IDENTITY, RELIGION, AND CULTURE

Room  TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair  Fragano S.J. Ledgister, Clark Atlanta University

Paper  A Matter of Life and Death: the Capital Punishment Debate and the Politics of Uneivil Society in Nigeria
Ebenezer B. Obadare, London School of Economics and Political Science
Overview: This paper interpretes the capital punishment debate in Nigeria as an expression of the struggle for the identity of the Nigerian state.

Paper  How Does God Create Civil Society?: Denomination and Religiosity in the Political Culture of Nicaragua
John G. Poffenbarger, West Virginia University
Overview: This research examines religious denomination and levels of religiosity on the creation of civil society in Nicaragua to determine the affects of the growing Evangelical movement on civic participation.

Paper  Religious Parties in India and Pakistan: The Contrasting Political Fortunes of the BJP in India and the Jama‘at-I Islami in Pakistan
P. Pushkar, Concordia University
Madhvi Gupta, McGill University
Overview: In this paper, we ask two questions: 1) Why are some religious parties more successful than others in coming to power? 2) Are moderate religious parties more successful than extremist parties?

Paper  The Construction of the Muslim Minority Identity in India by the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS).
Vasundhara Sirnate, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: The paper deals with the process of ‘othering’ of Muslims in India through a planned process of vilification executed by Hindu right wing organizations like the RSS.

Paper  Identities, Migration and the Making of the Asian Global Cities
Vera Zambonelli, Johns Hopkins University
Overview: Is the global city a site “of alternative voices” to the nation-state interpretation of political identity? I address this and linked questions examining Japanese, Chinese and Korean migration to Shanghai, Tokyo, and Singapore in the last two decades.

Disc.  Fragano S.J. Ledgister, Clark Atlanta University

4-3 DEMOCRATIZATION AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES

Room  TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair  Maryjane Osa, Northwestern University

Paper  The Impact of Patterns of Economic Growth on Democratization
Chin-en Wu, Academia Sinica
Overview: This paper argues that different growth patterns entail distinct state-society relations. Those differences contribute to different income thresholds of democratic transitions and democratic consolidation, respectively.

Paper  Revisiting Endogenous Democratization: Do International Factors Matter?
Cristina Corduneau-Huc, Duke University
Overview: The paper re-analyses the relationship between economic performance, democratization and political stability across 90 political regimes (1945-1990), by including international context variables.

Paper  Endogenous Democratization: Evidence from IV and Quantile Regression
Marcus Alexander, Harvard University
Matthew C. Harding, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Overview: We provide evidence that democratization and development are endogenous, and that the causal relationship itself is conditional on the level of development. We use instrumental variables and quantile regression to provide evidence for this claim.

Paper  Incentives that Work: Explaining Regional Economic Policy and Performance in Post-Transition Russia
Anton Rushakov, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper explores the relationship between federal—regional fiscal relations and Russian regional economic policy to demonstrate that changes in subnational fiscal incentives can help to account for shifts in regional economic policy.

Disc.  William Mishler, University of Arizona

4-19 DEMOCRATIZING CHALLENGES

Room  TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair  Andrew P. Miller, Butler University

Paper  Interest Groups and Interests in Non-Pluralist Regimes: Transitional Democrats and Developing Societies: Components for a Theoretical Framework
Clive S. Thomas, University of Alaska, Juneau
Overview: The paper identifies common elements and differences in interest group activity in non-pluralist, transitional democracies and developing systems to provide an explanation of the development of interest groups in these systems.

Paper  Do Failed Coups Affect Regime Stability?
Naunihal Singh, University of Notre Dame
Overview: Political scientists usually treat failed coups as non-events. Yet failed coups, like the 1991 failed coup in the Soviet Union, can have a powerful impact on a country by revealing important information about political actors.

Paper  Democracy and Authoritarianism: Regime Development in Bangladesh and Pakistan
Haroon K. Ullah, University of Michigan
Overview: Why have the political systems of Pakistan (West Pakistan) and Bangladesh (East Pakistan) evolved differently since 1971, despite similar institutional legacies, economic development, and colonial history?

Disc.  Mariano J. Magalhaes, Augustana College

5-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: EUROPEAN POLITICS II

Room  TBA, Thur 3:45
Presenter  Representation of East Germans in the Standing Committees of the Bundestag
Melanie Kintz, Western Michigan University
Overview: Being part of a larger research project on the representation of East Germans in German political institutions and especially in elite positions, this paper will look at the representation of East Germans in the permanent committees of the Bundestag.

5-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: EUROPEAN POLITICS III

Room  TBA, Thur 3:45
Presenter  Devalue or Defend? Varieties of Capitalism and Exchange Rate Policies
Jana Grittersova, Cornell University
Overview: Why some countries do defend the exchange rate peg, while other devalue and shift to a float? I argue that “corporatist” economies are more willing to defend the exchange rate peg.

6-3 POWER OF LATIN AMERICAN EXECUTIVES

Room  TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair  Leslie Schwindt-Bayer, University of Mississippi

Paper  Executive discretion in Argentina
Juliana Bambaci, Stanford University
Overview: Executive discretion vis-à-vis the legislature varies extensively. This paper explains why legislatures cede constitutional prerogatives to the executive and tests it
empirically by analyzing data on budget legislation for Argentina since 1983.


German J. Lodola, University of Pittsburgh

Overview: A Pooled Time-Series Cross-Sectional data for 13 Latin American countries between 1985 and 1999 is used to analyze whether or not the spatial (ideological) location of presidents and legislatures shaped the adoption of market reforms in the region.

**Paper** Presidential Leadership and Legislative Committees: An Exploration of Gatekeeping in Latin America

Gregg B. Johnson, University at Buffalo, SUNY

Overview: This paper seeks to test the potentially important gatekeeping role of legislative committees in the success or failure of executive-initiated legislation in presidential systems beyond the American system.

**Paper** Legislative Oversight in Separation of Powers Systems: Evidence from Argentina

Valeria Palanza, Princeton University

Overview: The paper analyzes legislative oversight in Argentina. MLE shows that divided government, legislator experience and certain parties systematically affect the strategic game between legislators and executive.

**Paper** FACTORS AFFECTING VOTER TURNOUT IN LATIN AMERICA

Room TBA, Thur 3:45

Chair Jose A. da Cruz, Armstrong Atlantic State University

**Paper** Voters as Fiscal Liberals: Fiscal Behavior and Electoral Performance in the Argentine Provinces

Mark P. Jones, Rice University
Pablo Sanguinetti, Universidad Torcuato Di Tella
Mariano Tommasi, Universidad de San Andrés

Overview: This paper explores the party ties of the indigenous in Ecuador and Bolivia from democratization to 2002. Using district-level data from lower house elections, we run a count model to reflect indigenous influence on total seats earned by a party.

**Paper** Ethnicity in Elections: Indigenous Influence in Latin America

Karen A. Jones, University of Iowa
Robert J. McGrath, University of Iowa

Overview: This paper explores the party ties of the indigenous in Ecuador and Bolivia from democratization to 2002. Using district-level data from lower house elections, we run a count model to reflect indigenous influence on total seats earned by a party.

**Paper** Voter Turnout in the Latin American and Eastern European Democratic Transitions

Timothy J. Power, Florida International University
Tatiana Kostadinova, Florida International University

Overview: We study turnout levels in parliamentary elections during democratic transition by testing the effects of institutional, socio-economic, and political factors with data from Latin America and East Europe.

**Paper** The Effect of Open Presidential Primaries on Partisan Vote and Election Turnout: The Case of Chile

Patricio D. Navia, New York University/Universidad Diego Portales

Overview: I test the hypothesis that holding open primaries has a negative effect on the presidential election support for the primaries’ winner.

**Paper** Do the Poor in Latin America Vote?

Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson, Texas A&M University
Nicolai Petrovsky, Texas A&M University

Overview: Why do Latin American politicians ignore the poor? This would be rational if the poor did not vote. We examine whether the poor vote in all Latin American democracies and whether SES or dependence on patrons explain turnout.

**Presenter** James Garand, Louisiana State University

**Room** TBA, Thur 3:45

**Presenter** Regional Integration in West Africa: Challenges and Prospects on the Road from Regional Rhetoric to Regional Reality

Regina J. E2615 Martyn, University of Toronto

Overview: Many observers view regional integration in West Africa as the only way to reverse the region’s economic marginalization in the global economy. This paper examines the viability of West Africa’s state-driven institutional approach to integration.

**Presenter** Opinion of the Russian Foreign Policy Elites on the War on Chechnya: Selection Bias in Refusal to Give a Definite Answer

Natalia Matukhno, Ohio University

Overview: Heckman selection model was applied to analysis of respondents who declined to provide an opinion whether they supported or opposed the war in Chechnya.

**Presenter** Individual Assessments of Democracy in Post-Communist Europe and Support for the European Union

David O. Rossbach, Texas A&M University

Overview: This paper examines the effect that satisfaction with the progress of democratization in East Central Europe has on an individual’s views towards joining the European Union.

**Presenter** Why So Few Loyalists to the Right? The Balkanization of the Right-Wing Party Space in Eastern Europe

Denizta A. Bojinova, University of Houston

Overview: The paper identifies patterns and causes of fragmentation in the right-wing party space of 14 Central and Eastern European countries.

**Presenter** The Russian Trade Policy Since the Collapse of the Soviet Union

Kursad Aslan, Kent State University

Overview: This paper analyzes transnational relations with a special focus on the Russia. The main concern here is the reform movement in the Russian government at a state level with regard to the trade policy in order to access the World Trade Organization.

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**Presenter** Party Competition in Serbia: Between Conflict and Consensus

Slavisa Orlovic, University of Belgrade (Serbia)

Overview: The paper assesses party system development in the post-communist world, focusing on the case of Serbia.

**Presenter** The Fourth Branch of Government: A Case Study of the Procuracy in Post-Soviet Ukraine

Andrey A. Meleshchivev, Allegheny College
Dominic Randazzo, Allegheny College

Overview: Our paper examines the Ukrainian public prosecutor’s office as a case study of post-Soviet procuracies struggling with a mandate to uphold democratic legal standards while retaining the broad authorities that characterized their socialist past.

**Presenter** Liberal Imperialism and International Intervention in Post- Dayton Bosnia

John W. Hulsey, Graduate Student Indiana University

Overview: This paper is an analysis of the debate over the powers of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina with a focus on the formulations of the problem and of the future state of Bosnia used by actors and the connection to proposed solutions.

**Presenter** Electoral Incentives and Post-Communist Economic Reform

Tanya G. Bagashka, University of Rochester

Overview: In this paper I investigate whether electoral rules, in particular, the extent to which they encourage legislators to develop a personal vote can help us explain the great variation of economic reform success in the post-communist countries.
Presenter **Creeping Authoritarianism: Exploring the Demand for Authoritarian Rule in Russia**
Robert Person, Yale University
Overview: This paper seeks to explain the gradual re-authoritarianization of Russia under Putin by focusing on demands for authoritarianism by citizens. Under what conditions will citizens willingly (but perhaps unknowingly) cede power to an autocrat?

Presenter **Legitimacy in the Russian State: Post Socialism- Crisis or Democracy?**
Harry L. Humphries, Pittsburg State University
Overview: This research examines the relationship between the fall of the Soviet Union and the rise and creation of Russian Nationalism.

10-2 **THE POLITICS OF MILITARY INTERVENTION**
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Michael Gilligan, New York University
Paper **Selecting the Targets of Military Interventions**
Elizabeth Nathan Saunders, Yale University
Overview: This paper investigates empirically how leaders select targets for military interventions. I examine this process in the Eisenhower period, using both the intervention in Lebanon in July 1958 and the non-intervention in Iraq in the same month.

Paper **Economic Ties and War Expansion: A Liberal Theory of Intervention**
Aysegul Aydin, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo
Overview: War diffusion is a neglected topic in the trade-conflict debate. I draw on the insights from the economic liberalism literature and show that trading partners of the participants in an ongoing war, are more likely to intervene to settle the conflict.

Paper **Interrelated Third Party Interventions into Civil Wars**
Michael G. Findley, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Tze Kwang Ten, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: We statistically model third party intervention in ongoing civil wars, highlighting strategic interests of potential interveners, as opposed to the wars’ structural factors. A key nuance is the interrelationship between interventions in the same war.

Paper **Munich and Intervention**
Maarten G. Rothman, Royal Dutch Military Academy
Overview: The negotiation of Munich 1938, particularly the omission of Czechs and Slovaks, reveals much about the contemporary interventionism.

Disc. Michael Gilligan, New York University

10-3 **HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE**
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Darren Hawkins, Brigham Young University
Paper **Humanitarian Intervention and Moral Hazard**
Vincent A. Auger, Western Illinois University
Overview: This paper develops and tests a conceptual framework based on the theory of "moral hazard" to examine difficult choices third-party interveners face in situations of humanitarian intervention, using Kosovo and Macedonia as heuristic cases.

Paper **Humanitarian Military Intervention: A Critical Examination of a Debate**
Cristina G. Badescu, University of Western Ontario, Canada
Overview: This paper is a critical examination of the debate on humanitarian military intervention. Apart from the key moral, legal and political concepts related to intervention, it also discusses the contentious issue of the right authority to intervene.

Paper **The Incentives of International Organizations in Peacekeeping**
Susan Hannah Allen, University of Missouri
Overview: In this paper, I explore the incentives of international organizations in peacekeeping missions and how these incentives influence the conflict as well as the resulting peace.

Paper **United States Humanitarian Interventions in Somalia and Sudan: Why is There a Difference?**
Iphishta Gupta, Marquette University
Overview: The focus of my paper would be the nature of U.S. humanitarian intervention in Africa, particularly in Sudan and Somalia. It would trace this difference in approach of United States in tackling the two areas of ethnic conflicts.

Disc. Darren Hawkins, Brigham Young University

11-4 **POLICY DIFFUSION IN THE WORLD ECONOMY**
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Dennis Quinn, Georgetown University
Alexandra G. Guisinger, University of Notre Dame
Overview: Expanding from previous quantitative work on the international determinants of trade liberalization by developing countries, this paper characterizes trade policy diffusion mechanisms and tests their explanatory power in four case studies.

Paper **Modeling Spatial Interdependence in Capital Tax Policy**
Jude Hays, University of Michigan
Overview: TBA

Paper **Globalization, Policy Diffusion, and Welfare State Retrenchment in the Capitalist Democracies**
Duane H. Swank, Marquette University
Overview: In the proposed paper, I build on my past work, extend recent theorizing, and utilize newly available data to develop and assess a model of the international and domestic origins of contemporary trajectories of the welfare state.

Lars Jonung, DG ECFIN, European Commission, Brussels
Overview: Sweden changed its approach to stabilization policy several times 1970-2000. These policy switches are examined in detail using a policy learning perspective, concluding that policy-makers as well as economists applied a backward-looking perspective.

Disc. Dennis Quinn, Georgetown University

11-6 **POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND TRADE POLICYMAKING**
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Marc Busch, Queen's School of Business
Paper **Democracy and Trade: Money, Votes and Seats**
Doces A. John, University of Southern California
B. Peter Rosendorff, University of Southern California
Overview: We consider presidential versus parliamentary democracies and trade openness. Our model and empirical results show that parliamentary democracies have higher levels of trade openness.

Paper **Institutional Determinants of Agricultural Support**
Jong Hee Park, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: Institutional Determinants of Agricultural Support

Paper **Rules of Trade: Democracy and Legalism in Preferential Trade Agreements**
Jon Pevehouse, University of Wisconsin
Renee Buhr, University of Wisconsin
Overview: We examine the determinants of institutional design choices in trade agreements using a new data set of legal rules specified in PTAs from 1950-2000.

Paper **The Political Economy of Agricultural Protection across the OECD**
Cameron G. Thies, Louisiana State University
Schuyler Porche, Louisiana State University
Overview: We build upon earlier work on agricultural protection by developing a statistical model that incorporates political institutional characteristics, alongside traditional
structural economic variables, for 15 OECD countries over the period 1986-2001.

12-3 DOMESTIC INFLUENCES ON INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair David H. Clark, Binghamton University
Paper Domestic Costs, Interdependence, and International Conflict
Joe Clare, Texas A&M University
Overview: I examine how domestic (institutional) and international (strategic interdependence) factors interact to provide incentives, or disincentives, for leaders to initiate and escalate international conflicts.

Paper Transparency as the Source of Democratic Credibility in Interstate Conflict
Peter M. Li, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper is an empirical test of whether one can use the argument that democracies are better able to send credible signals of their willingness to fight to explain the overall observed patterns of war.

Paper Riding the Peace Train? Marketization, Democratization, and Militarized Interstate Disputes
Zachary M. Mears, Ohio State University
Overview: To date, most studies of democratization and international conflict have ignored the impact of domestic market-oriented reforms on both democratization and international conflict. This paper examines these processes and their interactions.

Paper Why Don’t You Trust Me? Power Preponderance and International Conflict
Mark Souva, Florida State University
Brandon Prins, Texas Tech University
Overview: Why does conflict occur in dyads with an imbalance of power? We theorize that conflict happens in imbalanced dyads because the stronger state is not able to credibly commit to uphold a deal.

Disc. David H. Clark, Binghampton University

13-3 THE DYNAMICS OF PROLIFERATION
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Michael Horowitz, Harvard University
Michael Horowitz, Harvard University
Overview: This paper evaluates the empirical impact of acquiring weapons of mass destruction on the initiation and escalation of armed conflict, utilizing both case studies and quantitative methods.

Paper The Dynamism of Proliferation: A Quantitative and Qualitative Approach
Alexander H. Montgomery, Stanford University
Overview: Since nuclear proliferation is a dynamic, contingent endeavor, it must be studied as such. The paper uses both quantitative and qualitative methods to develop a framework for understanding the decision to acquire weapons of mass destruction.

Paper The Use and Abuse of Organization Theory in the Proliferation Debate
Todd Sechser, Stanford University
Overview: The paper examines the application of organizational theory to the study of proliferation, drawing on previous research to develop a more realistically grounded organizational model of proliferation.

Paper The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, Counter-Proliferation, and Non-Proliferation: Determining American National Interests
Christopher McIntosh, University of Chicago
Overview: This paper will use international relations theory to build a conceptual model for understanding US interests. The model is applied to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in light of concerns about counter-proliferation and non-proliferation

14-5 BARGAINING AND CONFLICT
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Kristopher W. Ramsay, Princeton University
Paper Military Coercion in Interstate Crises
Branislav L. Slantchev, University of California, San Diego
Overview: I examine the coercive role of strictly military measures and find an explanation for war that accounts for some deficiencies in existing ones.

Paper Conflicts and Commitments
Konstantin Sonin, Institute for Advanced Study
Michael Schwarz, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: The bargaining power of an aggressor increases dramatically if he is able to make the threat divisible. In particular, a blackmailer can extract a positive stream of payments from the victim even if exercising the threat is costly to him.

Paper Bayesian Equilibria and Shifting Power Bargaining Games
Joseph Gochal, New York University
Jack S. Levy, Rutgers University
Overview: Using incentive compatibility, we examine Bayesian equilibria of a wide set of bargaining games with shifting power where one of three variables could be privately known to the rising state: costs of fighting, initial power, and speeds of shifts.

Paper The Tangled Web: Coercive Diplomacy in Context
Robert F. Trager, Columbia University
Overview: Because of what they reveal about intentions, threats often run the risk of being provocative and bringing about a general breach in relations. As a result, costly commitment occurs in the equilibria of a sufficiently rich deterrence game.

Disc. Ahmer Tarar, Texas A&M University
Kristopher W. Ramsay, Princeton University

15-1 COMPARATIVE FOREIGN POLICY: EUROPE
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair R. Michael Smith, Glenville State College
Paper High Politics’ after the EU: Greek Foreign Policy Towards Turkey
Akis Kalaitzidis, Central Missouri State University
Overview: This paper addresses the shift of Greek foreign policy towards an integrationist approach vis-à-vis Turkey’s entrance into the EU.

Paper Toward A New North Atlantic Alliance
Alex Schulman, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: A proposal, incorporating elements of classic political as well as International Relations theory, of a reformed Western Alliance to replace NATO

Paper Yes, Prime Minister: Power, Personality, and the Blair Administration’s Iraq Decisions
Stephen B. Dyson, Saint Olaf College
Brianna K. Lawrence, Washington State University
Overview: I develop a framework for the explanation of foreign policy decisions in Britain based upon a model of institutional structure, the resources of key decision makers, and the individual characteristics of the prime minister.

Paper Irish Foreign Policy with Post-Cold War Europe: The Transformation of Irish Peacekeeping Policy in the 21st Century
Terry M. Mays, The Citadel
Overview: Ireland has nearly abandoned its traditional role as a major contributor to UN peacekeeping and now concentrates its efforts in support of the EU and NATO. This paper examines this transformation from a global to European-centered policy.

Disc. Oya Dursun, University of Texas, Austin

15-2 U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Donald D.A. Schaefer, University of Washington
Paper U.S. Foreign Policy and the Development of Islamic Identity
Philip W. Barker, University of Colorado
William J. Muck, University of Colorado
Overview: This paper examines the current relationship between U.S. foreign policy and Islamic nationalism in the Middle East, drawing parallels between previous intractable religious conflicts and the evolving conflict between the US and the Islamic world.

Paper

**Foreign Policy Prediction: A Decision Making Model to the Crises Between Iran and the United States**

Cengiz Erisen, Stony Brook University

Overview: This paper scrutinizes the crises between Iran and the United States via utilizing decision-making models. Main objective is to predict an empirical foreign policy analysis for current (i.e., negotiations on nuclear power) and future events.

**Anti-Americanism in Conservative Saudi Arabia and Jordan**

Abdalla M. Battah, Minnesota State University

Overview: This paper provides an analysis of the root causes of anti-Americanism in Saudi Arabia and Jordan, America’s closest Arab allies. We will consider alternative perspectives generally employed to explain anti-Americanism in the Middle East.

Disc. Marijke Bruening, Truman State University

16-3 **IDENTITY**

Room TBA, Thur 3:45

Chair Deborah J. Schildkraut, Tufts University

Paper

**For Whom is Individualism Racialized? Education, Racial Cues, and the Activation of the Protestant Work Ethic**

Christopher M. Federico, University of Minnesota

Overview: I demonstrate that individualism is not only more likely to predict negative evaluations of welfare recipients when they are described as Black, but that this interaction between individualism and racial cues is stronger among well-educated whites.

**Benefitting the National Group – At Least Some of It: The Consequences of Limiting Who Counts as an American**

Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

Overview: Using a national survey and three experiments, I analyze how people treat fellow Americans who criticize the current pattern of immigration is eroding American national identity. This paper uses a range of surveys to test this proposition.

**Critical Takes on American Identity: Poor and Minority Identity Responses to September 11, 2001**

Erin E. O'Brien, Kent State University

Overview: “United We Stand.” This suggests Americans identified as such following 9/11 and did so regardless of their race, class, or gender. This paper uses in-depth interviews conducted in the 3 months before and after 9/11 to evaluate these claims.

**Testing Huntington: The Impact of the New Immigration American Identity**

Jack Citrin, University of California, Berkeley

Amy Lerman, University of California, Berkeley

Michael Murakami, University of California, Berkeley

Overview: Huntington's WHO ARE WE NOW? asserts that the current pattern of immigration is eroding American national identity. This paper uses a range of surveys to test this proposition.

Disc. Deborah J. Schildkraut, Tufts University

17-4 **THE FIRE THIS TIME: HOW CAMPAIGNS AND INITIATIVES MOBILIZE VOTERS**

Room TBA, Thur 3:45

Chair Keith W. Reeves, Swarthmore College

Paper

**The New Search for Campaign Effects: Candidates, Parties, and Effects on Voters**

Brian J. Brox, The University of Texas at Austin

Overview: In this study of campaign effects in Congressional elections from 1992 to 2002, I use resource allocation data for candidates and parties to describe what they spend money on and how those activities affect voting behavior.

**The Mobilizing Effects of Soft Money in American Presidential Elections**

Tom M. Holbrook, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Scott D. McClurg, Southern Illinois University

Overview: We investigate the impact of soft money expenditures in the states on political behavior. Using combined FEC and survey data we examine three indicators of individual voter mobilization: activation, re-activation, and party loyalty.

**Turnout and Citizen Initiatives: Are All Initiatives Created Equal?**

John A. Grummel, West Virginia State University

Overview: This research examines whether controversial ballot initiatives lead to higher voter turnout when such initiatives are on the ballot.

**Mobilizing Voters: Shaping the Electorate with Direct Democracy**

Daniel Smith, University of Florida

Caroline J. Tolbert, Kent State University

Todd Donovan, Western Washington University

Overview: This research tests whether ballot measures mobilize people who resemble regular voters (partisans) or episodic voters (non partisans) in the 2004 presidential elections using survey data from five states.

**Reaching Out Through Redistribution: Competition, Mobilization, and Public Policy**

John Sides, University of Texas, Austin

Andrew Karch, University of Texas, Austin

Overview: We examine the connection between electoral competition and redistributive public policy, arguing that this link depends on candidates’ campaign messages and on how those messages motivate certain groups of voters.

Disc. Keith W. Reeves, Swarthmore College

Andrea Campbell, Harvard University

17-12 **INDIVIDUAL AND CONTEXTUAL DETERMINANTS OF VOTER TURNOUT**

Room TBA, Thur 3:45

Chair Samantha Luks, University of Minnesota

Paper

**Estimating the Casual Effect of Policy Information on Voter Turnout: An Internet-based Randomized Field Experiment in Japan**

Yusaku Horiuchi, Australian National University

Kosuke Imai, Princeton University

Naoko Taniguchi, Teikyo University, University of Michigan

Overview: Do voters cast their ballots based on policy information? We empirically test this fundamental question of democratic process using the data from a randomized field experiment during Japan’s 2004 Upper House election.

**Social Embeddedness and Voting: The Paradox of Voter Turnout Revisited**

Samuel J. Abrams, Harvard University

Torben Iversen, Harvard University

Overview: Given the failure of instrumental rat choice models to explain turnout, we propose an alternative socially embedded logic of turnout. Our socially embedded framework of participation predicts turnout and reintroduces rationality into participation.

**Residential Effects on the Presidential Election: A Multilevel Analysis of the 2000 Election**

Jonghooon Eun, University of Texas, Austin

Overview: This paper examines the question whether and how residential factors at the county level affect individual voting decision. For the empirical analysis, I rely on multilevel analysis of the 2000 election using multilevel data.

**The Effect of Primary Group, Living Arrangement and Immigration Status On Electoral Turnout**

Iris Hui, University of California, Berkeley

Overview: This paper examines how living arrangement interacts with immigration status in affecting individual's electoral turnout.

**Military Service and Turnout: The Impact of Veteran Status on the Decision to Vote**

William G. Dubyk, United States Naval Academy

Overview: This research tests whether ballot measures mobilize people who resemble regular voters (partisans) or episodic voters (non partisans) in the 2004 presidential elections using survey data from five states.

Updated 03-01-05
Overview: This paper examines the impact of military service on turn out; does a military background make voters more likely to vote relative to demographically similar voters who lack military experience?

Disc. Keiko Ono, University of Michigan
Samantha Luks, University of Minnesota

18-10 PARTISAN AND COALITION EFFECTS OF ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Sona N. Golder, University of Iowa
Paper Determinants of Party Systems: Comparing Established and New Democracies
Michael G. Huelshoff, University of New Orleans
Marc Rosenthal, University of New Orleans
Overview: Earlier research has demonstrated that the conventional wisdom regarding the determinants of the number of political parties in a system does not hold for many new democracies. This paper explores three rival interpretations for this pattern.

Paper Electoral Coalitions in a Mixed-Member Electoral System: The Case of Post-Communist Hungary
Csaba Nikolenyi, Concordia University
Overview: Hungary’s electoral system provides political parties with incentives both to compete and cooperate. The paper adopts Tsebelis’ model of electoral coalitions to explain how political parties respond to these incentives.

Paper Portuguese Party Politics and Local Government Coalition Formation
Pedro J. Camões, University of Minho - Portugal
Silvia M. Mendes, University of Minho, Portugal
Overview: Using a unique survey level dataset from the 308 municipalities and the Laver and Shespo portfolio allocation model of government, this paper seeks to explain coalition formation of local governments in Portugal throughout the democratic regime.

Paper Changes in Party Structure: Origins and Implications
Matthew C. Falvey, Creighton University
Overview: Qualitative and quantitative analysis is used to seek an explanation for cases in which a democracy’s number of viable political parties has undergone a lasting change.

Disc. Sona N. Golder, University of Iowa
Emily Clough, University of North Texas

20-8 WHO CONTRIBUTES?

Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Bruce Larson, Farleigh Dickinson University
Paper Consumption or Investment? Campaign Contributions and the Structure of Executive Compensation
Sanford C. Gordon, New York University
Catherine Hafer, New York University
Dimitri Landa, New York University
Overview: Corporate executives perceive government policy affects firm profitability. Those whose compensation varies with corporate earnings should contribute if they believe it makes favorable policy likely. We test this with data on S&P 1500 executives.

Paper Friends and Money: Candidates, Social Networks and the Search for Campaign Contributions
Meredith Rolfe, University of Chicago
Overview: In this paper, I examine the direct and indirect effects of political mobilization and personal requests on campaign contributions.

Paper Post-Incorporation Inequality: Evidence from a Philadelphia Case Study
Hillard W. Pouncy, Princeton University
Overview: This study seeks to determine whether electoral data also supports Dawson’s racial heuristic hypothesis.

Disc. Bruce Larson, Farleigh Dickinson University

21-1 CONTENT AND EFFECT OF ISSUE COVERAGE

Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Nancy Burgoyne, Seattle University
Paper Reform, Rescue, or Run out of Money? Patterns of Political Communication in the Debate over Social Security
Jennifer Jerit, Southern Illinois University
Overview: This study examines patterns of political communication during the 1998-1999 debate over Social Security reform in 10 prominent media sources and the political transcripts of elected officials.

Claes H. deVreese, University of Amsterdam
Hajo G. Boogmaard, University of Amsterdam
Overview: Study of simultaneous effects of different media messages and interpersonal communication on change in public opinion.

Paper The Partisan Dynamics of Political Issues: The Role of Interest Groups and the Mass Media in the Contestation of Abortion and Crime
Edward G. Carmines, Indiana University
Jessica C. Gerrity, Indiana University
Michael W. Wagner, Indiana University
Overview: What role do interest groups and the mass media play in the process of politicizing or depoliticizing issues? This paper analyzes this question by examining media coverage of interest groups organized around two issues, abortion and crime.

Disc. Nancy Burgoyne, Seattle University
Valerie Hart, Southern Methodist University

21-12 TRUST IN THE MEDIA—CREDIBILITY OF THE MEDIA

Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Erika King, Grand Valley State University
Paper Media Coverage of Scandal and Declining Trust in Government: An Experimental Analysis of 9/11 Commission Testimony
Christopher A. Cooper, Western Carolina University
Anthony J. Nowes, University of Tennessee
Overview: We use an experimental design to determine the effect of contentious, partisan coverage of government on citizen evaluations of government. We also test whether citizens make distinctions among levels of government when assigning blame.

Paper Fact-checking and Media Performance in the 2004 Presidential Campaign
Robert Dion, University of Evansville
Overview: This paper examines the collision between the demands of a 24-hour news cycle and the desire by professional journalists to provide meaningful context for news consumers.

Paper Attitudes toward the News Media and Voting Behavior
Jonathan Ladd, Princeton University
Overview: I find that those who with more negative attitudes toward the press as an institution are more influenced by their party identification and less influenced by current economic conditions when making voting decisions.

Janet L. Donavan, University of Puget Sound
Overview: This paper explores the claims and evidence in recent books about the Iraq war, compares the arguments and evidence to those found in the traditional media, and assesses the impact of these books on the information environment.

Disc. Erika King, Grand Valley State University

Updated 03-01-05
Overview: This paper examines the differences between female and male state legislative candidates’ perceptions about and effort devoted to fundraising, with the goal of understanding and male state legislative candidates’ perceptions about and effort devoted towards fundraising, with the goal of understanding
differ in their ambition for the judiciary.

Shannon Jenkins, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper examines coverage in the Los Angeles Times and La Opinion of the Southern California Grocery Lockout

Paper Fundraising Candidates’ Perceptions About and Effort Devoted Towards

Overview: The study attempts to determine the reasons for the large presence of women in the offices such as county and
discipline.

Tereza Capelos, Leiden University
Overview: In an experimental study we evaluate the impact of the image of George W. Bush and John F. Kerry on the way
European citizens understand policy issues as they appear in the news media

Paper Curse or Blessing?: The Impact of Candidate Image in Evaluation of United States Policy Messages in Europe

Overview: This research attempts to determine the reasons for the large presence of women in the offices such as county and
circuit clerk. Women dominate these elected offices as a result of the traditional views of what constitutes a “women’s
occupation.”

Paper A Woman’s Work is Never Done? Female State Legislative Candidates’ Perceptions About and Effort Devoted Towards Fundraising

Overview: This paper examines the differences between female and male state legislative candidates’ perceptions about and
effort devoted to fundraising, with the goal of understanding whether or not such differences contribute to the lack of female
candidates.

Overview: Focusing on Latinos, this paper will assess
effect of perceived discrimination on voting behavior, its political impact is somewhat different.

Paper Latino Electoral Participation: Can Changing the Vote Question Reduce Over-Reporting?

Overview: This paper tests whether a new voting question (originally developed by Belli, Traugott, Young, and
McConagile 1999) can reduce the over-reporting of voting by Latinos. It uses a validated 2004 survey of 1,200 Latino
respondents in Texas.

Overview: Under what conditions do female legislators provide substantive representation for women in the populace? This paper examines political women’s roles in getting concealed and
carry firearm legislation passed in the MN state legislature.

Elizabeth A. Bennion, Indiana University, South Bend

Paper The Passage of Conceal and Carry Firearm Legislation in the Minnesota State Legislature: Political Women in Action

Julie Dolan, Macalister College
29-2 INTEREST GROUP COALITIONS AND NETWORKS
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Beth Leech, Rutgers University
Paper Strange Bedfellows or the Usual Suspects? Spatial Models of Ideology and Interest Group Coalitions.
Richard Almeida, Southeast Missouri State University
Overview: TBA
Paper Agendas and Organizational Change in Interest Groups: The Break-up of the German Pharmaceutical Industry Association.
Andreas Broscheid, University of North Carolina, Pembroke
Overview: This paper presents a formal model of organizational change in interest groups, combining theories of agenda change and conditional cooperation. The results are illustrated in a case study.
Michael T. Heaney, Yale University
Overview: Interest groups care about the partisan composition of their lobbying coalitions. Coalitions that have a Republican tilt or a bipartisan balance are more effective in overcoming their collective action problems than coalitions that lean Democratic.
Disc. Andrew McFarland, University of Illinois, Chicago

29-12 PARTIES AND ELECTIONS
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Johannes Moenius, Northwestern University
David Karol, University of California, Los Angeles
Hans Noel, University of California, Los Angeles
John Zaller, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: Previous work has shown high profile endorsements in the invisible primary are an excellent predictor of the performance of presidential candidates in the actual primaries. This paper attempts to describe the dynamics of the invisible primary.
Johannes Moenius, Kellogg School of Management
Yuko Kasuya, Keio University
Overview: New measures of party competition with a demonstration of their usefulness in the case of the United States.
Disc. Barbara Trish, Grinnell College

31-4 LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Charles Shipan, University of Iowa
Matthew Dull, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: Drawing on contemporary scholarship on the role of information in institutional politics, this paper examines the emergence and congressional use of information generated by the Government Performance and Results Act (1993).
Paper High Court of Justice and Separation of Powers in Israeli Democracy
Ehud N. Sommer, SUNY Stony Brook
Jeffrey A. Segal, SUNY Stony Brook
Overview: We examine decision making in the Israeli Supreme Court sitting as High Court of Justice across the disparate areas of national security and religious freedom.

Paper Jury, Judges, and Corruption – A Cross National Analysis
Stan Wong, University of California, Los Angeles
Rogan Kersh, Syracuse University
J. Mitchell Pickerill, Washington State University
George Lovell, University of Washington
Overview: In these recent books, George Lovell and Mitch Pickerill examine the interaction of the Supreme Court and Congress. Students of these two institutions from a variety of disciplinary perspectives offer their assessments.

34-102 AUTHORS MEET CRITICS: LOVELL’S "LEGISLATIVE DEFERRALS" AND PICKERRILL’S "CONSTITUTIONAL DELIBERATION IN CONGRESS"
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Thomas M. Keck, Syracuse University
Presenter Lee Epstein, Washington University
Gerald Rosenberg, University of Chicago
Georg Vanberg, University of North Carolina
Rogan Kersh, Syracuse University
J. Mitchell Pickerill, Washington State University
George Lovell, University of Washington
Overview: This paper examines the effects of the judicial institutions pertinent to the British common law on corruption.

35-8 STATE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICY
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Willard B. Stouffer, Texas State University
Paper For the Common Good: Intergovernmental Community Development Efforts that May or May Not Provide Economic Development Benefits
Donna M. Handley, University of Alabama, Birmingham
Overview: Study evaluates implementation of Community Development Block Grant in 20 states, and evaluates grant administrators’ perceptions regarding why is/is not utilized for economic development activities.

Paper Economic Development Activities of Missouri Cities: A Discussion of Survey Results
David L. McLaughlin, Northwest Missouri State University
Kevin Buterbaugh, Southern Connecticut University
Overview: Discussion of the results of a survey of 220 Missouri municipalities with a population of greater than 2000. This survey, conducted in the Spring of 2004, is the third in a series of surveys.

Hyung Jun Park, Florida State University
Overview: This paper investigates one kind of collective action, the formation of regional partnerships in governmentally fragmented metropolitan areas and role of diverse social capital through applying ICA framework.

Paper A Contextual Analysis of TIF, Economic Development, and Culture
Nicholas P. Guehlstorf, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville
Andrew J. Theising, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville
Overview: State TIF laws and local projects should be analyzed as a cultural framework of institutional behavior because it captures important values not represented in the old economic manner of assessing economic development.

Paper State Promotion of International Trade in the Post 9/11 Environment: A Case Study of Massachusetts and Ohio
Jacqueline DeLaat, Marietta College
Overview: The paper compares Ohio and Massachusetts in their promotion of international trade, before and after 9/11, using previous theories and data gathering about "best practices" in trade promotion as a baseline for the comparison.

36-2 EXPLAINING POLICY CHOICE IN URBAN AREAS
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair Fred A. Meyer, Ball State University
Paper Dimensions of the Global City – Looking Beyond Economies
Daniel E. Bliss, University of Illinois at Chicago
Overview: A study of five US metropolitan areas encompassing some 60 counties provides empirical support for the argument that urban globalization encompasses more than the global economy or the central city, with immigration in particular proving to be important.

Paper Measuring and Explaining the Anti-Poverty Policies of Cities: The Value of Actual and Hypothetical Cases
Paul D. Schumaker, University of Kansas
Marisa Kelly, University of the Pacific
Overview: Interview data are used to examine how the moral principles of city officials affect anti-poverty policies, independent of contextual factors. We also assess the uses of hypothetical and actual cases in researching such questions.

Donald L. Rosdill, Northern Virginia Community College
Overview: The paper examines the contribution of religiosity, nontraditional cultures, and economic security to the adoption of progressive measures by US cities.

Paper Metropolitan Institutions and Policy Responsiveness in American Cities
Christine A. Kelleher, University of Michigan, Dearborn
Overview: I specifically examine how the degree of political fragmentation or regional consolidation within an area influences policy responsiveness.

36-101 ROUNDTABLE: THE NEW CHICAGO POLITICS
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Panelist Costas Spirou, National-Louis University
Terry Clark, University of Chicago
William Grimsaw, Illinois Institute of Technology
Dennis Judd, University of Illinois, Chicago
David Perry, University of Illinois, Chicago
Dick Simpson, University of Illinois,Chicago
Overview: This session brings together Chicago scholars engaged in a project that aims to describe and analyze new directions in Chicago politics. The impact of globalization, economic restructuring, consumption, the effect of national policies is addressed.

37-3 EDUCATION POLICY
Room TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair James E. Anderson, Texas A&M University
Paper Electoral State Education Policy Density and its Consequences
David J. Webber, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: One measure of “policy density” is the ratio of school board members per state legislators. It is expected that states with a high ratio of school board members to state legislators will provide a higher portion of K-12 from state revenue.

Paper Towards a Better Understanding of the Origins and Consequences of Inequality in Public School Funding: Measuring the Consequences of Fixed Per-Pupil Funding Formulas on Small, Rural Schools
Gregory R. Thorson, University of Minnesota, Morris
Overview: This paper examines the disparities created by funding public schools with a fixed per-pupil funding formula. Small rural schools are disproportionately disadvantaged.

Paper
International Students: Why Do They Choose the United States as a Study Abroad Destination?
Mee Young Han, American University
Overview: The main question this paper investigates is why international students go to the US to study abroad.

Paper
State and Federal Policy and Regulatory Framework for For-Profit Degree Granting Institutions: How Did We Get Where We Are and Where Are We Going?
Carol Everly Floyd, Independent Consultant
Overview: The public policy accountability framework for for-profit colleges is examined: state licensing, accreditation, and federal student financial aid eligibility. Ways that public accountability expectations might evolve are categorized.

Paper
Church, State and Market: Toward a Typology of Post-Secondary Education
David C. Paris, Hamilton College
Overview: This paper develops a typology for analysing postsecondary educational policies and practices and applies it to every public policy issue.

Disc.
Scott Abernathy, University of Minnesota

38-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE:IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL POLICY
Room
TBA, Thur 3:45
Presenter
"Second Chances" in American Social Policy: An Examination of Political and Social Thought
Dan A. Lewis, Northwestern University
Melissa A. Rudd, Northwestern University
Overview: We examine the ways in which social theorists and policymakers have come to understand the role of "second chances" in American social policy and explore alternative visions of the reigning paradigm, using the welfare debate as a case study.

Presenter
From Radical to Conservative: The Political Construction of Civil Unions and Changing Public Attitudes
Kenneth W. Cimino, Drake University
Gary N. Segura, University of Iowa
Overview: Few opinions have changed as radically and as quickly as those regarding the appropriateness of civil unions for lesbians and gays.

38-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: SOCIAL POLICY IMPLEMENTATION
Room
TBA, Thur 3:45
Presenter
An Analysis of the Implementation of the Child Care Development Fund in Mississippi and the Resulting Program Impact on Parents, Childcare Directors and Children
Denise Keller, Mississippi State University
Overview: This research examines the implementation of the Child Care Development Fund in Mississippi by looking at administrative decisions, the role of nonprofit organizations and the impact on parents, childcare directors and children.

Presenter
Administrative Machinations or Why the Family Cap Undermines Welfare Reform
Melissa Buix Michaux, Williamette University
Overview: This paper examines the implementation problems associated with family cap policies that exclude additional benefits to women (and men) for children conceived while on welfare.

39-3 THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
Room
TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair
Gregory C. Hill, Texas A&M University
Paper
Darwin's Bureaucrat: Reexamining the Microfoundations of Public Administration Theory
Kevin B. Smith, University of Nebraska, Lincoln
Overview: A critique of the two models of human behavior underlying much of public administration theory, and a sketch and an empirical test of an alternate model.

Paper
When Bureaucracy's Mission Changes: The Department of Homeland Security
Richard W. Waterman, University of Kentucky
Jeff Gill, University of California at Davis
Overview: James Q. Wilson has noted that bureaucracy's role is motivated by their mission and a critical component of bureaucratic behavior. We examine the role of mission in relationship to the new Department of Homeland Security.

Paper
The Motivation Crowding Effect and the Federal Bureaucrat
Anthony Bertelli, University of Georgia
Sung Joo Choi, University of Georgia
Overview: Do performance incentives such as GPRA and the President’s Management Agenda crowd-in or crowd-out the intrinsic motivations of federal bureaucrats?

Paper
We Make the Rules: Policymakers in Executive Agencies
Ryan T. Rynbrandt, University of Michigan
Overview: I develop and test a model of agency rulemaking in which entrepreneurial bureaucratic behavior is a function of rule maker preferences and the positions of veto players.

Disc.
Doo-Rae Kim, Michigan State University
Neal D. Woods, University of South Carolina

40-11 DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT: PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACHES
Room
TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair
Ajay K. Mehrotra, Indiana University, Bloomington
Paper
Education and Technology: Their Roles in a Democratic Society
Kenann McKenzie-Thompson, Teachers College, Columbia
Overview: In our relatively new knowledge-based society, technology in the classroom has been equated with offering more opportunities for engagement in civic society and overall, promoting a more democratic society.

Paper
We Make the Rules: Policymakers in Executive Agencies
Michael D. Duennes, University of Minnesota
Overview: I offer a new view of political development by coherently combining the study of political participation, representation, accountability, cooperation, network theory, & cooptation to analyze American political development and culture.

Disc.
Ajay K. Mehrotra, Indiana University, Bloomington

41-301 POSTER SESSION: THE PRACTICE OF POLITICS
Room
TBA, Thur 3:45
Presenter
Campaign Effects in the 2004 Presidential Election
Kelly Patterson, Brigham Young University
Overview: How do voters respond to campaign messages specifically targeted at them? The research uses a three-wave panel survey to assess voter attitudes during the 2004 campaign and combines it with different types of advertising in the election.

Presenter
Back to the Future: The 2004 Ground War in Ohio
Anne Hanson, University of Akron
Overview: This paper examines the intense battle to get voters to polls in the 2004 presidential election. Using over Ohio 100 informants, we examine the campaign messages received to discover how the ground war was won by voters.

Presenter
Policy Entrepreneurs and Policy Change: Examining the Linkages between TANF, Domestic Violence and the FVO
Tera McCown, Marshall University
Overview: Examining strategies used by policy entrepreneurs can enhance our understanding of how policy changes occur in the policy making process. I offer a theory for how policy entrepreneurs select their strategies when pursuing policy change.
Informal Roundtable: Race and The Civil Rights Movement

Room: TBA, Thur 3:45
Presenter: Giving with One Hand, Taking with the Other: Race, Crime, and the Politics of Punishment
Vesla M. Weaver, Harvard University
Overview: This paper examines the foundations of state variation in crime policy, finding a persistent relationship between racial makeup and punitiveness and only a weak correlation with actual crime rates.

British Political Culture and United States Racial Attitudes
Paul Kriese, Indiana University
Overview: This paper will focus on how British ideas and groups that focus on race helped to form United States attitudes on race and racist practices.

Religion and Political Mobilization in the American Context

Room: TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair: Gerald Pace, University of Denver
Melissa M. Deckman, Washington College
Sue E.S. Crawford, Creighton University
Laura R. Olson, Clemson University
Overview: We propose to examine how clergy are dealing with gay rights within their own communities and congregations.

Paper: Ministry and Local Political Activism: Assessing the Influence of Organizational Characteristics and Community Context
Franklyn C. Niles, John Brown University
Paul A. Djue, Denison University
Overview: Using a national survey of ministerial associations collected during 2004, we investigate the organizational and community-level influences that drive ministerial alliance political activism in America.

Clergy and Controversy: A Study of Clergy and Gay Rights in Columbus, Ohio
Paul A. Djue, Denison University
Anand E. Sokhey, Ohio State University
Overview: This paper examines how the issue of gay marriage has played out in Columbus, Ohio. The authors survey clergy within the city, asking about the organizations that have been active in mobilizing religious interests.

The Effects of Urban Sprawl on Social Capital in Detroit
Lara C. Rusch, University of Michigan
Overview: This paper will analyze opportunities for political mobilization in a divided urban context, through the eyes of Catholic leaders and grassroots organizers. A primary goal is to realistically assess faith-based mobilization capacity in poor and working-class Catholic leaders and grassroots organizers. A primary goal is to realistically assess faith-based mobilization capacity in poor and working-class Catholic leaders and grassroots organizers.

Religious Conservatives in State Republican Parties: Evidence from the 2004 Election
Kimberly H. Conger, Iowa State University
Overview: This paper reports new survey data from the 2004 election cycle measuring the strength and importance of the religious conservative movement and its constituent groups in state-level Republican parties.

Disc. Beverly Ann Gaddy, University of Pittsburgh
Douglas Koopman, Calvin College

Learn by Doing

Room: TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair: Eric Heberlig, University of North Carolina, Charlotte
Paper: Debate Watch: Using Presidential Debates to Teach Methods
Brian D. Posler, Millikin University
Overview: This semester-long, real-world activity helped students learn to be political scientists.

Paper: Developing A FEMA Hazard Mitigation Plan: Practical Project-Centered Learning for Undergraduates
John W. Williams, Principia College
Overview: This panel will address the professional challenges facing scholars whose research is focused on the role of women in politics. Panelists will also share strategies to overcome or circumvent these challenges.

50-1 Panel: Estimation of Theoretical Models of Legislative Politics

Room: TBA, Thur 3:45
Chair: Jeffrey Grynaiiski, University of Chicago
Paper: Jointly Estimating Party Effects and Ideologies
Fang-Yi Chiou, Princeton University
Overview: We use information from twelve major Taiwanese newspapers to measure party pressure and then jointly estimate preferences and party effects in the Taiwanese Legislative Yuan.

Paper: Selling Favors in the Lab: Experiments on Campaign Finance Reform
Daniel Houser, George Mason University
Thomas Stratmann, George Mason University
Overview: This research sheds light on the issues surrounding this debate by providing a novel experimental design to test the Coate (2003) model of campaign finance policy.

Disc. Joan Serra, University of Chicago
Jeffrey Grynaiiski, University of Chicago

Friday, January 8 – 8:30 am – 10:15 am

Panel: Undermine Critics: Democracy at Risk; How Political Choices Undermine Citizen Participation, and What We Can Do About It

Room: TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair: Stephen Macedo, Princeton University
Panelists: Leslie Lenkowsky, Indiana University
Margaret Levi, University of Washington

I-113 Author Meets Critics: Democracy at Risk; How Political Choices Undermine Citizen Participation, and What We Can Do About It
Overview: The report of APSA’s Committee on Civic Education and Engagement argues that our political system dampens citizen involvement, sharpens the disparities between rich and poor, and discourages attention to politics.

2-6 POLITICAL CORRUPTION: CAUSE AND EFFECT

Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair Kunieva Jana, California Tech University
Paper Corruption as a Feature of Democratic Consolidation: Do the Nature of State Institutions and Regulation of Civil Society Participation Matter?
Rollin F. Tusalem, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: My paper will explore and investigate empirically the impact of bicameralism, democratic age and civil society in determining the prevalence of corruption in European nations.

Paper The Impact of Political Corruption on Voter Turnout in Industrial Democracies
Tetsuya Fujiwara, Michigan State University
Overview: This paper attempts to analyze the impact of political corruption on voter turnout in industrial countries by using Bayesian methods. My hypothesis is the rates of political participation are lower in the democracies with high levels of corruption.

Paper Higher Corruption - More Development Aid? To the Broad Discussion on Aid Effectiveness, (cross-country approach)
Olga A. Agapova, Ball State University
Overview: The paper examines whether the higher volumes of development aid still associate with higher level of corruption in developing countries and mainly concludes “yes”. The outcomes of anti-corruption policies performance remain questionable.

Disc. Kunieva Jana, California Tech University

3-5 FISCAL AND REGULATORY FEDERALISM UNDER AUTHORITARIAN RULE: EXPLORING CENTRAL-LOCAL RELATIONS IN CHINA

Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair Erik Wibbels, University of Washington
Paper The Nature of Regulatory Federalism in China
Martin Dimitrov, Dartmouth College
Overview: This paper analyzes the variation in regulatory centralization by examining the enforcement of three subtypes of intellectual property rights laws: copyrights, patents, and trademarks.

Paper Intended and Unintended Consequences of China's Fiscal Programs to Assist Poor and Minority Counties
Gang Guo, University of Mississippi
Haixin Hu, University of Mississippi
Overview: This paper examines some of the fiscal and public policy consequences of the Chinese government's effort to help the poor and minority areas through transfer payments.

Paper Decentralization and Investment in Human Capital in China
Pierre Landry, Yale University
Overview: Using education finance, census, and budgetary data at the county level, this paper shows that both strategic thinking about spillovers and budget constraints affect public good provision at the county level.

Paper “Eating Budget”: Credible Information and Fiscal Transfers under Predatory Fiscal Federalism
Victor Shih, Northwestern University
Mingxing Liu, Beijing University
Qi Zhang, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
Overview: This paper shows that under an authoritarian political system, the central government has a strong incentive to only distribute as much as necessary to keep grassroots governments functioning.

Disc. Erik Wibbels, University of Washington

4-4 ECONOMIC POLICY AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN ASIA

Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair TBA
Paper Democratization Effect on Political Business Cycle in Developmental States
Jin Seok Bae, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: This paper provides empirical evidence that the impact of democratization on political business cycle in developmental states is not significant unlike the widespread concerns about the negative consequences of democratization on economic policy.

Paper The Military in Democratizing Asia: Evidence from South Korea and Taiwan
Fiona Yap, University of Kansas
Overview: The paper evaluates the factors that influence the military's restraint in democratizing South Korea and Taiwan.

Disc. Edmund J. Malesky, Harvard University

5-3 ACCESSIONING AND VOTING: EXAMINING THE NEW EUROPEAN UNION AND THE 2004 EU PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair Jürgen Maier, University of Jena
Juri Mykkänen, University of Helsinki
Overview: This study juxtaposes two kinds of candidate websites, those on which the candidates appear within some kinds of social coordinates (context) and those on which this aspect is missing (candidates are without social environments).

Paper United States Media Framing of the EU Expansion and 2004 Elections
Andrew Paul Williams, Virginia Tech University
Lynda Lee Kaid, University of Florida
Overview: The purpose of this study was to determine to what extent, and how, the United States news media covered and framed the 2004 EU Parliamentary Elections.

Paper Does the Reception of European Election Campaign Spots Foster Political Involvement?
Jürgen Maier, University of Jena
Michaela Maier, University of Koblenz-Landau, Germany
Overview: Televised campaign spots are designed to inform and mobilize the public. Using an experimental study we analyze the impact of spots of the two major German parties on the political involvement of young German voters in the EU elections.

Paper News Coverage of EU Expansion in the Middle East
Justin D. Martin, University of Florida
Overview: This Study Examines an Arabic Perspective the European Union's Expansion from 15 to 25 Countries in 2004

Disc. Sylvia Fedeli, La Sapienza University

5-4 NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF SPANISH POLITICS

Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair Kerstin Hamann, University of Central Florida
Juan A. Ramos, Rey Juan Carlos University
Overview: This paper examines the creation, design and operation of the Comisiones Bilaterales de Cooperación (Cooperation Bilateral Commissions) as an institutionalized component of the intergovernmental system in Spain.

Alfredo Gonzalez, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (Spain)
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Unions in Comparative Perspective</strong>&lt;br&gt;Kerstin Hamann, University of Central Florida</td>
<td>Overview: Analyses of the effects of globalization have pointed to union decline. This paper focuses on the role of the state in industrial relations and shows how Spanish unions succeeded in regaining strength contrary to expectations.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Globalization, the State, and Industrial Relations: Spanish Unions in Comparative Perspective</strong>&lt;br&gt;Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer, University of Mississippi</td>
<td>Overview: What explains behavior of rational actors when they are in the process of changing the institutions that structure their future actions? We develop a theory and test it in a setting of constitution-making – the 1991 Colombian Constituent Assembly.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Problem of Legitimacy in the Case of Canadian Nuclear Waste Management Policy</strong>&lt;br&gt;Genevieve F. Johnson, University of Montreal</td>
<td>Overview: In this paper, I derive a theory to assist in explaining the process of changing the internal rules of a chamber when electoral rules have been modified in attempt to increase popular support for democracy.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Rivalry over Southeast Asia: Three Aspects of Competition between China and Japan over Regional Hegemony</strong>&lt;br&gt;Lee Ann Fujii, George Washington University</td>
<td>Overview: How can the trade relationship between Japan and China be measured? What are the strengths/weakness of existing models? Is there a more accurate model that can describe trade relations between nations? If so, what is it?</td>
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<td><strong>Boomerang Effect of Chinese Internet Nationalism: A Case Study of an Anti-Japan Incident in China</strong>&lt;br&gt;Alexander Hsi, University of Wisconsin-Madison</td>
<td>Overview: The theoretical anti-Japan sentiment in the Chinese cyberspace becomes a landmark of “Internet nationalism” in China. It leads to a boomerang effect on China’s foreign policy making. However, such effect is still limited.</td>
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The two main ethnic groups can wholly dominate the other. Ethnic democracy whose primary goal is to ensure that neither economic interests protect international law and secondly to pursue its own political control. The crisis was further fueled by IMF and World Bank intervention.

The Post-Genocidal Political and Constitutional Order in Rwanda: An Attempt of Ethnic Democracy

Jack Mangala, Grand Valley State University

Overview: The 2003 Rwandan constitution establishes a form of ethnic democracy whose primary goal is to ensure that neither of the two main ethnic groups can wholly dominate the other. The paper seeks to analyze this innovative experiment.

Rwanda’s Ordinary Killers: Interpreting Civilian Participation in Rwanda’s Genocide

Omar S. McDoom, Harvard University

Overview: This paper asks why so many ordinary Hutu participated in genocidal killing of Tutsi in Rwanda. We find mass mobilisation the result of an interaction between an instilled Hutu mindset & the legitimisation of anti-Tutsi action by the State’s authority.

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

Room TBA, Fri 8:30

Chair Susan Allen, University of Missouri

Paper The Implementation of United States Economic Sanctions

Janelle S. M. Williams, Florida Memorial College

Jeffrey Berejikian, University of Georgia

Overview: This research intends to assess two hypotheses to determine the primary motivation for U.S. Economic Sanctions. Firstly, the U.S. imposes economic sanctions to defend and protect international law and secondly to pursue its own economic interests.

Paper Economic Sanctions and Repression: The Chicken or the Egg?

Dierdre L. Wendel, Collin County Community College

Overview: This paper examines the causal direction of the complex relationship between economic sanctions and repression using various methodological techniques for a sample of 20 Latin American countries for 1976-1998.

Paper Strengthening Saddam: Economic Sanctions and the Empowering of a Dictator

Nimah Mazaheri, University of Washington

Overview: This paper examines the effects of economic sanctions policy towards Iraq since 1990 and argues that the policy directly strengthened Saddam Hussein's leadership and allowed him to expand his domination over the Iraqi people.

Paper A Unified Theory and Test of Economic Sanctions Outcomes

Taehee Whang, University of Rochester

Overview: I test two competing accounts on the outcomes of economic sanctions: symbolic politics and credibility and uncertainty. I examine the effects of sanctions on the sending leader’s tenure. I also test the latter account using the LQRE choice model.

Transnational Networks in International Relations

Room TBA, Fri 8:30

Chair Jeremy R Youde, University of Iowa

Paper Exposing the Small Arms Movement: The Failures of a Transnational Network

Suzette R. Grillot, University of Oklahoma

Molly E. Hanna, University of Oklahoma

Overview: Why has the International Action Network on Small Arms failed?

Paper National Human Rights Institutions: A New Actor in International Human Rights Politics?

Noha Shawki, Carleton College

Overview: This paper explores the potential role of networks of national human rights institutions in international human rights politics and processes of democratic transitions. It highlights their significance in the context of global governance.

Paper Strategies and Effectiveness of Transnational Advocacy Networks in Policy Changes towards North Korean Refugee Rights

Sun-Young Kwak, University of Southern California

Alex Liu, University of Southern California

Overview: The overly-generalized postulations on the effectiveness of horizontal, internet communication-based transnational advocacy network patterns are refuted by social network analysis of the interviews with North Korean human rights advocates.

Paper Internationalizing Nonviolence

Amentahru Wahlrab, University of Denver

Overview: The goal of this paper is to set the parameters for a larger work on international nonviolence that looks both at state to state relationships, non-state to state relationships, as well as transnational elements.

Informal Roundtable: Political Economy of International Sporting Events

Room TBA, Fri 8:30

Presenter Bread, Circuses, and FDI: The Political Economy of International Sporting Events

Dan Curstange, University of Michigan

Sarah E. Croco, University of Michigan

Claire Adida, Stanford University

Overview: Why do some countries bid to host international sporting events, but not others? In this paper we present a signaling model to motivate hypotheses examining the political logic and the development effects of hosting international sporting events.

Paper Domestic Legal Systems and Reliability of Alliance Intervention

Benjamin O. Fordham, Binghamton University (SUNY)

Overview: This paper will test the effects of prior trade and investment on American decisions to intervene in civil and interstate wars.

Paper Alliance Reliability and Duration: Is an Old Ally More Reliable?

Hoon Lee, University of Iowa

Overview: This paper looks into the question of whether alliances become less reliable over time. Due to changing circumstances and declining efficiency, it expects that an old ally will become less reliable. By using a hazard model, it tests the argument.

Paper Domestic Legal Systems and Reliability of Alliance Partners: An Alternative Explanation

Stephen C. Nemeth, University of Iowa

Overview: Previous research on the reliability of alliance partners has focused on regime type as an explanation. I seek to augment this explanation by showing that domestic legal systems provide an effect independent of regime type.

Informal Roundtable: Resources and Centralization

Room TBA, Fri 8:30


Brent M. Eastwood, West Virginia University
Overview: Paper tests a disaggregated defense resource allocation hypothesis with issue trends data on Congressional hearings from the Baumgartner and Jones Policy Agenda Project.

13-205 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ALLIANCES AND INTERNAL UNREST
Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Presenter Balances, Bandwagons, and Power Transitions: A Dynamic View of Alliance Formation
Gregory D. Miller, College of William & Mary
Overview: I propose that international relations scholars can gain a better understanding of state behavior in forming alliances by incorporating power transitions into our definitions of balancing and bandwagoning.

Presenter Georgia and the Caucasus: Transformation in a Post-9/11 World
John D. Hoeveler, Marquette University
Overview: This paper will discuss the implications of Georgia’s closer ties with America. I will discuss how Georgia is positioning itself as an ally of America and what role this will play in the War on Terrorism.

14-3 INTERVENTION AND PEACEKEEPING
Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair Paul Diehl, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Paper Re-evaluating the Success of UN Peacekeeping missions
Michael J. Gilligan, New York University
Overview: Evaluations of the effect of UN intervention in a civil war conglomerate very different kinds of missions that should be judged by different criteria. In this paper I evaluate the missions using more mission-appropriate criteria for success.

Paper Ending Interventions: The Grim Historical Record, 1816-2004
J. David Singer, University of Michigan
Overview: A quantitative view of major power interventions into civil wars, and consequences.

Paper When (and Why) Do Brokers Have to Be Honest?
Impartiality and the Effectiveness of Third-Party Support for Peace Implementation After Civil Wars, 1945-1999
Holger Schmidt, Columbia University
Overview: Argues that the relationship between intervenor bias and the success of third-party support for negotiated civil war settlements varies with the type of commitment problem faced by combatants and whether the intervenor acts as monitor or enforcer.

Paper Bringing the Ex-Combatant Back In: A Comparison of Post-Intervention DDR Projects
Sven Gunnar Simonsen, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo
Overview: This paper investigates disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants in post-intervention ‘nationbuilding’, drawing on fieldwork in Kosovo, Afghanistan and East Timor.

Paper IGO Participation in Dyadic Disputes: Follow the Leader or Follow the Rules?
Michelle A. Benson, University at Buffalo, SUNY
Overview: Using a sample of conflicts with security IGO participation, I ask if IGOs are likely to intervene in int’l disputes to maintain global peace or to support the SQ. Overall, IGOs tend to aid in conflicts with SQ states but use force to maintain peace.

Disc. Paul Diehl, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

15-3 COMPARATIVE FOREIGN POLICY: ASIA
Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair Frank Le Veness, St. John’s University
Paper The Growing Transformation of China, Russia, and India: Implications for United States Foreign Policy
Brent Garrett, Computer Sciences Corporation
Overview: In the beginning stages of the twenty-first century, China, Russia and India are all transforming their economies and, to some extent, their political systems to play an active political role in this globalized world.

Paper South Korea’s Anti-Americanism
Haesook Chae, Baldwin-Wallace College
Overview: This study examines the common, and often untested, assumptions, beliefs, and reasoning about the resurgence of South Korea’s anti-Americanism offered in the existing literature, using data collected from a 2004 survey of Korean college students.

Paper Constructivistic Approaches to Engagement Policy: with Special Reference to the Identity of North Korea
Kuyoun Chung, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper examines Engagement Policy of South Korea and Identity of North Korea as a target. In analyzing deadlock between two Koreas, it is necessary to look inside North Korea of ‘coldwar identity’ and ‘semisovereignty’ between two Korea and US.

Paper Opening the Black Box: Domestic Sources and China’s Human Rights Foreign Policy
Dingding Chen, University of Chicago
Overview: This paper first develops a theory of state agency and then applies it to the case of China’s human rights foreign policy. I find that China’s HR policy can be better explained by domestic factors rather than international factors.

Disc. Young Kihl, Iowa State University
Frank Le Veness, St. John’s University

16-1 THE PSYCHOLOGY OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION
Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair Paul Brewer, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Robert Huckfeldt, University of California, Davis
Overview: This paper is concerned with the political communication of opinion through social networks. Attention focuses on opinion variance within populations and networks, and how this variance conditions communication among individuals.

Paper The Bias from Endogeneity in Estimates of Priming Effects: The Problem and a Proposed Solution
Gabriel S. Lenz, Princeton University
Overview: I formally express this bias and show that a past attempt to deal with it did so incorrectly. I propose an instrumental variables estimator that requires 3+ waves of panel data and find that the usual test often finds priming when none occurred.

Paper Coded Communication and Candidate Appeals
Bethany L. Albertson, University of Chicago
Overview: This paper examines the effect of coded and explicit religious appeals in candidates’ speeches. The effects are tested experimentally, on both highly religious and non-religious subjects. Implications of coded communication are discussed.

Paper Consensus and Polarization in Small Group Deliberations
Robert C. Luskin, University of Texas, Austin
James S. Fishkin, Stanford University
Overview: We use evidence from more than a dozen Deliberative Polls to examine and explain the extent to which the members of randomly assigned, moderated small groups converge on the same more extreme view, following balanced discussion.

Disc. Paul Brewer, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

16-4 THE POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY OF RACE
Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair Christopher M. Federico, University of Minnesota
Paper Is There a ‘Norm of Ingroup Favoritism?’ Understanding Feelings of Closeness Towards Racial Outgroups
Thomas C. Craemer, Stony Brook University
Overview: Explicit and implicit measures of closeness towards racial groups are compared. Subconsciously people feel closer towards racial outgroups than they are willing to admit in a survey (‘norm of ingroup favoritism’).

Paper
Mere Mention? How Black Elites Shape Black Group Identification
Harwood K. McClerking, Ohio State University
Overview: Previous work suggests that Black institutions (Black media, etc.) work to maintain group identity. My research project moves to the next important and understudied question: How do these institutions make a difference in Black group identification?

Paper
Blurring the Lines: Race, Issue Placement, and Uncertainty
Tasha S. Philpot, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: This paper examines how campaign exposure affects individuals’ ability to place the two parties on particular issues.

Paper
Race, Skin Color, and Candidate Preference
Vesla M. Weaver, Harvard University
Overview: Using an internet-based survey experiment, we explore the influence of race and skin color on evaluations of black candidates.

Disc.
Christopher M. Federico, University of Minnesota

17-6
COUNTING VOTES: THE EFFECTS OF ALTERNATIVE VOTING SYSTEMS AND TECHNOLOGIES
Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair Geralyn M. Miller, Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne
Paper
The Impact of Voting Systems on Residual Votes, Incomplete Ballots, and Other Measures of Voting Behavior
Michael W. Traugott, University of Michigan
Michael J. Hamner, Georgetown University
Won-Ho Park, University of Michigan
Overview: This paper looks at the impact of changing voting technology on intended and unintended consequences measured through different forms of voting behavior.

Paper
The Politics of Voting Reform: Why Alternative Voting Methods Exist in Some States and Not in Others?
Mary Fitzgerald, James Madison University
Overview: I explore the decision-making process and political dynamics underlying the diversity of voting procedures existing in the U.S., in light of recent voting reforms instituted in the states such as early voting procedures and Election Day registration.

Paper
Voters' Evaluations of Voting Machines: Results from Field Experiments
Paul Herrnson, University of Maryland
Michael Hamner, Georgetown University
Richard Niemi, University of Rochester
Michael Traugott, University of Michigan
Benjamin Bederson, University of Maryland
Fred Conrad, University of Michigan
Overview: Results from field tests of 6 electronic voting machines. Tests with 1000 people at shopping malls, senior centers, and workplaces in 3 states. Comparisons include time to vote, correcting mistakes, changing votes, beliefs about system accuracy.

Paper
Voting By Mail: Whose Ballots Are Counted?
Michael Alvarez, California Institute of Technology
Overview: Absentee voting, especially voting by mail, is growing in popularity throughout the nation. Little is known about the resolution of ballots cast by mail, a question this paper seeks to answer.

Paper
How Much is Enough? The "Ballot Order Effect" and the Use of Social Science Research in Election Law Disputes
Betsy Sinclair, California Institute of Technology
R. Michael Alvarez, California Tech University
Rick Hansen, Loyola Law School
Overview: Previous empirical research holds that candidates listed first on an election ballot gain additional votes. We examine whether or not California's randomization and rotation system should equalize the effects of order across candidates.

Disc.
Geralyn M. Miller, Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne

18-7
PARTY POSITIONING AND POLARIZATION
Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University
Paper
The Logic of Party Polarization
George Rabinowitz, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Stuart E. Macdonald, Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Overview: We explore the logical implications of various theories of polarization in two-party systems. We then consider the theories in light of empirical evidence drawn from the U.S. Congress from 1960-2000.

Paper
Multi-Dimensional Multi-Party Competition: A Stochastic Equilibrium Analysis
Thomas Plümper, University of Konstanz
Christian W. Martin, MPI Jena
Overview: We study a model of multi-party multi-dimensional electoral competition. The model accounts for empirically observed features of political systems despite the lack of Nash equilibria in models with more than two parties or more than one dimension.

Paper
Parties' Policy Programmes and the Dog That didn't Bark: No Evidence that Proportional Systems Promote Dispersed Party Positioning
Lawrence J. Ezrow, University of California, Santa Barbara
Overview: I explore the connections between the degree of party policy dispersion in 15 party systems, and two important system-level variables: the electoral laws used to select representatives to the national legislature, and the number of political parties.

Paper
PR, the Contagion Effect and Green Politics (Or How the European Center Came to Love the Environment)
Bedriye A. Kolemen, University of Georgia
Christopher S. Allen, University of Georgia
Overview: This paper makes the case that PR systems are likely to generate more environmentally responsive policies than Plurality/Majority systems—even in the absence of environmental legislative parties— as a result of the contagion effect they induce.

Disc.
Tatiana Kostadinova, Florida International University
Ryan J. Vander Wielen, Washington University

18-9
METHODOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS IN ELECTORAL STUDIES
Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair R. Keith Gaddie, University of Oklahoma
Paper
Interactive Ballots: Contamination and Party Choice in New Zealand's Mixed Electoral System
Federico Ferrara, Harvard University
Overview: This paper provides a systematic treatment of how a voter’s party choice in the proportional component of the election is affected by party competition in the majoritarian tier.

Paper
Assessing Variation in Mixed Electoral Systems Using Agent-Based Models
Herron S. Erik, University of Kansas
Paul E. Johnson, University of Kansas
Overview: The paper uses agent-based modeling to assess the effects of institutional variation in mixed electoral systems.

Paper
Pushbutton Gerrymanders? — How Computing has Changed Redistricting
Micah Altman, Harvard University
Michael P. McDonald, George Mason University, Brookings
Karim MacDonald, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: In this paper, for the first time in print, we offer systematic qualitative and quantitative evidence of the nature, extent, and impact of computer technology in redistricting.

Paper
A Standard for Detecting and Remediying Gerrymanders
Michael D. McDonald, Binghamton University—SUNY
Overview: I show how the difference between a party's mean versus median district vote percentages indicates the difference
between the individual vote weights of partisans. Any nonzero difference is a gerrymander, intentional or otherwise.

Disc. Burt L. Monroe, Michigan State University
R. Keith Gaddie, University of Oklahoma

19-3 EUROPEAN AND COMPARATIVE PUBLIC OPINION

Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair James McCann, Purdue University
Paper Personal Values in Political Opinions of the Mass Public
H. Whitl Kilburn, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: In this paper, I extend and test a prominent theory of values (from the social psychologist Shalom Schwartz) for western European citizens’ attitudes toward immigration policy.

Paper Support for European Integration: EU Members and Candidate Countries: An Opportunity Cost Perspective.
Thomas A. Christin, St. Gallen University
Overview: Relying on macro and individual level datasets, this paper examines in a comparative perspective the determinants of citizens’ attitudes towards the EU in the member states and applicant countries. The analyses are based on an opportunity cost model.

Paper A New Cleavage in Western Europe? An Examination of Perceptions of Inter-Group Conflict between High and Low Education Groups as an Element of a Cleavage over Authoritarian-Libertarian Values.
Rune Stubager, University of Aarhus
Overview: Using specially developed measures, the existence of perceptions of conflict between groups with high and low levels of education is examined and related to individuals’ levels of education and positions on authoritarian-libertarian values.

Jai Kwan Jung, Cornell University
Overview: This paper examines whether there has been a long-term change in public opinion towards national vs. supranational identities and how the structural transformation resulting from globalization affects citizens’ territorial attachments.

Disc. William Zimmerman, University of Michigan

19-7 CONFIDENCE AND TRUST IN GOVERNMENT

Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair Eric Waltenburg, Purdue University
Paper Did Confidence in Institutions Decline from 1973 to 2000
Paul Gronke, Reed College
Timothy Cook, Louisiana State University
Overview: In this paper, we examine the purported decline in institutional confidence from 1973-2000. We test among a series of competing claims about “dimensions” of confidence and explain over time movement in these dimensions.

Paper Citizen Confidence in State-Level Governmental Institutions
Jennifer Wolak, University of Colorado, Boulder
Christine A. Kelleher, University of Michigan, Dearborn
Overview: We investigate the sources of citizen satisfaction with state governmental institutions, considering how personal connections to government, information levels, and institutional realities drive citizen evaluations of subnational institutions.

Paper Approval of Governmental Institutions and Party Government
Stephen P. Nicholson, Georgia State University
Gary M. Segura, University of Iowa
Overview: We investigate the relationship between approval of the President and Congress across periods of party control of government, finding no support for policy-balancing arguments that predicts that the public prefers divided government.

Paper American Federalism and Public Opinion Over Time
Andrea L. Campbell, Harvard University
Overview: Examination of trends in opinion on taxes, spending and trust across levels of government utilizing a series of polls conducted by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations between 1972 and 1994 (and replicated in 1999 and 2001).

Disc. John Transue, Duke University

20-9 RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUPS AND VOTER PARTICIPATION

Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair Paul R. Abramson, Michigan State University
Paper Arab American Political Participation in the Post 9-11 Era
James Gimpel, University of Maryland
Wendy Cho, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: This project will be among the first to document the surge in Arab American voter registration and political participation following the 2000 election, and in reaction to the policy aftermath of 9-11

Paper Racial Context and Political Participation
Jan Leighley, University of Arizona
Tetsuya Matsubayashi, Texas A&M University
Overview: Recent literature on political participation demonstrates mixed evidence regarding how, why, and to whom local racial heterogeneity matters. This paper offers a new theoretical perspective and empirical evidence to the puzzles.

Paper Religion and Race: Different Strokes for Different Folks?
Tatishe M. Nteta, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: An examination of the impact of religiousity and moral values on individual participation, partisanship, and policy preferences among African Americans, Latinos, and Whites.

Paper Does Turnout Matter?: Black Mobilization and Substantive Representation in Congress
James M. Avery, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Jeffrey Fine, University of Kentucky
D. Steven Voss, University of Kentucky
Overview: We examine the influences of a black constituency – understood as population, voting-age population, turnout, or winning coalition – on multiple indicators of the representation of black interests.

Disc. Paul R. Abramson, Michigan State University

21-6 COVERAGE OF THE WAR IN IRAQ AND ITS EFFECTS

Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair Matthew Baum, University of California, Los Angeles
Paper Cyber Power? Anti-Iraq War Networks and News Agendas During the Lead-up to War Against Iraq(October 2002- March 2003)
Montague Kern, Rutgers University
Saman Talib, Rutgers University
Overview: Post 9/11 journalists presented administration inspired news despite the efforts of Internet activist organizations leading large demonstrations. Patterns of coverage reprised Cold War news. Exceptions were CNN Web News, and the Washington Post.

Paper Iraq War Debate: Substantive and Procedural Arguments For and Against Use of Force.
Kevin D. Navratil, University of Illinois, Chicago
Greg G. Holyk, University of Illinois, Chicago
Overview: Following the work of Robert Entman (2004), we conducted a content analysis of NYT articles from 9/12/02 until 3/19/03. We investigate differences within and between pro and anti war arguments, based upon Entman’s coding categories.

Paper More than a Difference of Language: A Comparative Study of the U.S. and Arab Coverage of the War in Iraq
Salma I. Ghanem, University of Texas, Pan American
Overview: A comparative examination of the frames used for coverage of the war in Iraq in American and Arabic newspapers to illustrate that media coverage is a function of ideology and culture.

Paper The Impact of Media on Perceptions of Threat and Opinions about Militant Internationalism
Shana A. Kushner, Princeton University

Updated 03-01-05
Overview: Using NES data, I show that heightened threat and TV watching increases support for aggressive foreign policy - favoring the Iraq War. In comparison, increased exposure to newspaper reading decreases the probability of supporting the Iraq War.

**Paper**

**War, News, and Public Opinion**

**Trevor Thrall, University of Michigan, Dearborn**

Overview: I test four major theories from two traditions that explain public support for war against the case of Iraq. None of the theories explains as much as a more complete model that accounts for both real world cues and the dynamics of news coverage.

**Disc. Matthew Baum, University of California, Los Angeles**

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**22-3 GENDER AND POLITICS IN INDIA**

**Room**

TBA, Fri 8:30

**Chair**

Elora Shehabuddin, Rice University

**Paper**

**The Kashmiri Woman: Identity and Politics**

Ayesha Ray, University of Texas, Austin

Overview: This paper deals with analyzing issues of identity and politics surrounding the Kashmiri woman in India. It attempts to examine the identity of these women not only as victims of armed conflict but also as challengers to the state.

**Disc. Caroline Tolbert, Kent State University**

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**23-6 RACE AND PUBLIC POLICY AMONG THE STATES**

**Room**

TBA, Fri 8:30

**Chair**

Caroline Tolbert, Kent State University

**Paper**

**Opposition to Interracial Marriage and Race: An Examination of Constitutional Referenda in Three Deep South States**

Douglas G. Feig, Mississippi State University

Overview: In the late 20th century, three Deep South states held referenda to repeal state constitutional provisions banning interracial marriage. This project uses voting and Census data to explore the racial dimensions of the voting in these referenda.

**Paper**


Jose Angel Gutierrez, University of Texas, Arlington

Britt Rios-Ellis, California State University, Long Beach

Overview: 29 states do not report some HIV/AIDS cases to the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), Texas and California, for example. Who benefits from this non-reporting?

**Paper**

**Multiculturalism and Welfare Policies Across the States of the United States: Do They Vary Inversely, or Together?**

Rodney E. Hero, University of Notre Dame

Robert R. Preuhs, University of Colorado, Boulder

Andrew Thangasamy, University of Colorado--Boulder

Overview: We present the first yearly state-level summary of Multiculturalism policies in the American states, and examine the claim that multiculturalism policies undermine the liberal coalition, resulting in a reversion from public welfare programs.

**Paper**

**A Tale of Two Flags: An Analysis of the Confederate Flag Referenda in Georgia and Mississippi**

D’Andra Orey, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

Peter Hatemi, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

Overview: This paper compares the two flag referenda in Georgia and Mississippi. Using Ecological Inference we examine the estimated white vote for the flags as a function of high black population and urban population, with the county as the unit of analysis.

**Disc. Trevor Thrall, University of Michigan, Dearborn**

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**24-4 HOBBES AND HIS INTERPRETERS**

**Room**

TBA, Fri 8:30

**Chair**

Eldon J. Eisenach, University of Tulsa

**Paper**

**The Two Gods of Hobbes: Rethinking Sovereignty and Political (Dis)obligation in the Leviathan’s Theological Politics**

Thamy Pogrebinski, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Overview: The paper analyzes Hobbes's account of political obligation and disobligation taking seriously the religious and natural law aspects of his thought.

**Disc. William Winstead, George Washington University**
Overview: This paper examines the ethical obligations America society has with respect to the representation of Native American culture.

Paper

"Reflexive Mistrust" and Multidimensional Representation

Andrew M. Tucker, Georgetown University

Overview: I examine the twin roles of trust in democratic representation: skepticism and reflexivity. I use this to examine four non-traditional practices currently found in representation and so offer a normative account of “reflexive mistrust”.

Paper

Authenticity, Virtue, Expertise: Ethical Being and Becoming

Ethical

Christian D. Dean, Dominican University of California

Overview: Three models of ethics (Justice, Virtue, Care) are evaluated according to Hubert Dreyfus’ phenomenology of ethical expertise (becoming ethical) and according to Heidegger’s notion of authenticity (ethical being).

Paper

Political Representation and Moral Discretion

Eric A. Beerbohm, Princeton University

Overview: The most fundamental variable in an ethics of representation is the normative autonomy accorded to elected officials. Mapping accounts of political representation this way helps illuminate the values at stake in a role morality for elected officials.

Disc. Christian D. Dean, Dominican University of California

27-3 STRATEGIC CONTROL OF LEGISLATIVE DECISION MAKING

Room TBA, Fri 8:30

Chair John Patty, Carnegie Mellon University

Paper

Proposal Rights and Political Power

Tasos Kalandrakis, University of Rochester

Overview: Every ex ante division of a good can be sustained in a stationary Nash equilibrium in pure strategies in a sequential bargaining game by appropriate assignment of proposal rights independent of the voting rule, or the level of players’ impatience.

Paper

Legislative Bargaining Over Two Dimensions under the Demand Bargaining Approach

Johanna Goertz, Ohio State University

Overview: We examine decisions of legislators over the division of a budget and a policy under demand bargaining. Legislators prefer separating issues except for large asymmetry in ideal points, when at most one legislator prefers bundling.

Paper

Information Aggregation in Bicameral Legislatures

Matias J. Jaryczower, University of California, Los Angeles

Sebastian M. Saiegh, University of Pittsburgh

Overview: Voting of bills in bicameral legislatures has a sequential structure. Since the distribution of votes in the originating chamber can transmit information to members of the second chamber, this feature alters voting incentives in both chambers.

Paper

Modeling Legislative Obstruction in the United States

Senate

Fang-Yi Chiou, Princeton University

Overview: This paper constructs a dynamic game of incomplete information to examine how the filibuster rule in the U.S. Senate affects policy outcomes and what factors might have impact on the effect.

Disc. John Patty, Carnegie Mellon University

Scott Ashworth, Princeton University

28-301 POSTER SESSION: METHODOLOGY

Room TBA, Fri 8:30

Presenter

Evaluating Financial Performance of Hospitals

Dogan S. Koyluoglu, Eastern Michigan University

Overview: This paper attempts to explore effectiveness of neural networks in evaluating the financial performance of hospitals and compares it to more traditional approaches.

Presenter

The Fear of Ecological Fallacy and the Methods to Conquer It: An Empirical Test

Baodong Liu, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh

Overview: This paper compares the performances of different statistical methods of ecological inferences by applying them with actual datasets.

Presenter

Guideline for Specification and Estimation of Panel Data Models in Political Science

Piotr R. Paradowski, Loyola University, Chicago

Overview: Numerous publications about proper specification and estimation of panel data have failed to give comprehensive directives to common analysts of panel data. This paper is a practical guideline for those who commonly use panel data in their analysis.

Presenter

New Cases in Using Quasiexperimental Inquiry Based Methods in Public Policy Analysis: Assessing Immigration and Illicit Drugs Policies

Adrian S. Petrescu, University of Texas, Brownsville

John C. Jones, University of Texas, Brownsville

Overview: In this paper we apply the pragmatic eliminative induction (PEI) technique to test “the approximate completeness of the set of rival hypotheses” in two more cases, namely assessing impacts on and by immigration and illegal drugs policies.

Presenter

Who is the Best Connected Congressperson? A Study of Legislative Cosponsorship Networks

James H. Fowler, University of California, Davis

Overview: This paper uses large-scale network theory to answer the question “Who is the Best Connected Congressperson?”

30-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CAUSES OF PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL

Room TBA, Fri 8:30

Presenter

Presidential Approval, Economic Evaluations and the Rally Phenomenon

Laura K. Frey, University of California, Santa Barbara

Overview: In this project, 25 rally events are chosen following specific criteria. When controlling for rallies, the results show that prospective evaluations as opposed to retrospective have the greatest influence on individual assessments of the president.

Presenter

A Brave New World: Changes in the Effects of Economic and Foreign Policy Considerations on Presidential Approval Since September 11th

Andrew H. Sidman, Stony Brook University

Overview: This study examines the relationship between economic, foreign policy, and overall presidential approval. Analyses will focus on testing whether this relationship fundamentally changed after September 11th.

30-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: COMPARING TYPES OF CHIEF EXECUTIVES

Room TBA, Fri 8:30

Presenter

The US/EU Chief Executives In A Constitutional Framework: A Comparative Analysis

Leman Canturk, TBA

Overview: This paper explores the differences and similarities between US and EU chief executive powers in a constitutional framework. A major premise of the paper is that the US chief executive is endowed with more power than the EU chief executive.

31-16 MAJORITY PARTY CONTROL AND AGENDA SETTING
Overview: Paper tests for mechanisms of majority party control over the ideological direction of policy change produced by bills enacted by the House of Representatives.

Partisan Control of the Legislative Agenda
David R. Jones, Baruch College, City University of New York
Overview: Using a new dataset, this study analyzes the effect of partisan control of U.S. government on the degree to which one party is able to get more if its proposals on the agenda, and then to enactment, than the opposition party.

Partisan Deadlocks and Agenda-Setting in American State Legislatures
Henry A. Kim, University of California, San Diego
Overview: This paper examines the role of agenda-setting institutions in legislative outcomes using partisan deadlocks in state legislatures as "natural" experiments.

Disc. Edward Hasecke, Cleveland State University
Scot Schraufnagel, University of Central Florida

32-7 STRATEGIES, TACTICS AND EFFECTS IN CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS
Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair Stephen Franzich, United States Naval Academy
Paper Measuring the Campaign Message: Comparing Congressional Candidate Rhetoric in Press Releases, Political Advertisements, and Media Coverage
Kristin Campbell, McKendree College
James Cottrill, Santa Clara University
Overview: This paper will address two basic questions: (1) Does it matter how scholars measure campaign messages? (2) And if so, what is the best method for measuring campaign messages?

Paper Using a Rolling Cross Section Survey to Detect Campaign Effects in House Elections
Susan Banducci, Texas Tech University
Nathan Mitchell, Texas Tech University
Overview: Using a unique rolling cross section survey in Texas's 19th congressional district, this paper examines campaign effects in competitive House elections.

Paper Connecting to Congress: The Adoption of Web Technologies among Congressional Offices
Kevin M. Estlering, University of California, Riverside
David M. Lazer, Harvard University
Michael A. Neblo, Ohio State University
Overview: Examines new data to uncover the conditions that lead House members to adopt innovative web-based information and technologies for their web sites.

Paper Managing Campaign Crises: Strategies and Tactics
R. Sam Garrett, American University
Overview: This paper uses original, in-depth interview data to explore how House and Senate campaigns make strategic and tactical decisions in managing campaign crises.

Disc. John McAdams, Marquette University

33-301 POSTER SESSION: JUDICIAL POLITICS
Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Presenter Appellate Court: Decision Making during a Majority Political Environment
Jennifer L. Barnes, University of South Carolina
Overview: An analysis of US Court of Appeals decisions during divided and unified government explores the possibility that the court will rule opposite the political majority in unified government.

Presenter Human Subjects at the Federal Bench: The Social Science that Justices Do
Jesse D. Covington, University of Notre Dame
Overview: This critically assesses the factual claims that judges make about psychological and sociological functions when adjudicating rights in speech, religion, and privacy cases.

Presenter En Banc Decisions in the Courts of Appeals
Stephan L. Washy, University at Albany
Overview: An examination of voting patterns in en banc decisions, particularly in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

Disc. Eileen Branan, Indiana University

34-1 DEMOCRACY, ELECTION, AND JUDGES
Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair Nancy Scherer, Ohio State University
Paper Caught Between the Cracks? Reconciling the Tensions Between Racial and Partisan Interests in Vieth v. Jubelirer
Christina R. Rivers, DePaul University
Overview: This paper will examine the tensions between racial and political interests at issue in the recent partisan gerrymandering case of Vieth v. Jubelirer.

Paper Election 2004 in the Courts
Daniel N. Hoffman, Johnson C. Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Overview: Paper will describe presidential election-related litigation and its impact

Disc. Nancy Scherer, Ohio State University
Stephen S. Meinhold, University of North Carolina, Wilmington

35-3 ISSUES, AGENDAS, AND ELECTORAL ACCOUNTABILITY IN THE US STATES
Room TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair Carl E. Klarner, Grinnell College
Paper Different Faces, Different Priorities: Agenda-Setting Behavior in the Mississippi House of Representatives, 2002-2004
Kimberly S. Adams, Lock Haven University of Pennsylvania
Overview: This paper explores the agenda setting behavior of African American state legislators, female state legislators, and African American female state legislators in the Mississippi House of Representatives from 2002-2004.

Paper Issue Liability: Party Image and the Untintended Consequences and Local Campaign Strategies in American Federalism
Graeme T. Boushey, University of Washington
Overview: This paper advances a theory of issue liability to model how candidates become unintentionally identified with inconvenient policy positions. Specifically it explores the evolution of gay marriage and anti-immigrant policies in recent elections.

Paper Suburban Coalitions in State Legislatures
Keith Boeckelman, Western Illinois University
Overview: This paper will examine state legislators' behavior in supporting or opposing state regulation of local land-use. Voting patterns of legislators from inner and outer suburbs will be compared.

Paper Electoral Competition and Committee Assignments: Lessons from the American States
Andrew Karch, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: When legislators win close elections, do they behave differently from their colleagues who face limited or no opposition? This paper examines the impact of close elections on committee assignments in the Minnesota and Texas state legislatures.

Paper The Ties That Bond: Policy Congruence between State Legislators and Their Constituents
Nathan S. Bigelow, University of Maryland
Overview: This paper examines the relationship between the roll-call activity of individual state legislators and the underlying opinion of their districts. To explain this policy congruence, a number of electoral and institutional hypotheses are examined.

Disc. Shannon Jenkins, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth

35-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE ON CONGRESS AND THE POLITICS OF FEDERAL CHANGE
Antebellum era.

limit the power of the national government during the federalism.

quantitative models to explain dynamic changes in American past two decades through an analytical framework and formal quantitative models to explain dynamic changes in American federalism.

Daniel M. Mulcare, New School University

Overview: The politics surrounding slavery and race helped to limit the power of the national government during the Antebellum era.

Politics, Law, and the Federal Principle: Revisiting the Legitimating Role of Congressional Activism

Kenneth K. Wong, Vanderbilt University

Warren E. Langevin, Vanderbilt University

Overview: This paper examines the role of national legislators in legitimating the exercise of state policy leadership over the past two decades through an analytical framework and formal quantitative models to explain dynamic changes in American federalism.

35-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE ON GUBERNATORIAL RECRUITMENT AND POWER

Room TBA, Fri 8:30

Presenter The Performance of Political Amateurs in the Statehouse from 1974 to 2004: A Test of Recruitment and Socialization Theory

John A. Hamman, Southern Illinois University

Overview: Tenure and job performance ratings of amateur and politically experienced governors test recruitment and socialization theories. Differences in amateur career backgrounds are also tested for career effectiveness.

Bounded Government: Slavery and the Devolution of American National Authority (1815-1836)

Daniel M. Mulcare, New School University

Overview: The politics surrounding slavery and race helped to limit the power of the national government during the Antebellum era.

Politics, Law, and the Federal Principle: Revisiting the Legitimating Role of Congressional Activism

Kenneth K. Wong, Vanderbilt University

Warren E. Langevin, Vanderbilt University

Overview: This paper examines the role of national legislators in legitimating the exercise of state policy leadership over the past two decades through an analytical framework and formal quantitative models to explain dynamic changes in American federalism.

36-3 REGIME THEORY AND BEYOND

Room TBA, Fri 8:30

Chair Karen Mossberger, Kent State University

Paper Beyond Regime Theory: Political Culture and Public Opinion in Urban Politics

Neil Kraus, Valparaiso University

Overview: This paper presents an approach to the study of urban politics that is distinct from regime theory by incorporating political culture and public opinion into the analysis. It is based on ongoing research into the cases of Minneapolis and Gary.

Community Development ‘Whose Business is it Anyway: Institutional Change in Community Development Corporations

Susan E. Baer, San Diego State University

Daniel Hajdo, Temple University

Overview: This paper seeks to contribute to the positive theory of urban politics by examining the potential of an Institutional Analysis and Development framework to help address conceptual and practical problems in urban politics research.

Governing the Regimeless City: The Frank Zeidler Administration in Milwaukee, 1948-1960

Joel Rast, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Overview: This paper examines development policy in Milwaukee from 1948-1960, a period when Milwaukee was governed without a functioning regime. It asks how the absence of a regime affected development policy and the exercise of power in postwar Milwaukee.

36-4 LOCAL ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

Room TBA, Fri 8:30

Chair Andrew D. McNitt, Eastern Illinois University

Paper Campaign Finance Reform Reconsidered: New York City’s Public Finance Program After 15 Years

Jeffrey F. Kraus, Wagner College

Overview: An examination of New York City's system of public financing of political campaigns after 15 years of operation.

Paper Tax Policy and Yardstick Competition in Flemish Municipal Elections

Jan Vermeir, Vrije Universiteit Brussel

Bruno Heyndels, Vrije Universiteit Brussel

Overview: Recent theoretical papers develop yardstick competition models in which voters compare tax policy with that in neighboring jurisdictions. We analyse municipal elections in Flanders (Belgium) and find empirical evidence for yardstick voting.

Paper Urban Empires: Strategies for Biaisng Electoral Arenas

Jessica L. Trounstine, Princeton University

Overview: Politicians desire to ensure reelection can undercut democracy when they bias the system in their favor. A game theoretic model, statistical tests, and narrative evidence are used to explore this tendency toward monopoly and biasing strategies.
Overview: This study examines globalization and the welfare state in the United States. It will show that globalization is creating many low-paying jobs which must be filled. Welfare recipients are the new reserve army of labor for global capitalism.

Presenter: The Largest Social Insurance Program in the World: A Comprehensive Accounting of Federal Expenditures on Disability in the United States
Scott Szymendera, Rutgers University
Overview: This project will examine the total expenditures of the federal government on disability related programs and benefits.

39-4 GENDER, RACE, AND THE THEORY OF REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY
Room: TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair: Lysa Burnier, Ohio University
Paper: Glass Ceilings and Glass Walls: The Implication of Departmental Function on Gender and Race Based Occupational Segregation
Bethany Sneed, Eastern Michigan University
Overview: This paper examines the extent and effects of occupational segregation in state bureaucracies by gender and race. It utilizes Lowi’s typology of departmental functions as expanded by Newman.

Paper: Gender, Race and the Theory of Representative Bureaucracy
Lael R. Keiser, University of Missouri, Columbia
Marvin Overby, University of Missouri, Columbia
Kenneth J. Meier, Texas A&M University
Daniel Hawes, Texas A&M University
Overview: We generate and test hypotheses that the link between passive and active representation in bureaucracies producing policy outputs that distribute harms differ for race and gender.

Paper: How Much Diversity is Needed to Affect Organizational Performance?
Sharon H. Mastracci, University of Illinois, Chicago
Kenneth J. Meier, Texas A&M University
Overview: This paper links organizational diversity and outcomes, applies a model of network participation, and draws upon diversity and group learning frameworks.

Paper: Realizing a Representative Bureaucracy in South Africa: Success or Failure?
Katherine C. Naff, San Francisco State University
Frederik Uys, University of Stellenbosch
Overview: This paper assesses the South African government’s efforts to achieve a government that reflects the nation’s diversity following the dismantlement of apartheid. It examines the measures undertaken and the results that have been obtained.

Disc.: Lysa Burnier, Ohio University
Holly T. Goerdel, Texas A&M University

40-4 STATES AND LOCALITIES IN AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
Room: TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair: Martin Gruberg, University of Wisconsin
Paper: The City and the State in American Political Development
Robert C. Lieberman, Columbia University
Overview: A birds-eye view of the place of cities in the American governing regime from the Founding to the present.

Paper: Making the Periphery: Writing Constitutions in the Western States
Amy B. Bridges, University of California, San Diego
Overview: Explains the character and politics of constitution writing in the Rocky Mountain and West Coast States

Paper: The Corporation Question in the States, 1865-1900: Debates in the Constitutional Conventions
Jonathan J. Chausovsky, University of Texas, Austin

44-10 TENSION, COMPETITION, AND CONFLICT AMONG RELIGIOUS GROUPS
Room: TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair: Franklyn C. Niles, John Brown University
Paper: The Origins of Left-Wing Anti-Semitism in Europe
William I. Brustein, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: The paper will explore the evolution of left-wing anti-Semitism from its origins in Utopian Socialism to the present. The research argues that left-wing anti-Semitism derived largely from the allegation of Jewish opposition to communitarianism.

Paper: Religious Violence and the Way to a Theocracy
Nachman Ben-Yehuda, Hebrew University
Overview: The paper examines how the use of violence by ultra orthodox Jews in Israel serves the purpose of moving Israel closer to a theocracy.

Disc.: Robert Dowd, University of Notre Dame

48-101 ROUNDTABLE: LGBT’S IN THE 2004 ELECTION
Room: TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair: LGBTs in the 2004 Election
Panelist: Ellen Anderson, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis
Jeffrey Edwards, Roosevelt University
Steven Haeberle, University of Alabama, Birmingham
Douglas Strand, University of California at Berkeley
Dorian T. Warren, University of Chicago
Mark Wojcik, John Marshall School of Law
Overview: We will examine LGBT people both as voters and as objects of hostility in the 2004 elections. Topics will include the LGBT vote, the presidential campaigns, state referenda.

49-2 INEQUALITY AND DEMOCRACY
Room: TBA, Fri 8:30
Chair: William Keech, Carnegie Mellon University
Paper: Bones of Contention: Political Economy of Height
Charles Boix, University of Chicago
Frances Rosenbluth, Yale University
Overview: The paper employs the distribution of heights within male populations and between males and females in pre-historic, agrarian and industrial societies to measure inequality and to examine its economic and political sources.

Paper: Voter Preferences and Growth
Raymond Duch, University of Houston
Overview: I build a theory of corporation law necessary for industrial development by examining debates recorded in state constitutional conventions from 1865-1900.
Overview: The paper explores whether voters in developing economies have growth-compatible policy preferences—the empirical results are based on public opinion surveys conducted in Argentina, Colombia, and Venezuela.

Paper  
Polarized America: The Dance of Political Ideology and Economic Inequality  
Nolan McCarty, Princeton University  
Keith T. Poole, University of Houston  
Howard Rosenthal, Princeton University  
Overview: The paper examines the link between political polarization and economic inequality in the United States.

Paper  
Which Beliefs Matter for Redistributive Politics? Target-Specific versus General Beliefs About the Causes of Income  
Christina Fong, Carnegie Mellon University  
Overview: The paper presents consequential refinements of the widely accepted finding that beliefs about the causes of income are associated with preferences for income redistribution.

Disc.  
William Keesh, Carnegie Mellon  

51-2  
RETHINKING SOVEREIGNTY  
Room TBA  
Chair Eben J. Christensen, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee  
Paper  
Exception, Decision, and Concrete Order in Carl Schmitt  
Farid S. Benavides-Vanegas, University of Massachusetts, Amherst  
Overview: This paper addresses Schmitt’s concept of the state of exception and argues that what Agamben regards as the paradox in this concept is in fact a result of not having taken into account the Schmittian notion of the concrete order.

Paper  
Neo-liberal Governance and State Transformation  
Asli Caliskan, University of Minnesota  
Overview: This paper addresses the challenges posed by Foucauldian understandings of the constitution of political order under global capitalism and uses the concept of “political administration” to rethink the state in the process of neoliberal restructuring.

Paper  
Continuous Incorporation: Sovereign Power and the Hobbesian Body Politic in View of the Exception  
David Leon, University of Minnesota  
Overview: This paper advances the view that Hobbes’ concept of incorporation is a fluid process by which sovereign power is reproduced through decisive decisions on the condition of normality and terms of inclusion in the collective body politic.

Paper  
Border, Refugee—Camp: Implications of Recent Critiques of the State for Radical International Relations Theory  
Kartik Raj, University of Minnesota  
Overview: This paper draws on recent Marxist and post-structuralist critiques of the state and sovereignty, and evaluates their radical democratic potential through a consideration of contemporary “detention centers” for undocumented migrants in Europe.

Paper  
Identities, Migration and the Making of the Asian Global Cities  
Vera Zambonelli, Johns Hopkins University  
Overview: Is the global city a site “of alternative voices” to the nation-state interpretation of political identity? This paper addresses these questions examining Japanese, Chinese and Korean migration to Shanghai, Tokyo, and Singapore in the last two decades.

Disc.  
Margot Morgan, Rutgers University  

Friday, April 8 – 10:30 am – 12:15 pm  
1-1  
MICROFOUNDATIONS OF CONFLICT: CIVIL WARS  
Room TBA, Fri 10:30  
Chair Sunita Parikh, Washington University  
Paper  
Conflict Termination in Government/Rebel Group Relationships  
Christopher Butler, University of New Mexico  
Scott Gates, Center for the Study of Civil War, PRIO  
Michele Leiby, University of New Mexico  
Overview: This paper advances the view that Hobbes’ concept of incorporation is a fluid process by which sovereign power is reproduced through decisive decisions on the condition of normality and terms of inclusion in the collective body politic.

Paper  
Contention All the Way Down: Exploring the Rival Microfoundations of Civil War  
Christian Davenport, University of Maryland  
Mark Liebhard, University of Maryland  
David Armstrong, University of Maryland  
Overview: TBA

Paper  
Conceptions of Democracy in the Study of Civil War  
Harvard Hegre, Center for the Study of Civil War, PRIO  
Kaare Strom, University of California, San Diego  
Overview: TBA

Paper  
Democratic Governance and the Risk of Civil War  
Leonard Wantchekon, New York University  
Overview: TBA

Disc.  
Will Moore, Florida State University  

1-15  
AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: CULTURE WARS? BY MORRIS FIORINA  
Room TBA, Fri 10:30  
Chair Gary Jacobson, University of California, San Diego  
Panelist Jeff Stonecash, Syracuse University  
Keith Poole, University of California, San Diego  
Marc Hetherington, Vanderbilt University  
Morris Fiorina, Stanford University  
Overview: TBA

3-30  
POSTER SESSION: COMPARATIVE POLITICS OF ADVANCED INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES  
Room TBA, Fri 10:30  
Presenter Assessing the Reliability of Content Analysis Data In Social Movement Research  
Lori M. Poloni-Staudee, Indiana University  
Overview: This study demonstrates that a positive relationship exists between the number of veto points in an institutional system and existing measures of democracy: higher numbers of veto points are associated with a higher quality of democracy.

Presenter The Distribution of Female Ministers in European Cabinets  
William D. Mac Millan, University of Iowa  
Overview: The shift from a low percentage of female ministers to a higher percentage is not a slow gradual increase. Instead, there is a more rapid shift; states either have a low percentage of female cabinet members or a high percentage.

Presenter E-government in the Federal Republic of Germany: How the German Model is Coping with G2G and G2B Technologies  
Mark Cassell, Kent State University  
Overview: This paper explores: 1) how Germany is using electronic technologies to improve intra-governmental connections; 2) the institutional challenges posed by electronic applications; and 3) how Germany is coping with those challenges.

Presenter Comparing Core Executive Coordination: Different Patterns of Formulating National European Negotiation Positions  
Michael Stober, University of Darmstadt  
Paul W. Thurner, University of Mannheim  
Overview: Extending the concept of the core executive by including issue domains as essential elements linking the actors and by applying social network analysis we want to analyse the national intragovernmental coordination processes of EU-Member States.

Presenter Having Their Cake and Eating It Too? A Closer Look at the Effects of Economic Interdependence and Partisanship on Government Policy Choices
Paper Government Types and Democratic Consolidation

Nicholas Charron, Florida State University
Overview: Neither the convergence nor partisan explanations can aptly explain the empirical trends in corporate taxation and overall government public spending. Partisan effects on taxation and public spending diminish as economic openness increases.

Presenter Unholy Alliance or a Match Made in Heaven? The Political-Economy of Religion and the Logic of Conservative Politics as Explanation for Cross-National Differences in Government Provision of Social Services

Jeffrey M. Cavaunagh, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: I present a model suggesting religious groups view government as a competitor, giving them an interest in aligning with the forces of the economic right in order to reduce government provision of social services.

3-6 GLOBALIZATION AND DOMESTIC COMPLIANCE

Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Paper Gender and Nationality Laws Worldwide
Farial M. Cherif, New York University
Overview: Despite international efforts, women still face discrimination in nationality law, prompting questions about the efficacy of these efforts and why some states are more successful in respecting citizenship rights.

Paper Development Sustainability, Capabilities, and Foreign Aid in Sub-Saharan Africa
Julian C. Westerhout, Carleton College
Overview: Efforts to implement sustainable development in Sub-Saharan Africa are hampered by and perverse incentives, but new approaches inform programs that may hold promise for the future of development in the region. This paper evaluates these efforts.

Paper A Grand Illusion? The Relationship between Foreign Economic Penetration and Human Rights in Less Developed Countries
Ronald D. Gelleny, Rhodes College
David L. Richards, ETS
Overview: In this paper, we examine whether a less developed country's (LDC) ability to attract foreign capital is influenced by its level of governmental respect for human rights.

Disc. Frank P. Le Vennes, St. John’s University

4-9 DEMOCRATIZATION: GAME THEORETIC APPROACHES

Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Chair Gina Yannitell Reinhardt, Washington University
Paper The Transition to Democracy in Estonia and the Collapse of the Soviet Union: Mechanisms and Counterfactual Possibilities
Henry E. Brady, University of California, Berkeley
Cynthia S. Kaplan, University of California, Santa Barbara
Overview: Using methods such as formal models, opinion surveys, and events coded from newspapers, we argue that an independence movement was not inevitable in Estonia between 1986-1991 and that initially public opinion favored reform, not independence.

Paper Political Wars of Attrition: A Theory of Political Transitions, Civil Wars and Third Party Interventions
G. Jiyun Kim, University of Michigan
Overview: This paper uses a modified war-of-attrition model with two outside options or with one outside and one inside option to derive a unifying theory of political transitions, civil wars and third party interventions in transitional conflicts.

Paper Transition to Democracy Under Threat: A Game Theoretic Model
Byung-Jae Lee, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: This paper relaxes the informational assumptions of Weingast’s (1997) model of democratic stability by applying the solution concept of quantal response equilibrium (QRE). Case studies of El Salvador, Mexico, and China illustrate the findings.

Paper Democratic Stability Under Uncertainty: A Comparative Statics Analysis of Weingast’s Sovereign-Constituency Coordination Game
Neil A. Malhotra, Stanford University
Matthew Carnes, Stanford University
Overview: This paper explains the paths of democratic transitions when the possibility of the military or the outside force is still present (after withdrawal), and harsh transitional justice is real possibility by using a game theoretic model.

Paper Federalism and Incentives for Success of Democracy
Roger B. Myerson, University of Chicago
Overview: Success and failure of democracy are interpreted as different equilibria of a dynamic political game.

Disc. Mona Lyne, University of South Carolina

5-5 PARTY SYSTEMS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Chair Michalda W. Richter, University of New York
Paper Party Polarization in the New EU Member States
Bojan M. Petrovic, New York University
Overview: Success and failure of democracy are interpreted as different equilibria of a dynamic political game.

Paper European Integration and the Formation and Success of Regional Parties
Seth K. Jolly, Duke University
Overview: I argue that deeper EU integration encourages more regional party entry as well as greater success in national elections. Building from a formal model, I test this using a two stage statistical model on a dataset of regions in the EU-15 from 1950-97.

Paper EU Policy Constraints and the Volatility of European Party Systems
Eric H. Hines, University of Iowa
Overview: Party politics in Europe has become more volatile. Parties require flexibility to respond to this volatility, but the EU constrains the behavior of parties. This paper examines how this contributes to the volatility of the European party space.

Paper Fieldsparties or Changing Dimensions? Testing the Comparability of Party Manifesto Data across Time
Ryan Bakker, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Erica Edwards, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Catherine Netjes Catherine Netjes, TBA

Updated 03-01-05
Overview: We will demonstrate that modeling a party’s pro/anti EU position as a time-series based on party manifestos can be problematic. We test the comparability of manifesto-based measures across time and show that dimensions change, not party positions.

**Paper** The Party System and the Personal Vote: Revisiting Carey and Shugart

Martin Battle, Washington University, St Louis

**Overview:** This paper examines the effect of the number of parties in a system on incentives to cultivate a personal vote. Empirical tests are conducted on data from British General Elections since World War Two.

**Disc.** Jeannette Money, University of California, Davis

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5-7 THE CHALLENGES OF EUROPEAN UNION ENLARGEMENT

**Room** TBA, Fri 10:30

**Chair** Palle Swensson, University of Aarhus

**Paper** The European Union or the European-Atlantic Community?

Darius Furmonavicius, University of Bradford

**Overview:** Why not to encourage the transformation of current bureaucratic EU institutions for a wider European-Atlantic Community of Europe and North America, where the United States and Canada eventually could be invited to join?

**Paper** The Myth of Turkey’s Future Power in the European Union

Robert Pahre, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Burcu Uçaray, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

**Overview:** We argue that concerns about Turkey’s influence on the future of the Union are unwarranted. Turkey will likely have preferences outside the European mainstream on most dimensions and always be outvoted by QMV.

**Paper** Boom or Bust: Impact of the EU Enlargement on Future Integration of Europe

Marian Tupy, Cato Institute

**Overview:** Boom or Bust: The EU enlargement on future integration of Europe

**Paper** Media Effects on Public Opinion about the Enlargement of the European Union

Claes H. deVreese, University of Amsterdam
Hajo G. Boomgaarden, University of Amsterdam

**Overview:** Effects of media exposure and other predictors on support for the enlargement of the European Union

**Paper** Europeans and Democracy

Palle Swensson, University of Aarhus

**Overview:** The paper deals with an aspect of European political culture that is vital for the legitimacy of democracy. On the basis of data from the 1999 European Value Survey the attitudes of Europeans towards democracy is explored.

**Disc.** Teresa Cierco, Lusiauda University of Oporto

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6-1 CITIZEN SATISFACTION IN LATIN AMERICAN DEMOCRACIES

**Room** TBA, Fri 10:30

**Chair** Jorge Bravo, Duke University

**Paper** Are Women Like Indians? A Comparative Analysis of the Causes and Consequences of Descriptive Representation in Latin America

Mala N Htun, New School for Social Research

**Overview:** This paper explains the Latin America trend toward quotas for women and minorities, paying particular attention to the differences between gender and ethnicity.

**Paper** Mixed-Member Proportional Electoral Systems and Regional Cleavages in New Democracies: The Bolivian Experience

Miguel Centellas, Western Michigan University

**Overview:** An empirical study of the Bolivian experience with mixed-member proportional representation and the increasingly polarized regional cleavages it fostered.

**Paper** Explaining the Origin, Evolution, and Consequences of the Mexican Electoral System

Clemente Quinones, University of Connecticut

**Overview:** Description of the evolution of Mexico’s electoral system since 1940 and the politoidal (democratic) consequences of this evolution.

**Paper** Affecting Citizen Satisfaction: Transitions to Mixed-Member Electoral Systems in Latin America and the Effects on Citizen Satisfaction

Jason A. Elchorst, Texas A&M University

**Overview:** Legitimacy of democracy is problematic without the support of the citizenry. This research will investigate the hypothesis that citizen satisfaction will increase after the adoption of a Mixed-Member Electoral system.

**Disc.** John Bailey, Georgetown University

Eduardo R. Gomes, BCC/UFF

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6-14 DEMOCRATIZATION IN MEXICO

**Room** TBA, Fri 10:30

**Chair** Douglas S. Thornton, Texas A&M University at Qatar

**Paper** Party Politics and Political Management in Mexico’s Fiscal Decentralization

Alberto L. Peredo, London School of Economics

**Overview:** The paper analyzes what impact did each political actor of the Mexican political system had on “fiscal decentralisation” as a result of the new political arena?

**Paper** Relations Between the State and Independent Unions in Mexico Since 2000.

Jean F. Mayer, Concordia University

**Overview:** What has been the effect of Mexico's process of democratic transition on relations between the state and independent unions? My study relies on an analysis of the country's legal framework and original interviews to answer this research question.

**Paper** Rules to Avoid Rules: Candidate Selection Changes in the Revolutionary Institutional Party (PRI) in Mexico

Frederic K. Cady, University of Texas, Austin

**Overview:** I discuss how the PRI in Mexico has reformed the way that it selects candidates for public office. I argue that loopholes in the new rules often allow party elites to avoid using open procedures in favor of closed ones, thus avoiding reform.

**Paper** Political Parties and the Quest for Effective Democratic Governance: The Case of Mexico

Yomara A. Guerra Agujo, Georgetown University

**Overview:** This paper examines the relationship between political parties' performance in government and effective democratic governance. It provides a theoretical framework for the study of governance.

**Paper** Poverty of Democracy: Neoliberal Reforms and Political Participation of the Poor in Mexico

Claudio Holzner, University of Utah

**Overview:** This paper argues that neoliberal reforms in Mexico have eliminated many of the traditional channels of participation and representation available to lower-class groups, restricting the voice of many marginal groups despite democratic reforms.

**Disc.** Douglas S. Thornton, Texas A&M University at Qatar

Tina Hilgers, York University

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7-5 LOCAL POLITICS IN CHINA

**Room** TBA, Fri 10:30

**Chair** Chung-Hee Lee, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies


Gang Guo, University of Mississippi

**Overview:** This paper examines the causal relationship between the turnover of mayors and fiscal and economic performance of Chinese counties, based on the analysis of a panel data from mainland China

**Paper** Peasant Community and Its Leadership Characteristics: Evidence from Rural China

Wei Shan, Texas A&M University

**Overview:** Based on a typology of peasant communities, this paper attempts to argue that environmental factors have a significant impact on the characteristics of community leaders.
Overview: This paper examines whether US foreign policy initiatives against illicit drug production and trafficking causes the geographical displacement of the drug industry. It first develops a causal mechanism and then applies it to three historical cases.

Disc. J. Michael Greig, University of North Texas

14-14 THE PERPETUATION OF CONFLICT
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Paper The Ideological Peace?
Mark Souva, Florida State University
David Lektzian, University of New Orleans
Overview: Why are states not able to resolve their disputes short of costly conflict? Fear.

Paper Enduring or Diminishing? An Analysis of Conflict Probability and Recurrence
Michelle C. Anderson, Princeton University
Overview: Enduring rivalries suggest that conflict begets conflict while information revealed during fighting should make recurrence less likely. Hypothesis testing using logit and hazard models finds mixed support for both of these claims.

Paper On Clausewitzian Rationalist Explanations for Irrational Behavior in War
Scott A. Helfstein, University of Michigan
Overview: Much of the best work in IR relies on Clausewitz’s famous dictum that war serves political ends. A lack of formalization often relegates dissenters to the background. This paper will utilize audience costs and SCE to formalize that position.

Paper “I Can’t Get No Satisfaction”: Does the Kantian Peace Extend to Relative Power Parity?
Laron K. Williams, Texas A&M University
Overview: Can the Kantian triad be extended to measure satisfaction in great power dyadic interaction?

Paper Mediating Civil Wars Settlements and the Duration of Peace
Mehmet Gurses, University of North Texas
Patrick McLeod, University of North Texas
Nicolas Rost, University of North Texas
Overview: In this study, we examine the effects of different types of mediation on the duration of peace after civil war. Specifically, we distinguish between effective and ineffective mediation where effective mediation leads to a longer duration of peace.

Disc. Brian M. Pollins, Ohio State University

15-4 DIVERSIONARY THEORY AND FOREIGN POLICY BEHAVIOR
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Chair Brent Strathman, Ohio State University
Paper The Diversionary Theory of Foreign Policy?: American Presidents and Public Opinion.
Ann Fishback, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: This project attempts to expand diversionary theory to include a wider range of foreign policy actions. The ultimate goal is to gain a greater understanding of the role of public opinion on foreign policy selection.

Paper The Diversionary ‘Use of Force,’ Assessing Media Coverage of Economic Conditions
Wayne P. Steger, DePaul University
Matt Wolski, DePaul University
Overview: This paper looks at whether uses of military force divert media coverage away from adverse economic conditions and toward the use of force situation.

Paper Why Should We Care? Why Should We Fight?: Justification of American Military Intervention in 1898 and 1991
Sarah J. Thelen, American University
Overview: Examining the debates building up to the War of 1898 and the 1991 Persian Gulf War, this paper analyzes the patterns of rhetorical analogy used in Senate debates over “authorizations to use force.”

Paper Policy Blunders: Some Dynamic Fallacies of the ‘Democracies Don’t Fight Each Other’ Dogma
Steven T. Seitz, University of Illinois
Charles Hulin, University of Illinois
Overview: That and why ‘democracies don’t fight one another’ has become an important justification for imposing democracy in Iraq and elsewhere. Reasonably simple computational models show the tenuous grounds on which these claims rest.

Disc. Nehemia Geva, Texas A&M University

16-5 TERRORISM AND WAR
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Chair Milton Lodge, Stony Brook University
Paper Trust in Government and Emotional Responses to 9/11
Paul Brewer, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Sean Aday, George Washington University
Kimberly Gross, George Washington University
Overview: This study uses panel survey data to examine whether emotional responses such as fear, worry, hope, and pride shaped and were shaped by trust in government in the aftermath of September 11, 2001.

Paper The Geography of Fear: Public Opinion and the Contextual Reactions to Terrorism
Darren W. Davis, Michigan State University
Brian D. Silver, Michigan State University
Moshe Haspel, TBA
Overview: This paper examines the connection between threat of terrorism and the local context.

Paper Standing on Shaky ground?: Assessing Political Support in the Aftermath of 9/11
Christopher S. Parker, University of California, Santa Barbara
Mark Q. Sawyer, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: In this paper, we examine the bases of support for the American political system (diffuse) and American political institutions (specific).

Paper The Gender Gap During Times of War: The Case of Iraq
Gay C. Dalton, Birmingham-Southern College
Robert Slagter, Birmingham-Southern College
Overview: Women are less likely to favor military solutions to international conflicts because they have greater fear or war and its consequences. This paper tests the hypothesis that one cause of fear is “domestic” violence.

Disc. Milton Lodge, Stony Brook University

16-8 VALUES AND IDEOLOGY
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Chair David A. Peterson, Texas A&M University
Paper Value Choices in the Mass Public: Ambivalence Versus Hierarchical Structure
William G. Jacoby, Michigan State University
Overview: Why are states not able to resolve their disputes short of costly conflict? Fear.

Paper Overcoming Land Injustices: An Experimental Investigation Into the Justice and Injustice of Land Squatting in South Africa
James L. Gibson, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: Results of 2004 national survey in South Africa on land conflict, and the psychological principals underlying. Uses an experiment to address the psychology of land justice.
Overview: Two experiments examined the consequences of associating issue positions with particular groups. Attaching group labels to issue positions undermined support for the position, apparently by influencing the priority attached to competing values.

Paper 17-7 THE EFFECT OF VOTING RULES AND ELECTORAL ARRANGEMENTS ON TURNOUT
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Chair Michael P. McDonald, George Mason University
Paper An Unfettered Electorate: Redistricting and the Political Behavior of ‘New Voters’
Michael R. Tomz, Stanford University
Seth C. McKee, University of Texas
danny Hayes, University of texas
Overview: We examine the impact of redistricting on political participation and vote choice. Specifically, we evaluate whether being drawn into a new district affects turnout and vote preference in Texas congressional elections from 2000 to 2004.

Paper For What It’s Worth: Presidential Primary Value and Voter Turnout
Tyler Johnson, Texas A&M University
Overview: This paper attempts to discover whether factors such as the Presidential primary calendar and state delegate count, traditionally used by candidates to determine where and how strongly to compete, are predictors of primary voter turnout.

Paper Voting in American Elections: Does Making it Easier, Make a Difference?
James T. Smith, Catholic University of America
John C. Comer, University of Nebraska
Overview: Using a classic pooled-time series design, and controlling for known factors, models tease out the impact of various state policies that allow for early voting and unrestricted absentee voting on state level electoral turnout.

Paper Rehabilitated but Not Fit to Vote: A Comparative Racial Study of Disenfranchisement Laws
keesha M. Middlemass, Vera Institute of Justice
Overview: This manuscript compares turnout differentials and the political ramifications of disenfranchisement laws of three populations – African Americans, Latinos and Whites – using Justice Department statistics, Census data and election returns.

Paper Straight Ticket Scapegoat? An Examination of Partisan Strength, Down-Ballot Participation and the Straight Ticket Voting Option
Michael A. Lewkowicz, University of Illinois
Overview: This study will show that the elimination of the straight ticket voting option is likely to affect weak partisans the most, as they will become more likely to engage in down-ballot abstention.

Disc. David A. Peterson, Texas A&M University

2018-301 POSTER SESSION: REPRESENTATION AND ELECTORAL SYSTEMS
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Presenter How to Measure Electoral Systems: Comparing Different Categorization and Measurements for Electoral Systems
Jae Woo Hong, University of Missouri-Columbia
Overview: The paper examines the problems of exiting categorizations and measurements of electoral systems. I propose theoretical guideline to develop new measurements and provide potential alternatives.

Paper Changing Times, Changing Partisan Attachments: Explaining the Gender Gap in Participation from 1953 to 2003
Heather L. Ondercin, Pennsylvania State University
Overview: I analyze the critical question: why has the gender gap in partisanship changed directions over time? I explain changes in the gender gap as a function of changes that have occurred socially, political, and economically over this time period.

Paper Nationalization and Continuity in the Post-Civil Rights Era: Explaining the Gender Gap in Participation from 1953 to 2003
Tassili Pender, Harvard University
Overview: Gender gap theory implies the phenomenon is limited to a certain age group and gender. However in preliminary estimations, marital status has a significant effect on preference expression.

Paper Aging, Marital Status and the Gender Gap in Political Preferences
Michael P. McDonald, George Mason University
Brian McKenzie, Texas A&M University
Overview: The racial code has enabled the presidential Republican Party to nationalize the “Southern Strategy” by using interrelated rhetoric linking states’ rights with social policies of the welfare state, crime and race-conscious policies.

Overview: This paper will test the relationship between weather events and voter turnout in hopes of furthering understanding of the perceived relationship and determine if it is little more than a random event or something worthy of additional study.

Presenter The Linkage Between the Weather and Voter Turnout: Fact or Fiction?
Brad T. Gomez, University of South Carolina
Thomas G. Hansford, University of South Carolina
George A. Krause, University of South Carolina
Overview: The relationship between the weather and voter turnout is frequently treated as a truism of political behavior, but it has been accepted with virtually no empirical validation. We test the hypothesis using county-level data from 28 U.S. elections.
21-101 ROUNDTABLE: WHERE MEDIA MESSAGES COME FROM AND WHY IT MATTERS
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Panelist Diana Mutz, University of Pennsylvania
Matthew Baun, University of California, Los Angeles
John Zaller, University of California, Los Angeles
W. Russell Neuman, University of Michigan
Matthew Geatzkow, University of Chicago
Markus Prior, Princeton University
Overview: Media effects research mostly treats messages as exogenous. But economic incentives, technological constraints, and political motivations all affect what type of media messages people see. Do we have to consider this when we study media effects?

22-104 ROUNDTABLE: POLITICS AND GENDER: THE NEW JOURNAL
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Panelist Karen Beckwith, The College of Wooster
Lisa Balde, Dartmouth College
Nancy Burns, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Barbara Cruikshank, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Kathleen Dolan, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Joni Lovenduski, Birbeck College
Overview: This roundtable features the editors of Politics and Gender, the official journal of the Women and Politics research section of the APSA. They will discuss the journal’s goals and the types of scholarship they will review for publication.

23-4 INTER-GROUP RACISM
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Chair Fred Slocum, Minnesota State University, Mankato
Paper Principled Conservatives and Covert Racists: Disentangling Racism and Ideology through Implicit Measures
Inna Burdein, Stony Brook University
Overview: To address several themes in the inter-group conflict literature, namely Principled Conservatism, Social Dominance Theory, and Symbolic Racism, I employ implicit and explicit racial measures to disentangle ideology from racial considerations.

Mingying Fu, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper presents a critical advancement of symbolic racism theory by arguing Asians and Latinos do possess this theoretically white-only hostility against African Americans.

Paper Pies Change? An Examination of the Racial Attitudes of Asian and Latino Immigrants in the U.S.
Tatishe M. Nteta, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: An examination of the racial attitudes of Asian and Latino immigrants towards Blacks that tests the utility of existing theoretical models that purport to account for the racial attitudes of White Americans towards Blacks using the 1992-94 MSCI.

Paper Maps and “Pictures in Our Heads”: The Political Effects of Perceptions of Communities
Cara Wong, University of Michigan
Overview: In this paper, we discuss whether racial threat theory applies to blacks, whether people “see” their context such that self-reports reflect Census data, and what the consequences for the theory are if perceptions do not match objective reality.

Disc. Fred Slocum, Minnesota State University, Mankato

23-18 IMMIGRANT POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Chair Melissa R. Michelson, California State University, East Bay

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20-4 PREDICTING VOTER TURNOUT
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Chair Chris T. Owens, Texas A&M
Paper Predicting Voter Turnout: Testing New Tools
Brian J. Brox, University of Texas, Austin
Richard D. Hoppe, Hoppe & Associates
Overview: This paper looks at the different ways political scientists and political consultants predict turnout. Using data from a statewide voter file, we create three models of turnout and test their predictive power with validated turnout data.

Paper “Why Do People Vote?” Rationality and the American Voter
Steven E. Galatas, Georgia Southwestern State University
Chapman Rackaway, Fort Hays State University
Overview: An experimental study into the effects of teaching rational choice theory to undergraduate students on political orientation and political efficacy.

Paper Subcultural Effects on Voting Turnout in U. S. Presidential Elections
Joel Lieske, Cleveland State University
Overview: The prevailing view in the turnout literature is that culture does not matter. However, our analysis of state, county, and individual-level data shows that subcultural differences account for statistically significant differences in voting turnout.

Paper Stay in School, Don’t Get Pregnant: The Impact of Teen Life Transitions on Voter Turnout
Eric Plutzer, Pennsylvania State University
Juliana Sandell, Pennsylvania State University
Overview: Family transitions - e.g., parental divorce when an adolescent, teen pregnancy - are more powerful predictors of turnout than most standard SES and resources variables.

Disc. Chris T. Owens, Texas A&M

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19-14 POLITICAL INTEREST AND SOPHISTICATION
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Chair Joanne Miller, University of Minnesota
Paper Explaining Trends in Political Interest: The Salience and Artifact Hypotheses Revisited
Elmer R. Block, Ohio State University
Overview: This project uses NES data to revisit competing hypotheses explaining fluctuations in levels of political interest over time. One attributes the fluctuations to changes in the political environment, the other, to differences in questionnaire design.

Paper Electoral Systems and the Political Sophistication (Post-Materialism) of Publics
Salomon E. Orellana, Michigan State University
Overview: I hypothesize that proportional representation electoral systems should lead to higher levels of public political sophistication vis-à-vis single-member-district-plurality electoral systems.

Paul M. Kellstedt, Texas A&M University
Overview: Although public opinion moves predictably over time, we know little about who moves it. Is it the opinion elite or the uninformed? In this paper, I break down the Mood measure by political sophistication to see who moves when Mood moves.

Paper Minding Cues: Elite Endorsements and the Citizen Follower
Josh Maxwell, University of California, Davis
Overview: I examine how elite endorsements influence public opinion, through an experimental design, where likeability, knowledge, and trust are randomly assigned. I will show how the influence of political sophistication serving as a moderating variable.

Disc. Christopher N. Lawrence, Millsaps College

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Disc. Karen M. Kaufmann, University of Maryland
Paper Varying Conceptions of Civic Voluntarism Among Immigrants in the United States
Karthick Ramakrishnan, Public Policy Institute of California
Overview: Based on focus groups and in-depth interviews, this paper argues that existing survey research fails to adequately capture the informal civic participation of immigrants and its relationship to political participation.

Paper Analyzing the Gender Participation and Motivation Gaps in Voting Turnout among Native-Born and Foreign-Born Populations in New York City
Merih Anil, The Graduate Center-City University of New York
Overview: The proposed paper examines the gender gap in voting turnout among the foreign-born and native-born populations in NYC. It is informed by the literatures on the gender gap, immigrant political incorporation, and migration and settlement.

Paper Why Immigrants Participate in Politics: The Case of Korean Americans in the Los Angeles Metropolitan Region
Mira Jang, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper will examine a minority of immigrants who are politically active in order to improve our understanding of why some immigrants participate in political life when most do not.

Paper Modeling Cubans: Social Scientists and the Study of Immigrant Incorporation
Gaston Alonso, Brooklyn College, City University of New York
Overview: Emphasizing social scientists’ role as cultural brokers, the paper argues that the neo-conservative and ethnic enclave models dominate the literature on processes of immigrant incorporation obscure the role state policies play in such processes.

Paper Party Identification of Ethnic Chinese Immigrants
P. See Lim, Texas A&M University
Overview: This paper looks at the party identification of Chinese immigrants by their nationality. Although they are more likely to self-identify as Democrats, Southeast Asian Chinese are significantly more Democratic.

25-5 LIBERAL DEMOCRACY: INSTITUTIONAL AND NORMATIVE REQUIREMENTS
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Chair Alexander Moon, Cornell University
Paper Piero Gobetti’s Agonistic Liberalism
James Martin, University of London
Overview: An overview of Gobetti’s thought and practice and an evaluation of his ‘revolutionary liberalism’.

Paper Democratic Autonomy and the Challenge of the Spectacle
James A. Buscettalo, Wayne State University
Overview: Democratic autonomy requires a public space in which the demos can reflect, participate, and deliberate. Yet, the circulation of spectacular media imagery has penetrated the public space of democracy challenging the politics of autonomy.

Paper The Centrality of Bureaucratic Administration in the Democratic Theory of Jürgen Habermas’
Forrest V. Morgeson, University of Michigan
Overview: This paper examines the centrality of bureaucracy to the democratic theory of Jürgen Habermas, both as a means for recasting and defending this theory, and as prescriptive of a model useful for conceiving a more democratic type of administration.

Paper Inclusion and Democratic Ethic: Accountability and Agency in Iris Young’s Political Theory
Timothy Dale, Notre Dame University
Overview: This paper considers the writings of Iris Young on the issues of accountability and agency in democratic inclusion and political ethics. Attention is given to the underlying moral assumptions that inhere in her depiction of democratic politics.

Paper Richard Rorty and the Problem of Liberal Dignity
Jeffrey Metzger, University of Toronto
Overview: This paper investigates Rorty’s liberalm to see whether it comprises the rich spiritual resources he sometimes claims it does, or if it is, at its heart, simply procedural justice.

28-11 AN ASSORTMENT OF NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN POLITICAL METHODOLOGY
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Chair Kevin Quinn, Harvard University
Paper Is Partial-Dimension Convergence a Problem for MCMC Algorithms?
Jeff Gill, University of California, Davis
Overview: No attention has been given to the problem of evidential convergence amongst a subset of the dimensions of a Markov chain in MCMC work. We address this lack of attention with an analysis of the problem, simulation results, and an application.

Paper Unifying Political Metrology: A Probabilistic Model of Measurement
J. Tobin Grant, Southern Illinois University
Overview: No attention has been given to the problem of evidential convergence amongst a subset of the dimensions of a Markov chain in MCMC work. We address this lack of attention with an analysis of the problem, simulation results, and an application.
Overview: Political science needs a unified measurement theory. I present a probabilistic model of measurement grounded in axiomatic measurement theory. I then apply the model to the measurement of macropolicy, survey questions, and democracy scores.

Paper Measuring Political Knowledge as Latent Trait: Markov Chain Monte Carlo and Monotone Spline Smoothing
Yulei Wang, Southern Illinois University
Yuan Chen, Southern Illinois University
Overview: Using Markov Chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) to measure political knowledge results in a loss of significant digit (LSD) problem. We construct latent class models with hierarchical priors and propose monotone spline interpolation to correct for it.

Paper An Evaluation of Heteroskedastic Limited Dependent Variable Models
Kwang-Il Yoon, University of Michigan
Overview: This paper examines the implications of modeling heteroskedasticity in limited dependent variable models. The method is problematic because it is too sensitive to a model specification, outlier cases and optimization methods in ML estimation.

Disc. Walter Mebane, Cornell University
David Nixon, Georgia State University

29-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THEORIES OF PARTIES AND PARTISANSHIP
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Presenter Role of Party in the Russian Federation: What Do Political Candidates Want?
Raminta Stockute, Texas Tech University
Overview: Examining party switching patterns in Russia suggests that successful prediction of political candidates’ preferences is essential in understanding political outcomes, such as candidates’ affiliation with electorally less viable parties.

Presenter Towards a New Party System: Political Parties as Franchise Organizations
Brian R. Nottingham, SUNY, Buffalo
Overview: The paper builds on the franchise party model sketched by Carty (2004) by incorporating relevant literature from the field of business management, constructing explicit hypotheses, and empirically testing these hypotheses via logistic regression.

29-204 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PARTISANSHIP AND POLICY
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Presenter Bargaining and Vetoing
Haukyoung Sung, Ohio State University
Overview: This paper gives theoretical and empirical justification on the effect of division of government on the number of bill produced, enacted, and vetoed.

30-6 CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES AND TRENDS IN PRESIDENTS’ PUBLIC STATEMENTS
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Chair Sean J. Savage, Saint Mary’s College
Paper Presidential Going Public in an Age of New Media
Jeffrey E. Cohen, Fordham University
Overview: Presidential going public has changed as a result of changes in the news media environment. Presidents are more likely to target narrow groups than the broad mass public. I test this notion on data from the late 1940s through 2000.

Paper Explaining the Trends in Presidential Language
Matthew J. Flynn, University of Notre Dame
Overview: This paper seeks to explain the trends in presidential language in terms of the changing electorate, contending that the language of the presidency has shifted from elite to common in order to speak to a likewise shifting electorate.

Paper Predicting Presidential Speechmaking in the United States: Drawing on Comparative Theories of Election Timing
Sara Margaret Gubala, Michigan State University
Jeremy F. Duff, Michigan State University
Overview: We build upon Ragsdale’s theory of presidential speech incorporating theories derived from the election timing literature, specifically the political surfing hypothesis. We use both real & perceived economic conditions as a means to predict speech.

Paper On the Road Again: The Impact of Going Public on Local Newspaper Coverage of Presidential Legislative Proposals
Jeffrey S. Peake, Bowling Green State University
Andrew W. Barrett, Marquette University
Overview: We examine three instances of presidents going public locally in support of legislative proposals, focusing on the effects of this strategy on local newspaper coverage.

Disc. Justin S. Vaughn, Texas A&M University
Dorian Warren, University of Chicago

31-6 INSTITUTIONAL RULES AND PROCEDURES: STRATEGY AND CHOICE
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Chair Jason M. Roberts, University of Minnesota
Paper Partisanship or Protection: Examining the King of the Hill Rule
Brian W. Bough, University of Missouri, Columbia
L. Marvin Overby, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: The conventional wisdom regarding the "King of the Hill" rule, that it merely served to protect Democratic representatives from damaging votes while supporting the party, is incorrect. Instead, the rule was an incumbent protection mechanism.

Paper The Dynamics of Filibustering in the Senate
Gregory Koger, University of Montana
Kathleen Bawn, TBA
Overview: We develop a strategic model of filibustering and test its predictions for the use of cloture and the number of filibusters over time.

Jason A. MacDonald, Kent State University
Overview: Congressional appropriations bills have been used as policy-making vehicles frequently over the last decade. I assess explanations for this use by examining House rules governing the consideration of appropriations legislation.

Disc. Jason M. Roberts, University of Minnesota
Ken W. Moffett, University of Iowa

32-301 POSTER SESSION: LEGISLATIVE POLITICS: CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Presenter Is There a (New) Trend to Sanction Consensual Politicizing in Switzerland?
Tobias Schulz, University of St. Gallen
Thomas Christin, University of St.Gallen
Overview: For the last three elections in Switzerland, we confront MPs positions (derived from roll-call votes) with survey-data to find out if chances to be reelected decrease particularly for MPs that have moved towards the center during a legislature.

Matthew P. Taylor, Ball State University
Overview: For the last three elections in Switzerland, we confront MPs positions (derived from roll-call votes) with survey-data to find out if chances to be reelected decrease particularly for MPs that have moved towards the center during a legislature.

Disc. Matthew P. Taylor, Ball State University

33-6 ADMINISTRATIVE COURTS
Room TBA, Fri 10:30
Chair Ralph E. Baker, Ball State University
Paper Examining Judicial Independence: Article I v. Article III Courts
Scott A. Hendrickson, Washington University
Overview: This paper utilizes the history of the Customs Court—established as an Article I court, then later converted to an Article III court—to conduct a quasi-experiment examining questions related to institutional structure and judicial decision making.

Paper: Court Control of the Internal Revenue Service: Differences between the Tax Court and the United States District Court

Robert M. Howard, Georgia State University

Overview: There has been no existing research on the responsiveness of the IRS to the differences in the responsiveness of the IRS to different courts. This paper examines the different responses by the agency to the Tax Court and the Federal District Court.

Paper: Decision Making on the United States Tax Court

Chad M. King, University of Texas, Dallas

Overview: This research addresses how judges on the United States Tax Court decide tax deficiency cases.

Paper: When Judges Influence Lawmakers: The Politics of Bankruptcy Court System Reform

John Winkle, University of Mississippi

Overview: This study in reform politics concentrates on lobbying by the federal judiciary to influence Congressional efforts to restructure the bankruptcy court system after a 1982 Supreme Court ruling struck down the 1978 federal bankruptcy code.

Disc. Sean Farhang, University California, Berkeley

33-19 HIERARCHY AND AGENDA SETTING IN THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Room: TBA, Fri 10:30

Chair: Gregory A. Huber, Yale University

Paper: A Comparison of Agenda Change in the U.S. Supreme Court and Courts of Appeals

Mark S. Hurwitz, University at Buffalo, SUNY

Overview: Comparison of Agendas in the federal appellate courts, including systematic influences for the dynamics of agenda change.


Jonathan P. Kastellec, Columbia University

Overview: I present a formal model and preliminary empirical test of Cross and Tiller's (1998) "whistleblower" theory, illustrating how ideological diversity on federal circuit court panels increases the likelihood of compliance with Supreme Court doctrine.

Paper: Systematic Policy-Making by the Lower Courts--the Case of Regulatory Takings

Wayne McIntosh, University of Maryland, College Park
Ken Cousins, University of Maryland, College Park
Steve Simon, University of Maryland, College Park

Overview: Using the high-stakes issue of "regulatory takings" as a testing ground, and employing innovative computer technologies, this paper examines how the lower courts respond systematically when asked to create policy without High Court guidance.

Paper: The Affect of Career Structure on Judicial Decisionmaking

Gavin J. Reddick, University of Virginia

Overview: Do lower-court judges make decisions that they think will further their careers? Does this affect their relationship with reviewing courts? Do different methods of promotion encourage different types of behavior in lower-upper court interactions?

Disc. Scott E. Graves, Georgia State University
Gregory A. Huber, Yale University

34-3 COMPARING COURTS AND THEIR CONSTITUTIONS

Room: TBA, Fri 10:30

Chair: Jason L. Pierce, University of Dayton

Paper: America's Unwritten Constitutional Rules: Their Existence, Enforceability, and Stabilizing Effects

David Rezvani, Harvard University

Overview: In this paper I will argue that, in certain important yet understudied respects, unwritten constitutional rules play a similar role in the U.S. constitutional structure as they do in the constitution of the United Kingdom.

Paper: Judicial Visions of Democracy in Established and Transitional Regimes

Shannon Smithey, Westminster College

Overview: This paper compares the different ways in which constitutional courts interpret democratic rights and influence the development of democratic institutions.

Paper: Beyond Countermajoritarianism in Constitutional Theory

Michael Comiskey, Penn State Fayette

Overview: The paper asks theoretically whether countermajoritarianism is a problem, and suggests ways to reframe the question.


Laura J. Hatcher, University of Wisconsin

Overview: This paper explores the importance of lawyers' arguments to the judicial decision-making process through a study of the strategies employed by environmental and property rights advocates in two important U.S. Supreme Court cases.

Paper: The Formation of Federalism: The Founders' Views of the Tenth Amendment

Michael Fine, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire
Jason L. Pierce, University of Dayton

35-4 EDUCATION POLITICS IN THE U.S. STATES

Room: TBA, Fri 10:30

Chair: Duane D. Milne, West Chester University of Pennsylvania

Paper: The Crisis in Higher Education: State Budgetary Health and Spending on Higher Education

J. Theodore Anagnostou, California State University, Los Angeles
Jolly A. Emrey, California State University, Los Angeles

Overview: We examine trends in state budget authorizations for public higher education across the 50 states during recent crisis periods and compare with other trends in state expenditures.

Paper: State Governance and Educational Outcomes in the United States

Paul Manna, College of William and Mary
Diane O'Hara, College of William and Mary

Overview: We organize our paper around one primary research question: How do state governing institutions and the contexts in which they operate influence student learning in the American states?

Paper: Measuring Standards-Based Education Reform in Ohio: A SEC pilot

J. Christopher Wooldard, Ohio Department of Education

Overview: Ohio conducted a pilot of the Surveys of Enacted Curriculum (SEC) to analyze the effects of standards-based education reform. This paper is a first look at the results from Ohio including findings and a blueprint for a systematic, long-term study.

Disc. Oluwagbenga Ajilore, University of Toledo

36-5 THE POLITICS OF BUDGETS: PAYING FOR LOCAL SERVICES

Room: TBA, Fri 10:30

Chair: Robert Stein, Rice University

Paper: Decision Roles and Orientations in Local Budget Offices: Comparison of Examiners in Three Cities in the United States

Katherine Willoughby, Georgia State University
Kurt Thurmaier, Iowa State University
Deborah Carroll, University of Tennessee

Overview: An examination of the budget roles and decision orientations of budgeters in three city governments in the United States.

Paper: Municipal Responses to Fiscal Stress

Craig S. Maher, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh
Steven Deller, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Updated 03-01-05
Overview: This paper attempts to assess those factors, including management structure, that help explain responses to local government fiscal stress.

**Paper** Demographic Change and Municipal Expenditure  
Barbara L. Neuby, Tennessee State University  
Overview: This study examines the expenditure changes in sun belt and rust belt cities from 1980 to 1997.

Peter C. John, Manchester University  
Overview: The paper uses annual records of public opinion, and media attention to inner city issues and urban violence, to examine changes in budgets in English urban policy.

**Paper** Welcome to the Real World: The Impact of Demographic and Economic Variables Upon Special District Policies  
Nicholas G Bauroth, North Dakota State University  
Overview: This paper uses demographic and economic measures to examine the fiscal policies of special districts. By focusing on districts with borders coterminous with a county or municipality, this paper gives a new perspective on district behavior.

Disc. Anirudh Ruhil, University of Illinois, Chicago

**37-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE GENETIC MODIFICATION CONTROVERSY**

**Room** TBA, Fri 10:30  
**Presenter** Policy Choice and Information Effects: The Case of Genetically Modified (GM) Foods in the European Union  
Jerome S. Legge, University of Georgia  
Robert F. Durant, American University  
Overview: Through the use of heteroskedastic probit analysis, we examine the effects of both chronic (general) information and domain specific information on opposition to Genetically Modified (GM) foods among respondents in European Union nations.

**Presenter** A Study on Genetic Modification Policy Change in U.K. with New-Institutionalism and Constructivism as a Main Approach  
Myong Iwa Lee, Northern Illinois University  
Overview: The main purpose of this study is to analyze Genetic Modification (GM) policy change in the United Kingdom from 1996 to 2004, with New-Institutionalism and Constructivism as the main approach.

**40-5 INSTITUTIONAL TRANSFORMATION: THE 19TH CENTURY US**

**Room** TBA, Fri 10:30  
**Chair** Joseph Luders, Yeshiva University  
**Paper** The Riker Thesis Reconsidered: Political Instability and the Emergence of the Slavery Issue  
Steven Kautz, Michigan State  
Randall W. Strahan, Emory University  
Overview: In Liberalism Against Populism, Riker proposes a theory of how issues emerge as a result of political disequilibrium. We reconsider the Riker thesis as applied to the emergence of the slavery issue in 19th century America.

**Paper** Republican Party Factions in the Gilded Age  
Daniel DiSalvo, University of Virginia  
Overview: A study of the rise and fall of four factions—the Liberal Republicans, Stalwarts, Halfbreeds, and Mugwumps—in the GOP from 1870-1888. Analyzes the properties and strategies of each intra-party faction and their effect on the GOP’s policy preferences.

Matthew Glassman, Yale University  
Overview: This paper explores three institutional mechanisms - the balance rule, increased state sizing, and the territorial system – used by Congress in an attempt to stabilize the inherently destabilizing process of political expansion in the 19th century.

**Paper** Understanding the Institutional Development of the Nineteenth Century Supreme Court  
Mark Alcorn, TBA  
Overview: The nineteenth century Supreme Court lacked the power commonly presumed upon Marbury v Madison and its own claims therein. Battles with other government branches and issues it faced shows it as less than a co-equal branch of government.

**39-2 BUREAUCRATIC RESPONSIVENESS TO THE POLITICAL AND POLICY ENVIRONMENT**

**Room** TBA, Fri 10:30  
**Chair** Thomas A. Bryer, University of Southern California  
**Paper** Stakeholder Theory of Bureaucratic Responsiveness  
Thomas A. Bryer, University of Southern California  
Overview: This paper proposes a descriptive stakeholder theory of bureaucratic responsiveness that is rooted in an understanding of responsiveness as a complex web of relationships between stakeholders.

**Paper** Control or Representation: Investigating the Causes of Bureaucratic Behavior  
Sean Nicholson-Crotty, University of Missouri, Columbia  
Jill Nicholson-Crotty, University of Missouri-Columbia  
Michael Pennington, Stephen F. Austin University  
Overview: This paper explores the interactive nature of top-down and bottom-up explanations for bureaucratic behavior.

**Paper** Applying the Attitudinal Model to Administrative Law Judge Decision Making: The Case of the NLRB 1935 – 2004  
Cole D. Taratoot, Georgia State University  
David C. Nixon, Georgia State University  
Overview: This research investigates factors that influence the initial decision voting of Administrative Law Judges in unfair labor practice cases within the National Labor Relations Board from 1935 - 2004.

**Paper** The Politics of Results: The Dilemmas of Performance in the Internal Revenue Service  
Matthew Dull, University of Wisconsin, Madison  
Overview: Drawing from scholarship on the role of information in administrative politics, this paper examines the impact of mandated outcomes measurement on the Internal Revenue Service, tracing developments in two measurement concepts: service and accuracy.

**Paper** Comparative Bureaucratic Governance  
Holly T. Goerdel, Texas A&M University  
Overview: In a system of multilevel governance, how do national bureaucracies respond to supranational policy demands?

Disc. Anthony Bertelli, University of Georgia  
Kai-Feng Yang, Florida State University
What Matters for the Constitution?: Examining the Notion of Constitutional Continuity via Six Different Historiographies of the Reconstruction Era

Daniel H. Kato, New School University

Overview: By examining historiographies of the Reconstruction, I will attempt to broaden the scope of constitutional continuity beyond that of legal interpretation and demonstrate the normative political aspects surrounding issues of legality and legitimacy.

Disc. Joseph Luders, Yeshiva University

ADMINISTRATIVE POWER AND POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES

Room TBA, Fri 10:30

Chair Amy B. Bridges, University of California, San Diego

Paper Credibility Gaps and Interpreter Autonomy: The Non-Anxiety, or Security Apparatus Recruitment Campaigns?

Douglas B. Grob, University of Maryland

Overview: In assessing the origins of divided government in the post-New Deal period, I show theoretically how the expansion of agency and judicial policy making creates conditions for divided government independently of other, more commonly cited factors.

Paper Crisis and the Emergence of Economic Regulation: The Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act of 1938

Daniel Carpenter, Harvard University

Gisela Sin, University of Michigan

Overview: We study one of the most important policy reforms in U.S. history: the creation of gatekeeping power by the Food and Drug Administration over the pharmaceutical marketplace.

Paper Waiting for Policy Expertise: Institutional Choice and the Shaping of the U.S. Interstate Commerce Commission

Hiroshi Okayama, University of Tokyo

Overview: The paper seeks to explain how policy expertise began its penetration into policymaking process in the U.S. Politics in the 1880s, especially the Congressional process, that led to the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission will be analyzed.

Paper Explaining the At-Will Employment Law in the United States: A Political Economic Perspective

June Park, University of Pittsburgh

Overview: How did the United States establish the most laissez-faire system of employment protection among industrial countries? The stock-market dominant financial system and the federal political structure produced the employment-at-will labor regime.

Paper Sexual Desire and Punishment in Early America

Mark Kann, University of Southern California, Los Angeles

Overview: TBA

Disc. Amy B. Bridges, University of California, San Diego

POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Room TBA, Fri 10:30

Chair John Mearsheimer, University of Chicago

Paper The Asymmetric Strategy of Suicide Bombing

Michael Streufeld, University of Kansas

Overview: This paper discusses the asymmetric strategy of suicide bombing in the Israeli conflict. The paper shows the difficulty of defining an optimal strategy for dealing with the "unfair" advantage of suicide attacks.

Paper Divided America: Conflicting Views of Equality, Democracy, and Capitalism in Presidential Vote Choice

Gabriella Paar-Jakli, Kent State University

Overview: American society is more divided than ever. Two of the major traditions, capitalist and democratic value-systems seem to clash in a unique way. The present study sheds light on some of the underlying reasons.


Christian W. Erickson, Roosevelt University

Overview: In this paper I examine the themes of terrorism and counterterrorism in the popular culture of the United States by focusing on four case studies of either cinematic or televiual representations in the post-September 11th environment.

Disc. John Mearsheimer, University of Chicago

FAITH-BASED GROUPS IN POLITICS AND POLICY (Co-sponsored with Social Policy, see 38-6)

Room TBA, Fri 10:30

Chair Amy L. Cavender, Saint Mary's College

Paper Religious Interest Groups and the Creation and Promotion of Morality-Based Arguments in Policy Debates

Katherine E. Stenger, University of Washington

Overview: This paper looks at the role of religious interest groups in creating, maintaining and possibly opposing morality-based argument frames in policy debates.

Paper The Evangelicals are Coming! The Increasing Involvement of Evangelical Protestants in Providing Human Services and its Public Policy Consequences

Stephen V. Monsma, Calvin College

Overview: This paper presents mounting evidence that evangelical Protestant organizations are becoming more active in providing needed human services than are mainline Protestant organizations, and explores the public policy implications of this trend.

Paper "Faith-Based" Social Services in Rural Areas

Clifford A. Grammich, RAND Corporation

Overview: This paper explores "faith-based" social services in rural areas, specifically whether there are adequate matches between religious bodies able to provide social services and rural communities of greatest need.

Paper The Gospel of Government

Stephen A. Sargent, Texas A&M University

Overview: This paper examines the potential benefits of faith-based initiatives for both government and religious organizations.

Paper Global Partnerships: Secular and Sectarian Initiatives for Humanitarian Affairs

Jennifer S. Beckemeier, Regent University

Overview: This paper examines questions related to the emergence of these religious NGOs, including their impact on culture, efficiency in service and overall effectiveness in meeting social needs.

Disc. Mary C. Segers, Rutgers University

Emily R. Gill, Bradley University

POSTER SESSION: TEACHING POLITICAL SCIENCE

Room TBA, Fri 10:30

Presenter A Comparison of Student-Response Keypad Systems for Classroom Teaching and Learning

Roger C. Lowery, University of North Carolina, Wilmington

Overview: This poster session gives an overview of the teaching and learning objectives enhanced by student-response keypad systems as well as a comparison of the features, pricing, and performance offered by competing systems.

Presenter Using Adult Learning Theory in the Classroom

Lee Rademacher, Purdue University Calumet

Overview: A successful teacher can no longer lecture and assume that students are learning effectively. Using scholar Jack Mezirow's theory of transformation, active learning techniques will be demonstrated to improve students' learning potential.

GODS, LAWS, AND EMPIRE IN GREEK THOUGHT

Room TBA, Fri 10:30

Chair Catherine Zuckert, University of Notre Dame

Paper The Politics of Aristotle's Metaphysics

Elliott Barlky, Indiana-Purdue University Ft. Wayne

Overview: TBA

Paper Socrates' Intention in Plato's Crito

Stefan Minkov, Kenyon College

Updated 03-01-05
Overview: This paper attempts to explain away the apparent differences between the Socrates of the Apology (a radical revolutionary) and the Socrates of the Crito (an obedient priest).

**Paper**

Democracy and Empire in Herodotus’ Histories
Ann Ward, University of Nevada
Overview: In the HISTORIES, democratic Athens stands at the peak of the political possibilities that Herodotus explores. Athens has the potential for philosophy and possesses a superior form of courage. Yet Athens also faces the dangers of empire.

**Disc.**

Sean Mattie, Ave Maria College
Marlene Sokolon, West Texas A&M University

**49-101 ROUNDTABLE: THE FUTURE OF WELFARE**

**Room**
TBA, Fri 10:30

**Chair**
Lawrence Mead, New York University
Overview: The panel will focus on assessing the impact of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 and discuss and debate needed improvements.

**Panelist**

Welfare After Welfare Reform
Lawrence Mead, New York University
Overview: TBA

Measuring the Devolution Revolution: State Performance Under PRWORA
Harrell Rodgers, University of Houston
Overview: This paper examines several ways of ranking the states on their performance in carrying out the provisions of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.

**50-301 POSTER SESSION: EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION OF THEORETICAL MODELS**

**Room**
TBA, Fri 10:30

**Presenter**

Strategic Anticipation in the U.S. Courts of Appeals
Kirk A. Randazzo, University of Kentucky
Overview: This paper empirically tests a formal model of strategic interaction between judges on the U.S. Courts of Appeals and the Supreme Court.

**Presenter**

Congressional Voting Behavior in Response to Changing District Boundaries
Michael H. Crespin, Michigan State University
Overview: This paper will show that members alter their voting behavior on final passage, but not procedural votes in congress in response to changes in district boundaries and the addition or subtraction of constituents after redistricting.

**Presenter**

Measuring Ethnic Diversity: Lots of New Options, But Are Any Winners?
Dan Corstange, University of Michigan
Overview: Measurements of ethnic diversity have mushroomed recently. This paper analyzes their statistical properties, and then compares how well the various coding rules approximate the “true” level of diversity found in simulated artificial societies.

**Presenter**

Speculative Currency Attacks Before, During and After Elections: Theory and Evidence
Stefanie Walter, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology
Overview: This paper theoretically explores the link between elections and policy responses to speculative attacks by integrating a political business model with an economic model of currency crises. The implications of the model are tested quantitatively.

**Presenter**

Revenue and Regime Stability: An Empirical Analysis
Kevin M. Morrison, Duke University
Overview: A statistical analysis of a formal model linking tax and non-tax revenue to regime stability in democracies and authoritarian regimes.

**Presenter**

Fate of Leaders and Economic Growth
Carmela Latmar, American University
Overview: The focus in this paper is on whether the way leaders end their tenure in office has an effect on the levels of economic growth in their country.

**Presenter**

A Game Theoretic Account of Congressional-Judicial Interaction
Joseph Ura, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: TBA

**Presenter**

Locating Authority: Domestic Politics and Delegation to International Institutions
Byoung-Inn Bai, University of Washington, Seattle
Overview: By elaborating the model of international delegation, this paper argues that delegation to supranational bodies is more likely as the policy preferences of domestic political actors diverge given high level of economic interdependence.

**Presenter**

A Joint Model of a Primary and General Election
Michael Toftas, Duke University
Overview: The relationship between primaries and general elections is considered by building a game-theoretic model (solved computationally) with insights from previous sequential spatial models. The model is then tested on congressional data.

**52-1 LATINO IMMIGRATION AND INCORPORATION**

**Room**
TBA, Fri 10:30

**Chair**
Jessica Perez Monforti, University of Texas, Pan American

**Paper**

Transverse Across the Bordersline: Economic Determinants on Immigration
José D. Villalobos, Texas A&M University
Overview: I analyze economic determinants on immigration and issues of reciprocal causation using data for 1986-2000. I expect that positive economic growth supports increases in admitted and naturalized immigrants, who, in turn, help to sustain the economy.

**Paper**

Participation of Latino Immigrants in the United States
Ilfigenia Barboza, Michigan State University
Overview: In this paper, I investigate how length of residence contributes to the decline of the family among Latino immigrants and how this decline affects levels of political participation and alienation with respect to the American political system.

**Paper**

Reconsidering Mendez: Mexican-American Segregation and the NAACP’s Brown Strategy
Angelica Bernal, Yale University
Overview: This paper reconstruct the history and politics of the Mendez v. Westminster School District (1946) case and its impact on the NAACP’s strategy in the Brown case.

**Disc.**

Benjamin Marquez, University of Wisconsin, Madison

**Friday, January 8 – 1:45 pm – 3:30 pm**

1-109 ROUNDTABLE: IN THE BATTLEGROUND: THE CONSULTANTS’ VIEW (Co-sponsored with Practice of Politics, see 41-101)

**Room**
TBA, Fri 1:45

**Chair**
Costas Panagopoulos, New York University

**Panelist**

Andrew Franks, i-Political Strategies, LLC
Jack Metzel, American Association of Political Consultants
Jeff Timmer, Sterling Corporation
Mark Weaver, Communications Counsel, Inc.

Overview: Four leading campaign consultants from two battleground states (Ohio and Michigan) will present their view of the 2004 Presidential race. They will share their perspective as consultants on the successes and failures of the candidates’ campaigns.
**2-301 POSTER SESSION: COMPARATIVE POLITICAL ECONOMY (Co-sponsored with International Political Economy, see 11-301)**

**Room:** TBA, Fri 1:45

**Presenter:** Skill Development in Advanced Industrial Welfare States

Peter K. Enns, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Overview: This paper examines the determinants of education attainment in advanced industrial welfare states from 1960 to 2000.

**Presenter:** Renewable Energy in the European Union: Understanding Policy Implications

Faon C. Carpenter, Northern Illinois University

Overview: Examination of renewable energy policies in order to: 1) determine why certain policies are implemented across different types of states; 2) understand why specific policies are more likely than others to successfully promote renewable energy use.

**Presenter:** Receiving Economic Migrants: Political Economy of Economic Migration

Kyung Joon Han, University of California, Los Angeles

Overview: I’ll examine the effects of economic conditions on the inflows of foreign workers to developed countries. I’ll argue whether the conditions affect the inflows seems to largely depend on historical, political and institutional factors of each country.

**Presenter:** Democratic Politics and Growth Through Innovation

Joel W. Simmons, University of Michigan

Overview: Here I explore some political underpinnings of economic innovation. Specifically, I show how domestic political competition and government time horizons determine government preferences toward stimulating growth through economic innovation.

**Presenter:** Can the New Economic Geography Explain Inequality Between the Great Plains and Great Lakes?

Scott E. Hoaby, University of California, Los Angeles

Overview: Why do poor regions exist within rich countries? The new economic geography offers a reason, but it has not been tested. Test results show it fails to comprehensively explain the Great Plains and Great Lakes core-periphery dynamic.

**Presenter:** Germany and Italy Compared: Different Patterns of Resistance to Welfare Reform

Ariel F. Ivanier, Boston University

Overview: This paper argues that, contrary to assertions that only countries with advanced organizational schemes – such as Germany- can resist globalization pressures for welfare reform, the Italian case shows an alternative pattern.

**Presenter:** Reconciling the Debate on Decentralization and National Budgets: The Relationship between the Number of Jurisdictions and the National Debt

Amy H. Liu, Emory University

Clifford J. Carrubba, Emory University

Craig Volden, The Ohio State University

Overview: Contrary to Wildasin (1997) and Rodden and Wibbels (2002) who argue linearity between the number of subnational governments and the aggregate national debt, we demonstrate in a formal model that this relationship is more quadratic in nature.

**Presenter:** A Comparative Analysis of the Impacts of Modern Farming on Agricultural Productivity and Economic Development in NAFTA Countries

Nicholas P. Guehtlort, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville

Yaw O. Owusu, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville

Overview: This study investigates the rate of agricultural growth of the three nation-states that comprise the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in order to determine what input factor(s) increased economic productivity.

**Presenter:** The Consequences of International Debt and Domestic Political Institutions: Welfare Outcomes in Developing Countries

Erin C. Mewhinney, University of Colorado, Boulder

Jessica Teets, University of Colorado, Boulder

Overview: We contend that important characteristics of globalization, in addition to domestic factors, explain welfare outcomes. Specifically, our study determines whether both the level and type of international debt constrains the provision of public goods.

**Presenter:** Partisan Politics and Income Distribution under Globalization

Eunyoung Ha, University of California, Los Angeles

Overview: The ideological position -- left, central, or right -- of the government still strongly influences income inequality both in developed and developing countries even in the midst of globalization.

**Disc.:** Jude C. Hays, University of Michigan

Chris Adolph, University of Washington, Seattle

**3-7 GLOBALIZATION: CROSS-BORDER AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES**

**Room:** TBA, Fri 1:45

**Chair:** Young C. Kim, University of Evansville

**Paper:** The Political Economy of Mexico-United States Migration: Migration and Inequality in Mexican Sending Communities (A View from the Source Country)

Jorge Bravo, Duke University

Overview: The Political Economy of Mexico-US Migration: Migration and Inequality in Mexican Sending Communities (A View from the Source Country).

**Paper:** Globalization Electoral Laws and Ethnic Conflict

John Ishiyama, Truman State University

Overview: This project proposes to empirically examine the interaction between international economic integration, electoral rules and ethnic conflict for 34 developing countries and 102 minority groups, data from the Minorities at Risk (MAR) database.

**Paper:** The Survey of Online Privacy Policy in the US, EU, & Korea: Leapfrogging South Korea from the Tangle of the APEC

Yong Jin Park, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Overview: The paper examines patterns of policy responses to online privacy in three nation-states. Lessons is drawn for South Korea for her strategic positioning in the APEC where the notion of privacy is new, challenging its regulatory framework.

**Paper:** Intersecting Capitalism, Patriarchy, and the Environment: Looking at the NAFTA through a Gendered Lens

Kristen L. VanHooreweghe, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Overview: This research seeks to examine the intersections of capitalism, patriarchy, class, labor, and the environment by analyzing the impacts of the NAFTA on the women of North America.

**Disc.:** Young C. Kim, University of Evansville

**3-19 STATE-ECONOMY RELATIONS: MARKET REFORM, CORRUPTION, AND CONFLICT**

**Room:** TBA, Fri 1:45

**Chair:** Abu T. R. Rahman, Baruch College, CUNY

**Paper:** Village Governance, Social Conflict, and Consequences of Reform in Rural China

Huisheng Shou, University of Illinois, Champaign and Urbana

Overview: Reforms affect village governance in two ways: exacerbate social conflict while erode social cohesion that would normally solve the conflict. The dilemma is rooted in the nature of market and requires political measures to restore social integration.

**Paper:** Does Natural Resource Wealth Spoil or Corrupt Governments? A New Test of the Resource Curse Thesis

Nicolai Petrovsky, Texas A&M University

Overview: Does the natural resource curse extends to regulatory quality and to corruption? This paper’s theory is tested with interactive random effects models using cross-national panel data. Whether nature corrupts or not depends on a country’s institutions.
Paper Corruption, Job Patronage, and Human Capital Formation
Mustafa B. Ozturk, University of Chicago
Overview: In this paper, I investigate the determinants of human capital investment. Conducting panel data analysis and survey research, I show that corruption and job patronage have a strong negative impact on individuals' educational investment decisions.

Paper The Politics of the Central and Eastern European Anti-Corruption Strategies
Monica Dorhoi, Michigan State University
Overview: This project investigates the content of the latest Central and Eastern European ACS and the factors that have brought about their political orientations, and national identity to support the EU.

Paper The Dilemma of Constructing a Neoliberal State in the Presence of Acute Distributional Conflicts: The Case of Turkey
Ilye Civelekoglu, University of Virginia
Overview: This paper argues that in Turkey the absence of structural reforms particularly in the public sector liberalization can not eliminate state patronage.

Disc. Abu T. R. Rahman, Baruch College, CUNY

4-14 DEMOCRATIZATION AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE
Room TBA, Fri 1:45
Chair William J. Crotty, Northeastern University
Paper Resolving the Paradox of Federalism in Iraq
Lawrence M. Anderson, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater
Overview: This paper explores problems associated with the adoption of federalism in Iraq. I argue that federalism may calm conflict in the short term, but that it may facilitate the successful development of a secessionist movement over the long term.

Paper Constitution-making, Institutional Change, and Conflict Resolution in New States and New Democracies
Vanessa R. Krasner, Louisiana State University
Overview: Under varying conditions of militarized conflict, this paper assesses claims regarding the relationship of international forces as an enforcer of democratization, constitution making as a mechanism of peace making, and democratic consolidation.

Paper Towards a Theory of Impunity
Mark Ensalaco, University of Dayton
Overview: This paper examines the factors that sustain impunity and the forces that undermine impunity over time.

Paper The Missing Link in the Transition Literature: Congressional Legitimacy in Peru And the Fall of Fujimori in 2000
Julio J. Aguayo, University of Florida
Overview: In order to explain the most recent transitions, particularly the Peruvian in 2000, it is necessary to revise the current literature in order to include issues of institutionalization and legitimacy.

Disc. Melissa Scheier, University of Houston

5-14 THE EFFECTIVENESS OF EUROPEAN UNION INSTITUTIONS
Room TBA, Fri 1:45
Chair Akis Kallatziadis, Central Missouri State University
Dimosthenis N. Mammonas, European Council - Legal Service
Overview: We examine citizen support for EU membership in the candidate countries. Using the Candidate Country Eurobarometer series, we test hypotheses relating economic judgments, domestic political orientations, and national identity to support for the EU.

Kostas Kourtikakis, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: This paper explains the variation in both the origins and settlement practices of infringements of EU law by testing conventional political economic and comparative institutional variables in a first-of-its-kind database of over 1200 violations.

Paper Legislative Anticipation of Supranational Courts: The German Bundestag and the European Court of Justice
Tracey H. Slatger, University of Iowa
Overview: In this paper, I argue that the accountability of national bureaucrats when they fail to enforce European Union legislation is enhanced by the creation of informal networks of national and supranational officials.

Scott N. Siegel, Cornell University
Overview: This paper explains the variation in both the origins and settlement practices of infringements of EU law by testing conventional political economic and comparative institutional variables in a first-of-its-kind database of over 1200 violations.

Sara Hagemann, London School of Economics and Political Science
Overview: This paper empirically explores voting situations in the Council at all stages of the legislative process and proposes a new and testable theory for further investigations into decision-making power.
6-6 **NEOLIBERALISM: ADOPTION AND CONSEQUENCES**

**Room**: TBA, Fri 1:45  
**Chair**: Claudio Holzner, University of Utah  
**Paper**  
**Private Profits from Common Lands: The Neoliberal Market in Land and the Rural Poor in Ecuador**  
Emilia Giorova, University of Florida  
*Overview*: The paper examines the adverse effect on rural inequality following the arrival of the neoliberal market in land a remote Ecuadorian community.

**Paper**  
**Workers and Welfare in Latin America**  
Michelle Dion, CIDE-Mexico City  
*Overview*: This paper compares the political development and neoliberal reform of welfare in Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and Chile in the 20th century.

**Paper**  
**Neo-Institutionalism as a New Paradigm of Development: Consequences for Latin America**  
Alba M. Rubial, Flacso, México  
*Overview*: The paper examines some neo-institutionalist conceptions about economic and institutional development, comparing it with developmental paradigms of the past, and analyzes its implications for political reform programs in Latin America.

**Disc.**: Claudio Holzner, University of Utah

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7-6 **MONEY POLITICS IN EAST ASIA**

**Room**: TBA, Fri 1:45  
**Chair**: Jeeyang Rhee Baum, University of California, San Diego  
**Paper**  
**Feeding the Pig while Paying the Piper: Presidents, Pork, and Budgetary Policy in the Philippines**  
Allen Hicken, University of Michigan  
Stephan Haggard, University of California, San Diego  
Amado Mendoza, University of Philippines  
*Overview*: We argue that whether pork barrel expenditures displace or supplement spending on national public goods depends on the interaction of legislative and presidential preferences. We draw on the case of the Philippines to test this argument.

**Paper**  
**Electoral Reform and the Costs of Personal Support: How the Liberal Democratic Party Still Rules Japan**  
Matthew M. Carlson, Norwegian University of Science & Technology  
*Overview*: This paper compares the political development and neoliberal reform of welfare in Mexico, Argentina, Brazil and Chile in the 20th century.

**Paper**  
**American Political Machines and Japanese Koenkai: A Comparison of the Similarities and Differences in Two Distinct Patron-Client Institutions**  
Howard B. Sanborn IV, University of Iowa  
*Overview*: This paper uses a comparison of Japanese koenkai and American political machines in order to build an analytical framework with which to better understand reciprocal relationships between those in power and their constituents.

**Paper**  
**The Institutionalized Party System in Taiwan**  
Chia-yin Wei, University of Texas, Austin  
*Overview*: Taiwan’s weakly-institutionalized party system can be attributed to the short period of time of competition, the personalization of campaigns and intra-party factionalism.

**Disc.**: Jeeyang Rhee Baum, University of California, San Diego

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8-2 **VOTING IN AFRICA**

**Room**: TBA, Fri 1:45  
**Chair**: James E. Pryor, TBA  
**Paper**  
**Political Support and Electoral System in Lesotho**  
Wonbin Cho, Michigan State University  
*Overview*: Using the Afrobarometer survey data on attitudes toward democracy for Lesotho, this research shows that electoral system mediate the relationship between citizens’ political status (majority or minority) and their political support in the country.
Overview: The puzzle scholars face is why so many countries have rushed to enter a free trade agreement by lowering trade barriers at this historical juncture.

**Paper** Choosing Friends Wisely: Economic and Political Cooperation in the World System, 1886-1996

Andrea Little Limbago, University of Colorado, Boulder

Overview: I investigate the dyad-specific factors behind the formation of PTAs, currency unions and alliances, as well as which countries are more prone to form each type of agreement together.

**Paper** Democracy and Data Dissemination: The Effect of Political Regime on Transparency

H. Peter Rosendorff, University of Southern California
James R. Vreeland, Yale University

Overview: Are democracies more transparent than other types of political regimes? We investigate the willingness of policymakers to provide data on inflation and unemployment, and show that the availability of that data is correlated with regime type.

**Paper** Private Interests, Bureaucratic Coherence, and Postcommunist States: Exposing Built-in Assumptions in Theories of International Cooperation

Neil Abrams, University of California, Berkeley

Overview: Theories of international cooperation make prior assumptions about the structure of the state that prove unreliable once applied beyond the advanced-industrialized countries. I rely on postcommunist case study evidence to illustrate this point.

11-17 INTERESTS AND IDEAS IN MONETARY POLICYMAKING

Room TBA, Fri 1:45

**Chair** Michael G. Hall, University of Northern Iowa

**Presenter** Political Actors and ECB Policy-Making

Madeleine O. Hsi, Leiden University
Christine Arnold, Free University Amsterdam

Overview: We analyze, on the basis of the full set of electronic contributions submitted to the Convention on the Future of Europe, whether differences can be seen regarding preferences of political actors in old and new EU states for specific ECB policies.

**Paper** Credibility Lost, Credibility Regained?: The Political Economy of Exiting from a Fixed Exchange Rate Regime

Michael A. Pisa, University of California, San Diego

Overview: This paper looks to measure the degree to which governments lose their credibility in maintaining low-inflation when they either choose, or are forced, to move from a rigid exchange rate to a more flexible one.

**Paper** Government Reactions to Speculative Attacks in Democracies

Thomas Sattler, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH) Zurich

Overview: The signaling model of speculative attacks emphasizes the role of politics. Econometric evidence shows that 1) governments tend to defend more often when popularity is high; 2) exchange rate defenses tend to fail when the deficit increases too much.

**Paper** Speculative Currency Attacks, Politics, and the Private Sector

Stefanie Walter, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich

Overview: This paper investigates the private sector’s preferences with regard to policy responses to speculative attacks, as well as the transmission of these preferences into the policymaking process. The findings are illustrated with three case studies.

Disc. Michael G. Hall, University of Northern Iowa
Jonathan R. Strand, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

11-302 POSTER SESSION: INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

Room TBA, Fri 1:45

**Presenter** Why is Democracy More Likely to Pursue Free Trade than an Autocracy

Yingying Na, New York University

Overview: The research question is that why democracy is more likely to pursue free trade than an autocracy? I will develop a formal model which will incorporate both preferences and institutions. Then I will test my model by means of regression analysis.

**Presenter** Trade Sanctions and Coercive Diplomacy: Measuring Foreign Policy Goals

Dursun Peksen, University of Missouri, Columbia

Overview: Using the Boolean method, we measure the impact of different foreign policy goals on the outcome of trade sanctions. Our empirical findings suggest that international and domestic symbolism are the most successful foreign policy goals.

12-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: DOMESTIC DETERMINANTS OF FOREIGN POLICY

Room TBA, Fri 1:45

**Presenter** From Economic Sanctions to Military Intervention in the Former Yugoslavia: Domestic Determinants on Foreign Policy-Making in France, Germany and Italy

Pietro Pirani, University of Western Ontario (London, Ontario, Canada)

Overview: The paper explores which factors influence conflict propensity when countries decide to escalate from economic to military coercion.

12-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: MILITARY SPENDING: THE TAIWANESE CASE

Room TBA, Fri 1:45

**Presenter** Threats, Alliances, and Electorates: The Political Economy of Military Spending in Taiwan

Khairis A. Templeman, University of Michigan
Thomas E. Flores, University of Michigan

Overview: Our paper investigates how elevated threat, democratization, and alliance politics have brought about falling military expenditures in Taiwan since the early 1990s, even as the military threat from mainland China has intensified.

13-5 POLARITY AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS POLICY

Room TBA, Fri 1:45

**Chair** Robert W. Walker, University of Rochester

**Presenter** Nuclear Proliferation During Unipolarity

David H. Sacco, United States Air Force Academy
Christopher Peterson, United States Air Force Academy

Overview: This paper assesses nuclear proliferation during the unipolarity.

**Paper** Preventive War and Nuclear Deterrence: Proliferation in the Unipolar World

Yevgeniy Karpichevsky, Harvard University
Amit Modi, TBA

Overview: We present a game theory model of strategic interaction between a hegemon capable of launching wars and a group of states capable of developing a deterrent. We specify the conditions under which proliferation of deterrent weapons becomes likely.

**Paper** Hear No Evil, See No Evil: U.S. Nonproliferation Policy Towards De Facto Nuclear States

Karen Van Essen, University of Oregon

Overview: This paper evaluates contending explanations for the security policies of de facto nuclear weapons states, Israel, India and Pakistan, by assessing the relative validity of international, domestic, and cultural hypotheses.

**Paper** Stopping the Spread: Containing Nuclear Proliferation in the 21st Century

Andrew C. Richter, University of Windsor

Overview: Nuclear proliferation remains an enormous problem in international relations, and threatens global peace and stability. This paper will identify strategies to control it.

Disc. Robert W. Walker, University of Rochester
14-11  PROTEST, STATE INSTITUTIONS, AND STATE REPRESSION
Room  TBA, Fri 1:45
Chair  Christian Davenport, University of Maryland
Paper  The Dynamics of Protest and Repression
Ron Francisco, University of Kansas
Overview: This paper considers numerous sophisticated modeling techniques on new data to explore the relationship between dissent and repression.
Paper  A License to Kill": Political Threats and the Repressive Response to Dissent in the US
Christian Davenport, University of Maryland
Overview: I examine the relative importance of behavioral as opposed to political "threats" in the US from 1948 to 1982. I also examine the difference between general threats (e.g., Reds) as opposed specific threats (e.g., students).
Paper  Woe is Democracy: Institutional Design and The Regulation of Political Conflict
Claudia Dahlerus, Albion College
Overview: This paper adopts a rational-institutional approach to explain why federal and unitary institutional designs influence the level of state coercion and targeting practices of police in democratic states.
Paper  Explaining Political Protest: State Institutions and State Response
Tavishi Bhasin, Emory University
Overview: This paper investigates contentious politics in democratic states, investigating why some claims made against democratic governments take the form of non-violent protests while others take violent forms.
Neha Sahgal, University of Maryland
Helma Devries, University of Maryland
Overview: The Bush government’s policies on terrorism and subsequent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have generated high level of domestic anti-war protest. We investigate why the American Muslim diaspora has been inconsistently active in the anti-war protest.
Disc. The presenters are serving as the discussants.

16-7  METHODS AND MEASURES MATTER
Room  TBA, Fri 1:45
Chair  Darren Schreiber, University of Pennsylvania
Paper  Questioning Our Competence: Tasks, Institutions, and the Limited Practical Relevance of Common Political Knowledge Measures
Arthur Lupia, University of Michigan
Overview: My goal is to improve how political scientists and practitioners conceptualize and measure civic competence.
Paper  Mass Belief Systems in the American States: Constraint and the Components of Self-Reported Ideology
Martin Johnson, University of California, Riverside
Kevin Arceaneaux, Yale University
Overview: We test explanations for issue-consistency based on individual education, the salience of politics, and polarizing issues across the American states, as well as alternative hypotheses rooted in institutional structure and mass-elite linkages.
Paper  Just Thinking: Inattention versus Ignorance in the Distortion of Political Preferences
Mathieu Turgeon, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: Some authors have claimed negative consequences for the quality of democracy due to unsophisticated masses, while others don't. Here, I argue that citizens can do "better" simply by spending more time thinking about politics.
Paper  Expanding the Measurement of Political Interest
Debra A. Horner, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: This paper examines an expanded battery of questions that attempts to capture several dimensions of political interest, including politics as entertainment, as oversight of government, and of stake in political outcomes.
Disc. Darren Schreiber, University of Pennsylvania

16-9  POLITICAL PREFERENCES
Room  TBA, Fri 1:45
Chair  William G. Jacoby, Michigan State University
Paper  The Source of Political Attitudes and Behaviors: Assessing Genetic and Environmental Contributions
John H. Hibbing, University of Nebraska
Carolyn L. Funk, Virginia Commonwealth University
John R. Alford, Rice University
Overview: Using data drawn from twins we analyze the extent to which political attitudes are genetically or environmentally influenced and find that the portion traceable to genetics is surprisingly large.
Paper  Political Inequality, Perceptions of Representation, and Democratic Accountability: Do Underrepresented Citizens "Throw the Bums Out?"
Greg M. Shaw, Illinois Wesleyan University
Overview: TBA
Paper  Representation and Efficacy: Are Citizens Rational in Their Perceptions that Government Ignores their Preferences?
Patrick J. Flavin, University of Notre Dame
Overview: Are citizens’ perceptions of government irresponsiveness grounded in fact? I examine the link between underrepresentation and low levels of efficacy using National Annenberg Election Survey data, NOMINATE scores, and interest group ratings.
Paper  Equality, Hierarchy, and Policy Preferences
Elisabeth R. Gerber, University of Michigan
Charles Ballard, Michigan State University
Jeremy Duff, Michigan State University
Overview: We propose to develop and test a theory of opinion formation in which individuals’ normative beliefs about equality and hierarchy in economic and social relationships fundamentally affect their preferences for specific government policies.
Paper  Predicting Who Will Be Confused On Abortion
Carolyn S. Carlson, Georgia State University
Overview: This paper proposes the best order for questions on abortion, based on a national survey that tests four possible orders. It examines the demographics of ideologically conflicted respondents to predict those most likely to be confused on abortion.
Disc. Tereza Capelos, Leiden University
William G. Jacoby, Michigan State University

17-9  THE MICRO-FOUNDATIONS OF PARTISAN ELECTORAL CHANGE
Room  TBA, Fri 1:45
Chair  Vincent Hutchings, University of Michigan
Steven E. Finkel, University of Virginia
Overview: I develop a model that predicts two kinds of campaign-period change -- conversion to an opposing candidate and dropping out of the electorate -- and test the model using multinomial probit on pooled National Election Study (NES) data from 1972-2000.
Paper  Conversion, Mobilization, and the Mechanisms of Electoral Change
Robert D. Brown, University of Mississippi
Harvey D. Palmer, University of Mississippi
Overview: An examination of the relative impact of conversion and mobilization on electoral change
Paper  Political Change and Information: Who Decides Which Party Occupies the White House and How Closely Do They Follow Politics?
Ryan L. Closen, University of California, Davis
Overview: I investigate an alternative source of interelection change: floating activists. Unlike floating voters, I expect that floating activists follow politics avidly and respond to the political environment by adjusting their level of participation.
Paper Courting the Faithful: Selective Mobilization and Polarized Electorate
Keiko Ono, National Election Studies
Overview: This paper demonstrates the selective voter mobilization undertaken by strategic elites further polarizes the electorate by reinforcing the existing gap in turnout propensity (more partisan voters are being contacted while independents are not).

Disc. Vincent Hutchings, University of Michigan

17-13 VOTER MOBILIZATION IN THE 2004 ELECTIONS
Room TBA, Fri 1:45
Chair Jan Leighley, University of Arizona
Paper Increasing Voter Turnout in the Hispanic Community: A Field Experiment on the Effects of Canvassing, Leafleting, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail
Gregg R. Murray, University of Texas, Brownsville
Richard E. Matland, University of Houston
Overview: We evaluate methods to increase turnout generally and Hispanic turnout specifically. Get-out-the-vote messages, with nonpartisan or Hispanic group solidarity themes, will be delivered to registered voters prior to the upcoming election.

Paper How Effective are Voter Registration Drives in Getting Young People to the Polls?
Tina Ebenger, Calumet College of St. Joseph
Tracey McCabe, Calumet College of St. Joseph
Overview: Following the 2004 general election, a questionnaire will be distributed to all students at Calumet College of St. Joseph to gauge the success of a voter registration drive and other assumptions regarding youth and voting.

Paper Local Party Organizations and GOTV Activities
Tim Hundsdorfer, University of Colorado
Overview: I surveyed 350 local party organization leaders in Illinois from both major parties. Local parties still consider GOTV an important activity, but important schisms are developing between local parties and their national and state counterparts.

Disc. Jan Leighley, University of Arizona
Melissa Michelson, California State University, East Bay

18-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: REPRESENTATION IN THE STATES
Room TBA, Fri 1:45
Presenter Do Minorities Benefit from Having Minority Representatives? – Minority Representation and its Impact on State Policy Outcomes
Michiko Ueda, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Overview: This paper examines whether increased minority representation in state legislatures in the last 30 years has changed policy outcomes. It shows that the presence of minority representatives had notable effects on policies.

Presenter Changing Patterns of Representational Roles in a Nonpartisan Setting
Rhonda J. Saferstein, University of Nebraska at Omaha
Overview: A survey of Nebraska Legislators reveals a shift in the predominant representational role orientations chosen by Nebraska legislators, away from Trustee and State orientations toward Politico and State/District.

18-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: DESIGNING ELECTORAL MECHANISMS
Room TBA, Fri 1:45
Presenter Are Competitive Elections Socially Optimal?
Justin M. Buchler, Oberlin College
Overview: While many normative theorists assume that competitive elections are necessary for democracy, they are frequently socially suboptimal. This paper shows the conditions under which competitive elections produce uniquely socially optimal outcomes.

Presenter A Minimax Procedure for Electing Committees
Steven J. Brams, New York University

Marc Kilgour, Wilfrid Laurier University
Remzi Sanver, Istanbul Bilgi University
Overview: A new voting procedure for electing committees, called the minimax procedure, is described. Based on approval balloting (AB), it chooses the committee so as to minimize the maximum “Hamming distance” to all voters (minimax outcome).

19-5 FOREIGN POLICY OPINIONS
Room TBA, Fri 1:45
Chair Richard Sobel, Harvard University
Paper Exploring the Empirical Robustness of Predicted Foreign Policy Mood Indicators, 1824-70
Jack E. Holmes, Hope College
Kurt Pyle, Hope College
Overview: This paper inquires into the ability of a variety of military, economic, and consensus indicators to predict the existence of a foreign policy mood dichotomy between 1824 and 1870.

Paper An Integrative Perspective of Public Opinion on Foreign Policy
Dukhong Kim, Northwestern University
Overview: This paper examines how the mass public makes decisions on foreign policy during the post-Cold War era. It will show that humanitarianism and strategic considerations play a central role in shaping the public’s foreign policy choices.

Paper Moving the Public: Presidents, John Q. Public, and Decisions to Use Force
Zachary M. Sears, Ohio State University
Overview: This paper investigates the conditions under which Presidents can move public opinion to support the use of force for humanitarian intervention.

Paper Understanding the “Hall of Mirrors”: Perceptions and Misperceptions in the Congressional Foreign Policy Process
Clay Ramsay, University of Maryland
Overview: The CCFR/PIPA study of cross-perceptions between public and the foreign policy elite raised as many questions as it answered. Hypotheses to explain high misperceptions and low awareness of political opportunity are proposed and evaluated.

Disc. Mariya Omelicheva, Purdue University

19-6 PUBLIC OPINION AND CONTEMPORARY ISSUES
Room TBA, Fri 1:45
Chair Patrick J. Egan, University of California, Berkeley
Paper The Formation of Nativism through Incorporation: Asian American Attitudes toward Immigration Control
Shang E. Ha, University of Chicago
Overview: This paper examines how Asian Americans in the United States formulate public opinion toward immigration control, focusing on the 2000-2001 Pilot National Asian American Study (PNAAPS).

Paper Does Symbolic Racism Cause Opposition to Immigration?
Peter J. Loewen, Universite de Montreal and University of Rochester
Jessica Fortin, McGill University
Overview: Symbolic politics explanations of restrictive opinions on immigration are plagued by endogeneity and overestimates effects. We present evidence of this and estimate a cleaner model of immigration opinion explained by economic insecurity.

Paper The Dynamics of Public Opinion on Same-Sex Marriage and Civil Unions
Wallsten J. Kevin, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: This paper uses the results of 61 surveys conducted since 1996 to assess the impact that major elite messages have had on the level of support for same-sex marriage and civil unions in different partisan, racial and religious groups.

Paper From Radical to Conservative: The Political Construction of Civil Unions and Changing Public Attitudes
Kenneth W. Cimino, Drake University
Gary N. Segura, University of Iowa
Overview: Few opinions have changed as radically and as quickly as those regarding the appropriateness of civil unions for lesbians and gays.

Disc. Mark Lindeman, Bard College

20-7 DETERMINANTS OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT
Room TBA, Fri 1:45
Chair Scott D. McClurg, Southern Illinois University
Paper Education and Civic Engagement: Mounting Evidence from an Experimental Perspective
  Rachel Milstein, Yale University
  Wayne A. Thornton, Harvard University
  Theda Skocpol, Harvard University
Overview: Despite concordance on the existence of the relationship between education and participation, little can be agreed upon as to its root cause. I aim to better answer this question by analyzing the relationship with an experimental approach.

Paper “Rally ‘Round the Flag”: American Wars and Civic Engagement
  Wayne A. Thornton, Harvard University
  Theda Skocpol, Harvard University
Overview: Our statistical analysis of membership data for large voluntary civic associations during the period 1815 to 1964 reveals definitive evidence that wars have strengthened Americans’ civic engagement.

Paper Community Organizations, Gender and the Development of Political Capital
  Jessica Wintringham, Syracuse University
  Heidi Swarts, Syracuse University
Overview: This paper explores how grassroots community organizations act as a space in which men and women become politically empowered.

Disc. Scott D. McClurg, Southern Illinois University

20-101 ROUNDTABLE: COLLABORATIVE POLICY AND DEMOCRACY: BUILDING CAPABLE INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNANCE FOR NETWORK SOCIETY
Room TBA, Fri 1:45
Panelist Collaborative Policy and Democracy: Building Capable Institutions of Governance for Network Society
  Archon Fung, Harvard University
  John Scholz, Florida State University
  David Booher, Center for Collaborative Policy
  Iris M. Young, University of Chicago
Overview: Scholars in political science, public administration, and planning are converging around issues of deliberative democracy and collaborative policymaking. This interdisciplinary panel will review insights from recent and ongoing research.

21-7 COVERING CONGRESS: CONTENT AND BIAS
Room TBA, Fri 1:45
Chair Adam J. Schiffer, Texas Christian University
Paper Members of Congress and the Presentation of Self in Washington and at Home
  Girish J. Gulati, Bentley College
Overview: To fully understand presentation of self, this study examines the presentation styles of members of Congress both at home and in Washington by comparing the campaign and official web sites of members of the 108th Congress.

Paper What’s the News that Fit to Print?
  Margaret M. Young, Albion College
Overview: This paper looks at local newspaper coverage of congressional politics in a sample of districts for each of the congressional elections since 2000. The districts chosen include a range of “fits” (good, middling and poor) with television markets.

  Jonathan S. Morris, East Carolina University

Rosalee A. Clawson, Purdue University
Overview: We draw from an extensive content analysis of over 2600 congressional news stories from the New York Times and CBS Evening News to assess the dominant frames that emerge in national media coverage of Congress.

Paper Ideological Identification Bias in Media Coverage of the United States Congress
  Vincent J. Strickler, Stanford University
Overview: I combine ADA & ACU scores to create an objective measure of the ideological positions of members of Congress. I then compare this to the ideological labels applied by media sources, to discover whether there is systematic bias through mislabeling.

  Philip D. Habel, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: This study examines the role of media elites, particularly newspaper editors, in policy making.

Disc. Adam J. Schiffer, Texas Christian University

22-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: GENDER AND CANDIDATE CHOICE
Room TBA, Fri 1:45
Presenter When Gender and Gender Stereotypes Collide: An Experimental Examination of the Effects of Gender and Gender Stereotypes on Candidate Choice
  Christopher J. Lewis, Florida State University
  Mary R. Anderson, Florida State University
Overview: Continuing with the experimental approach developed in our previous work, we examine candidate choice among candidates running with stereotypically feminine or masculine issues that reinforce or crosscut that candidate’s gender.

Presenter Candidate Gender as an Information Shortcut: A Cross-National Analysis of the Effects of Political Environments
  Melody Ellis Valdini, University California, San Diego
Overview: Using a comparative analysis that includes democracies in Europe and Latin America, I demonstrate that gender-based shortcuts do function outside of the US, and that their function and power varies in different political environments.

22-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: WOMEN AND THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT
Room TBA, Fri 1:45
Presenter Turkish Women as Conflict Resolvers
  Umut Ozkaleli, Syracuse University
Overview: Turkey, difference feminism, equality feminism, conflict resolvers, women's agency, Islamism, secularism.

Presenter Women’s NGOs Role in the Middle Eastern Democratization Process: A Case Study of Turkish Women’s NGOs
  Zeynep Sahin, TBA
Overview: In this paper, I will examine women’s NGOs role in the democratization process of Middle Eastern countries as the democratization process of Turkey as well as other Middle Eastern countries.

23-5 BLACK PARTISANSHIP
Room TBA, Fri 1:45
Chair Phillip J. Ardoin, Appalachian State University
  Stephen Maynard Caliendo, Avila University
  Charlton D. McIlwain, New York University
Overview: An analysis of 2002 and 2004 congressional races where both candidates were African American.

Paper Urban Black Voters v. Black Middle Class Voters: Is a Second Realignment Possible to the Republican Party
  Steven D. Day, University of Houston
  Sarah Neal, University of Houston
Overview: The paper examines conditions that would be necessary for urban black middle class voters to switch back a strong allegiance to the GOP and considers causal factors.
Overview: This paper examines the dynamic relationship between the areas of group life and identity we set apart from the authority of society and the psychological aspects of the perceived freedom of individuals.

Overview: Social contracts have long been characterized as appealing to either actual consent (e.g., Hobbes & Habermas) or Ideas (e.g., Kant & Rawls) for legitimacy. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, however, appeals to both, hence gaining the benefits of two approaches.

Overview: This paper identifies how G.W. F. Hegel and Karl Marx formulated their understandings of the causes and remedies to poverty.

Overview: In some cases state consent does generate a prima facie moral obligation to obey international law despite the problems of coerced consent, consent by previous generations, consent given by illegitimate governments, and global inequalities.

Overview: Owing to a number of changes in modern politics, it is no longer possible to represent and aggregate the interests, opinions, and values of the citizens through simple (territorially-based) electoral mechanisms.

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Overview: This paper argues that gifts, whose status is presented as unproblematic in Hegel’s Philosophy of Right, are potentially problematic on his own terms because they, unlike other forms of contract, continue to reflect the will of the giver.

Overview: This paper examines GOP efforts to increase its participation by those represented.

Overview: Recent articles attempt to collapse the distinction between cosmopolitans and nationalists by arguing that an impartial principle – properly interpreted – justifies preferential treatment towards compatriots. I refute this notion of impartiality.

Overview: This paper examines the relationship between black partisanship, hostility, and the Republican Party.

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Paper The Consequences of Commitment when Candidates have Private Information
Carlos Maravall, Carlos III University
Overview: If candidates are informed of the realization of a state variable that affects all players' utility, I show that if they cannot commit, their information is of no consequence for the strategies of voters. This is not the case when they can commit.

Disc. Adam Meirowitz, Princeton University
Michael Ting, Columbia University

Paper Policy Transparency and Political Posturing
Justin Fox, Yale University
Overview: This paper identifies conditions under which voters are better off not knowing their incumbent's policy choices: we show that government transparency can actually reduce voter welfare.

Disc. Adam Meirowitz, Princeton University
Michael Ting, Columbia University

28-9 DYNAMIC MODELS OF PUBLIC OPINION AND CONFLICT
Room TBA, Fri 1:45
Chair Jonathan Wand, Stanford University
Paper Two Steps Back: Isolating the Impact of Objective Economic Factors on Presidential Approval
Daniel R. Cassino, Stony Brook University
Matthew Lebo, Stony Brook University
Overview: With an ARFIMA analysis of presidential approval for Republicans, Democrats and Independents from 1977 to 2003, we show that objective economic factors impact approval differently based on the party ID of the president and the group evaluating him.

Disc. Jonathan Wand, Stanford University

Paper Advances in Bayesian Time Series Modeling and the Study of Politics: Theory Testing, Forecasting and Policy Analysis
John R. Freeman, University of Minnesota
Patrick T. Brandt, University of North Texas
Overview: We show how to construct proper Bayesian shape error bands for causal inference, review and implement a reference prior for political forecasting, and show how Bayesian time series methods can be used in policy (counterfactual) analysis.

Paper Multilevel, Stratified, Frailty Models and the Onset of Civil War
Janet M. Box-Steppensmeier, Ohio State University
Suzzanna L. De Boef, Pennsylvania State University
Kevin J. Sweeney, Joint Warfare Analysis Center
Overview: We examine civil war onset with a multilevel, stratified, frailty event history model to capture 1) sources of heterogeneity and 2) nesting of countries within regions—both of which can make countries more/less susceptible to civil war.

29-6 ORGANIZED INTERESTS AND GENDER (Co-sponsored with Gender and Politics, see 22-13)
Room TBA, Fri 1:45
Chair Lisa Baldez, Dartmouth College
Paper Woodrow Wilson's Conversion Experience: The President, Woman Suffrage, and the Extent of Executive Influence
Beth A. Behn, United State Military Academy
Overview: Between 1912 and 1918, Woodrow Wilson radically altered his stance on the federal woman suffrage amendment. This paper examines the role played by suffrage interest groups in bringing about that change.

Paper Women in State Legislatures and the Diversity of Interest Group Populations Across Time
Andrew J. Clevittini, University of Iowa
Overview: I examine the population of interest groups registered to lobby the government on behalf of women’s issues, health care, education, and welfare as a function of the proportion of female state legislators over time.

Paper Accounting for Inaction: Feminist Organizations and the Politics of New Reproductive Technologies
Danielle R. Gougon, Rutgers University
Overview: The paper examines feminist organizations’ failure to respond to the next generation of challenges to the feminist movement. I will discuss the ability of existing theories to account for this phenomenon using studies of nine feminist organizations.

Disc. Maryann Barakso, American University

29-8 COMPARATIVE PARTY PLATFORMS AND PROGRAMS
Room TBA, Fri 1:45
Chair Robert Harel, Texas A&M University
Paper Policy Convergence in the Cartel Era and the Influence of the Populist Right
Karina A. Bottom, GIPP University of Manchester
Overview: Utilising data from the Comparative Manifesto Project, this paper measures the policy convergence that took place...
place between western European established parties in the time period 1970-1998.

**Paper**

**A Theory of Party Mergers.**
Jean-François Godbout, Northwestern University

**Overview:** This study develops a unifying theory of party merger based on an industrial organizational framework and on the theory of the firm.

**Paper**

**De-radicalization of the Communist Parties in Developed Countries: Comparative Studies of the Role of the French and Japanese Communist Parties in the Social Movements in 1968**
Yutaka Okuyama, University of Alabama

**Overview:** Communists’ behavior in the social movements in the 1960s confirmed that the communist parties recognized that party action must be thorough parliament. The degree of intensity also neither influenced party activities.

**Paper**

**What Do Parties Want?: An Analysis of Programmatic Social Policy Aims in Austria, Germany, and the Netherlands**
Martin Seeleib-Kaiser, University of Oxford

**Overview:** The core argument of the paper is that the differences between Social Democrats and Christian Democrats in regards to programmatic social policy aims have largely faded away in Austria, Germany, and the Netherlands.

**Paper**

**Change in the Social Democratic Parties: The Influence of the Left-Liberatarian Parties on Social Democratic Manifestos**
Zeynep Somer, Texas A&M University

**Overview:** The question of how the rise of the left-libertarian parties has influenced the Social Democratic manifestos is answered. It is found that the emphases on libertarian issues have changed rather than the positions of the Social Democrats.

**Disc.**

Hans C. Noel, University of California, Los Angeles

**30-5 BUREAUCRATIC APPOINTMENTS AND RECRUITMENT**

**Room** TBA, Fri 1:45

**Chair** Russell D. Renka, Southeast Missouri State University

**Paper**

**Politicalization, Professionalism, and Bureaucratic Competence: Organizational Balancing and Gubernatorial Tax Revenue Forecasts in the American States**
George A. Krause, University of South Carolina
David E. Lewis, Princeton University
James W. Douglas, University of South Carolina

**Overview:** We propose that a proper balance between politicized and professionalized personnel systems across the executive and staff levels of an organization will best foster politicized and professionalized personnel systems across the executive and staff levels of an organization.

**Paper**

**Latino/Latina Political Appointees and the Policymaking Process: An Examination of their Impact on Executive Decision making in the Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, Bush and Clinton Administrations**
Frances Marquez, Gallaudet University

**Overview:** This study develops a unifying theory of party merger based on an industrial organizational framework and on the theory of the firm.

**Presidential Appointment Strategies and Executive Branch Officers**
Kevin J. Parsneau, University of Minnesota

**Overview:** This study develops a unifying theory of party merger based on an industrial organizational framework and on the theory of the firm.

**Presidential Appointment Strategies and Executive Branch Officers**
Kevin J. Parsneau, University of Minnesota

**Overview:** A study of how previously identified political and institutional variables related Senate environment affect presidents’ decisions in making nominations to the executive branch.

**Disc.**

Russell D. Renka, Southeast Missouri State University

**31-11 LEGISLATIVE PARTY SWITCHING**

**Room** TBA, Fri 1:45

**Chair** Maria Escobar-Lemmon, Texas A&M University

**Paper**

**Electoral Cycles and Party Switching: Opportunistic Partisan Realignment in Legislatures**
Mershon Carol, University of Virginia
Olgă Shvetsova, Binghamton University and California Institute of Technology

**Overview:** We view party strategy as fitting the compound imperatives of the entire "political business cycle"—from one election to the next—and focus on the legislative stage of that cycle. Our empirical cases are Russia and Italy.

**Paper**

**Subnational Politics and National Party Switching**
Scott W. Desposato, University of Arizona

**Overview:** I study the behavioral consequences of party defection on three sets of roll call votes: final passage, amendment, and procedural votes. I posit that switchers exhibit greater changes on procedural and amendment votes than on final passage votes.

**Disc.**

Lucio R. Renno, Stony Brook University

**31-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CONFERENCE COMMITTEES**

**Room** TBA, Fri 1:45

**Presenter** To Confer or not to Confer: An Event Count Analysis of the Use of Conference Committees in the US Congress
Eric H. Hines, University of Iowa

**Overview:** There is no established rule for the frequency of conference committees in Congress. This paper uses findings about conference outcomes to develop an informal theory of their use. The theory is tested using data from the 75th-107th Congresses.

**Presenter** Staff Turnover and Partisanship in the US House of Representatives: Any Correlation?
Joumana Moukarim, American University

**Overview:** This paper examines staff turnover in the House of Representatives and asks, what do staff of departing members do in a more partisan Congress?
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<td>Paper Electronic Campaign Finance Disclosure Laws: Explaining Adoption and Implantation Differences Across States</td>
<td>Mary Schweita, Kent State University</td>
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<td>Paper Cutting Down the Money Tree: Congressional Alignments and the Development of Campaign Finance Regulation</td>
<td>Christopher B. Mann, Yale University</td>
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<td>Paper The Supreme Court's Administrative Law Decisions: An Institutional and Hierarchical Perspective</td>
<td>Joseph L. Smith, University of Alabama</td>
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<td>Paper Charter Agencies: A Case Study of “Innovative” Budget-Cutting Measures in Iowa</td>
<td>Michael Abramowicz and Maxwell Stearns, Defining Dicta</td>
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<td>Disc. Sara C. Benesh, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</td>
<td>Maxwell L. Stearns, George Mason University</td>
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<td>34-9</td>
<td>TORTS, LIABILITY, AND THE LAW</td>
<td>Paper Harm, Duty and Tort Law in America: Why are Bad Samaritan Laws so Rare?</td>
<td>Eric R. Boehme, College of Wooster</td>
<td>Lynda G. Dodd, University of Ohio</td>
<td>Paper Adoption and Implementing Differences Across States</td>
<td>Ramona S. McNeal, Kent State University</td>
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<td>Paper The Impact of Federal Matching Formulas and State Expenditures on the Interstate Variation of Public Assistance Benefits</td>
<td>Jason Hartwig, University of Oregon</td>
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<td>35-5</td>
<td>FISCAL POLICY AND FISCAL FEDERALISM</td>
<td>Paper Testing for Asymmetry in the Flypaper Effect</td>
<td>Craig S. Maher, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh</td>
<td>Michael W. Hail, Morehead State University</td>
<td>Paper The Effects of the Fiscal Factors on the Interstate Migration in US</td>
<td>Shiyuan Chen, Georgia State University</td>
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<td>Steven Deller, University of Wisconsin, Madison</td>
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<td>Paper Legislative Tax Changes: A Dynamic Panel Data Estimation</td>
<td>Olugbenga Ajilore, University of Toledo</td>
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<td>Paper Charter Agencies: A Case Study of “Innovative” Budget-Cutting Measures in Iowa</td>
<td>George Washington University School of Law</td>
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<td>Overview: In this article, the authors apply rational choice theory to explore the relationship between stare decesis and holding versus dicta, critique existing definitions of these terms, and offer and defend their own.</td>
<td>Michael Abramowicz, George Washington University School of Law</td>
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<td>Overview: While constitutional rights are normally thought of as protected by property rules, this Article shows that many are in fact protected by liability rules.</td>
<td>Steven Puro, St. Louis University</td>
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<td>Overview: What impact has federalism had on the rarity of duty to rescue laws in the U.S.?</td>
<td>Sara C. Benesh, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</td>
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<td>Overview: We examine factors contributing to early adoption of e-disclosure laws, differences in scope of implementation, and the impact of adoption on the ease of public accessibility to campaign finance records.</td>
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<td>Overview: Paper will examine the effects of state-level tort reform policies upon consumer medical costs and doctor liability insurance rates.</td>
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<td>Overview: Paper uses advanced econometric techniques to test for asymmetry in changes levels of state aids to local governments within the framework of the flypaper hypothesis.</td>
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<td>Overview: The article investigates the effects of the fiscal factors on the net migration after controlling the other factors. We find that the tax and expenditure structure have significant effects on migration, while the gross tax revenue and expenditure not</td>
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<td>Overview: This paper uses advanced econometric techniques to analyze state fiscal policy.</td>
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<td>Overview: This paper describes the creation of Iowa charter agencies, (2) uses a “reinvention matrix” to examine their use as a reinvention tool, (3) evaluates their first-year performance, and (4) provides considerations if expanding their use.</td>
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**Overview:**
- **32-11** THE DEVELOPMENT AND DYNAMICS OF CAMPAIGN FINANCE LAWS
  - Paper: A First Look at Outside Ads After Reform

- **33-8** THE POLITICS OF LEGAL DOCTRINE
  - Paper: Discretion and Downward Departures: Explaining Variation under the Federal Sentencing Guidelines
    - Overview: Explains the impact of judgment on the political landscape and how it has developed.

- **34-9** TORTS, LIABILITY, AND THE LAW
  - Paper: Harm, Duty and Tort Law in America: Why are Bad Samaritan Laws so Rare?
    - Overview: Examines the impact of tort law on public policy outcomes.

- **35-5** FISCAL POLICY AND FISCAL FEDERALISM
  - Paper: Legislative Tax Changes: A Dynamic Panel Data Estimation
    - Overview: Uses advanced econometric techniques to analyze state fiscal policy.
**36-6 SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF URBAN POLITICS**

**Room** TBA, Fri 1:45  
**Chair** Brady Baybeck, University of Missouri, St. Louis  
Jason A. McDaniel, University of Southern California  
Overview: This article examines the significance of urban space and place to voting behavior in local elections using aggregate ecological data of Los Angeles mayoral elections and spatial econometric methods of analysis.

**Paper** Casting the Vote for Public Goods: The Case of the Seattle Monorail Referendum  
Anne F. Peterson, University of Washington, Bothell  
Barbara S. Kinsey, University of Central Florida  
Hugh Bartling, DePaul University  
Brady P. Baybeck, University of Missouri, St. Louis  
Overview: This paper examines electoral behavior of Seattle voters who supported a monorail costing $1.75 billion in November, 2002 with no state or federal support. This paper tests voter behavior using spatial analytic techniques.

**Disc.** Annette Steinacker, Claremont Graduate University

**37-11 DETERMINANTS OF SOCIAL POLICY**

**Room** TBA, Fri 1:45  
**Chair** Donald P. Haider-Markel, University of Kansas  
**Paper** Agenda Setting and the United Kingdom: The National Health Service and the Community Care Act of 1990  
Paul D. Jorgensen, University of Oklahoma  
Overview: National regions in the UK are examined in order to determine how the local characteristics of cities mediate competition for mayoral and council seats and the use and support for local initiatives.

**Paper** Welfare Policies in Congress  
Lawrence M. Mead, New York University  
Overview: We code witnesses in Congressional hearings during six episodes of welfare reform between 1962 and 1996. We find that over time positions shift to become more conservative, but also that disputes become less ideological and more practical.

**Paper** Local Discretion and the Implementation of Welfare Reform: An Analysis of Sanctioning Outcomes in the Florida TANF Program  
Richard C. Fording, University of Kentucky  
Sanford F. Schram, Bryn Mawr College  
Joe Soss, University of Wisconsin  
Overview: In this study we examine the impact of second-order devolution and the broadening of local discretion on the implementation of welfare reform in the state of Florida.

**Disc.** Craig Ramsay, Ohio Wesleyan University  
Scott W. Allard, Brown University

**40-6 DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVES ON US FOREIGN AND MILITARY POLICY**

**Room** TBA, Fri 1:45  
**Chair** Lilly J. Goren, Lake Forest College  
**Paper** Military Intervention and Wilsonian Ideals: Race and the Historically Contingent Nature of Democratic Reformism in American Foreign Policy  
Connie Anthony, Seattle University  
Overview: The call to Wilsonian ideals in promoting democracy in the Third World forgets the actual Wilsonian legacy in both a policy and philosophical respect.

**Paper** Institutional Ambivalence and Delegation of Power: Congress Post-9/11  
Sanford F. Schram  
Overview: Legislative history shows how and why Congress suffers from an institutional culture of ambivalence about its representative duties. Delegation is followed by regret after the power shift fails to solve the policy problem and the cycle begins again.

**Paper** Congress and the Construction of International Governance in the World War II Era  
Nancy Beck Young, McKendree College  
Overview: My paper examines the role of Congress generally and Senators Tom Connally and Arthur Vandenberg specifically in the creation of the United Nations and other international organizations important to the postwar collective security arrangements.

**Paper** Comparing Military Performance in World War II: An Application of Public Administration Theory  
Michael J. Licari, University of Northern Iowa  
Overview: This paper uses public administration theory to compare the performance of armies in World War II. As public organizations, armies during war must learn and innovate in order to succeed, and have other traits identified in the PA literature.

**Disc.** Lily J. Goren, Lake Forest College

**42-2 MODERNITY, TRUST, AND CULTURE IN CHINESE POLITICS**

**Room** TBA, Fri 1:45  
**Chair** Mary Gallagher, University of Michigan  
**Paper** Dynamics of Trust in Chinese Local Politics  
Ning Zhang, University of California, Santa Barbara  
Overview: This paper analyzes 30 interviews conducted in three major cities in China in summer 2004, and tests hypotheses on the changes in trust generating mechanisms, and the influence of expectations embedded in one's trust on her political behaviors.

**Paper** Title: Analyzing Public Policies in Modern China from a Cultural Perspective—A Case Study on Sichuan Province in the Southwest of China  
Mei Jiang, University of Oregon  
Overview: This paper looks into Sichuan culture,national culture, and the relationship between them, and analyzes their cultural implications on political decision-making processes and outcomes in the Chinese government.

**Disc.** Mary Gallagher, University of Michigan

**45-3 LEARNING IN (AND OUT OF) THE CLASSROOM**

**Room** TBA, Fri 1:45  
**Chair** Rebecca Deen, University of Texas, Arlington  
**Paper** Research This! Using Undergraduate Research Projects to Teach Political Inquiry  
Mary T. Hallock Morris, University of Southern Indiana  
Overview: Does active learning improve student retention of course materials? This paper is a case study pertaining to undergraduate research as a tool for improving student retention of course materials in a course on political science research methods.

**Paper** Active Learning through Reading and Writing in Online Discussion Boards: Assessing the Effects on Learner Outcomes  
Kerstin Hamann, University of Central Florida  
Bruce M. Wilson, University of Central Florida  
Philip H. Pollock, University of Central Florida  
Overview: We assess the impact of discussion postings and number of postings read in online courses on learner outcomes. This builds on the literature emphasizing the importance of discussion as an active learning tool.
Paper | Assessment of On-Line Interaction and Learning through Discussions at an Urban HBCU  
S. Suzan J. Harkness, University of District of Columbia  
Overview: The literature finds that gender impacts online discussion behavior. My data suggests that gender runs contrary to existing evidence and that overall differences between male and female discussion styles are more similar than different.

Paper | TBA  
Duane Milne, West Chester University of Pennsylvania  
Overview: TBA

Disc. | Washington M. La Trice, Otterbein College  
R. Michael Smith, Glenville State College

46-102 ROUNDTABLE: SUCCESS IN GRADUATE SCHOOL AND IN FINDING ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT: LESSONS FROM CURRENT RESEARCH  
Room TBA, Fri 1:45  
Chair Success in Graduate School and in Finding Academic Employment: Lessons from Current Research  
Jacqueline DeLaat  
Vicki Hesli, University of Iowa  
Barbara Burrell, Northern Illinois University  
Jeanette Mendez, University of Houston  
Helena A. Rodrigues, University of Iowa  
Overview: This panel will discuss results of recent national survey on graduate retention.

54-1 THE NEW DIMENSION OF ASIA: THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE 21ST CENTURY  
Room TBA, Fri 1:45  
Chair The-Kuang Chang, Ball State University  
Paper Political Instability in Nepal: Factionalism and Polarization Among Political Parties  
Arijit Mazumdar, Miami of Ohio University/Bangalore University, India  
Overview: TBA

Paper | The Consequences and Legality of Israel's Wall  
Jeff Barnum, Ball State University  
Overview: TBA

Paper | Dokdo: The Starting Point of Invasion of Korea by Japan  
Chan Yung Jung, Ball State University/Kyunghee University, South Korea  
Overview: TBA

Paper | Democratic Transition in Mongolia  
Gerelt-Od Bayantur, University of Saskatchewan, Canada  
Overview: TBA

Paper | The Impact of Bunche on Peace in the Middle East: A 21st Century Perspective  
Olufunmib, Elese, Ball State University  
Overview: TBA

Paper | Tuva: The Political Development and International Relations during the 20th-21st Centuries  
The-Kuang Chang, Ball State University  
Overview: TBA

Disc. | Olga Anatolyena Agaponova, Khabarovsk State Pedagogical University, Russia  
Tayyab Mahmud, John Marshall Law School  
Haroon Khan, Henderson State University

Friday, April 8 – 3:45 pm – 5:30 pm  
1-107 ROUNDTABLE: INCOME INSECURITY AND THE FUTURE OF THE WELFARE STATE (Co-sponsored with Political Sociology, see 43-101)  
Room TBA, Fri 3:45  
Chair Monica Prasad, Northwestern University

Panelist | Jacob Hacker, Yale University  
Mark Rank, Washington University  
Ben Page, Northwestern University  
Overview: TBA

1-116 ROUNDTABLE: THE APSA REPORT ON CIVIC ENGAGEMENT  
Room TBA, Fri 3:45  
Panelist Stephen Macedo, Princeton University  
Margaret Levi, University of Washington  
Overview: TBA

2-9 PARLIAMENTARISM AND PRESIDENTIALISM  
Room TBA, Fri 3:45  
Chair Kaare Strom, University of California, San Diego  
Paper "Engineered" Instability: How Prime Ministers use Reshuffles to Control Governments  
Christopher J. Kam, University of South Carolina  
Overview: Prime Ministers use counter-cyclical reshuffles of ministers and bureaucrats to undercut a variety of agency losses. This argument is tested against data on the Canadian cabinet and civil service from 1950-2000.

Paper | Cabinet Portfolios vs. Coalition Governments: Who Has the Power in Welfare Policy Decisions?  
Christine S. Lipsmeyer, University of Missouri, Columbia  
Overview: Little is known about the relationship between the party that holds a ministry and the public policy outcomes. Which one influences policy more—the political party in charge of a policy area or the coalition government as a whole?

Paper | The Effects of Presidential Power on Government Formation in Semi-Presidentialism  
Shin-Goo Kang, University of Rochester  
Overview: The goal of this paper is to empirically test the effects of presidential power on three different aspects - (1) type of government, (2) government membership, and (3) portfolio allocation - of government formation in semi-presidentialism.

Disc. | Kaare Strom, University of California, San Diego  
Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, Washington University

2-14 LE PETIT GARS: THE LEGACY OF JEAN ChrÉTIEN  
Room TBA, Fri 3:45  
Chair Tony L. Hill, Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Paper Canadian Liberalism, Party Politics and the ChrÉtiens Legacy  
Steve Patten, University of Alberta  
Overview: This paper traces the Chrétien legacy by examining key policy debates within the Canadian party system during the 10 years Chrétien was prime minister and the 13 years he was Liberal leader.

Paper | Boy Scouts or Boys with Toys: Canadian National Defence under ChrÉtiens  
Christopher Ankerson, Carleton University  
Overview: Chrétien had an ambivalent relationship with national defence while PM. He committed the military often, but at the same time starved it of resources. An evaluation of his actions reveals that while his impact is significant, it is not unique.

Paper | The Chrétien Effect: Assessing The Personal Electoral Impact of a Canadian Party Leader  
Tony L. Hill, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Updated 03-01-05 85
Overview: Jean Chrétien was the first Canadian leader since Laurier to win three consecutive majorities. This paper analyzes aggregate election data from before, during, and after the Chrétien era to assess Chrétien’s personal impact on the electoral process.

**Paper** Advance Polls as a Measure of the "Late Switch" in the 2004 Canadian Federal Election  
**Barry Kay, Wilfrid Laurier University**

Overview: Many assume that poll inconsistency with the final results reflects poll error. This paper examines the difference between advance polls and election day voting with aggregate data to consider whether many voters changed their minds in the interim.

**Paper** Canada and Human Security: From the Axworthy Doctrine to Middle Power Internationalism  
**Prosper M. Bernard Jr., City University of New York**

Overview: This paper considers Canada's contribution to the promotion of human security. In particular, it compares and contrasts the approaches used by Prime Ministers Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin to ensure the security and well-being of individuals.

**Disc.** J. W. Justice, Texas Tech University  
Jane Arscrott, Athabasca University

**4-7** INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT

**Room** TBA, Fri 3:45  
**Chair** Melissa Scheier, University of Houston

**Paper** Promoting Democracy? International Efforts to Build Civil Society and Strategies of Participation  
**Carew Boulding, University of California, San Diego**

Overview: What is the effect of efforts to aid NGOs and civil society in developing democracies? I examine the effect of international support to NGOs on the political strategies through which activist leaders mobilize citizens to participate in politics.

**Paper** Election Boycotts, Election Observers, and Competition: Do International Observers Give Parties an Incentive to Boycott Elections?  
**Susan D. Hyde, University of California, San Diego**  
**Emily A. Beaulieu, University of California, San Diego**

Overview: If international observers are a signal that the election will be objectively evaluated according to international standards, and are associated with free and fair elections, why do opposition parties boycott the election even when they are present?

**Paper** Haiti and the Democratic Regime of the Americas  
**David M. Goldberg, College of Du Page**

Overview: Haitian crisis of 2004 and the democratic regime of the Americas.

**Paper** Civil Society, Environmental NGOs, and Democratization in China  
**Shui-Yan Tang, University of Southern California**  
**Xueyong Zhan, University of Southern California**

Overview: This paper traces the origins, structures, and functions of three types of environmental NGOs in China. It examines how various political and resource constraints have shaped their impact on civil society and democratization in China.

**Disc.** Steven Majstorovic, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire

**4-20** POLITICS IN POST-COMMUNIST SOCIETY

**Room** TBA, Fri 3:45  
**Chair** Andrew Konitzer-Smirnoff, Baylor University

**Paper** Committee Strength in Legislative Politics of Developing Legislatures: the Case of the National Parliament of Ukraine  
**Irina S. Kihmelko, Indiana University**  
**Charles R. Wise, Indiana University**

Overview: The paper contributes to the literature in the fields of democratic institution building, legislative studies, and post communist politics.

**Paper** Information Diffusion and the Structure of Political Sentiment in Romania  
**Calvin J. Mouv, University of Illinois, Springfield**

Overview: This paper uses an information diffusion model to consider factors that serve to constrain the selection and processing of information in democratic countries.

**Paper** What does Civil Service Reform have to Do with Democratic Transition? The Case of Post-Soviet Russia  
**Anna Gregg, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale**

Overview: Analyzing the dynamics of the ongoing civil service reform implementation in Russia, its challenges, and preliminary results, I argue that major change in the administrative apparatus is an important component of any democratic transition.

**Paper** Regime Change and Survival in the Post-Communist ‘Gray Zone’: The Rise of Electoral Revolutions  
**Klara A. Sogindolska, Johns Hopkins University**

Overview: The paper presents the theory of Electoral Revolutions as a distinct model of hybrid regime transformation. It then demonstrates it through the instances of recent regime change in Serbia (2000), Georgia (2003) and the ‘failed’ case of Armenia (2003)

**Paper** The Role of Cultural Legacies in Hungarian Healthcare Reform  
**Diana Z. Boros, University of Maryland**

Overview: This paper views the struggling Hungarian healthcare system through a culturalist lens. It explores the impacts of cultural legacies of Communism on current reform efforts and calls for an emerging of civil society to create lasting change.

**Disc.** Cynthia Kaplan, University of California, Santa Barbara

**6-8** PARTIES AND PARTY SYSTEMS IN LATIN AMERICA

**Room** TBA, Fri 3:45  
**Chair** Peter Siavelis, Wake Forest University

**Paper** The Length of Legislative Coalitions: Explaining Variation in Latin America  
**Marisa Keilam, University of California, Las Angeles**

Overview: This paper provides an explanation for the shortness of multiparty coalitions in some Latin American countries. It shows that short-lived and shifting legislative coalitions are more likely in regionally-fragmented party systems.

**Paper** An Institutional Explanation for Chile’s Unique Political Stability in the Latin American Context  
**Patricio D. Navia, New York University**  
**Cristobal Aninat, Universidad Adolfo Ibanez**

Overview: Chile’s two-party system is the result of institutional setting and internal political developments. In the absence of either, the outcomes would have been much less stable.

**Edurne Zoco, University of Notre Dame**

Overview: This paper proposes an explanatory model of party system collapse that can be applied to explain the collapse in a comparative perspective. Second, the paper applies this explanatory model to understand the collapse of the Venezuelan party system.

**Paper** Human Rights Policies in Latin America: Contrasting Divergent Outcomes  
**Rebecca Evans, Ursinus College**

Overview: This paper examines similarities and differences in the human rights policies adopted by Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil and Chile, arguing that these policies have been shaped by electoral calculations and party system dynamics.

**Disc.** Peter Siavelis, Wake Forest University

**7-7** THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CHINESE DEVELOPMENT

**Room** TBA, Fri 3:45  
**Chair** Xun Liu, University of Buffalo, SUNY

**Paper** Bureaucratic Structure and Industrial Development in China  
**Zhou Fang, University of Michigan**
Overview: The paper explores how the different institutional context in China influence the development pattern of two industrial sectors -- automobile and telecom manufacturing.

Paper **The Rise of the Developmentalist Concept of "Culture" in China**
Jungmin Seo, University of Hawaii, Manoa
Overview: This paper is a thorough examination of the concepts of 'cultural industry' and 'cultural market' in China in the age of globalization.

Paper **The Politics of Cooling China's Overheated Economy**
Zhiiyue Bo, Tarleton State University
Overview: The central-local relations in 2004 were complicated by factional politics.

Paper **The Impact of E-Government on Authoritarian Rule in China**
Xia Lollar, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater
Overview: TBA

9-4 **CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN CHINESE POLITICS**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45

Paper **A Top-Down Reform or Continuous Adaptations? China's Private Enterprise Control Policy under Jiang Zemin**
Yayoi Kato, University of Southern California
Overview: The paper investigated, using survey data of private enterprises and Communist Party documents, if China's private enterprise control policy or liberalization process in Jiang Zemin era (1992-2002) was top-down or bottom-up.

Paper **Subterranean Values and Juvenile Delinquency in China: Evidence from Birth Cohort Surveys**
David Drissel, Iowa Central Community College
Overview: The paper will examine birth cohort longitudinal data for evidence of subterranean values in China, based on the theory that elevated rates of juvenile delinquency have been fueled from above by de facto capitalization.

Paper **Rights Consciousness, Economic Interests, and the 2003 District-level People's Congress Elections: Middle Class Motivations and Democratic Implications**
Xinsong Wang, Georgia State University
Overview: This paper studies the motivations of the members of Chinese middle class who sought candidacies and ran campaigns in the 2003 District-level People’s Congresses (DPCs) elections in Shenzhen and in Beijing.

Jay K. Dow, University of Missouri - Columbia
Byong-Kuen Jhee, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: This study uses the 1988 and 1995 CHIP to trace demographic changes in Chinese Communist Party Membership in response to market liberalization.

Disc. Pierre Landry, Yale University

10-8 **CRISIS BARGAINING AND WAR**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45

Chair William Reed, Rice University

Paper **The Effects of Economic Interdependence on Conflict Bargaining**
Rosa E. Sandoval-Bustos, Rice University
Overview: This paper tests several implications derived from the explanation that states do not fight because they do not want to suffer costs from trade disruption.

Paper **The Effect of Coercion on Crisis Escalation and the Onset of Interstate War**
Kwang-Jin Kim, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: This study attempts to apply existing war studies focusing on societal and systemic approach to national coercion study composed of coercive diplomacy, economic sanctions, and airpower coercion.

Paper **Public Commitment in Crisis Bargaining**
Bahar Leventoglu, Stony Brook University
Ahmer Tarar, Texas A&M University
Overview: We analyze a game-theoretic model of audience costs with bargaining to examine how public commitments can be used to generate bargaining leverage in international crises.

Paper **Perception, Signaling, and War: A Noisy Information Model of Crisis Bargaining**
Shuhei Kurizaki, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This study considers how the level of democracy and democratic consolidation influence the amount of foreign direct investment (FDI) for developing countries. Its principal finding is that democratic consolidation increases FDI for developing countries.

Paper **The Politics of Expropriation**
Nathan M. Jensen, Washington University

Overview: Multivariate studies employing the COPDAB dataset support an interpretation of international interactions as being governed in part by participants' efforts to maintain sentiments about national identities and about international actions.

Overview: A learning theory of state behavior is tested using territorial disputes data and the choice of third-party dispute resolution. Results confirm learning hypotheses, including the imitation of observed behavior and the repetition of past behavior.

Paper **Framing and Power in the Global Aging Movement**
Jennifer D. Scibba, University of Maryland
Overview: The paper looks at how the movement aligns its internal and external frames, and what roles material and identity-based constructs play.

Paper **Terrorism, Negative Emotions and Sensitivity to Quality of Information in Foreign Policy Decision Making**
Nehemia Geva, Texas A&M University
Katrina N. Mosher, Texas A&M University
Overview: An experimental study of how negative emotions influence the way reliability of information is treated on route to foreign policy choices.

Disc. Steven B. Reed, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

11-5 **POLITICAL ECONOMY OF FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT (Co-sponsored with Comparative Politics-Developing Countries, see 3-21)**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45

Chair Layna Moseley, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Paper **Puzzling Through: The Impact of Regime Type on Inflows of Foreign Direct Investment**
Seung-Whan Choi, University of Illinois, Chicago
Yiagudesssa Sany, Carleton University
Overview: Current scholarship provides puzzling theoretical linkages and evidence wrt the impact of regime type on inflows of foreign direct investment. Our cross-national, time-series analysis over 20 years shows that democratic regimes attract more FDI.

Paper **Understanding Democracy, Democratic Consolidation, Foreign Direct Investment, and Developing Countries**
John A. Duesenberry, University of Southern California
Overview: This paper considers how the level of democracy and democratic consolidation influence the amount of foreign direct investment for developing countries. Its principal finding is that democratic consolidation increases FDI for developing countries.

Disc. William Reed, Rice University

Updated 03-01-05
Overview: In this paper I empirically examine the determinants of expropriation in a large sample of developed and developing countries.

Paper **Institutional Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment and Capital Flight**
Irfan Nooruddin, Ohio State University
Overview: Increasing attention is being paid to the determinants of FDI flows to developing countries. Less has been given to the determinants of capital flight from these countries. This paper provides a joint framework for understanding these capital flows.

Disc. Monica Arruda de Almeida, University of California, Los Angeles
Layna Mosley, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

11-16 **EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF TRADE**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45
Chair Alexandra Guisinger, University of Notre Dame

Jeffrey Drape, University of Miami
Overview: This paper models empirically the levels of non-tariff trade policy use in developing nations by examining the impacts of domestic interests, nations’ relative positions in world trade, and institutional arrangements within and between nations.

Paper **The Sinews of Interdependence: State Infrastructure and Interstate Trade, 1950 – 1993**
Christopher E. Housenick, Pennsylvania State University
Overview: I pose the research question of how do infrastructure influence and shape interstate trade? I find that these domestic systems play a vital role in increasing interstate trade and interdependence.

Paper **Demand-Side and Supply-Side Theories of Trade Policy: Competing, Complementary, or Interdependent?**
Daniel Y. Kono, University of California, Davis
Overview: This paper presents a cross-national, cross-sectoral analysis of nontariff barriers that examines simultaneously the impact of sectoral demand-side variables, national supply-side variables, and interactions between the two.

Paper **Globalization versus Regionalization? A Comparative Analysis of NAFTA, EU, and ASEAN**
Anthony S. Marum, Purdue University
Melissa J. Buehler, Purdue University
Overview: We argue that globalization and regionalization complement each other, but an endogenous correlation between the trends complicates the separation of their affects. To display this relationship, we compare three trade agreements on five variables.

Disc. Alexandra Guisinger, University of Notre Dame
Eunyoung Ha, University of California, Los Angeles

12-5 **INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45
Chair Michelle Benson, University at Buffalo, SUNY

Paper **East Asian Regionalism: South Korea-Chile Free Trade Agreement and Its Implications**
Youngshik Bong, Wellesley College
Heon Joo Jung, University of Pennsylvania
Overview: This research examines how external factors and institutional changes in domestic policies can affect the political feasibility of FTA formation and its implications to regional economic cooperation in East Asia with a case study on South Korea.

Paper **From the Inside Out: The Domestic Sources of International Cooperation**
Andrea Little Limbago, University of Colorado, Boulder
Overview: I analyze the domestic factors that contribute to a state’s propensity to form currency unions, PTAs and alliances.

Paper **Sorting Out Two-Way Causal Relationships: Central Bank Independence and Compliance with IMF Conditions**
Burcu Ucaray, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: This paper focuses on the norm of CBI and the relationship between the IMF as “norm promoter” and client countries as “targets”. I argue that there is interdependence between compliance behaviors chosen by governments and CBI levels.

Paper **APEC, After-APEC, and the Building of the Asia Pacific Community**
Vera Zambonelli, Johns Hopkins University
Overview: This is a study of APEC through unexpected processes it originated. It has indirectly provided a political space to emerging alter-APEC communities which presented alternative discourses on how to define and identify the Asia Pacific region.

Paper **Foreign Policy and Interstate Cooperation in Latin America**
Randall Parish, Texas A&M University
Overview: This paper uses institutional analysis to explore why some countries in Latin America have been able to overcome longstanding rivalries to develop cooperative relations over the last twenty years, while others failed in similar efforts.

Disc. Michelle Benson, University at Buffalo, SUNY

13-7 **SECURITY AND FINANCE**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45
Chair Carol Atkinson, Command and Staff College, United States Air Force

Jason Brozek, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: I look at the mechanism through which financial markets anticipate interstate conflict and how a state's decision-makers can use market signals to their advantage.

Paper **The Asian Financial Crisis and ASEAN's Concept of Security**
Yongwook Ryu, Harvard University
Overview: The financial crisis changed ASEAN's approach to regional security by enabling ASEAN to intervene in the domestic affairs of its member states. It reflects a change in ASEAN's organizational identity.

Paper **Integration is a Double Edged Sword**
Shane Smith, University of Colorado
Overview: This paper argues that while transnational integration may bring peace among in-group countries it has negative effects on non-members.

Paper **Nuclear Restraint in North Korea: Economic Liberalization as a Tool of Nonproliferation**
Keith R. Hagan, University of Cincinnati
Overview: Studying North Korea's recent policy of economic liberalization along side its nuclear policy reveals an inversely proportional shift - as liberalization increases, its maintenance of nuclear weapons as a form of aggression uniformly decreases.

Disc. Carol Atkinson, Command and Staff College, United States Air Force

14-7 **DYNAMICS OF REBELLION**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45
Chair Ron Francisco, University of Kansas

Paper **Rebel Group Dynamics: Cooperation or Competition**
Christina Furtado, University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign
Overview: This paper focuses on rebel groups as key actors and explores conditions under which rebel groups cooperate or compete. It presents a formal model of credibility in alliances among rebel groups and explores implications for civil war dynamics.

Paper **Reinventing Anti-Globalization: Competing with the Post 9/11 Anti-War Movement**
Helga G. de Vries, University of Maryland, College Park
Ingrid Kvan, George Washington University
Overview: Protest event analysis and interviews help to explain how competition with anti-war movements and institutional reforms spurred tactical repertoire shifts by increasingly
Paper **Predation, Production or Presents? The Money Logic of War**
Jennifer J. Ziemke, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: What explains the fluctuation in violent episodes across time and space? I posit and test using both macro-level data and field research in Angola how insurgents obtain their revenue helps shape incentives for war or peace in a given moment.

Paper **Explaining Insurgent Consolidation at the Level of the Region**
Sergio Alexis Koc-Menard, Carleton University
Overview: The paper examines why insurgent organizations succeed in consolidating their authority in some regions of a country but fail to do so in others. It concludes that the main determinant of rebel consolidation is police and counterinsurgent weakness.

Paper **"All Hell Broke Loose": A Comparative Approach to American Race Riots From the Progressive Era to World War II**
Ann V. Collins, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: This paper examines the causes and effects of American race riots from the late nineteenth century to the early 1940s. It includes both an overarching analysis of broad trends, as well as an in-depth examination of particular riots.

Disc. Ron Francisco, University of Kansas

### 16-10 CANDIDATE IMAGE AND SOURCE EFFECTS

Room TBA, Fri 3:45
Chair Michael D. Parkin, University of Minnesota

Paper **The Elusive “C”: Causes and Consequences of Charismatic Political Leadership**
Jennifer Merolla, Claremont Graduate University
Jennifer Ramos, University of California, Davis
Elizabeth Zechmeister, University of California, Davis
Overview: Within the context of the upcoming US elections and the national security crisis, we examine the determinants and effects of charismatic political leadership, including the consequence of perceived charismatic leadership for candidate evaluations.

Paper **Shield or Stinger: The Role of Party Bonds and Competence Evaluations in Political Predicaments**
Tereza Capelos, Leiden University
Overview: This paper presents an experimental study that examines the contribution of competition evaluations and party affiliation as mitigators of the effects of harmful political predicaments.

Paper **Candidate Appearance, Traits, and Feeling Thermometer Ratings: The Roots of Likeability**
Margaret Ann Curran, Weber State University
James N. Schubert, Northern Illinois University
Overview: This paper extends our APSA 2004 paper using ANES feeling thermometer information to include experimental data to assess the impact of subjects’ evaluations of appearance and leadership traits to predict political success.

Paper **How Issues and Emotions Mediate a Candidate’s Credibility: Campaign Messages in Political Advertising**
Brian K. Arbour, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: I develop a theory of campaign message, holding that candidates disseminate campaign messages that demonstrate their policies are based on the common, as opposed to their personal interest, by connecting their record to the issues of the campaign.

Disc. Michael D. Parkin, University of Minnesota

### 16-301 POSTER SESSION: POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY

Room TBA, Fri 3:45
Presenter Historical Perspectives of the Marginalization of Nursing in the Labor Market
Susan del Bene, Pace University

Overview: The field of marginalization can be reviewed in terms of many types of stratification that occur. Traditionally, concepts of class and caste have been of central importance of the description of corporate society and politicalization of health care.

Presenter **The Operational Code of Al-Qaida**
P. M. Piocucci, University of Kansas
Overview: This paper documents the process of deriving an operational code from public statements of the Al-Qaida organization and places the derived code in the context of previously existing operational codes of state leaders.

Presenter **Passive Reconciliation**
Rafi Nets, Tel Aviv University
Overview: This paper confronts the current dominant view of the (active) reconciliation as the exclusive process for tending the aftermath of intractable conflicts. Passive reconciliation is proposed, which evolves out of the influence of time and interests.

Presenter **We Have Cognition: Grappling with Neuroscience in Democratic Theory**
Francis VanderValk, College at Oneonta
Overview: This paper addresses the challenges that will be faced by the next generation of political theorists as a result of recent advances in neuroscience and cognitive theory. The paper focuses on the question of “tempo” in contemporary society.

### 17-10 THE ROLE OF ISSUES IN VOTE CHOICE

Room TBA, Fri 3:45
Chair TBA

Paper **Candidate Agendas, Public Perceptions, and Public Priorities in Presidential Campaigns**
Michele P. Claibourn, University of Virginia
Overview: Do citizens accurately perceive the focus of candidate issue discussions? Do the candidates’ issue emphases, as relayed in advertising, TV and newspaper coverage, increase the priority citizens give to the emphasized issues during the campaign?

Paper **Issue Proximity and Issue Priority: How Much does Each Influence the Voting Decision?**
Ronald B. Rapoport, College of William & Mary
Walter J. Stone, University of California, Davis
Overview: We will examine how voters’ and activists’ issue priorities, and their correspondence of with those of parties and candidates influence candidate choice and involvement independent of issue proximity effects.

Paper **Nonseparable Preferences and Issue Voting in the 2004 US Presidential Elections**
Dean Lacy, Ohio State University
Overview: A panel survey of voters’ decision-making during the 2004 election reveals that many voters’ preferences on issues depend on the outcomes they expect on other issues. Such complex preferences are not captured in studies of issue-oriented voting.

Paper **Issue Salience, Issue Ownership and Issue-Based Vote Choice: Evidence From Canada**
Bonnie M. Meguid, University of Rochester
Eric Belanger, University of Twente
Overview: We explore the role of issue ownership in individual vote choice in the 1997 & 2000 Canadian federal elections. As a correction to the original model, we find that issue ownership’s effect on vote is conditional upon the salience of the issue.

Paper **The Structure, Meaning, and Influence of Political Ideology**
Shawn A. Treier, University of Georgia
Sunshine Hillygus, Harvard University
Overview: Using an item response model (IRT) to estimate a measure of individual-level ideology, we examine the structure and meaning of ideology and its relationship to party identification and the vote.

Disc. Caroline Tolbert, Kent State University

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Overview: Preferences over campaign disclosure requirements and autonomy explain the difference between men and women. From 1956 to 2000, the result shows that economic vulnerability and autonomy explain the difference between men and women. From this, it can be seen that economic vulnerability and autonomy explain the difference between men and women.

Overview: How does proximity matching work? In this paper, we will examine the effects of advertising on voter behavior. This includes examining how advertising affects voter preferences over tax policy.

Overview: What is proximity matching? Proximity matching is a technique used to improve the accuracy of data used in political science research. It is a technique that is often used in campaigning and election studies.

Overview: Understanding Elections: Policy, Character, Party Brian Gaines, Stanford University Overview: I illustrate which of these factors has more bearing on vote choice.

Overview: Making Predictions and Understanding the Campaign: How Close Did Polimetrix Come? Drew Linzer, University of California, Los Angeles Overview: Where the shifts in public opinion occurred and what effect they had on the outcome.

Overview: The Basics of Proximity Matching on Large Datasets Jeffrey B. Lewis, University of California, Los Angeles Overview: What is proximity matching?

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Overview: The Basics of Proximity Matching on Large Datasets Jeffrey B. Lewis, University of California, Los Angeles Overview: What is proximity matching?
Overview: This paper explores the endogenous relationship between government size, income distribution and voter turnout modifying the Meltzer-Richard model by introducing a cost of voting.

Overview: Using a combination of new data and methods, we estimate turnout of lower and upper class Americans in the 1920s and 30s. We report how the gap between lower and upper class turnout varies over time and compares to current elections.

Overview: I used quantitative methods and spatial mapping to analyze the Denver metro area which is missing from current research.

Overview: This paper presents an in-depth comparative analysis of the effects of the Internet, Print and Broadcast Media on environmental inequality within the Denver Metro Area.

Overview: This paper examines the politics of three successful campaigns for lieutenant governor.

Overview: This paper analyzes youth voter participation by educational attainment as well as many of the current efforts to increase it. It demonstrates that many of the organizational efforts to increase youth participation are aimed at the wrong groups.

Overview: This paper will present an in-depth comparative analysis of the effects of the Internet, Print and Broadcast Media on the US Presidential election in 2004.

Overview: On most of political issues, two spirals of opinions exist. Regardless external opinion climates, individuals adopt the attitudes of a valued group and people with strong in-group identity tend to speak out their opinions strongly and consistently.

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Overview: This paper focuses on establishing democracy in societies with few democratic traditions from the perspective of Montesquieu's constitutional theory. Moderate government is justifiable as an intermediate step if democracy is initially unattainable.

Overview: This paper presents an in-depth comparative analysis of the effects of the Internet, Print and Broadcast Media on the US Presidential election in 2004.
Carmen Pavel, Brown University
Overview: The normative grip of the liberal state seems to be slowly fading in the face of institutional pluralism. Does institutional pluralism make room for substantive cosmopolitan moral norms, or rather a modus vivendi?

Disc. Mark S. Kremer, Kennesaw State University

25-7 CRITIQUE, SOCIAL MOVEMENT, AND REFORM
Room TBA, Fri 3:45
Chair Stephen Chilton, University of Minnesota, Duluth
Paper The Liberal Socialism of Jean Jaurès
Geoffrey Kurtz, Rutgers University
Overview: Jean Jaurès’s (1859-1914) synthesis of themes from the liberal and socialist traditions sheds light on contemporary debates about radical reform, internationalism, and the relationship between class and new social movement politics.

Paper The Public Role of Political Inquiry
Maurice J. Meilleur, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: John Dewey’s understanding of “problem-driven” inquiry suggests a way past the debates between traditional and “engaged” views of political science towards a more constructive view of the public role of political inquiry.

Paper Communication vs. Strategy?: Habermas and the Social Dynamics of Political Action
Keith R. Haysom, New School for Social Research
Overview: A critical inquiry into Habermas’ understanding of the dynamics of political action within liberal democracies, with emphasis on the role played by social movements in the public sphere, and the constitutive role of strategy therein.

Paper Norm and Utopia Revisited. Discourse Ethics as an Instrument of Critique?
Luis J. Romero Leon, New School for Social Research
Overview: I explore the theory of morality presented by Jürgen Habermas as contested by Wellmer, Taylor, Bernstein and Benhabib, and posit that the deliberative model of moral judgements a powerful instrument for immanent social critique.

Disc. Stephen Chilton, University of Minnesota, Duluth

26-2 REPRESENTATION AND LIBERALISM ABROAD
Room TBA, Fri 3:45
Chair Eric Macgillivray, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Paper Liberalism’s Failure: The Origins of Political Homelessness
B. Christopher Brooks, Saint Olaf College
Overview: This paper explores the origins of the modern problem of political homelessness and identifies the source in Liberalism’s traditional emphasis on property and place as a prerequisite for citizenship.

Paper Transnational Representation: Extending Participation in Cross-border Decision Making
Carol C. Gould, George Mason University
Overview: This paper addresses the global democratic deficit by analyzing a range of proposals for introducing (or increasing) democratic representation within the institutions of global governance as well as in new cross-border communities at the local level.

Paper Being Liberal Abroad: An Elaboration and Defense of Rawls’s Argument for Toleration
Margaret Jenkins, McGill University
Overview: Does being liberal abroad require toleration or rejection of nonliberal societies? This paper defends Rawls’s argument for toleration, countering claims by Pogge and others that Rawls’s international and domestic theories of justice are inconsistent.

Paper Speaking for the Homeland: The Legitimacy of Diaspora Involvement in Homeland Politics
Ashwini Vasanathinakumar, University of Toronto
Overview: This paper questions the legitimacy of diaspora involvement in homeland politics by scrutinising its claims of representation. I examine theories of political representation, identify a core criteria, and apply these to diasporas.

Disc. Eric Macgillivray, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Disc. Melissa A. Schwartzberg, George Washington University

27-5 AGENCY PROBLEMS
Room TBA, Fri 3:45
Chair David Epstein, Columbia University
Paper Oversight, Delegation, and the Political Importance of Administrative Law
Sean Gillmard, Northwestern University
Overview: We integrate several legislative tools to influence bureaucratic policy making into one model, and analyze strategic use of them. We empirically test several key results, and discuss their implications for some crucial administrative law cases.

Paper Dictators and Their Viziers: Agency Problems in Dictatorships
Konstantin Sonin, Institute for Advanced Study
George Egorov, New Economic School/CEPR
Overview: Dictators have to trade-off the loyalty and competence of their close subordinates. Unable to commit to a mild punishment for a traitor, an insecure dictator cannot provide a subordinate with an optimal incentives structure.

Paper The Institutional Foundations of Delegation: Legislative Monitoring Regimes in Weak and Strong Party Systems
Rene Lindstaedt, Washington University
Overview: Do electoral/party systems determine the monitoring regime a legislature will put in place to control the bureaucracy? My model shows that legislatures in strong-party systems can device more efficient monitoring than those in weak party systems.

Paper Principal-Agent Negotiations with Teams of Agents
Andrew B. Whifford, University of Georgia
LeAnne Ochs, University of Kansas
Overview: We offer an experiment where a principal negotiates with two agents over a contract’s terms, the agents independently choose an effort level, and the principal and the two agents are paid on the basis of the asset value and the contract.

Paper Side-Effects of Campaign Finance Reform
Matthias Dahm, Northwestern University
Overview: Considerable progress has been made in understanding the lobbying instruments political pressure and informational lobbying separately. However, this literature falls short of integrating both activities and explaining the choice of interest groups.

Disc. David Epstein, Columbia University
Disc. Alan Wiseman, Ohio State University

29-4 DIMINISHING DEMOCRACY IN GROUPS AND PARTIES
Room TBA, Fri 3:45
Chair Theda Skocpol, Harvard University
Paper Voting Alone: Do Weak Parties Diminish Civic Engagement?
Zachary C. Course, University of Virginia
Overview: A comparative survey of states with weak and strong party systems, exploring the linkage between party organization and civic engagement.

Paper Diminished Democracy? Comparing Opportunities for Participation in Women’s Voluntary Associations
Maryann Barakso, American University
Overview: Opportunities for membership representation and participation in women’s groups are compared by analyzing the financial, electoral and policymaking components of ethnic, partisan and multi-issue women’s rights organizations (n=28).

Paper Constituency Representatives or Strategic Entrepreneurs? Cooperation, Competition and Representation in Interest Group Sectors
Matt Grossmann, University of California, Berkeley
Jill Hammerbeck, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: I analyze the activities of political organizations that speak on behalf of large social groups. Using data on their

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prominence and tactics, I show that they act as sectors responsive to their constituencies rather than independent strategic leaders.

**Paper** Professionalized Interest Groups: Can They be Justified?  
Alexandra E. Hoerl, Rutgers University  
Overview: Working from Skocpol’s (2003) conclusions about interest group professionalization I examine the inequalities in interest group participation from the standpoint of political theory and conclude that liberalism does not provide a satisfying solution.

**Disc.** Michael T. Heaney, Yale University

**29-7 GROUPS AND PARTIES IN CAMPAIGN**  
**FINANCE**  
**Room** TBA, Fri 3:45  
**Chair** Clive S. Thomas, University of Alaska, Juneau  
**Paper** The Puzzy of Soft Money: Replacement or Access Strategy?  
Michael M. Franz, University of Wisconsin, Madison  
Overview: This paper investigates the party soft money contribution strategies of organized interests between 1992 and 2002, before the changes imposed by McCain-Feingold.

**Paper** The Effects of Electoral Context and Legal Restrictions on Financial Contributions by Individuals to Candidates, Parties and PACs  
Robert C. Lowry, Iowa State University  
Overview: I analyze FEC data to determine whether and how hard money contributions raised by candidates, parties and PACs from individuals depend on electoral circumstances in districts where donors live, and federal and state laws that limit contributions.

**Paper** Do 527’s Add Up to a Party? Thinking About the “Shadows” of Politics  
Richard M. Skinner, Bowdoin College  
Overview: Examination of the so-called “527” organizations through the perspective of theories of political parties and interest groups.

**Paper** Ask and then Ask Again: Party Finance Laws and the Rise of Fundraising in Canada and the United States  
Claire M. Smith, University of Notre Dame  
Overview: How do changes in finance laws impact development of fundraising? This paper examines how party finance laws, such as contribution limits, have encouraged fundraising on the national and sub-national level in Canada and the U.S. from 1980 to 2003.

**Disc.** Chapman Rackaway, Fort Hays State University

**30-7 PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC**  
**Room** TBA, Fri 3:45  
**Chair** Sara Margaret Gubala, Michigan State University  
**Paper** What Citizens Learn from Presidential State of the Union Addresses  
Jason Barabas, Harvard University  
Overview: Citizens learn important facts from State of the Union addresses, but increases in knowledge are conditional upon levels of individual attention and media coverage devoted to the speeches.

**Paper** Presidential Rhetoric and Leadership Following American Tragedies in Space  
Gary L. Gregg, University of Louisville  
Randall Adkins, University of Nebraska, Omaha  
Overview: How have American presidents performed their leadership role as "Healer" following tragedies that have befallen the American space program? How did their actions and words affected their standings in the polls and their subsequent policy proposals?

**Paper** "The Blood of the Lamb"—Religious Rhetoric in Presidential State of the Union Messages  
Ted Ritter, University of Oklahoma  
Overview: The paper examines the use of subtle and overt religious rhetoric, symbolism and metaphors by Presidents in the State of the Union address.

**Paper** How Does Presidential Rhetoric on the Economy Affect Presidential Approval?  
B. Dan Wood, Texas A&M University  
Overview: I address the question posed in the title using time series data on the relative optimism/pessimism of presidential remarks about the economy through time.

**Disc.** Sara Margaret Gubala, Michigan State University  
Brandon J. Rottinghaus, University of Idaho

**31-5 REPRESENTATION: VOTES, BEHAVIOR, AND POLICY OUTCOMES**  
**Room** TBA, Fri 3:45  
**Chair** L. Marvin Overby, University of Missouri, Columbia  
**Paper** Explaining Sponsorship and Cosponsorship Behavior in the U.S. House, 1974 to 2002  
Kelly Burke, Louisiana State University  
James C. Garand, Louisiana State University  
Overview: In this paper we use data for U.S. House members from 1974 to 2002 to test a series of models of sponsorship and cosponsorship behavior.

**Paper** Does Descriptive Representation Lead to Equal Representation?  
John Griffin, University of Notre Dame  
Brian Newman, TBA  
Overview: Does the face of government bias against the interests of racial minorities and women? We examine the relative representation of minorities compared to whites, and women compared to men, when these groups are descriptively represented.

**Paper** Why do Legislators Take Positions Contrary to their Constituents? An Examination of Homeland Security and Domestic Policy and Legislators’ Conflicting Positions  
Christian R. Grose, Lawrence University  
Keesha M. Middlemass, University of Kansas  
Overview: Did legislators in the 107th Congress take positions on homeland security in order to diverge from their constituents’ preferences on domestic policy? We present comparable estimates of MC and constituency ideal points in the 107th.

**Paper** Constituency Interests and Congressional Behavior: Whose Interests are Represented?  
Kris Miller, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign  
Overview: This paper examines congressional representation by focusing on which constituencies in a district are represented. I offer an empirical analysis and find that legislators are more likely to act on behalf of certain subconstituencies than others.

**Disc.** L. Marvin Overby, University of Missouri, Columbia  
Jennifer N. Victor, University of Pittsburgh

**31-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS AND MEDIA ATTENTION**  
**Room** TBA, Fri 3:45  
**Presenter** Media Attention to Issues, Legislative Hearings, and Legislative Outcomes  
Holly Brasher, University of Alabama, Birmingham  
Overview: This paper addresses questions about sources of influence on the issues considered in congressional hearings, the relative influence of various sources of agenda setting, and the consequences of these sources of influence for the legislative process.

**Presenter** We Are Like You: The Rhetoric and Treatment of Celebrities in Congressional Hearings  
Harry Neil Strine IV, Bloomsburg University  
Overview: In a mostly exploratory and descriptive study, I compare the rhetorical strategies and treatment of celebrities and non-celebrities by members of Congress in committee hearings.
Overview: Candidates are depicted as vote- and money-maximizers. Yet there is empirical evidence that some behavior provides new insight to various aspects of contributions than “legal bribes,” lending a longer-term perspective to the overview: I characterize campaign contributions as gifts rather than “legal bribes,” lending a longer-term perspective to the internal coherence of the legislative branch during the antebellum period (1789-1865).

Overview: In this paper, I test the theory that campaign contributions lead to candidate divergence using survey data of individual campaign contributors and campaign finance data. This paper seeks to trace the institutional history of the size of the US House and develop a series of measures to estimate the effects upon legislative representation of capping the number of seats apportioned amongst the states at 435.

Paper: Influencing Policy? The Role of the Supreme Court in Shaping the Congressional Agenda
Lara A. Grucewicz, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Overview: This paper examines the influence of Supreme Court attention on the congressional agenda. Results suggest that Supreme Court attention may play an important role in influencing the congressional agenda.

Paper: Judicial Review in the Rehnquist and Burger Courts: A Comparative Analysis
Stefanie A. Lindquist, Vanderbilt University
Rorie S. Solberg, Oregon State University
Overview: This paper presents a model of decisions by the United States Supreme Court involving challenges to the constitutionality of federal, state and local legislation in the Rehnquist and Burger Courts.

Thomas A. Schmeling, Rhode Island College
Overview: Examining cases invalidating state laws shows the Court rarely overturns laws if similar laws exist in a majority of states. Cases where the Court invalidates a “majority position” law are most likely to lead to adverse congressional responses.

Paper: Deciding to Reach the Merits: An Examination of Supreme Court and Circuit Court Judicial Power Cases
Erin B. Kaheny, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Overview: This paper examines whether or not courts can be considered policymakers in the environmental arena. It discusses the two predominant models of judicial behavior and how they are applicable to environmental policies in the United States.

Paper: The Judicial Response to Joint Custody Statutes: Do Twenty Years Matter?
Joice Y. Chang, Indiana University
Overview: This paper compares the current attitudes of family court judges toward joint custody of children following divorce with the responses of judges in the early 1980s, when joint custody statutes were first enacted.

Paper: Laws of the Jungle and Sea: The Legal Struggle of Zoos and Aquariums in the United States
Erik K. Trump, Saginaw Valley State University
Overview: This paper examines American death row statistics (from 1973 to 2000) to analyze the role of economic conditions on death penalty outcomes.

Paper: The Judicial Response to Joint Custody Statutes: Do Twenty Years Matter?
Gwyneth I. Williams, Webster University
Overview: This paper examines the influence of Supreme Court activity with respect to judicial power cases and examine the extent to which these trends are a function of the access patterns and ideology of the circuit courts.

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Overview: This paper reports the results of twenty years of research/consulting in over 50 suburban municipal governments regarding how city councils make decisions.

Paper The Professionalization of Town Governments
Terri Johnson, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay
Overview: Developing a modified theory of professionalization, the determinants of local legislative professionalization in town governments is attempted using data from surveys, interviews, audited financial reports, and the Census.

Disc. Timothy B. Krebs, University of New Mexico

36-301 POSTER SESSION: URBAN AND LOCAL POLITICS

36-1 ISSUES IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE

Chair Terry Nichols Clark, University of Chicago
Paper Career Patterns, Motivations and Goals of Elected County Executives
Jennifer M. Jensen, University at Albany, SUNY
Kristofer Frederick, University at Albany, SUNY
Overview: This paper analyzes the career backgrounds, job satisfaction levels, career motivations and goals of elected county executives.

Paper The Changing Role of City Government: Are There any Differences between Mayor-Council Government and City-Manager Government?
Eunro Lee, TBA
Overview: The studies using the type of city government as a dummy variable lead to the wrong conclusion. Mayor-Council and Council-Manager governments are consistently government efficiency and political supports simultaneously.

Paper Who Governs Suburbs?
Robert Rodgers, Princeton University
Overview: This paper examines the evolution of community power structures in six municipalities located on the urban fringe as they were suburbanized over the past twenty-five years in order to extend the community power literature to non-urban places.

Paper Suburban City Councils and Small Group Behavior: Rethinking the Design of Political Decision-Making Groups in a Democratic System
Gerald T. Gabris, Northern Illinois University
Trenton J. Davis, Northern Illinois University
Overview: This paper examines the politics surrounding AHRI as it assesses its effects on designated rivers, with special attention to the case of the Hudson River.

Larry B. Handlin, Washington University
Overview: Using variance analysis, I attempt to determine what bureaucratic designs lead to greater variance building on an earlier paper that determines the general causal mechanisms affecting state bureaucratic behavior.

Paper Public Construction Contracting Choosing the Right Project Delivery
Valerie R. Riecke, Georgia Institute of Technology

Paper Rethinking Deregulation in the Transitional Era: Case Studies of American Utilities Industry
Junseok Kim, Dongguk University, Korea
Overview: The studies using the type of city government as a dummy variable lead to the wrong conclusion. Mayor-Council and Council-Manager governments are consistently government efficiency and political supports simultaneously.
Overview: This paper assesses both the domestic and international actors that have impacted on the changes in the Turkish health care reforms. More particularly, EU and the international donors play different roles in policy transfer at particular stages.

**Paper**  
**Controlling the Welfare Mix: Historical Review on the Changing Contour of the State-Voluntary Relations in the Korean Welfare Context**  
Taekyoon Kim, Johns Hopkins University  
Overview: The explosive growth and entailing political powers of civic organizations in the Korean society since the 1987 democratization movement influenced the changes of the government’s welfare strategy: from ‘naked regulator’ to ‘hidden regulator’.

**Paper**  
**Family Policies and the Fertility Crisis in Conservative Countries: A Comparison of Italy, Spain, and Japan**  
Priscilla A. Lambert, Western Michigan University  
M Erik Blofeld, Grand Valley State University  
Overview: This paper examines political explanations for different family policy outcomes in three conservative welfare regimes: Italy, Japan, and Spain.

**Paper**  
**Voluntary Work and the Welfare State Crisis: Have Liberal Virtues been Resuscitated?**  
Tobias Schulz, University of St.Gallen  
Ursula Häfliger, University of St.Gallen  
Overview: Is there a substitutive relationship between voluntary work and social welfare spending? Our test builds on cross-national and subnational data (Switzerland) and considers additional institutional- and socio-economic factors (female employment).

**Disc.**  
Gerard W. Boychuk, University of Waterloo  
Dana L. Brown, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

**43-3**  
**SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA**  
(Co-sponsored with African Politics, see 8-6)

**Room**  
TBA, Fri 3:45

**Chair**  
Michelle Kuenzi, University of Nevada

**Paper**  
**Relocating Labor: Movement Maturity and Social Change in South Africa**  
Robyn K. Astry, University of Wisconsin, Madison  
Overview: This research focuses on the South African labor movement during a period of political transition. The changing social landscape of the 1990s meant the future of the labor as a driving political force for national restructuring was uncertain.

**Paper**  
**Explaining Protest Potential in South Africa: An Analysis of Competing Approaches**  
Young C. Kim, University of Evansville  
Overview: This study attempts to explain the determinants of unconventional forms of political participation (peaceful political protest) in South Africa in the 1980s and 1990s using data set from the first, second, and third World Values Surveys.

**Disc.**  
Michelle Kuenzi, University of Nevada

**44-301**  
**POSTER SESSION: POLITICS AND RELIGION**

**Room**  
TBA, Fri 3:45

**Presenter**  
Religion & Politics in India

**Sreranjanji S. R. Khassanavesu, Andhra University**  
Overview: Indian politics has been closely associated with religion. The thrust of the present paper is to study the relation between Indian politics and religion during the pre and post independent India.

**Presenter**  
Tracing Religious Norms to Institutional Design: Christian Political Thought and National Parliamentary Scrutiny of European Union Affairs  
Ivy Orr Hamerly, University of California, San Diego  
Overview: This paper traces the progression from religions norms to institutional design in European national parliaments. Ideas from the Protestant Reformation shape attitudes toward supranational organizations, which affect parliamentary responses to the EU.

**46-106**  
**ROUNDTABLE: HONORING PIPPA NORRIS, WINNER OF THE WOMEN’S CAUCUS OUTSTANDING PROFESSIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AWARD**

**Room**  
TBA, Fri 3:45

**Panelist**  
Midwest Women’s Caucus: Outstanding Professional Achievement Award

**Rosalee A. Clawson, Purdue University**  
**Pippa Norris, Harvard University**  
**Susan Carroll, Rutgers University**  
**Doris Graber, University of Illinois, Chicago**
Overview: The panel is organized in honor of the recipient of the Outstanding Professional Achievement Award from the Midwest Women's Caucus.

47-2 ARISTOTLE'S POLITICAL THOUGHT
Room: TBA, Fri 3:45
Chair: Thornton C. Lockwood, Sacred Heart University
Paper: Political Faction and the Passions in Aristotle: Rhetoric
Gregory B. Sadler, Ball State University
Overview: Aristotle's discussions of the passions in Book II of the Rhetoric inform his discussion of stasis in Book V of the Politics
Paper: Political Rhetoric in Ancient Greece and Beyond: An Application of Aristotle's Proofs of Persuasion to Political Speech
Marlene K. Sokolon, West Texas A & M University
Overview: This paper applies Aristotle's analysis to significant speeches in democratic politics and evaluates the validity of his position that rhetoric is not simply morally irresponsible, but necessary in behalf of just and moral political action.
Paper: Aristotle on the Household as the Pattern for Regimes
Ezequiel A. Barragan, University of Ferrara
Overview: Rule in household compared to political systems.
Disc. Robert J. Franzese, University of Michigan

50-2 PANEL: MODELS AND EXPERIMENTS OF INSTITUTIONAL POLITICS
Room: TBA, Fri 3:45
Chair: Robert J. Franzese, University of Michigan
Valentino Larcinese, London School of Economics and Political Science
Leonzo Rizzo, University of Ferrara
Cecilia Testa, Royal Holloway College London
Overview: This paper provides new evidence on the determinants of the allocation of the US federal budget to the states. We find that the president has a strong influence, while support for theories that give prominence to the Congress is rather weak.
Paper: A Location Game with Public Goods: Coalition Formation in a Tiebout Model
Allen B. Brierly, University of Northern Iowa
Overview: The project involves an empirical test of models with variables controlled in an experimental setting. The design tests the Tiebout model of local public good provision through voting and location decisions.
Paper: Reconciliation after Communism? Analyzing New Survey Data to Uncover the Mechanism of Transitional Justice Procedures
Monika Nalepa, Columbia University
Overview: TBA
Disc. Robert J. Franzese, University of Michigan

Saturday, April 9 – 8:30 am – 10:15 am
1-112 ROUNDTABLE: GENDER AND THE 2004 ELECTIONS (Co-sponsored with Gender and Politics, see 22-101)
Room: TBA, Sat 8:30
Panelist: Gender and the 2004 Elections
Susan J Carroll, Rutgers University
Barbara Burrell, Northern Illinois University
Dianne Bystrom, Iowa State University
Georgia Duerst-Lahti, Beloit College
Richard L. Fox, Union College
Susan A. MacManus, University of South Florida
Kira Sanbonmatsu, Ohio State University
Wendy Smooth, Ohio State University
Overview: Panelists will share their observations about the short- and long-term implications of the 2004 elections for women's political participation and influence.

2-4 INSTITUTIONS: FORMAL MODELS AND EMPIRICAL IMPLICATIONS
Room: TBA, Sat 8:30
Chair: Roger B. Myerson, University of Chicago
Paper: The Argentine Federal Intervention: Explaining its Use and Effect
Jenna Bednar, University of Michigan
Gisela Sin, University of Michigan
Overview: Argentine federal interventions are severe disruptions of the normal democratic process. With a strategic model and original data we explore the limits of the intervention as an instrument to restrain provincial action within the federation.
Feldmann Sven, Northwestern University
Overview: The paper tests a formal model of bureaucratic lobbying by empirically analyzing the effectiveness of interest group lobbying from a comparative institutional perspective.
Paper: The Political Power of Business: Environmental Regime Stringency and Information Asymmetry in Thirty-five Capitalist Democracies
Patrick Bernhagen, University of Aberdeen
Overview: I develop and test a simultaneous equation model of corporate lobbying in democratic capitalism. Using data on 35 countries, my results show that business’ informational and structural privileges jointly affect the early stages of policy formation.
Paper: Democratic Institutions and Political Corruption: What are the Strongest Constraints on Politicians’ Graft?
Jana Kunicova, California Institute of Technology
Overview: This paper analyzes, both theoretically and empirically, the effect of democratic institutions on corruption.
Disc. Jonathan Rodden, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
David Epstein, Columbia University

3-8 IMPACT OF COLONIALISM: COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES
Room: TBA, Sat 8:30
Chair: Matthew R. Cleary, Princeton & Syracuse University
Paper: Politics, Economics, Society, and Subservience: How to Democratize a Country
Ezequiel A. Barragan, California State University, Northridge
Overview: Modern State Development as a result of, and through, current economic global structures by completing an analysis of political theory to establish the best alternative for the uneven power structure.
Paper: Curse or Blessing? The Impact of British Colonial Rule on Democracy in Africa and the Caribbean
Kunle P. Owolabi, University of Notre Dame
Overview: This essay reopen the unresolved debate on the impact of British colonial rule on democratization, comparing experiences in the Angolphone Caribbean and Africa.
Disc. Matthew R. Cleary, Princeton & Syracuse University

4-11 SOCIAL ACTIVISM AND POLICY
Room: TBA, Sat 8:30
Chair: Gunay Murat Tezce, University of Michigan
Paper: Democracy and Economic Justice: Labor Activism & Contemporary Turkish Politics
Brian Mello, University of Washington
Overview: This paper argues that labor activism in the 1960s and 70s has shaped the current political landscape in Turkey. Labor movement activism, for instance, helps explain why
political Islam in Turkey differs from Islamist mobilization in other countries.

**Paper** Democratic Decay Through Democratizing Success: The Limits of Social Movement Unionism in Brazil

**Jeffrey B. Suyter-Beltrao, Wayne State University**

Overview: This paper examines the evolution of Brazil's New Unionism in the context of regime consolidation. Changes in democratic practice are understood as by-products of factional responses to challenges posed by broad economic and political transitions.

**Paper** Environmental Causes and Environmental Effects: Public Policy Preferences and Civic Engagement in the United States and Mexico

**Melissa M. Goldsmith, University of Utah**

Overview: Using 2000 World Values Survey data from the U.S. and Mexico, this paper argues that contextual variables are more influential than policy preferences on environmental issues in explaining levels of civic engagement in environmental organizations.

Disc. Michael McIntyre, DePaul University

**4-17** CONFIDENCE IN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

**Room** TBA, Sat 8:30

**Paper** Cross-national Analyses of Popular Support for Political Institutions

**Myunghee Kim, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville**

Overview: This research explores public support for governmental institutions in relation to ideological ties between the governed and the governing officials by analyzing the WVS and EVS (Inglehart et al., eds. 2004).

**Paper** Let the People be the Judge: Public Confidence in Judicial Institutions in Chile and Uruguay

**Jason L. Morin, Baylor University**

Overview: In this study of judicial reform in Chile and Uruguay, the success of judicial reform is measured as public confidence in judicial institutions, arguing that as public confidence increases, democracy will be seen as legitimate.

**Paper** Procedural Effects and Ideological Divides in Mexico’s Instituto Federal Electoral, 1994-2003

**Federico Estevez, ITAM**

**Eric Magar, ITAM**

**Guillermo Rosas, Washington University, St. Louis**

Overview: How did members of Mexico’s election authority coalesce during the crucial years when elections became the only game in town? We answer this with a Bayesian estimation of members’ positions on all the issues the Council decided from 1994 to 2003.

**Paper** From Worse to Bad but Good Enough for Now: A Time-Series Analysis of the Russian Transition

**William Mishler, University of Arizona**

Overview: This paper uses data from the New Russian Barometers I-XIII to track public support for the regime in Russia from the collapse of the USSR through Putin's re-election.

**Paper** The Willingness to Protest: Trust, Concerns and Collective Action in Post-Communist States

**Michaëline D. Cox, Illinois State University**

Overview: This study tests extended hypotheses on social capital and political participation in East and Central European countries, and demonstrates that interpersonal trust plays a role in the willingness to engage in militant and nonmilitant protest.

**5-8** POLICY AND POLICY MAKING IN THE EUROPEAN UNION: INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS

**Room** TBA, Sat 8:30

**Chair** Georgios Kritikos, EUROPA

**Paper** The EU in the Former Yugoslavia: Kosovo as a Case-Study

**Teresa Cicero, Lusitana University of Oporto**

Overview: This paper deals with the activities of the EU in Kosovo and the extent to which these may contribute to a peaceful settlement involving minority interests, avoiding the spread of instability.

**Paper** Principal or Agent Theory Applied to the European Union Model of Governance: The Case of the Common Foreign Security Policy

**Vivien Exartier, West Virginia University**

Overview: Applying the principal agent theory to the European model of governance, as a case study, I will choose the Common Foreign Security Policy.

**Paper** The Politics of Support for European Monetary Integration

**Karl Kaltenthaler, Rhodes College**

Overview: This paper seeks to explain individual level support for monetary integration in the EU since the launch of the monetary union in 1999.

**Paper** Penetrating the Fortress? The Impact of Pro-Migrant NGO Coalitions on the Migrant Inclusion Policy Agenda in the European Union

**Melissa Schnyder, Indiana University, Bloomington**

Overview: This project researches the effects of pro-migrant alliances on achieving policy goals which may deepen EU integration in migrant inclusion. It develops a model of European policy integration based on the collaborative activities of NGOs.

**Paper** Europeanization of Public Accountability

**Cristina E. Farau, Westminster University, United Kingdom**

Overview: The paper argues that the EU empowers those member state players, both civil society and bureaucratic, who are the best positioned to ‘network’ with Brussels and with each other through Brussels.

Disc. Georgios Kritikos, EUROPA

**5-9** POLICY AND POLICY MAKING IN THE EUROPEAN UNION: DOMESTIC DIMENSIONS

**Room** TBA, Sat 8:30

**Chair** Michael Koch, University of California, Davis

**Paper** Europeanization and Policy Adaptation: Employment in Italy and France

**Valerie J. D’Erman, University of Oklahoma**

Overview: Looking at changes in policy-making in Italy and France stimulated by proposals at the EU level, this paper examines various labor-market reform strategies to illustrate the effects of voluntary reforms in social policies.

**Paper** Implementing EU Regulations in Old and New EU Member States – The Case of Organic Farming

**Johannes Michelsen, University of Southern Denmark**

Overview: Variation in outcomes of implementing specific EU regulations in Western and Eastern member states appears to be explained better by variation in the interaction of national sector specific institutions than by variation in history or culture.

**Paper** Regulating the Information Economy in the New Europe:

**Who Regulates the Regulators?**

**Kirsten Rodine, University of California, Berkeley**

Overview: Why did European countries form two separate yet overlapping networks of independent telecommunications regulators? I argue that these networks constitute an important compromise between governance on the European level and within member states.

**Paper** Communication and Mobilization Strategies and Their “Europeanization” in the Field of Agricultural Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Six European Union Countries and Switzerland.

**Margit Jochum, McMaster University**

Overview: Using a comparative perspective, this paper investigates the reasoning behind the communication and mobilization strategies of both actors in the field of agriculture use, at the national and the EU level, in order to promote their policy options.

Disc. Dimosthenis Mammonas, EUROPA
Overview: This paper provides an explanation of changes in tax policy centralization taking the Argentine and Brazilian experiences during the 1980s and 1990s as the cases of analysis. I base my explanation on a contingent application of veto players theory.

Overview: An analysis of the Comprehensive Tax Reform Program (CTRP) undertaken by President Fidel Ramos as a bargaining game with a pre-ordained compromise. Program (CTRP) undertaken by President Fidel Ramos.

Overview: In this paper I draw on the institutional political economy literature to construct and test an argument about what the recent constitutional reforms in Thailand should mean for the budgetary process.

Overview: This paper focuses on the dynamics of political participation after institutional reforms. It derives a four-dimensional theoretical framework for understanding these dynamics over time, applying it to pension policymaking in comparative perspective.

Overview: In this paper I draw on the institutional political economy literature to construct and test an argument about what the recent constitutional reforms in Thailand should mean for the budgetary process.

Overview: This paper analyzes the 1994 Zapatista uprising using Aldon Morris’s theory regarding human agency, as explained in his “Reflections on Social Movement Theory: Criticisms and Proposals” (2000).

Overview: The paper investigates effects of Russia's 2001 law on registered parties across Russia's regions influence the success of such coalitions.

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Overview: This paper will explain variations among democracies concerning the timing and degree of health care expansion by examining two countries which democratized at different times, 1990-2004; and the frequency, costs/benefits, stability and electoral success of such coalitions.

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**10-201**  INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LESSONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF IRAQ

**Room** TBA, Sat 8:30

**Presenter** Thinking Beyond War: Civil-Military War Planning in Northern Iraq

Isaiah Wilson III, United States Military Academy

Overview: This paper explores the organizational flaws in operational civil-military planning that has contributed to the current “muddling through” in the War in Iraq.

**Presenter** The Arab Reaction toward the American Invasion to Iraq in 2003

Ibrahim Mahmood AL-Nahas, West Virginia University

Overview: I will examine the Arab reaction toward the American invasion to Iraq in March 2003. I will examine the Period from the November 2002 until April of 2004.

**Paper** Left, Right and Center: Partieship, Taxes and the Welfare State

Jeffrey F. Timmons, Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México

Overview: Greater left wing political power translates into more social spending and higher taxes on the poor, not the rich. Greater right wing influence translates into less social spending and lower taxes on the poor.

**Paper** Globalization, Partisanship, and the Welfare State in Developing Countries

Jungkeun Yoon, Claremont Graduate University

Overview: This paper tests a thesis "partisanship matters” in the globalization era in the context of "developing countries” through an examination of the welfare state in 37 developing countries from 1976 to 1997.

**Disc.** Sean D. Ehrlich, University at Buffalo, SUNY

**10-202**  INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE ENGLISH SCHOOL IN IR THEORY

**Room** TBA, Sat 8:30

**Presenter** Re-Reading Martin Wight: Re-Thinking the English School of IR

Eric Grahn, Queen’s University, Canada

Overview: This paper re-assesses aspects of Martin Wight’s work. In the process, it questions many of the common interpretations of his texts. In doing so, it also forces IR to re-evaluate the English School of IR.

**Presenter** Non-violence in the English School: the Case of Third-Party Non-violent Intervention

Sarah Bania-Dobyns, University of Denver

Overview: This paper uses the English School to incorporate non-violence into IR; I use the case of third-party non-violent intervention to consider how 1) non-violence is a norm in IR and 2) non-state actors contribute to the development of norms.

**Paper** A Theory of Financial Authority: Contract Theory, Comparative Politics-Industrialized Countries, see 2-17)

Charles R. Hankla, Emory University

Overview: I argue that countries with strong parties tend to produce freer trade policies. A quantitative analysis of democracies from 1975-2000 provides support for the theory and highlights an understudied institution in the making of trade policy.

**Paper** Testing the Hollowing-out Thesis

Michael G. Hall, University of Northern Iowa

Overview: Quantitative tests of the hollowing-out thesis, and discussion of how capital mobility may affect exchange rate regime policy.

**Paper** Can Collective Action Decrease the Likelihood for International Financial Crises?

Monika A. Klimek, University of Colorado, Boulder

Overview: This paper addresses the effectiveness of collective action clauses in restructuring sovereign debts between 1988-2000, as employed under UK, US and other governing laws.

**Paper** The Effects of Government Forms on Exchange Rate Devaluations

Taehee Whang, University of Rochester

Overview: I test how presidential system, as one feature of formal constitution, affects the decisions on exchange rate devaluations. Based on the government forms of 31 developing countries, I use the ordinary logit model with temporal dependence variables.

**Disc.** David Ehrlich, University at Buffalo, SUNY

**10-205**  INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: GLOBALIZATION AND IDENTITY

**Room** TBA, Sat 8:30

**Presenter** Economic Globalization and State Control in Different Cultures: Testing the Clash of Civilizations Thesis.

Kunihiko Imai, Elmhurst College

Overview: This is an empirical test of Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations thesis.

** Presenter** Where do I Belong? De- and Re-territorializaton in an Era of Globalization

Wendy Rahn, University of Minnesota

Overview: In this paper I investigate claims that the forces of globalization undermine individuals’ attachment to nation-states by combining cross-national survey data and indicators of globalization in a multi-level modeling framework.

**11-7**  POLITICAL PARTIES AND ECONOMIC POLICYMAKING (Co-sponsored with Comparative Politics-Industrialized Countries, see 2-17)

**Room** TBA, Sat 8:30

**Chair** Sean D. Ehrlich, University at Buffalo, SUNY

**Paper** The Politics of Dis-Inflation: The Role of Social Transfers and of Political Partisanship on Inflation in the OECD Countries.

Despina Alexiadou, European University Institute

Overview: The paper looks at the role of heterogeneous preferences on inflation. Based on a model of low inflation as a public good I test empirically the hypotheses that social transfers and partisanship matter for inflation.

**Paper** Party Strength and International Trade: A Cross-National Analysis

Charles R. Hankla, Emory University

Overview: The paper addresses the relationship between strategic goals, military execution, and popular support in the “war on terror” with leadership’s claims of justness as both...
Islamism’s and the US’s center of gravity. Provides a framework for US policy.

Paper: Acts, Objectives, Excesses, and a Real Anti-Terrorism Policy
Gerry Gendlin, Edinboro University of Pennsylvania
Overview: The focus on terror acts in current thinking on homeland security leads to excesses that threaten civil liberties. Instead, the objectives of potential terrorists should be addressed by a new foreign policy that actually decreases the danger.

Paper: Predicting Threat and Fear Through Trust: The Dynamics of International Terrorism as a Function of Trust in Government and Mass Media
David J. Levin, University of Texas, El Paso Nathalie Frensley, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: The American public has rated international terrorism as a major threat for over a decade. Yet subsections of the American public have not viewed international terrorism as a major threat or pressing goal. Are these subsections generalized trusters?

Paper: Terrorism and the Strategic Provision of Social Goods
Justin H. Magouirk, University of Michigan
Overview: Terrorist groups are able to more credibly commit to future provision of public goods after a revolution/civil war if they provide social goods before the conflict. This social provision mechanism ameliorates the cheap talk problem groups face.

Disc. Brian Lai, University of Iowa

13-206 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CHINA SECURITY POLICY
Room: TBA, Sat 8:30
Presenter: The U.S. and the Taiwan-China Relations, 1987-1997
Eugene Kuan, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: This paper tries to look at the interactions between the U.S., Taiwan, and China in the period of 1987-1997. It will test two hypotheses that explain conflicts and cooperation between two regional rival states.

Presenter: Making Self-Restraint Credible: China's Taiwan Dilemma and Prospects for Political Integration.
Chad Rector, George Washington University
Scott L. Kastner, University of Maryland
Overview: China's threats to punish Taiwan for delaying reunification undermine the PRC's commitment to Taiwanese autonomy if it joins. China currently lacks the ability to make credible any institutional mechanisms it could use to make both promises at once.

13-207 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: EAST ASIAN SECURITY ISSUES
Room: TBA, Sat 8:30
Presenter: South Korea's Rapprochement with China: Choice or Necessity?
Tae-Hyung Kim, University of Kentucky
Overview: This paper will examine the surprisingly rapid process of South Korea's rapprochement with China in the last decade.

14-6 ETHNIC CONFLICT
Room: TBA, Sat 8:30
Chair: William Reno, Northwestern University
Paper: Mass Ethnic Violence in Sudan and Rwanda: A Preliminary Comparison
Scott Straus, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: The paper presents a first-cut comparative analysis of the dynamics driving mass ethnic violence in Sudan (2003-4) and Rwanda (1994).

Paper: Peaceful Corners In Violent Bombay: Explaining Neighborhood Level Variation in Ethnic Violence
Ravi Bhavnani, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Amit Ahuja, University of Michigan
Overview: Arguing that causal explanations for ethnic violence are sensitive to the level of analysis, this paper will establish and explain neighborhood level variation in ethnic violence in Bombay.

Paper: The Onset of Ethnic Conflict and Economic Liberalization: Selective Incentives, Political Entrepreneurs and Mobilizational Resources
Nikolaos Bizouras, Harvard University
Overview: Utilizing a unique dataset of ethnic conflict cases, logit model techniques, and case study evidence from Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Bulgaria and Ethiopia, we argue that economic liberalization is non-linearly related with the onset of ethnic conflict.

Paper: Coalitions, Distributive Politics, and Ethnic Conflict: Re-Assessing the Political Sources of Inter-Group Conflict
Terrence L. Chapman, Emory University
Overview: This paper presents a new model of ethnic conflict that builds on critiques of existing work and extends work on distributive politics. Case illustrations and quantitative evidence are included.

Paper: Ethnic Group Alliance Formation During Civil Wars: The Cases of Bosnia and Afghanistan
Fotini Christia, Harvard University
Overview: My paper attempts to identify how ethnic groups form alliances during civil wars. It looks at the cases of Bosnia and Afghanistan to determine whether groups ally solely based on power considerations or whether elements of ethnic distance matter.

Disc. Naunihal Singh, University of Notre Dame

14-8 HUMAN RIGHTS, CONFLICT, AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION
Room: TBA, Sat 8:30
Chair: George Lopez, University of Notre Dame
Paper: Human Rights and Conflict Regulation in the Northern Ireland Peace Process
Steven T. Engel, Georgia Southern University
Overview: An analysis of the role human rights has played in the peace process in Northern Ireland forcing a reconsideration of McGarry and O’Leary’s taxonomy of ethnic conflict regulation.

Paper: Perceiving the Need to Change: The Role of Perception in Explaining the Effects of US Foreign Economic Assistance in Limiting Human Rights Abuses Abroad
Amanda Cooper, University of Kentucky
Douglas M. Gibler, University of Kentucky
Overview: We examine the effects of US foreign economic assistance on respect for human rights abroad.

Paper: Transitional Justice and Reconciliation Politics on the Thai-Burma Border
Cindy L. Kleinmeyer, Northern Illinois University
Overview: This paper analyzes the recent transitional justice and reconciliation strategies of various groups working on the Thai-Burma border, and compares their ideas with some of the current scholarly literature in support of political amnesties.

Disc. Claudia Dahlerus, Albion College
George Lopez, University of Notre Dame

16-6 FEAR AND ANXIETY
Room: TBA, Sat 8:30
Chair: Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, University of Nebraska, Lincoln
Paper: Exploring the Dynamics of Threat: The Consequences of Personality and Affect for Threat Perception and Policy Preferences
Eric Cassese, Stony Brook University
Stanley Feldman, Stony Brook
Overview: Using new models and insights from previous empirical research, we offer a constructive argument about how integrating the study of emotions and game theory yields improved inferences about important political contexts.
Overview: This study examines the process by which people make risk assessments and evaluate government policies designed to control these risks. At the heart of this process, we argue, are emotional responses to threat.

Paper Candidates for Elected Office and the Causes of Political Anxiety: Differentiating between Threat and Novelty in Candidate Messages
R. Andrew Holbrook, Ohio State University
Overview: While much research has explored the effects of anxiety on politics, little has examined the causes of political anxiety. This paper examines what candidate characteristics cause anxiety, differentiating between threatening and novel characteristics.

Paper The Paradoxical Effects of Anxiety on Political Learning
Leone Huddy, Stony Brook University
Stanley Feldman, Stony Brook University
Overview: We examine the effects of anxiety on political learning about the Iraq war, using data from a 3-wave panel survey of US residents’ opinions on terrorism and Iraq. Findings confirm that anxiety heightens attention to news but worsens learning.

Disc. Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

17-5 THE DETERMINANTS OF STRATEGIC VOTING
Room TBA, Sat 8:30
Chair Philip Paolino, University of North Texas
Paper Do Citizens Vote Sincerely (If They Vote at All)? Theory and Evidence from U.S. National Elections
Arianna Degan, University of Quebec, Montreal
Antonio Merlo, University of Pennsylvania
Overview: We propose and estimate a unified model of turnout and voting to assess the extent to which sincere voting can explain observed patterns of participation and voting in U.S. presidential and congressional elections.

Paper Identifiability of Coalitions and District Magnitude as Determinants of Strategic Voting
Thomas Gschwend, University of Mannheim
Overview: I test a theory that proposes two factors (district magnitude, pre-election identifiability of coalitions) to determine the types of strategies employed and the number of strategic voters that can be observed across 30 different election studies.

Paper Strategic Behavior In and Out of the Voting Booth
Emily Clough, University of North Texas
Overview: This paper examines why individuals do not appear to act strategically when choosing whether to vote or abstain, but do appear to act strategically when asked to place a vote for a candidate.

Paper The British Paradox: Strategic Voting and the Failure of Duverger’s Law
Betsy Sinclair, California Institute of Technology
Overview: This paper connects the formal theory surrounding Duverger’s Law with an empirical specification and test to examine the empirical evidence for strategic voting in the 2001 General Election in the UK.

Paper Why Voters Desert Their Favorite Candidate: Voting Behavior in 3-Candidate Plurality Elections
Daniel M. Kselman, Duke University
Emerson Niou, Chinese University of Hong Kong & Duke University
Overview: In this paper we analyze and begin to empirically test an amendment to the calculus of voting, an expected utility model of voter behavior. Both STRATEGIC and PROTEST voters may rationally choose a candidate other than their most-preferred.

Disc. Philip Paolino, University of North Texas
Guy Whitten, Texas A&M University

17-11 LET THEM EAT CAKE: SOCIOECONOMIC CLASS AND VOTE CHOICE
Room TBA, Sat 8:30
Chair Jeff Stonecash, Syracuse University

Paper Social Class and Party Identification: Examining Three Theories
John McAdams, Marquette University
Overview: Traces the relationship between social class and partisanship from the 1950s through 2000 in terms of (1) the "democratic class struggle," (2) a "class inversion" and (3) the theory of the New Class, which posits a divide among the affluent.

Paper Rich State, Poor State; Red State, Blue State: Who’s Voting for Whom in Presidential Elections?
Boris Shor, Princeton University
Andrew Gelman, TBA
Overview: Poorer voters support the Democrats in presidential elections; at the same time, poorer counties and states increasingly vote Republican. Using a multilevel model of individual, county, and state level data, we reconcile this paradox.

Paper The Link between Growing Income Inequality and Conservative Party Identification in the United States
Duncan C. MacRae, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: Growing inequality increased Republican Party identification in the United States over the past two decades in NES survey data. Increased inequality also softened strong support for the Democratic Party.

Disc. Jeff Stonecash, Syracuse University

18-3 POLICY REPRESENTATION: DETERMINANTS AND EFFECTS
Room TBA, Sat 8:30
Chair Kevin Arceneaux, Yale University
Paper Majority Rules for Minority Gains: The Institutional Determinants of Interest Group Power
Lorelei K. Moosbrugger, University of California, Santa Barbara
Overview: Contrary to the conventional wisdom, the theory offered here argues that majority voting rules advantage particularistic interests over those of the public at large.

Paper Parties, Policy Representation, and Public Support for the Political System in Established and New Democracies
Aida Paskeviciute, Binghamton University, SUNY
Overview: This study explores the role of accurate policy representation and winning or losing as the two mechanisms by which political parties shape citizens’ attitudes towards their political system in established and newer democracies.

Paper Information and the Quality of Representation: an Experiment in Local Governance
Matthew Potoski, Iowa State University
Tom W. Rice, University of Iowa
Bronwyn Beatty-Hansen, Iowa State University
Overview: This study presents a direct test of how information affects the quality of legislative representation through a unique study of 99 Iowa communities and the elected members of their city councils.

Paper Electoral Systems, Descriptive Representation, and Substantive Representation on American School Boards
Michael B. Berkman, Pennsylvania State University
Eric Plutzer, Pennsylvania State University
Overview: We extend research on race & electoral representation: Representation gains at other governments were duplicated in school boards. The reforms not only enhanced descriptive representation but substantive representation, policy responsiveness, too.

Disc. Kevin Arceneaux, Yale University
Eric Jueneke, University of Colorado

19-1 IDEOLOGY AND VALUES
Room TBA, Sat 8:30
Chair Kyle Saunders, Colorado State University
Paper Ideological Identification and Core Values
Paul Goren, Arizona State University
Overview: This paper uses data from the 1992-94-96 NES panel to explore competing hypotheses about the relationship between ideological identification and the core values of equal...
opportunity, limited government, traditional family values, and moral tolerance.

**Paper**  
**The Libertarian and Communitarian Values and Political Attitudes of Moderates and Independents**  
Brendon Swedlow, Northern Illinois University  
Mikel Wyckoff, Northern Illinois University  
Overview: More than 60 percent of moderates and independents have libertarian and communitarian not liberal and conservative political attitudes. Our analysis of how respondents value liberty, order, and equality/caring generally reinforces these findings.

**Paper**  
**Applying More Statistical Information Helps Explain the Instability in People’s Political Values**  
Antoine J. Banks, University Of Michigan  
Overview: My argument is that values are not as stable as scholars have claimed and the proof lies in the misspecification of their models. The justification for people’s instability derives from how values are acquired.

**Paper**  
**From "Family" Values to "Family Values:" Understanding Red/Blue Ideology in the United States**  
David C. Barker, University of Pittsburgh  
James P. Tinnick, TBA  
Overview: This paper examines whether visions of the proper relationship between parents and children engender different beliefs about the nature of morality, which are called upon and used as heuristics when considering various political questions.

**Paper**  
**Operational and Symbolic Ideology in the American Electorate: The Paradox of “Conflicted Conservatives”**  
James A. Stimson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill  
Christopher R. Ellis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill  
Overview: Macro-level studies of public opinion often show that the American public is operationally liberal, but ideologically conservative. We explore the micro-foundations of the disconnect between “operational” and “symbolic” liberalism.

**Disc.**  
William G. Jacoby, Michigan State University

**20-301**  
**POSTER SESSION: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

**Room**  
TBA, Sat 8:30

**Presenter**  
**Freedom of Information and Citizen Participation**  
Deborah M. Spigner, Rutgers University  
Overview: The paper will attempt to answer the question: What is the relationship between transparency and citizen participation, and how do FOI laws facilitate this relationship?

**Presenter**  
**Does Referendum Increase Political Participation? An Analysis of State-Level Referenda’s Impact on Voting**  
Deborah A. Carroll, University of Tennessee  
Krisy W. Gladders, University of Tennessee  
Overview: We present a formal model of voting behavior in elections with referenda. We then test this theoretical model with an empirical analysis using state-level referenda’s divisiveness and voter turnout rates for all 50 states over a ten year time period.

**Presenter**  
**Explaining the Failure of Recent Election Reforms**  
Chris T. Owens, Texas A&M University  
Overview: Recent federal and state reforms aimed at increasing voter turnout. Scholars generally agree, however, that reforms such as early voting, motor voter, and vote by mail have failed to increase turnout.

**Presenter**  
**Once Reformed, Soon Forgotten: The Impact of Limiting State Legislative Terms of Service on Voter Turnout in Intra-Party Contests**  
Neil A. Pinney, Western Michigan University  
George Serra, Bridgewater State College  
Overview: The purpose of this research is to discern more explicitly how electoral reforms that limit terms of service impact voter turnout in state legislative primary elections.

**Paper**  
**Disentangling the Effects of Political Fragmentation on Voter Turnout: the Flemish Municipal Elections**  
Benny Geys, Vrije Universiteit Brussels  
Bruno Heyndels, Vrije Universiteit Brussels  
Overview: We empirically disentangle the impact of two dimensions of fragmentation on voter turnout: the number of parties and their size. This is important to assess the size, significance and direction of both elements separately.

**Disc.**  
Michael P. Bobic, Emmanuel College
Overview: This is an experimental study looking at how candidate appearances on late night television talk shows affect the relative saliency of image considerations in candidate evaluations and vote choices.

Paper
Comedy Shows, Political News, and Belief Change
Diana C. Mutz, University of Pennsylvania
Kelli E. Lamme, University of Pennsylvania
Overview: As people rely on comedy shows for news, it becomes important to understand the effects on viewers' political beliefs. In two experiments we test alternative theoretical models for understanding viewer processing of the synthesis of news and comedy

Disc. Doris A. Graber, University of Illinois, Chicago

22-5 MEDIA, FRAMING AND REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN
Room TBA, Sat 8:30
Chair Kristi Anderson, Syracuse University
Paper
Personalities, Dress Sizes and Body Shapes: Media Coverage of Women and Men in Statewide Political Races
Nicole Krassas, Eastern Connecticut State University
Dena Levy, SUNY, Brockport
Overview: This paper focuses on the way the media presents Senate candidates personally and physically to answer the question, does news media rhetoric present female candidates differently than male candidates?

Paper
Framing Gender in Statewide Elections: Female Candidates for Statewide Elective Office and the Press
Abby G. Hendren, University of Florida
Overview: A content analysis of print media coverage of six male and female candidates for statewide elective office examining differences in framing.

Paper
Where Is She? A Content Analysis of Online News Magazines’ Coverage of Women
Hyun J. Yun, University of Florida
Monica Postelnicu, University of Florida
Nadja Ramoutar, University of Florida
Overview: This content analysis of 4 online magazines from US, Korea, Canada and Mexico studies the extent online media cover women in leadership roles. This study focuses on how women in power are portrayed in different countries and in comparison with men.

Paper
Representing the Third Wave: Print Media Framing of a New Feminist Movement
Carolyn Broustein, DePaul University
Overview: This study compares the dominant news frames that journalists have used to describe the second and third waves of American feminism. It yields insight into the role of mass media in the social construction of public opinion of social movements.

Paper
Conceptualizing Feminist Cartoons
Sushmita Chatterjee, Pennsylvania State University
Overview: My paper examines the use of cartoons and caricatures by the Women's movement in the late 1960's and early 1970's to illustrate the political potentials of satiric imagery.

22-11 COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN’S POLITICS
Room TBA, Sat 8:30
Chair Jennifer Disney, Winthrop University
Paper
Institutionalism, Constitutionalism, and Actor Strategies: Explaining Variation in Paid Parental Leave Policies in Canada and the United States
Linda A. White, University of Toronto
Overview: Analyzes the reasons for cross-national differences in the policy and legal regimes related to maternity and parental leave in Canada and the United States.

Paper
Implementing Women’s Rights in Italy
Celeste M. Montoya Kirk, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: This paper uses a two dimensional framework that incorporates issue interactions with culture and the formation of advocacy coalitions to explain the variation in the implementation of women’s rights policies in Italy.

Paper
From the Fields to the City: The Political Empowerment of Women in the Caribbean
Martha S. Thomas, William Paterson University
Overview: This paper analyzes the political empowerment of women in the Caribbean. It uses the measure of female electoral success as an indicator of political development. The paper also compares empowerment in the Caribbean with other regions of the world.

Paper
Springing into Politics? How Have Women Been Engaged in the Renewal of Democracy in Northern Ireland?
Linda Racioppi, James Madison College, Michigan State University
Katherine O. See, Michigan State University
Overview: Drawing from feminist scholarship, this paper explores a transition from extended ethnic conflict, Northern Ireland, to assess the springboard hypothesis that women can parlay community activism into formal politics

Paper
NIMBY’s Newest Neighbors: Bureaucratic Constraints, Community-Based Organizing and the Day Laborer Movement in Suburbia
Lorrie A. Frasure, University of Maryland/Cornell University
Michael Jones-Correa, Cornell University
Overview: We examine how differing contextual environments affected intergroup prejudice in Los Angeles following the Rodney King verdict and subsequent riots.

Paper
The Missing Rainbow: Understanding Inter-minority Conflict in the Local Political Arena
Zoltan Hajjai, University of California, San Diego
Overview: I examine voting patterns in mayoral elections in the nation’s largest 50 cities to determine which institutional features of the local political environment encourage coalition building among minority voters in mayoral elections.

Paper
Residential Heterogeneity and Stereotyping in the Multiracial Context
Jonathan Hoffman, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: Relying on quantitative and qualitative data to examine interminority stereotyping patterns, this paper challenges the hypothesis that neighborhood-level residential heterogeneity reduces stereotyping by fostering intergroup interaction.

Disc. Reuel Rogers, Northwestern University

25-8 POLITICAL ECONOMY AND DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT
Room TBA, Sat 8:30
Chair Dario Castiglione, Georgetown University
Paper
Was Kant a New Urbanist?: Property Rights, Urban Design, and Kantian Moral Theory
Brian J. Shaw, Davidson College
Overview: Debates between New Urbanist critics of suburban sprawl and its libertarian defenders reveal contrasting conceptions of moral agency and property rights, conceptions both illuminated by and illustrative of key controversies in Kantian moral theory.

Paper
Perfectionism in J.S. Mill’s Economic Thought
Yvonne Chiu, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: Mill’s seemingly inconsistent writings can be unified by his teleological notion of “man as a progressive being,” as evidenced in his economic views of the value of work, competition, and the economically stationary state.

Paper Richard T. Ely and the Progressive Critique of Private Property

Richard T. Ely, University of Arkansas
Overview: Richard T. Ely accepts key premises of Locke’s view of the individual, thereby undercutting his own argument for the social control of property.

Paper The Political Economy of John Dewey

Adam J. Fowler, University of Arkansas
Overview: This project investigates John Dewey’s understanding of economic problems in relation to important political questions. Dewey’s writings and comments regarding political-economic relations have not been vigorously explored in the literature.

Disc. Dario Castiglione, Georgetown University

25-12 WHAT DOES ART TELL US ABOUT POLITICS?

Room TBA, Sat 8:30
Chair Lilly Goren, Lake Forest College

Paper The Arithmetic of Compassion: Rethinking the Politics of Photography

James Johnson, University of Rochester
Overview: I link theoretical analysis of compassion to the practice and criticism of documentary photography to argue against the common view that documentary ought to aim to elicit compassion in viewers.

Paper Nature and Social Construction in Dystopian Literature

Nivedita Bagchi, University of Virginia
Overview: I examine dystopian texts’ positions on what is natural. I argue that dystopias examine the debate between the natural and constructed human and demonstrate both man’s potential to change and his natural limits making some changes impossible.

Paper Creating Mr. Kurtz: Conrad and the American Empire

Debra Candreva, Wellesley College
Overview: Joseph Conrad’s fiction offers us a unique way of thinking about the problems of empire in today’s world. They confront some of the most difficult issues, which are regularly ignored or obscured by contemporary advocates of “American imperialism.”

Paper Goethe’s Achilles: On The Sufferings of Young Werther and the Political Teaching of Romanticism

Kenneth M. De Luca, Hampden-Sydney College
Overview: Goethe’s Werther is built on the age-old conflict between nature and convention, which also lies at the root of Homer’s Iliad. What does it mean that the book which heralds the political teaching of romanticism is written in response to Homer?

Paper Politics and the Spartacus Movies

John Bokina, University of Texas, Pan American
Overview: This paper will examine the political contexts and contexts of the fifteen extant films about Spartacus and the Servile War.

Disc. William M. Downer, Thiel College

26-301 POSTER SESSION: POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY: APPROACHES AND THEMES

Room TBA, Sat 8:30
Presenter The Straussian Origins of the Concept of "Regime Change"

Angel Jaramillo, New School University
Overview: The term "Regime Change" and its applications internationally can be traced back to the original translation Leo Strauss made of the Aristotelian concept of "politeia" in Book three of "The Politics".

Presenter Becoming Acustomed to the Spectacle of Gladiators in Combat: Montesquieu’s Selective Appropriation of Greatness for the Attainment of Goodness in his Considerations

Benjamin Lundgren, Michigan State University
Overview: A study of Montesquieu’s assessment of Rome’s greatness and decline, this paper shows how his account of ancient history serves more as an indication of modernity’s unique potential for progress, than as a eulogy of a republican pagan politics.

Presenter Giving to Caesar What is God’s: Machiavelli’s Conversion of Christianity An Exhortation to Penitence

Rebecca J. McCumbers, University of Notre Dame
Overview: In An Exhortation to Penitence Machiavelli preaches a form of Christianity that is inconsistent with both the Gospel message and the popular Christian movements of his time but that is consistent with his greater political project.

Presenter The Logic of Transparency in the Political Architecture of Modernity

Ishita Menon, Georgetown University
Overview: In this paper, I explore the normative essence of transparency embedded in the history of political thought and conduct a critical analysis of the logic of transparency in its political forms.

Presenter Zarathustra and Socrates on the Meaning of Political Philosophy: The Images of the Cave and the Sun in thus Spoke Zarathustra and the Republic

Jeffrey Metzger, University of Toronto
Overview: The paper compares the relationship between philosophy and politics and the status of nature for both thinkers, as well as the influence of Christianity on Nietzsche’s political thought.

Presenter History in the Lower Case: Aesthetics and the Case of F. R. Ankersmit

James M. Patterson, University of Virginia
Overview: Using F.R. Ankersmit, I center political theory on political thought.

Paper The Electoral Control of Local and National Politicians

Scott Gehlbach, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: We consider the incentives that Presidential candidates in the U.S. have for taking off-center positions. Among valence advantages, abstention due to alienation, and third-party competition, only valence advantages provide significant incentives.

Paper Modelling Challenger Entry

Jay Goodliffe, Brigham Young University
Overview: I present a theoretical model where multiple potential challengers make interdependent decisions about running against the incumbent, and test this model empirically using U.S. House data from 1982-2002.

Paper Electoral Poaching and Party Identification

Brian A. Roberson, Purdue University
Overview: This paper studies electoral competition in a model of redistributive politics with deterministic voting and heterogeneous voter loyalties to political parties. In equilibrium candidates “poach” a portion of the opposition party’s loyal voters.

Paper Securing the Base: Electoral Competition under Variable Turnout

Michael Peress, Carnegie Mellon University
Overview: We consider the incentives that Presidential candidates in the U.S. have for taking off-center positions. Among valence advantages, abstention due to alienation, and third-party competition, only valence advantages provide significant incentives.

Disc. Justin Fox, Yale University

Scott Moser, Carnegie Mellon University

29-9 PARTY ORGANIZATION AND PARTY ACTIVISTS

Room TBA, Sat 8:30

Updated 03-01-05
Chair: William J. Crotty, Northeastern University

Paper: Political Party Development: Issues and Challenges in Emerging Democracies

Denise L. Baer, George Washington University
Overview: This paper analyzes the results of a set of interviews on parties and political finance conducted by the National Democratic Institute in 2003 with over 400 political civil and party leaders and elected officials in 22 emerging democracies.


Gene Frankland, Ball State University
Robert Harmel, Texas A&M University
Overview: The Greens' founders sought 25 years ago to repeal Michel's iron law of oligarchy as a grass-roots democratic party. This paper considers whether the Greens have fallen prey to the iron law, and the implications.

Paper: May’s “Special Law of Curvilinear Disparity” Reconsidered

Thomas Quinn, University of Essex, United Kingdom
Overview: This paper re-examines the 'law of curvilinear disparity' that party activists are more radical than voters and leaders. It shows the model is relevant once its notion of party competition is reconstructed on a rational-choice basis.

Paper: Mobilizing the Choir: Party Activism in Advanced Industrial Democracies

Steven A. Weldon, University of California, Irvine
Overview: Why are some political party members more active than others? Employing member surveys from 33 political parties in 6 advanced democracies, the multi-level analysis examines the individual and contextual roots of member activism.

Disc.: William J. Crotty, Northeastern University

29-14 INTEREST GROUP VENUES AND TACTICS

Room: TBA, Sat 8:30

Chair: Mark Smith, University of Washington

Paper: Patterns of Interest Group Lobbying Across Venues: Administrative and Legislative Lobbying Expenditures

Frederick J. Boehmeke, University of Iowa
John W. Patty, Carnegie Mellon University
Overview: We study how variation in patterns of legislative delegation to the bureaucracy across issue areas influences the relative amount of interest group activity devoted to legislative versus administrative lobbying.

Paper: The Legislative Structuring of Interest Group Enfranchisement through Agency Design

Brian Gerber, Texas Tech University
Christopher M. Reenock, Florida State University
Overview: We test whether legislatively designed discretionary environments in two arenas of air pollution control, policy production and implementation, influence the access that various interest groups report within a state’s policy community.

Paper: Changing Business Preferences for National Health Care Reform

Joseph Corrado, Slippery Rock University

Paper: Assessing the Power of Ethnic Lobbies

David M. Paul, Ohio State University, Newark
Rachel A. Paul, Ohio State University, Newark
Overview: While the power of ethnic lobbies has been widely accepted, little quantitative data exist to measure the ordinal influence of these groups. We surveyed policymakers to develop an index of ethnic group power. This paper presents our findings.

Disc.: Suzanne M. Robbins, George Mason University

30-8 PRESIDENTS AND FOREIGN POLICY

Room: TBA, Sat 8:30

Chair: Jeffrey S. Peake, Bowling Green State University

Paper: The White House Chief of Staff: A Predictive Model As a Foreign Policy Advisor

Shirley Anne Warshaw, Gettysburg College
Overview: We test whether legislatively designed discretionary environments in two arenas of air pollution control, policy production and implementation, influence the access that various interest groups report within a state’s policy community.


Robert M. Yonkers, Wayne State University
Overview: This paper compares and contrasts the conduct of James Madison in the war of 1812 and Lyndon Baines Johnson in the Vietnam conflict.

Disc.: Jeffrey S. Peake, Bowling Green State University

31-205 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CONGRESSIONAL POLICYMAKING I

Room: TBA, Sat 8:30

Presenter: Can Parties Change Their Positions When They Want To?: A Case of Defense Spending in Congress from the 1890s to the 1980s

Jungkun Seo, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: Party members' distributive concerns often conflict with parties' electoral strategies. The case of defense spending decision in Congress shows that strategic politicians use the rule of "divide-and-conquer" to win and retain the presidency.

Presenter: Was it the Members or the Laws? A Reexamination of the Changing Nature of Congressional Support for Civil Right Legislation from the 1960's through the 1980's

Bill Radunovich, University of Florida
Overview: I hold that it was the changing nature of civil rights legislation, not more conservative members, that was responsible for weakening support for civil rights in Congress from the 1970’s-80’s, even among members who held office the entire time.

31-206 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CONGRESSIONAL POLICYMAKING II

Room: TBA, Sat 8:30

Presenter: Congressional Role Orientations and the Veteran's Millennium Health Care Actof 1999

La Trice M. Washington, Otterbein College
Overview: The paper addresses the use of positive power and negative power in Congress through a study of role orientations of members of Congress.

Presenter: Keeping the Coalition: The Ryan White Care Act and AIDS Appropriation Politics

Glenn Beamer, Rutgers University
Overview: Using models of Congressional coalition building we analyze the means by which AIDS activists, medical professionals, and urban politicians developed support for the Ryan White Comprehensive CARE Act.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Room</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>Richard Forgette, University of Mississippi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Cohort Replacement and the Incumbency Advantage</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Eric M. McGhee, University of Oregon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>This paper argues that cohort replacement accounts for part of growth in the incumbency advantage in U.S. elections: older, highly partisan voters were replaced by younger voters more inclined to support incumbents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>The Tabled-Out Incumbency Advantage: How Strategic Opponents and Public Information from Term Limits Increase Last-Term Margins of Victory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Tammy M. Frisby, Harvard University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>Term-limited legislators running for final terms in state Houses win by larger margins of victory than fellow incumbents. The main source of the advantage seems to be high-quality strategic opponents, who wait for the upcoming open seat race.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Cheng-shan Frank Liu, University of Kansas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>Communication networks and the news media account for voters’ choices in congressional elections. It discusses how interacting with homogeneous strong-tie networks and accessing the news media affect voters’ choices for House and Senate incumbents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Progressive Ambition in the U.S. House</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Scott J. Lasley, Western Kentucky University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>Members of the U.S. House have two options to pursue their progressive electoral ambitions. I explore how a House member’s background, experience, and preferences help shape whether a member is more likely to run for the Senate or governor.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disc.</td>
<td>Richard M. Skinner, Bowdoin College</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>Lauren C. Bell, Randolph-Macon College</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>The Effect of War on Judicial Deference to the Executive Branch at the Courts of Appeals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Tom Clark, Princeton University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>The effect of a state of war on deference to the executive branch by federal appellate judges is examined. This study concludes that the level of federal court deference is actually more skeptical of the executive in non-criminal cases during wartime.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Judicial Restraint of Presidential Action</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Tobias T. Gibson, Washington University, St. Louis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>With interviews of former lawyers in the OLC, I show that the Court restraints presidential action before the action occurs. A strategic president will account for the preferences of the Court and self-restrain his actions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>A Culture of Crisis: Judicial Decision-Making and the Scope of American Civil Liberties in the Era of Threat</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Linda M. Merola, Georgetown University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>This project examines the contours of Supreme Court and lower federal court decision-making in eras of prolonged crisis.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>The Chilean Supreme Court: Political Isolation vs. Interaction—Implications for Judicial Decision-Making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Druscilla L. Scribner, University of California, San Diego</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>Using a separation of powers approach to judicial decision making this paper challenges the accepted explanation for Chilean Supreme Court behavior and presents a test of both explanations using rulings concerning presidential power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Seeking a Role: The Rehnquist Court, Government Detainees and the War on Terror</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Darren A. Wheeler, Northwest College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>This paper will examine how Handi v. Rumsfeld (2004) established a role for the Rehnquist Court in the government’s ongoing War on Terror and how the executive branch has responded to this decision.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>Robert Bradley, Illinois State University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Half-empty or Half-full? Do Vacant Judgeships Matter?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Sarah A. Binder, George Washington University and Brookings Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>The politics of confirming federal judges often leave vacancies for extended periods of time. Do such vacancies matter? This paper explores the impact of vacant judgeships on the performance of the federal bench over the past thirty years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Explaining the Length of Tenure of United States Supreme Court Justices</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Christopher D. Martin, West Virginia University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>Personal considerations of justices, political climate on the Supreme Court, and the political environment existing in Washington, D.C., will be addressed as those variables predict the length of tenure of Supreme Court justices.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Regulating Turnover on the Supreme Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Terri L. Peretti, Santa Clara University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>A mechanism for regularizing turnover on the Supreme Court in order to insure that each president receives appointment opportunities is a vitally important area for scholarly inquiry and reformers’ efforts.</td>
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<td>Robert Bradley, Illinois State University</td>
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<td>Chair</td>
<td>Joseph F. Kobylka, Southern Methodist University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>The Problem of Mixed Motives: Towards Clarity in First Amendment Jurisprudence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Jesse D. Covington, University of Notre Dame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>This paper critically assesses judicial treatment of Establishment Clause cases in which there appear to be both religious and secular reasons for a given policy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>The Concept of Coercion in Religion-Clause Jurisprudence</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Dennis J. Goldford, Duke University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>The Supreme Court has said that while coercion is both a necessary and sufficient condition of a Free Exercise claim, it is not necessary to an Establishment claim. This paper begins to think through the concept of coercion in the religion clauses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Do the Religion Clauses Guarantee States’ Rights? The Evidence from the First Few Decades after their Drafting</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Ellis M. West, University of Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>This paper challenges the jurisdictional interpretation of the religion clauses, which holds that at least one, if not both, of the clauses protects states’ rights and not individual rights.</td>
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<td>Disc.</td>
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<td>Chair</td>
<td>Michael E. Greenberg, Shippensburg University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>State Reconstructing of Local Politics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Richard C. Hula, Michigan State University</td>
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Updated 03-01-05
**Paper** Unplug the Jukebox? Fiscal Centralization, Local Autonomy, and School Finance Reform  
**Bryan T. Shelly, Harvard University**  
Overview: I use multivariate regression analysis to determine whether centralization of public school finance at the state level is an important causal factor in determining whether states will adopt reforms that compromise local school board discretionarily.  

**Paper** Local Government Autonomy, Regionalism, and Special-Purpose Governments  
**Jered B. Carr, Wayne State University**  
Overview: This paper presents an empirical analysis of the effects on the fiscal health of local governments in Michigan in the post-Proposition A period.

**Paper** Initiatives, State Mandates, and the Persistence of Local Politics  
**Max Neiman, University of California, Riverside**  
**Kenneth Fernandez, University of Nevada, Las Vegas**  
**Garrick Percival, California Institute of Technology**  
Overview: Based on measuring county policies, the study examines the implementation of California counties' implementation of three policies enacted by statewide ballot initiatives.

**Paper** Education Finance Reform and Public School Expenditures  
**Sarah A. Hill, California Institute of Technology**  
**D. Roderick Kiewiet, California Institute of Technology**  
Overview: The results of Murray et al. (1998) indicate that court-ordered spending equalization across school districts within a state increases education expenditures. Our results challenge these findings.

**Disc.** Olughena Ajilore, University of Toledo  
**Bryan T. Shelly, Harvard University**

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**Room** 36-7  
**Place and Participation**

**Chair** J. Eric Oliver, University of Chicago  
**Paper** Being “Spaced.” It’s a Good Thing: The Influence of Geographically Dispersed Decision-Making Structures on Urban Political Participation  
**Johanna L. Dunaway, Rice University**  
**Gavin M. Dillingham, Rice University**  
Overview: This paper argues that different levels of urban decision-making structures have varying influences on the efficacy of participation.

**Paper** Understanding the Influence of Subcultures on Urban Political Participation  
**Gavin Dillingham, Rice University**  
Overview: Because previous studies have examined contextual factors separately, we do not know how city size, density and diversity operate together to influence political participation.

**Paper** The Dynamics of Neighborhood Councils: A Case Study of Neighborhood Councils in the City of Los Angeles  
**HyeYoung Chang, University of Southern California**  
**Young Joo Chi, University of Southern California**  
Overview: This paper will focus on why some neighborhood councils in the City of Los Angeles are more active than others.

**Disc.** Jill Tao, University of Oklahoma  
**Kenneth J. Heineman, Ohio University, Lancaster**

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**Room** 37-7  
**Social Policy and Its Reform**

**Chair** Saundra K. Schneider, Michigan State University  
**Paper** The Political Future of Social Security in Aging Societies  
**Vincenzo Galasso, Università Bocconi**  
Overview: Aging reduces the returns from PAYG pension systems; yet an aging electorate increases the relevance of pension spending to office-seeking policy-makers. Simulations for six countries suggest the political aspect to dominate leading to more pensions.

**Paper** The Challenges of Governing Groundwater: A Comparative Institutional Analysis of U.S. Western States  
**Edella Schlager, University of Arizona**  
Overview: US states have devised rules to address surface but not ground water dilemmas. Using common pool resource & transaction costs theories ground & surface water dilemmas are explored & hypotheses deduced. Data from western states is used for testing.

**Paper** The Un-Politics of Health Care Reform  
**Richard Kronick, University of California, San Diego**  
Overview: This paper describes the political coalition that supported the enactment of the Health Insurance Act of 2003 in California, a landmark piece of legislation requiring medium and large-size employers to either provide health insurance or pay a fee.

**Disc.** Sorina O. Vlaicu, University of Western Ontario
INSTITUTIONAL INTERACTIONS AND CULTURE

42-1

Room TBA, Sat 8:30
Chair Dave Miller, University of Pittsburgh
Paper Institutional Impositions and Local Articulations: Exploring the Analytics of Market Formations and State Retraction in Rural Africa
Parakh Hoon, American University
Overview: The paper traces local embedding of global market and community oriented conservation and development strategies. Findings speak to recent theorizing on informal institutions especially the articulation of market with non-market informal relations.

Paper Cultural Variations and Understandings of Public Service
George W. Dougherty, University of Pittsburgh, GSPIA
David Y. Miller, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: This paper uses semantic differential techniques to determine the relationship between political culture and views of public service areas (public & nonprofit administration, volunteering, political participation, & corporate responsibility).

Jonathon S. O’Hara, University of Southern California
Overview: The following proposed research proposal attempts to explain the impetus toward late 19th century American political institutional change at the national level from a republican ideological perspective.

Disc. Dave Miller, University of Pittsburgh

43-4

THE STATE AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Room TBA, Sat 8:30
Chair Jeff Manza, Northwestern University
Paper A Comparative Study of Inequality and Corruption
Jong-sung You, Harvard University
Sanjeev Khagram, Harvard University
Overview: We propose theoretical reasons why income inequality increases corruption. Our comparative analysis of 129 countries, using instrumental variables method, shows that inequality increases corruption and affects norms and perceptions about corruption.

Olena M. Prokopovych, Cornell University
Overview: The concept of class is rethought through engagement with Weber, stratification theory, and feminist critiques to yield a novel theoretical framework for understanding the structure and politics of private organizations involved in social provision.

Paper Networks of Political Action and Socio-Technical Coordination: Business Associations in the U.S. Information and Communications Sector
Johannes M. Bauer, Michigan State University
Volker Schneider, University of Konstanz
Overview: This reports the findings of a theoretical and empirical analysis of the associational structures and patterns of competition, cooperation and coordination between important business associations in the U.S. information and communications sector.

Paper Stealthy Wealth: The Untold Story of Welfare Privatization
Michelle Brophy-Baer mann, University of Wisconsin
Andrew J. Bloeser, University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point
Overview: Welfare reform was a high profile issue until PRWORA of 1996 ended welfare as we knew it. Yet one piece of reform, privatization, was/is all but ignored by elected officials, media and the public. We investigate the politics of welfare privatization.

Disc. Jeff Manza, Northwestern University

44-5

RELIGION AND AMERICAN ELECTIONS

Room TBA, Sat 8:30
Chair Matthew Moe, University of South Dakota
Paper The New Ideology? Accessibility, Religiosity, Issue Preferences and Political Partisanship in American Politics
Eric S. Zeemering, Indiana University
Michael W. Wagner, Indiana University
Overview: We argue that citizens are able to use their religiosity, that is, the degree of their religious orthodoxy, to provide an organized set of cues that inform their issue preferences and partisan choices.

Paper Does a Candidate’s Religion Matter?
Stephen T. Mockabee, University of Cincinnati
Overview: This paper uses data from surveys and experiments to examine how the religion of political candidates impacts voters' evaluations. I find that in certain cases the candidate's religion does exert a significant influence on vote choice.

Paper Exploring County-Level Changes in Presidential Voting and Religious Adherence
Clifford Grammich, RAND Corporation
Bryan Shepherd, University of Texas, Austin
Chris Ellison, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: This paper will explore county-level changes in religious adherence and presidential voting in 1980 and 2000, with some preliminary analyses of presidential voting by county in 2004.

Paper Catholic Bishops and Catholic Voters in the 2004 Presidential Campaign
Mary C. Segers, Rutgers University
Overview: This paper examines the Catholic church’s reaction to John Kerry's candidacy in the 2004 presidential campaign and how Catholics actually voted in the 2004 election.

Paper The Case of Bush’s Re-election: Did Gay Marriage Do It?
Quin Monson, Brigham Young University
David E. Campbell, University of Notre Dame
Overview: Was Bush's re-election helped by the gay marriage issue?

Disc. J. Matthew Wilson, Southern Methodist University

53-101

ROUNDTABLE: THE POLITICIZED PRESIDENCY: A TWENTY YEAR PERSPECTIVE

Room TBA, Sat 8:30
Panelist Burt Rockman, Ohio State University
Terry M. Moe, Stanford University
William Howell, Harvard University
David Lewis, Princeton University
Richard Waterman, University of Kentucky
Matthew Dickinson, Middlebury College
Overview: A roundtable discussion that assesses the merits, impacts, and implications of Terry M. Moe’s "The Politicized Presidency", published twenty years ago, and considers the theoretical and empirical issues that surround the study of the institutional presidency.

Saturday, April 9 – 10:30 am – 12:15 pm

1-102 ROUNDTABLE: BECOMING FACULTY: TRANSITION TO THE FIRST YEAR (Co-sponsored with Midwest Women’s Caucus, see 46-103)

Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair Jeannie Mendez, University of Houston
Candice Ortbal-Wiser, Pepperdine University
Tracy Osborn, Bridgewater State College
Tasha Phipps, University of Texas, Austin
Jennifer Lawless, Brown University
Andrea McAttee, Indiana State University
Overview: This roundtable will discuss and provide advice on the transition from graduate student to junior faculty.
2-5 ELECTORAL POLITICS OF MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE (Co-sponsored with Representation and Electoral Systems, see 18-1)

Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair Brian Gaines, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Paper Electoral Externalities in Federations
Erik Wibbels, University of Washington
Jonathan Rodden, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Overview: We do an analysis of the link between federal and regional elections in federations. We explain the links between the two and analyze a new data set that includes regional-level results of both federal and regional elections in federations.

Joshua A. Tucker, Princeton University
Overview: We consider the incentives for strategic voting in sequential elections, and test the propositions of this model on an original dataset covering all EU parliamentary elections and related national elections.

Paper Party Aggregation and Political Institutions: Moving Beyond Electoral Systems
Heather Stoll, Stanford University and University of California, Santa Barbara
Overview: The paper argues that party aggregation should be explained by both the vertical and the horizontal structures of government. Hypotheses are tested using an original time-series cross-section data set.

Paper The Role of National Party Systems in the Success of the European Integration
Olga Shvetsova, Binghamton University and California Institute of Technology
Mikhail Filipov, Washington University
Overview: We identify the pattern of competition among major domestic parties in Europe as an important condition of the EU integration success, and argue for the inclusion in the analysis of integration variables that characterize domestic party systems.

Paper Agency, Nationalization, and Political Institutions
Scott Morgenstern, Duke University
Stephen Swindle, Lee University
Luigi Manzetti, Southern Methodist University
Overview: This paper uses district-level electoral data from 30 countries to analyze the consistency of parties’ support across a country. The paper thus contributes to the study of “nationalization,” a party trait tied to democratic function and stability.

Disc. Bingham Powell, University of Rochester
Orit Kedar, University of Michigan

3-15 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND MOBILIZATION

Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Nikolaos Bizoureas, Harvard University
Overview: Multietnic countries have experienced politics along ethnic lines. We argue that this type of mobilization is the result of political entrepreneurs attempting to solve free rider problems while utilizing existing organizational networks.

Paper Student Movements and State Capacity in Authoritarian Regimes: Cases of Burma and the People’s Republic of China
Hee-jin Han, Northern Illinois University
Jason Johnson, Northern Illinois University
Overview: This paper assesses student separatist movements in Thailand and the Philippines.

Paper The Degeneration of the Party-State in the Age of Reform: Local Government in China’s Central Provinces in the 1990s
Wu Zhang, Cornell University
Overview: The 1990s saw increased peasant protest in central China. This was caused by the degeneration of the disciplined party-state into a corrupt and predatory local bureaucracy.

Disc. Christian Rivers, Depaul University
Bandita Sijapati, Syracuse University

3-20 STATE-SOCIETY RELATIONS, DEVELOPMENT, AND CONFLICT

Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair Maqsood A. Choudary, Delta College
Paper The Crisis of Governance and Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Will Nepal be a failed State?
Pramod K. Kantha, Lincoln University, Jefferson City
Overview: The paper will examine the trajectory that derailed Nepal’s newly crafted democratic process and faced the country with a widespread Maoist insurgency that claim to be effectively controlling more than half of the country.

Paper Development Organizations as Interest Groups: Grassroots Entrepreneurship and Social Capital Formation
Laura A. Locker, Johns Hopkins University
Overview: In this paper I suggest that debates about the relative success of development organizations and the associated the concept of “bridging” social capital can be linked and be enriched by insights from the literature on interest groups.

Paper Development Organizations as Interest Groups: Grassroots Entrepreneurship and Social Capital Formation
Lex Sifuentes, University of Michigan
Overview: This paper examines how political responses to organized labor affect economic development in South Asia.

Paper Rethinking Repression: Political Unions and Economic Development in South Asia
Emmanuel J. Teitelbaum, Cornell University
Overview: This research tries to discover how NGO’s dependency and efficacy covariate and what are the mechanisms that work through state interventions on NGOs’ efficacy.

Paper Opening Spaces: The Construction of Political Opportunities Along Mexico’s Northern Border
Daniel M. Saber, Indiana University
Overview: This paper is a study of the conditions that allow NGOs to operate in Mexico’s borderlands.
Overview: This study seeks to explain variation in civil society—government relations and the creation of political opportunities for civil society organizations to address problems of water and sanitation along Mexico’s northern border.

Disc. Maqsood A. Choudary, Delta College

**4-8 STUDIES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL**

**Room** TBA, Sat 10:30

**Paper** Community Heterogeneities, Social Capital, and Political Institutions

Satoshi Machida, University of Kentucky

Overview: This study shows that consensus types of democracies are more effective than majoritarian democracies in producing bridging social capital in heterogeneous environments. It also incorporates the effects of regime longevity into the analysis.

**Paper** The Adverse Consequences of Trust in Government

Nathan F. Batto, University of California, San Diego

Overview: Most literature on trust in government focuses on the benefits of high levels of trust. This paper uses a delegation model and survey data from East Asia to argue that there are also severe adverse consequences of trust in government.

Disc. Herrigel Gary, University of Chicago

**4-10 DEMOCRATIZATION: CULTURAL APPROACHES**

**Room** TBA, Sat 10:30

**Chair** Andrew P. Miller, Butler University

**Paper** Ghosts of the Past: The Politics of Memory in Democratic Transitions: Italy, Germany and the New Europe

Roberto A. Ventresca, King’s University College

Overview: I will explore the relationship between history, public memory, national identity and public policy in Italy and Germany after 1945. I will consider how this complex relationship influences Italian and German attitudes and policies today.

**Paper** The Formation of the Modern Public Sphere in the Middle East and the Dialectics of Modernization: Reflections on Installed Democratization

Ashraf N. El Sherif, Boston University

Overview: This paper will explore the formation of the modern public sphere in the Middle East product of social conflicts for hegemony. Focus of research will be on the modern legal system and discourse and the case studies will be Egypt, Turkey and Iran.

**Paper** The Diffusion Hypothesis: Exporting Democratic Values via International Media.

P. Matthew Loveless, Indiana University, Bloomington

Overview: This is an empirical examination of the diffusion hypothesis in Central and Eastern Europe. The influence of international media is analyzed at the micro-level during democratization. The findings suggest an alternative to the diffusion hypothesis.

Disc. Andrew Roberts, Northwestern University

**6-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: IMMIGRATION - MYTHS AND FACTS**

**Room** TBA, Sat 10:30

**Presenter** “Separating Myth from Fact in the Debated Over the Impact of Mexican Immigrants on Border Wages

Richard D. Shingles, Virginia Tech University

Overview: Contrary to popular opinion non-Mexican-origin wage earners do not suffer from competition with Mexican immigrants. The "border-wage" in Southern California and Texas is a "Mexican" wage that actually privileges Non-Hispanic Whites

**Presenter** The Political Economy of Mexico-United States Migration: Migration and Electoral Competition at the Sub-National Level (A View from the Source Country)

Jorge Bravo, Duke University


**Room** TBA, Sat 10:30

**Presenter** Marginal Publics: Reconsidering the Legacy of Liberalism and State Building in Late XIXth Century Latin America

Luís J. Romero Leon, New School for Social Research

Overview: I propose an investigation of the process of State formation in Latin America to explore the causes and effects of the centralization of authority after 1860 in Argentina, Brazil and Mexico.

**8-3 AID AND INVESTMENT IN AFRICA**

**Room** TBA, Sat 10:30

**Chair** John J. Quinn, Truman State University

**Paper** American Promotion of Investment for the Enhancement of Power in Africa

Roshen Hendriksen, Northwestern University

Overview: This paper provides a historical analysis of measures taken to promote American investment in Sub-saharan Africa since 1960 and argues that this was a response to shifts in the global economy rather than domestic pressures or party politics.

**Paper** Trade and Development: Has the African Opportunity and Growth Act Promoted Economic Development in Africa?

Rhonda M. Horrid, Syracuse University & US Government Accountability Office

Overview: This policy analysis assesses the U.S. government’s trade and development strategy to promote economic growth using the African Opportunity and Growth Act.

**Paper** Explaining State Crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Analysis of the Transformation of the Cameroonian State through Privatisation.

Ta-Mbi Nkongho, University of Sussex

Overview: Sub-Saharan Africa is at crossroads. Despite persistent reforms for 2 decades, is glaring as confirmed now by Oxfam that the region is worst-off than 20 years ago, when the crisis began. The need to reassess the crisis and the transformation process.


M Anne Pitcher, Colgate University

Overview: The paper measures government commitment to neoliberal reforms in 16 African countries from 1992-2000. The index shows considerable divergence in commitment levels and challenges claims that African governments lack the will to reform.

Disc. John J. Quinn, Truman State University

**9-5 MASS BEHAVIOR AND PARTIES IN THE POSTCOMMUNIST WORLD**

**Room** TBA, Sat 10:30

**Chair** David R. Foley, Canisius College

**Paper** Social Capital as a Catalyst For Political Participation: Testing the Mobilization Hypothesis in Romania

Paul E. Sum, University of North Dakota

Overview: I ask whether members of civil society in Romania participate in larger numbers proportionately relative to the rest of society, and if so, what causal mechanisms explain this outcome.

**Paper** Revisiting Russian and Polish Elite Value Orientations: Are the Ruling Elites Still Committed to the Original Goals of Post-Communist Transitions?

Katia M. Levintova, Texas A&M University, Texas A&M University & Canisius College

Overview: This paper explores the evolution of political, economic and foreign policy value orientations of the Russian and Polish ruling elites throughout the post-Communist period and discusses the differences between the two cases.

**Paper** Political Party Institutionalization and Distrust Among European Voters

Joseph W. Robbins, Texas Tech University

Overview: This study examines voter trust in East European countries to assess the prevalence of split-ticket voting. I
Paper Changing Rule Between the Danube and the Tatra:
Political Culture in Independent Slovakia 1993-2003
James W. Warhola, University of Maine
Overview: This study examines the political culture of contemporary Slovakia, focusing particularly on the patterns of mass attitudes, beliefs, values, and behavior regarding political matters in the first decade of Slovakia's independence (1993-2003).

Paper The Content and Organization of Mass Political
Predispositions in the Czech Republic and Slovakia
Lisa M. Pohlman, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: I examine which predispositions matter to citizens’ political decision-making [and how], the extent to which these predispositions are cognitively organized, and their longevity in Czech and Slovak political culture since before the communist period.

Disc. Carol S. Leff, University of Illinois

10-10 THE DESIGN OF INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair Lilach Gilady, Yale University
Paper Dispute Settlement Design for Unequal Partners: A Game Theoretic Approach
Catherine C. Langlois, Georgetown University
Jean-Pierre P. Langlois, San Francisco State University
Overview: This research explores and compares alternative designs for the settlement of disputes between unequal treaty signatories.

Paper Information Mechanisms in International Cooperation:
Sources of Non-Compliance and Value of External
Information Devices
Hyeren Jo, University of Michigan
Overview: This paper considers the role of information systems of international institutions in the presence of differing sources of non-compliance.

Paper A Climate for Change: Uncertainty, Flexibility and the
Rational Design of the Kyoto Regime
Alexander Thompson, Ohio State University
Overview: This paper analyzes international climate negotiations to test rational institutional design hypotheses regarding flexibility as a solution to uncertainty problems.

Paper Opening the Black Box: What International Relations Can Learn from Public Policy
Maryam Z. Deloffre, George Washington University
Overview: This paper argues that theories of public policy can inform IR scholarship on organizations. By reviewing the public policy literature and transferring the insights to IR, I offer a method for opening and examining the black box of organizations.

Disc. Lilach Gilady, Yale University

10-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POLITICAL
ISLAM
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Presenter Islam and Liberalism: Incompatible Imperatives
Tsegai Isaac, University of Missouri, Rolla
Overview: This paper intends to define the points divergence between Islam and liberalism. Liberalism cherishes universal freedoms. Islam rejects universal freedoms for the sake of community and faith solidarity.

Presenter The Effect of Islamic Fundamentalism on State Power
William R. Torrance, Northern Arizona University
Overview: An investigation into the effect of Islamic fundamentalist movements and organizations on state government power.

10-204 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: JUST WAR
THEORY

Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Presenter Will Future Wars be Justly Fought? Assessing Future Warfighting Concepts in Light of Jus in Bello Principles
Peter W. Wielhouwer, US JFCOM
Overview: Assessment of whether future US wars will be conducted according to ‘jus in bello’ principles. Evidence comes from the author’s unique access to experiments conducted by US Joint Forces Command’s Concept Development & Experimentation directorate.

Presenter Some Suggestions on Pre-emptive War from Medieval Arab Political Philosophy
Ann C. Wyman, Missouri Southern State University
Overview: The writings of Alfarabi suggest revisions of just war criteria for pre-emptive war that are both consistent with Islam and pertinent to modern conditions. The suggestions are primarily derived from his concepts of right authority and self-defense.

11-8 POLITICAL ECONOMY OF
INTERNATIONAL TRADE
POLICYMAKING
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair Andy Baker, Northeastern University
Monica Arruda, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: "What Prevents Economic Liberalization? The Political Economy of Trade Protectionism

Paper How Common is the Common External Tariff? Domestic Influences on European Union Trade Policy
Sean D. Ehrlich, University at Buffalo-SUNY
Overview: This paper examines the extent to which domestic political and economic factors affect the setting of EU-level trade policy, focusing on the role of domestic institutions and interest groups.

Michael J. Hiscox, Harvard University
Overview: This paper re-examines the link between education and attitudes towards trade. Using various surveys, we show that in contrast to the interpretation proposed in prior research, this relationship is not primarily a product of distributional concerns.

Francois Vaillancourt, Universite de Montreal
Overview: We seek to assess and explain levels of state-level responses to globalization in the US, focusing on Buy-American regulations and policies addressing offshore outsourcing. We develop and test political-economy models adapted to state-level politics.

Disc. Andy Baker, Northeastern University

11-13 REGULATING INVESTMENT IN
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair Kenneth Scheve, University of Michigan
Paper Government Courtship of Migradollars: International Migrants’ Remittances and Policy Intervention in the Case of Contemporary Mexico
Els de Graauw, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: This paper describes and analyzes various national and bi-national policies initiated by the Mexican government in attempts to stimulate the flow of international migrants’ remittances to Mexico and to incentivize their productive investment at home.

Paper The Political Economy of Capital Inflow and Outflow Controls in Developing Countries
Steven R. Hall, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: This paper explains differences in capital inflow and outflow regulation in developing countries. A cross sectional
Paper Firmly Invested: The Determinants of Cross-Industry Variation in FDI Restrictions
Sonal S. Pandya, Harvard University
Overview: I seek to explain cross-industry variation in restrictions on foreign direct investment (FDI) inflow using a model of FDI’s domestic distributional effects to derive hypotheses and an original dataset of FDI restrictions to test these hypotheses.

Paper Incentive Structure behind Diasporic Transnational Capital Flows
Michael J. Popovic, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: I examine international capital flows and investments that originate in diasporas and conclude that transnationalism and the identity of the investing individual have a significant impact on investment decisions in addition to economic considerations.

Disc. Charles R. Hankla, Emory University
Kenneth Scheve, University of Michigan

12-8 THE POLITICS OF ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair Gina Yannitell Reinhardt, Washington University
Paper Party Ideology and Policy Choices in Latin America
Daniela Campello, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: I intend to investigate the determinants and conditions that affect the widespread adoption of neoliberal policies by left-wing governments in Latin America, occurred in the last two decades.

Paper Endogenous Coalitions: The Effect of Liberalizing International Agreements on Domestic Coalition Formation
Nathan Gallagher, University of California, San Diego
Overview: Liberalizing international agreements decrease the probability a government will later provide protection for uncompetitive industries, encouraging holders of capital to reallocate, at a cost, to competitive industries.

Paper Globalizing Liberalization: International Economic Integration and Political Reforms in Developing Countries
Moonhawk Kim, Stanford University
Overview: I argue that market and institutional mechanisms of international economic integration constrain non-liberal political leaders’ ability to maintain their support base. This constraint facilitates political liberalization in developing countries.

Paper Financial Transfers for the Environment: A Strategic Model of Interaction between Domestic and International Actors
Elena V. Plaxina, University of Rochester
Overview: This paper examines the strategic interaction between donors of financial environmental aid, national governments and NGOs to show that international institutions can be successful in attracting countries’ support for environmental protection.

Disc. Martin Edwards, Texas Tech University

13-8 INSTITUTIONS, ORGANIZATIONS AND SECURITY
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair Patrick Bratton, Catholic University of America
Paper Determinants of UN Peacekeeping Operations
Alexander Kuo, Stanford University
Overview: What explains variation in the characteristics of UN peacekeeping operations (UNPKOs)? I use data on UN missions and civil wars to account for variation in the function, mandate specificity, and resources of UNPKOs.

Paper The Conditions shaping NATO’s Enlargement
Ivan D. Ivanov, University of Cincinnati
Overview: The paper argues NATO’s eastern enlargement can be explained by the interaction of realist and liberal variables. The realist variables interact on the economic principle of complementarities, whereas liberal – on the principle of compatibility.

Paper UN Peacekeeping: Treaties, Signaling, and the Impact of International Norms
Timothy A. Carter, Notre Dame University
Overview: How can the UN use treaties as signals when they are often tactical plays? Using a signaling game, I show that the UN can use peace treaties as signals because it likes them. With this, however, comes a greater likelihood of failed peacekeeping.

Disc. Patrick Bratton, Catholic University of America

14-1 TERRORISM AND ELECTIONS IN WESTERN DEMOCRACIES (Co-sponsored with Elections and Voting Behavior, see 17-23)
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair Brian D. Silver, Michigan State University
Paper Terrorism and Israeli Elections
Eric M. Uslaner, University of Maryland
Daphna Canetti-Nisim, University of Haifa
Ami Pedahzur, University of Haifa
Overview: Effects of terrorism, social trust, and political orientations on Israeli elections.

Paper Terrorism and the 2004 Election in Spain
Valentina A. Baiti, Michigan State University
Overview: Effects of the threat of terrorism, foreign policy attitudes (including support for the Iraq War), domestic policy attitudes and partisanship on the vote in the 2004 Spanish election.

Paper Terrorism and the 2004 U.S. Election
Darren W. Davis, Michigan State University
Overview: Effects of the threat of terrorism, foreign policy attitudes (including support for the Iraq War), domestic policy attitudes, and partisanship on voter decisions in the 2004 Presidential election.

Disc. Michael S. Lewis-Beck, University of Iowa

14-9 ECONOMIC FACTORS AND CIVIL CONFLICT
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair Brian Pollins, Bellarmine University
Paper The Impact of Economic Factors on Civil War Duration
Dagmar Radin, University of North Texas
Amber R. Aubone, University of North Texas
Madhav Joshi, University of North Texas
Overview: This study proposes that two specific economic factors impact the duration of civil war: loans from international organizations and trade.

Paper Economic Liberalization & Its Impact on Civil War, 1870-1997
Mohammed R. Abouharb, Binghamton University
Meggan Fitzgerald, Binghamton University
Overview: Does economic liberalization increase the probability of civil war? Findings indicate that governments’ choosing to liberalize reduces the probability of civil war, while liberalization under the supervision of the World Bank and IMF increases it.

Paper The Nature of Political Protest: A Continuum for Developed and Developing Countries
Charity K. Butcher, Indiana University
Overview: This paper is an attempt to synthesize the various findings from previous political protest literature into a multi-level model that can account for the theoretical differences in protest behavior between developed and developing countries.

Paper Examining the Causal Mechanisms Leading to Civil Conflict: A Dynamic Test of the Greed Versus Grievance Theories of Civil War
Clayton L. Thyne, University of Iowa
Overview: This study examines the “greed” versus “grievance” theories of civil war using two competing dynamic models: predator/prey versus predator/predator. Competing hypotheses are tested using spectral analysis of events data in Colombia from 1945—1993.

Disc. Ravi Bhavnani, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Updated 03-01-05
16-102 ROUNDTABLE: THE POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY OF SURVEYS
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair James N. Druckman, University of Minnesota
Panelist Arthur Lupia, University of Michigan
Kathleen Jamieson, University of Pennsylvania
Diana Mutz, University of Pennsylvania
Jon Krosnick, Stanford University
Overview: This panel will discuss the political psychology of surveys and the implications for political behavior.

17-14 TALKING TO VOTERS: ADVERTISING AND ELITE RHETORIC IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair John Sides, University of Texas, Austin
Paper Campaigning Against Washington: An Analysis of Senate Candidates Running as Washington Outsiders
Matthew L. Bergbower, Southern Illinois University
Overview: This paper examines the strategies used by Senate candidates running as Washington outsiders.

Paper Post-election Depolarization: The 2000 Presidential Contest
David J. Hadley, Wabash College
Justin Grimmer, Wabash College
Overview: This paper analyzes the post-election depolarization in the American electorate.

Paper The Role of Sponsorship in Negative Political Advertising
Yanjun Zhao, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Overview: This paper examines the role of sponsorship in negative political advertising.

Paper Are Advertising Tone and Campaign Tone the Same?

17-15 UNDERSTANDING PARTY IDENTIFICATION AND POLARIZATION
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair Geoff Layman, University of Maryland
Matthew S. Levendusky, Stanford University
Overview: This paper examines the relationship between party identification and ideology in the American electorate.

Paper Formalizing V.O.Key: Retrospective Voting as Adaptive Behavior
Jonathan Bendor, Stanford University
Sunil Kumar, Stanford University
David Siegel, Stanford University
Overview: This paper modifies the retrospective voting model to incorporate adaptive behavior.

Paper Alternative Measures of Partisanship: Post-Soviet Russia
Tassili M. Pender, Harvard University
George Sorensen, Department of Government, Harvard University
Overview: This paper compares party identification in Russia to that in the United States.

Paper The Partisan and Ideological Consequences of Partisan and IdeologicalLegislation
Matthew G. Jarvis, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: This paper examines the legislative behavior of partisan congressmen.

Disc. Laura Stephenson, University of Western Ontario
Geoff Layman, University of Maryland
Overview: This paper continues the discussion on party identification and polarization.

18-4 CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION AND RESPONSIVENESS
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair Craig Goodman, Kennesaw State University
Paper Responsiveness and Congressional Representation: The Myth of Salience
Benjamin G. Bishin, University of Miami
Overview: This paper examines the relationship between congressional representation and responsiveness.

Paper Opinion Effects: Timing versus Tone in Campaign Advertising
David Greenwald, University of California, Davis
Overview: This paper examines the impact of timing and tone on campaign advertising.

Paper Measuring Soft Power: Presidential Framing of September 11th and Australian Press Coverage
Nathalie J. Frensley, University of Texas, Austin
Gregory Brown, University of Texas, Austin
Nelson Michaud, École nationale d’administration publique
Overview: This paper examines the framing of the September 11th terrorist attacks in Australia.

Matthew S. Levendusky, Stanford University
Overview: This paper examines the changing nature of party identification and ideology in the American electorate.

Paper Formalizing V.O.Key: Retrospective Voting as Adaptive Behavior
Jonathan Bendor, Stanford University
Sunil Kumar, Stanford University
David Siegel, Stanford University
Overview: This paper modifies the retrospective voting model to incorporate adaptive behavior.

Paper Alternative Measures of Partisanship: Post-Soviet Russia
Tassili M. Pender, Harvard University
George Sorensen, Department of Government, Harvard University
Overview: This paper compares party identification in Russia to that in the United States.

Paper The Partisan and Ideological Consequences of Partisan and Ideological Legislation
Matthew G. Jarvis, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: This paper examines the legislative behavior of partisan congressmen.

Disc. Laura Stephenson, University of Western Ontario
Geoff Layman, University of Maryland
Overview: This paper continues the discussion on party identification and polarization.

Travis N. Ridout, Washington State University
Michael M. Franz, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Overview: This paper examines the impact of ad tone on public opinion and American foreign policy.

Paper Public Attention, Media and Foreign Policy
David J. Hadley, Texas A&M University
Overview: This paper examines the impact of public attention on American foreign policy.

Paper The Influence of Public Attention in American Foreign Policy
Tom Knecht, University of Denver
Overview: This paper examines the relationship between public attention and American foreign policy.

Paper The Role of Sponsorship in Negative Political Advertising
Yanjun Zhao, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Overview: This paper examines the role of sponsorship in negative political advertising.

Paper Are Advertising Tone and Campaign Tone the Same?

Updated 03-01-05
Overview: Scholars have long puzzled over why studies of legislators’ roll call votes reach conflicting results.

**Paper**


Phillip Ardon, Appalachian State University
Ronald J. Vogel, Southern University

Overview: This research proposes and tests a signaling-learning model of legislative representation. Results show support for several aspects of the signaling-learning model which have significant implications for legislative representation and redistricting.

**Disc.** Craig Goodman, Kennesaw State University

19-9 **ISSUE FRAMING**

**Room** TBA, Sat 10:30

**Chair** Thomas Nelson, Ohio State University

**Paper** A Question of War: Question Wording, Framing, and Support for the Two Gulf Wars

Stephen A. Borrelli, University of Alabama
Brad Lockerbie, University of Georgia

Overview: An empirical analysis of the impact of variations in question wording on aggregate public support for the Gulf Wars of 1991 and 2003 prior to their commencement.

**Paper** More than Weighting Cognitive Importance: A Dual-Process Model of Issue Framing Effects

Rune Slothuus, University of Aarhus, Denmark

Overview: Issue framing effects on citizens’ opinion formation is not only mediated through a process of changing importance of beliefs. For some, also belief change mediates the effect. This dual-process model is supported by experimental data.

**Paper** Ethnocentric Framing Effects on United States Third-Party Interventions

Gaye B. Muderrisoglu, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Overview: The study contributes towards questions of ethnocentric manipulation of the evaluation of intervention choices of the U.S. via cost-benefit framing.

**Paper** "Cultural Resonance" as a Variable Mediating the Influence of Issue Frames

Jesse H. Rhodes, University of Virginia

Overview: I conduct a framing experiment to test whether the "resonance" of the values expressed in the frame with dominant cultural narratives and values impacts the ability of the frame to influence opinions about alternative welfare benefits policies.

**Disc.** Thomas Nelson, Ohio State University
Zoe Oxlcy, Union College

20-14 **INDIVIDUAL FINANCIERS OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**

**Room** TBA, Sat 10:30

**Chair** John C. Green, University of Akron

**Paper** Individual Presidential Giving: Innovation and Choice

Alexandra Cooper, Duke University

Overview: This paper describes and models individual contributions to presidential campaigns using new survey data.

**Paper** The Day After Reform: Presidential Contributors After BCRA

Michael Malbin, Campaign Finance Institute and SUNY Albany

Overview: TBA

**Paper** The Presidential Donor Pool: Significant Donors Over Time

Clyde Wilcox, Georgetown University

Overview: This paper describes the pool of significant individual donors to presidential campaigns over time.

**Disc.** John C. Green, University of Akron

21-8 **NEWS & ENTERTAINMENT 2: APPEALING TO THE YOUNG?**

**Room** TBA, Sat 10:30

**Chair** Keena Lipsitz, University of California, Berkeley

**Paper** Political Pandantry in Punchlines: Late Night Comedians’ Treatments of Presidential Debates

Josh Compton, Southwest Baptist University

Overview: Late night comics engage in a unique form of political punditry. This project offers a textual analysis of monologue jokes about the 2004 presidential debates, highlighting themes and exploring implications on viewers’ perceptions.

**Paper** The Effects of 'The Daily Show' On Young Americans’ Evaluations of Presidential Candidates

Jody C. Baumgartner, East Carolina University
Jonathan S. Morris, East Carolina University

Overview: Our project examines the effects of exposure to Jon Stewart’s "Daily Show" on young people's evaluations of the 2004 presidential candidates.

**Paper** Priming through Parody: The Collective Influence of Non-Traditional Political Information and Presidential Debates on Young Voters

Justin D. Martin, University of Florida
Lynda Lee Kaid, University of Florida
Kristen Landreville, University of Florida

Overview: This study, conducted at a large, southeastern university, analyzes the collective influence of non-traditional political communication messages and presidential debates on young voters.

22-6 **CONTEMPORARY FEMINIST THEORY**

**Room** TBA, Sat 10:30

**Chair** Penny A. Weiss, Purdue University

**Paper** Sex in the Bourgeois City: Tocqueville and Rousseau on the Role of Women in Modern Society

Susan Hamilton, Harvard University

Overview: An examination of Tocqueville's reliance on and modification of Rousseau's controversial sexual politics.

**Paper** The Feminist (Re)Construction of Equality

Hee-Kang Kim, University of Chicago

Overview: My paper provides an outline of a new theory of equality that is compatible with a feminist perspective.

**Paper** Rethinking Parallel Tracks: The Politics of Feminism and Masculinity

Jennifer Gaboury, CUNY Graduate Center

Overview: While the study of masculinity has increased dramatically, such work has not served to reconceptualize the ways in which feminist politics are practiced. In this paper, I examine how feminist politics might foster changes in masculinity.

**Paper** Fetishes of Empowerment

Ann Wilson, Texas A&M University

Overview: The arguments, the confusions about "empowerment" in contemporary feminist theory

**Paper** Constructing a Woman-Friendly State: Bringing Reproductive Labor Back-In

Eileen McDonagh, Northeastern University

Overview: This paper uses historical, historical, and contemporary perspectives to analyze the impact of labor foundations of the state on women’s access to national political office.

**Disc.** Penny A. Weiss, Purdue University

23-301 **POSTER SESSION: ETHNIC AND RACIAL POLITICS**

**Room** TBA, Sat 10:30

**Presenter** Undergraduate Views on Affirmative Action: Empirical Evidence from the Hoosier State

Matthew T. Bradley, Indiana University, Kokomo
Karl W. Besel, Indiana University, Kokomo
Overview: This paper will investigate views regarding affirmative action from undergraduates at Indiana University Kokomo and the implications for American public policy.

Presenter: Measuring the Success of Social Movement Organizations
Mitchell Brown, University of Maryland
Overview: This paper reviews and critiques the major outcome measures of social movements and proposes three measures.

Presenter: Why They Don't Put Their Money Where Their Mouth Is: Institutional Layering and Modern Swedish Immigrant Policy
Carl J. Dahlström, Göteborg University
Overview: The purpose of this paper is to propose a model that takes institutional layering into account and to use this model to explain the puzzling discrepancy between rhetoric and practice in Swedish immigrant policy.

Presenter: Ethnic Identity as a Determinant of Political Outcomes in Ukraine
Holley Hansen, University of Iowa
Vicki L. Hesli, University of Iowa
Overview: This paper considers the degree to which Ukraine has been successful in integrating seven different ethnic groups into a common political culture.

Presenter: Making Change from Abroad: Transnational Political Activism in American Cuban and Jewish Communities
Brett S. Heindl, Syracuse University
Overview: This paper compares the efforts of American Jewish and Cuban political activists to make change in Israel and Cuba, respectively.

Presenter: Litigating Salvation: Race, Religion and Innocence in the Karla Faye Tucker and Gary Graham Cases
Melynda J. Price, University of Michigan
Overview: This paper discusses the role of concrete cases on the narratives surrounding the death penalty in Texas. In this paper, I analyze the various ways religious and racial narratives are used to sanitize the perception of death row inmates.

Presenter: The Effects of Race, Class, and Ethnicity on Government Agencies: Deciding Who Gets What, When, and How
Roger A. Richardson, University of Southern Indiana
Overview: Government agencies that are made up of individuals with homogeneous life experiences lack the ability to perceive conditions in other communities and develop as well as implement policy to address those conditions.

John R. Wallach, Hunter College & The Graduate Center, CUNY
Overview: A critical evaluation of John Dewey's work on democratic education, in relation to the task of building a cosmopolitan community.

Paper: Carl Schmitt's Nomos of the Earth: Global Anti-liberalism and the Ubiquity of Politics
Kam Shapiro, Illinois State University
Overview: This essay critically examines some contemporary adaptations of Carl Schmitt's analysis and critique of global juridical and institutional forms.

Paper: Becoming Good Europeans: Globality, the EU and the Potential to Realize Nietzsche's Idea of Europe
Michael J. McNeal, Graduate School of International Studies
Overview: Nietzsche's vitalist conception of the political is applied to the EU (understood in the context of globalization) to adduce how "good Europeans" may exploit globality's abstract potential to become more authentic and realize their idea of Europe.

Paper: Post Cold War Public Spheres: Neither National Nor Transnational: A Theory of Transgressive Public Spheres
Richard P. Gilman-Opalsky, New School University
Overview: Some post Cold War public spheres challenge the view that globalization requires a transition from state-bounded to transnational politics. I show this through an analysis of J. Habermas' public sphere theory and the case of the Mexican Zapatistas.

Timothy Dale, Notre Dame University
Overview: This paper examines the work of Seyla Benhabib suggesting the possibility of a universal political ethic without reliance on the notion of a universal subject, assessing its viability and its ability to hold participants accountable to it.

Disc. Brian J. Shaw, Davidson College

26-5 SOCIAL THEORY: RECOGNITION, DEMOCRACY AND GROUP PERSPECTIVE
Room: TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair: Michael Neblo, Ohio State University
Paper: Translating 'Civil Society' Across Cultures: The Importance of Recognition
Aspen Brinton, Georgetown University
Overview: This paper examines how engaging the Hegelian notion of 'recognition' in contemporary theories of civil society can illuminate the potentialities and difficulties of translating what we in the West know as 'civil society' to other cultures.

Paper: Rethinking Social Group Perspective
Michael R. James, Bucknell University
Overview: This paper resolves a debate over the status of groups based on race, ethnicity, or gender through a probabilistic theory of group perspective and identifies institutions enabling group representation.

Paper: Where to Start: Conceptions of Democracy in Democratic Theory
David J. Watkins, University of Washington
Overview: This paper examines the method and content of the "starting points" of contemporary democratic theories, and articulates and defends an alternative conception of democracy as the struggle for fairer and more equitable social relations.

Disc. Stephen K. White, University of Virginia
Michael Neblo, Ohio State University

25-9 GLOBALIZATION & COSMOPOLITANISM
Room: TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair: Brian J. Shaw, Davidson College
Paper: John Dewey, Democratic Education, and Cosmopolitan Community
Overview: In order to figure out the Constitution's theory of natural law, I suggest using an argument form called inference to the best explanation to analyze the Constitution's design.
Paper On 'Nature' as a Standard: Books VII to X of Aristotle’s Nicomachean Ethics
Kathryn E. Sensen, Harvard University
Overview: It is widely assumed that Aristotle's political philosophy relies upon "nature" as a standard. What does this mean? And to what extent is it the case? This paper explores these questions by analyzing Books VII through X of the Nicomachean Ethics.

Disc. Corey Abel, Metropolitan State College of Denver

Paper We Have Cognition: Grappling with Neuroscience in Democratic Theory
Francis VanderValk, College at Oneonta
Overview: This paper addresses the challenges that will be faced by the next generation of political theorists as a result of recent advances in neuroscience and cognitive theory. The paper focuses on the question of "tempo" in contemporary society.

Room 28-8
Chair Joshua Clinton, Princeton University

Paper The Endogenous Estimation of Issue Public Measurement
Jeffrey D. Grynaviski, University of Chicago
Bryce Corrigan, University of Michigan
Overview: Our paper examines the possibility of using mixture models as a solution to the problem of heterogeneity in the regression coefficients, with an application to issue public membership.

Paper The Determinants of Congressional Behavior: A "Weighted Averages" Model of Party and Constituency Influence on Members’ Votes
Stephen A. Jesse, Stanford University
Overview: I model representatives’ voting behavior as a weighted average of constituency and party positions. These weights can then be used to investigate hypotheses about the components of member behavior, its causes, and its consequences.

Paper Are They Asking the Right Questions? Assessing Interest Group Scores Using Item Response Theory
Michael S. Lynch, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: This paper uses an item response model to assess the appropriateness of the votes used in interest group scores, in much the same way that educational testing methods assess the appropriateness of questions used in standardized tests.

Paper The Multidimensional Independent Regulatory Commission
David C. Nixon, Georgia State University
Eric Hurst, Georgia State University

Paper Counteractive Lobbying? Assessing the Policy Effects of Competing Interests
Susan W. Yackee, University of Michigan
Overview: I assess whether competitive lobbying takes place in the policy area of medical malpractice reform at the state level. I then test for whether competitive lobbying, if present, affects policy outcomes.

Room 28-10
Chair Sarah M. Morehouse, University of Connecticut

Paper Reversal of Fortune: Explaining the Republican-Democratic Shift on States Rights
Scott C. Pandick, University of Vermont
Overview: This paper seeks to determine whether the American parties have changed their positions on federalism in response to their control of the national government.

Paper Poor Representation? Elite Party Representation of Poor Partisans
Jason Pigg, Louisiana Tech University
Overview: This paper examines how well Democratic and Republican elite represent their poorest partisans, finding different patterns of representation for poor (compared to wealthy) partisans.

Paper Are Parties Listening? Public Policy Mood and Party Issue Emphasis Change
David O. Rossbach, Texas A&M University
Tyler Johnson, Texas A&M University
Overview: This study cross-nationally combines the public policy mood and issue emphasis concepts to empirically test the responsiveness of both American and European political parties to public opinion in terms of changing party manifesto content.

Paper When Losers Win: Institutional Change in Japan and the United States
Raymond Hicks, Princeton University
Celia Carroll, Washington & Lee
Overview: We examine changes in institutional rules governing the relationship between actors in the legislature by comparing the experience of Japan and the US in the early 1990s. In both cases, reform-minded governments replaced very long-lived parties.

Room 31-9
Chair C. Lawrence Evans, College of William and Mary

Paper When Losers Win: Institutional Change in Japan and the United States
Raymond Hicks, Princeton University
Celia Carroll, Washington & Lee
Overview: We examine changes in institutional rules governing the relationship between actors in the legislature by comparing the experience of Japan and the US in the early 1990s. In both cases, reform-minded governments replaced very long-lived parties.

Paper Choosing to Lose? Filibustering and Institutional Choice in the Senate, 1918-1948
Gregory Koger, University of Montana
Overview: This paper explores why the Senate did not strengthen the weak cloture rule adopted in 1917. I find the initial rule matched their preference for a weak cloture process and served as a bulwark against subsequent institutional change.

Paper Minority Rights in the House of Representatives: Special Rules and the Motion to Recommit
Kevin A. Roust, California Institute of Technology
Overview: In 1995, Republicans changed the rules of the House to guarantee Democrats the final amendment on each bill, free
Paper **How the Senate and President Affect the Organization of the House When the Majority Party Does Not Change: A Test of the Constitutional Theory of Legislative Organization**
Gisela Sin, University of Michigan
Overview: Theoretically and empirically, I find that the President and Senate affect the balance of power in the House. While changes in House members trigger new organizational schemes, their directionality and characteristics depend on the President and Senate.

**Disc.** E. Scott Adler, University of Colorado, Boulder
C. Lawrence Evans, College of William and Mary

**INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: WHEN AND WHY LEGISLATURES RELINQUISH POWER**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Presenter **Explaining Exempted Procedures in Congress**
Dong-hun Kim, University of Iowa
Andrew A. Bargent, University of Iowa
Overview: Commonly referred to as “fast track legislation,” Congress sometimes passes legislation governing a certain policy area that restricts Congress’ ability to deliberate. We examine the factors that lead Congress to restrict its own powers.

Presenter **Referees of Their Own Game: Understanding When and Why State Legislators Relinquish Authority**
Melissa C. Anderson, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: Under what conditions do legislatures concede to reforms that harm them? I will examine the effects of the economy, public opinion, and party and interest group strength on state-level efforts to adopt the direct initiative in the 1910s and 1920s.

**INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: COMMITTEES AND INFORMATION**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Presenter **Explaining Committee Dissents**
James H. Cox, California State University, Sacramento
Kathleen Bratton, Louisiana State University
Overview: This paper examines dissenting opinions in the reports accompanying bills voted out of committee. We examine the characteristics of members who file dissents and the impact of those dissents on whether the bill passes the House.

Presenter **The Comparative Advantage of Congressional Committees**
Christopher G. Farley, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: I formulate a 'comparative advantage' theory of committees to address major empirical limitations of Krehbiel's informational theory of Congress.

**ROUNDABLE: TBA**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Presenter **Senate Influence over Foreign Policy**
Linda Fowler, Dartmouth College
Overview: TBA

**LINKING CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS AND INSTITUTIONS**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair Jamie L. Carson, University of Georgia
Paper **Does a House Divided Really Fall? A Test of the Consequences of Party Unity Around Primary Candidates**
Casey B. K. Dominguez, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: I ask whether a party's general election chances suffer because of contested primaries using a new and more appropriate measure of the divisiveness of the primary: the observed unity or disunity of party elites prior to the primary date.

**ELECTING JUDGES AND JUDGING ELECTIONS**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair Chris W. Bonneau, University of Pittsburgh
Scott E. Graves, Georgia State University
Overview: In this paper, I examine ballot access, voter registration, and election conduct litigation in the states to discover whether personal attributes and legal and political contexts affect the decisions of state supreme courts regarding voter choice.

Paper **The Costs of Judicial Elections in Wisconsin: the Case of the Circuit Courts**
David M. Jones, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh
Overview: This paper will examine trends in expenditures in contested circuit court elections in Wisconsin over the past quarter century to determine whether there have been significant increases (in real terms) in such expenditures.

Paper **Court Influence on the Redistricting Process, 1964-2000**
Jonathan N. Katz, California Tech University
Gary W. Cox, University of California, San Diego
Overview: We examine all litigation involving congressional redistricting conducted in the period from 1964 to 2002.

Paper **The Suits that Counted: The Judicialization of Elections After Bush v. Gore**
Charles A. Smith, University of Miami
Christopher Shortell, California State University, Northridge
Overview: We consider whether Bush v. Gore judicialized the election process. We focus on pre and post BvG litigation in Florida.

Paper **Changing Party Labels in Texas Judicial Races**
Ronald W. Sullivan II, University of Texas, Arlington
Overview: This study will provide an overview of judges and justices in Texas changing party labels between 1980 and 2000. It will address the Texas district courts, Texas court of appeals, Texas Supreme Court and Texas Court of Criminal Appeals.

**AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: McMAHON'S "RECONSIDERING ROOSEVELT ON RACE"**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Panelist Christopher S. Kelley, Miami University
Kevin J. McMahon, SUNY Fredonia
David M. O'Brien, University of Virginia
Shirley Anne Warshaw, Gettysburg College
John Forren, Miami University
Overview: Author explains Roosevelt's Constitutional Vision.

**POLICY CHALLENGES IN THE POST-INDUSTRIAL CITY**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair Nell Kraus, Valparaiso University
Paper Local Governments, National issues: Addressing Nuclear Power, Anti-Semitism and Gay Marriage in the Hudson Valley
Eugenia K. Guilmartin, United States Military Academy
Overview: Using three 2003-04 New York Hudson Valley cases – New Paltz’s gay marriages, the Indian Point nuclear power controversy, and charges of anti-Semitism in Kiryas Joel – I examine the ability of local officials to govern in the shadow of large issues.

Paper Race, Concentrated Poverty and the Digital Divide
Karen Mossberger, Kent State University
Caroline J. Tolbert, Kent State University
Michele A. Gilbert, Kent State University
Overview: Using hierarchical linear modeling, this study finds that racial segregation and concentrated poverty explain the paradox that African-Americans have more positive attitudes toward information technology, but lower rates of access and skill.

Paper The Impact of Structural Factors on High School Dropout Rates in the City of Detroit
Dana D. Thomas, Wayne State University
Overview: Students in urban high schools are continuing to forego education by dropping out prior to earning a diploma. Probable causes associated with this social phenomenon will be examined in this empirical study.

Paper Recovering subject, Neoliberal Subject?: Governmentality, Social Welfare Enterprise and the Politics of Everyday Life in the Kensington Recovery House Movement
Robert P. Fairbanks, II, University of Chicago
Overview: This paper conceptualizes informal, unlicensed recovery houses in the Kensington section of Philadelphia as sites of governmentality that become able partners for the neoliberal welfare state.

Disc. Thomas J. Shields, Jepson School of Leadership Studies

37-8 CRIME AND ITS REFORM
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair Joseph Hinchliffe, University of Illinois
Paper A Dilemma For Law Enforcement? Assessing Racial Profiling from the Perspective of Citizens
Donald P. Haider-Markel, University of Kansas
Charles Epp, University of Kansas
Steven Maynard-Moody, University of Kansas
Overview: We analyze survey responses of over 2,000 drivers to assess the role of driver and vehicle characteristics, driver behavior, and extent of driving on the likelihood of being stopped by police and the likelihood of receiving a citation.

Paper Making it Happen: The Case for Compromise in the Federal Cocaine Law Debate
Kevin A. Sabat, Oxford University
Overview: This paper shows how it is both justified and politically viable to repeal the divisive mandatory minimum sentence for crack possession, but that reforming the sentencing laws for powder and crack cocaine trafficking fails this two-pronged test.

Paper Capital Punishment on Trial: The Issues of Cost, Deterrence, and Race
Markus S. Smith, University of Central Oklahoma
Overview: The purpose of this study is to identify the most important public policy implications of the death penalty. The study focuses on aspects found most often in public discussion and policy analysis – cost, deterrence, and the significance of race.

Paper Physician-Assisted Suicide and the Unique Success of Oregon’s Death with Dignity Act
Matthew R. Cleary, University of California, Irvine
Overview: This paper examines the process by which Oregon's Death with Dignity Act was passed and later sustained, while similar initiatives legalizing physician-assisted suicide in other states have failed, and why such a policy innovation is worth studying.

Paper The Drug Law Reform Movement: An Analysis
Norma S. Thompson, College of Charleston
Overview: This research investigated the composition, membership characteristics, and activities of two drug law reform organizations in an attempt to better understand the larger social movement advocating drug policy reform.

Disc. Silvia M. Mendes, University of Minho, Portugal

37-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: HEALTH CARE SUPPLY
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Presenter Health Care Access for Rural Senior Citizens
T. R. Carr, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville
David R. Feig, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville
Mickey Stanley, School of Nursing, SIUE
Overview: Poster Presentation: This study identified barriers to health care access of senior citizens in four Illinois counties and identified the role that nurse practitioners can fill to reduce those barriers.

37-204 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CORPORATE ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND PUBLIC POLICY
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Presenter Citigroup: A Case Study in the Current State of Banking Regulatory Policy
Erik M. Filipiak, Cornell University
Overview: As an instance of policy driving politics, what is Citigroup's impact on public policy? My paper examines what influence this recent conglomeration in the FSU has on struggles within the regulatory sector and on regulatory policy.

Presenter Corporate Voluntary Initiatives: Do State Regulatory Regimes Matter?
Seong-gin Moon, University of Colorado, Denver
Peter DeLeon, University of Colorado, Denver
Overview: This paper examine how state environmental regulatory regimes can influence firms’ decisions to undertake voluntary environmental initiatives.

40-9 POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
Room TBA, Sat 10:30
Chair Christopher M. Curtis, Iowa State University
Paper American Exceptionalism and the Present Discontents
Roger P. Hamburg, Indiana University, South Bend
Overview: I will examine "American exceptionalism" historically, update it post Cold war with Clinton and Bush 2 and contrast it with an opposing Islamic worldview.

**Paper**

**Political Science, History, and the Founding of the American Republic**
Craig H. Grau, University of Minnesota, Duluth
Overview: Political scientists often retell an historical story of the creation of the United States Constitution. They could add to it by employing a comparative approach and the study of voting behavior in decision-making bodies.

**Paper**

**Race and Culture in Interwar American Political Science**
Jessica Blatt, New School for Social Research
Overview: This paper examines the role of racial thought in the development of American political science, focusing on the Chicago School and the earliest stages of the behavioral movement.

**Paper**

**Human Rights Overlooked: An Untold Story of 19th Century Rights Discourse**
Martin J. Kifer, University of Minnesota
Overview: This paper examines the role of race in the development of American political science, focusing on the Chicago School and the earliest stages of the behavioral movement.

**Disc.**

Christopher M. Curtis, Iowa State University

**41-1**

**SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGNING: THE PRACTICE OF CAMPAIGN POLITICS**

**Room**

TBA, Sat 10:30

**Chair**

William C. Kling, Illinois Institute of Technology

**Paper**

**Professionalizing Campus Campaigns: A Lesson in Civic Engagement**
Melanie J. Blumberg, California University of Pennsylvania
Emily M. Switzer, California University of Pennsylvania
Richard J. Helldobler, California University of Pennsylvania
Greg Harrison, California University of Pennsylvania
Margo Wilson, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Michele Pagen, California University of Pennsylvania
Jesse G. Hereda, California University of Pennsylvania
Robert Mehalik, California University of Pennsylvania
Overview: This paper examines the role of race in the development of American political science, focusing on the Chicago School and the earliest stages of the behavioral movement.

**Paper**

**Applying Integrated Marketing Communication Principles to a Local Election Campaign**
Thomas Kim Hixson, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater
Overview: The use of Integrated Marketing Communication (IMC) in a local election campaign is explored. Detailed will be the application of IMC principles and tools to successfully "brand" an unknown candidate to three different voter segments.

**Paper**

**Telling Voters What They Want To Hear: Exploring the Impact of Micro-Targeting Through a Field Experiment**
C. Daniel Myers, Allegheny College Center
Overview: Microtargeting involves delivering personalized messages to voters on a large scale. New technology makes use of this tactic easier, changing candidate-voter contact. This field experiment explores the impact of microtargeted GOTV calls on turnout.

**Paper**

**The "Groundwar": Politics, Political Science, and Political Professionals**
Barbara Trish, Grinnell College
Overview: This paper examines the logic of decision making undertaken by political practitioners who undertake - even escalate – the ground war, despite their inability to adequately gauge the effectiveness of it.

**Disc.**

Stephen Maynard Caliendo, Avila University
Andrew Todd, E.L.E.C.T. Inc.

**42-7**

**RACE, RIGHTS, AND THE DISO UCRESSES OF IDENTITY**

**Room**

TBA, Sat 10:30

**Chair**

Michael Dawson, Harvard University

**Paper**

**Corruption and Inequality as Correlates of Social Trust: Proposing Fairness Explanation as Opposed to Similarity Explanation**
Jong-sung You, Harvard University
Overview: I argue and show empirical evidence that fairer societies in terms of “formal justice” (freedom from corruption), “procedural justice” (political equality), and “distributive justice” (income equality) produce higher levels of social trust.

**Paper**

**British Political Culture and United States Racial Attitudes: Racism at Home and Abroad - A Two-Way Street**
Paul Kriese, Indiana University
Overview: A political cultural overview of the links between British and United States racial attitudes.

**Paper**

**Cultural and Social Determinants of Political and Civil Human Rights Status (A Cross-National Study)**
Woo Paik, TBA
Overview: This paper explains a much less pursued subject: cultural (religion/colonial experience) and social influence (corruption/education) on Political & Civil Human Rights, a fundamental and proxy of democratization, with statistical cross-national methods.

**Paper**

**Reading Crisis Narrative Texts: Agency, Intersectionality, and Identity in the Discourse on Marginalized Black Men**
Lindsay Keisha, University of Chicago
Overview: TBA

**Disc.**

Gaston Alonso, Brooklyn College, CUNY

**44-2**

**INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON CHURCH AND STATE**

**Room**

TBA, Sat 10:30

**Chair**

Frank S. Ravitch, Michigan State University

**Paper**

**Two Conceptions of Religious Neutrality**
Laurence Thomas, Syracuse University
Overview: I propose to examine France's conception of religious neutrality embodied in the principle laïcité, with the conception of religious neutrality that is constitutive of American democracy.

**Paper**

**Nationalism and Religion: A Comparative Study of Secularism in France and Turkey**
Zana A. Citak Ayturk, Middle East Technical University
Overview: My paper examines the development of secularism in France and Turkey. I argue that it is the crucial relationship between nationalism and religion in the two countries that has determined their respective model of secularism.

**Paper**

**Politics and Religion in Secular States: The United States, France, and Turkey**
Ahmet T. Kuru, University of Washington
Overview: This paper analyzes current state policies toward religion in schools in three self-professed secular states, the United States, France, and Turkey. It explains the reasons for policy diversification between these cases.

**Paper**

**The Headscarf Affair in France: Republicanism, Multiculturalism, and the Relation between Generality and Particularity in the Definition of French Identity**
Leila Ibrahim, Cornell University
Overview: This paper situate the highly contested affair of the headscarf in France in the broader frame of the relation between generality and particularity in the definition of French identity built with republicanism and secularism as its keynotes.

**Disc.**

Donald Komsers, University of Notre Dame
Gordon Babst, Chapman College

**47-4**

**PHILOSOPHY AND STATESMANSHIP**
Overview: This paper examines the link between globalization and income inequality as political. It discusses the degree of ideological polarization and the development of par-tisan politics.

**Paper: In Defense of the Theoretical Character of Political Science**

**An Examination of Plato’s Statesman 258b-261a**

**Chair:** Christopher Anderson, Syracuse University

**Room:** TBA, Sat 1:45

**Overview:** I examine the puzzling passages at the beginning of the Statesman where Plato classifies political knowledge as a "theoretical" form of knowledge, and argue that this classification actually makes a great deal of sense.

**Disc.:** Donald J. Matthews, California State University, Fullerton

Robert Phillips, Wheeling Jesuit University

**Saturday, April 9 – 1:45 pm – 3:30 pm**

**1-104**

**ROUNDTABLE: NEWS YOU CAN USE: TIPS FOR A SUCCESSFUL POST-TENURE CAREER (Co-sponsored with Midwest Women’s Caucus, see 46-105)**

**Room:** TBA, Sat 1:45

**Chair:** Kira Sanbonmatsu, Ohio State University

**Linda Fowler, Dartmouth University**

**James Gimbel, University of Maryland**

**Michael Jones-Correa, Cornell University**

**Janet Martin, Bowdoin College**

**Diana Mutz, University of Pennsylvania**

**Robert Franzese, Jr., University of Michigan**

**Overview:** Roundtable will address the professional development issues, challenges, and opportunities facing recently tenured faculty.

**2-15**

**EQUALITY, LABOR, AND GLOBALIZATION: RECONSIDERING THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES**

**Room:** TBA, Sat 1:45

**Chair:** Christopher Anderson, Syracuse University

**Paper:** Embracing Change: New Labor Preferences and Unions' Role in Representation

**Robin Best, SUNY, Binghamton**

**Steve Lem, SUNY Binghamton**

**Overview:** We propose that unions face a tradeoff between preserving their numerical strength and representing homogenous preferences.

**Paper:** Political Foundations of Market Inequalities

**Pablo Beramendi, Syracuse University**

**Overview:** This paper argues that the distribution of market income inequality is essentially political.

**Paper:** Globalization, Economic Insecurity, and Voter Transition

**Hyok Kwon, Texas A&M University**

**Overview:** This paper examines the link between globalization and voter transition in advanced democracies.

**Paper:** Ideological Polarization and the Resilience of Corporatism

**Mette Anthonsen, Göteborg University**

**Johannes Lindvall, Göteborg University**

**Overview:** We explain the varying fates of corporatist institutions in six European countries (Austria, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland) with reference to the degree of ideological polarization and the development of par-tisan politics.

**3-17**

**STATE BUILDING AND DISINTEGRATION II: COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES**

**Room:** TBA, Sat 1:45

**Chair:** Emmanuel J. Teitelbaum, Cornell University

**Paper:** States in Transition: Realigning the Economic Bureaucracies in South Korea, China, and Japan

**Joo-Youn Jung, Stanford University**

**Overview:** My paper analyzes the dramatic dismemberments of the pilot state economic agencies in three “Bureaucratic Nonliberal Capitalist Countries”—Korea, China, and Japan—and compares the transformations of states’ economic roles in three cases.

**Paper:** Weak States in Latin America: Towards a Better Understanding of State Capacities

**Ludovicó Feoli, Tulane University**

**Overview:** The paper surveys the condition of the state in Latin America by contrasting the dimensions of its scope and strength, as proposed by Fukuyama (2004). It then discusses potential causal explanations of the relative institutional weakness found.

**Paper:** Nation and State Building in a Fragmented Society: Some Reflections on Afghanistan

Updated 03-01-05 121
Overview: The developments in Afghanistan lead one to conclude that it is a failed state. This paper argues that Afghanistan has the potential to develop into a viable political entity but requires patience and effort on the part of all involved.

Paper Why Do Some Oil-Exporting States Break Down and Others Do Not?
Miriam R. Iowi, College of New Jersey
Overview: A comparative study of 6 oil-exporting states: 3 that descended into domestic political violence -- Algeria, Iran, and Indonesia, and 3 that appeared to be stable -- pre-Gulf War Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Mexico.

Disc. Emmanuel J. Teitelbaum, Cornell University

5-10 CONSTRUCTING THE EUROPEAN UNION
Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair Nathan D. Griffith, Belmont University
Paper Actors Preferences regarding Economic and Social Governance in European Constitution Building
Christine Arnold, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
Madeleine O. Hosli, Leiden University
Overview: This paper quantitatively analyzes the recent discourse in EU constitutional politics to uncover policy preferences of actors and the degree to which each one managed to shape the issues of economic and social governance in the constitutional treaty.

Thomas E. Koenig, German University Speyer
Jonathan Slapin, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This study examines the determinants for winning and losing of the about 100 delegates of the Laeken Convention, which has adopted a draft text to reform the European Union.

Paper Who is Powerful? Examining Preferences and Testing Sources of Bargaining Strength at European Intergovernmental Conferences
Jonathan B. Slapin, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: I examine the bargaining strength of European Union (EU) member states at EU intergovernmental conferences. I find that large member states do not have as much power as many believe and that domestic political constraints may confer bargaining power.

Paper Public Commitment in Bargaining on the European Constitution
Hartmut Lenz, University of Essex
Han Dorussen, University of Essex
Overview: The paper studies the impact of public commitments on the EU Constitution. We argue they are efforts to improve the terms of the bargain and have the objective to muster popular support. We analyze the negotiations by using costly signaling models.

Paper The Constitutional Economics of European Regulatory Integration
Nathan D. Griffith, Belmont University
Overview: This article applies constitutional economics to regional integration in the area of prudential supervision of banking activity and tests its predictions against data on cross-border banking and data from interviews with relevant public officials.

6-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: MONITORING ELECTIONS
Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Presenter Failure of Electoral Judicial System in Mexico: the Case of Yucatan 2001 State Elections
Akira Watanabe, Yale University
Overview: This presentation analyzes the complicated judicial process before and after the 2001 Yucatan Gubernatorial elections and shows that even after the historical 2000 Presidential Elections Mexican electoral system has flaws at local level.
US deterrence in the Korean peninsula combined with the changes in interests of Seoul explain this perplexing behavior.

Overview: This paper is an attempt to examine the nature and purpose of current Philippine foreign policy vis-à-vis the US security interests.

Overview: Examination of the legislative voting behavior in the Russian Federation 1993-2003 with a focus on the effect of the presidential election.

Overview: Rethinking international security with regard to the notion of a responsibility to protect prompts a discussion of normative ideas underpinning such an enterprise. This paper suggests how it can be done with pragmatist and communicative tools.

Overview: This paper seeks to understand the origins of the US invasion of Iraq using a constructivist approach. More generally, it is an attempt to integrate constructivism into the mainstream empirical-rationalist framework that dominates IR theory.

Overview: This paper aims at developing a critique of Orthodox IR theory i.e. Realism, Neo-Realism and Neo-Liberalism by using a materialist ecofeminist perspective.
Overview: Rather than question whether or not globalization is eroding sovereignty or not this paper asks whether sovereignty as it is commonly understood is a valuable concept for understanding international order today and in the past.

Paper: Before the Leviathan: Alternatives to Absolute Sovereignty
Julian J. Ouellet, University of Colorado, Boulder
Overview: This paper aims to connect political institutions to the evolution of public finances in transition economies. I am particularly interested in uncovering the emergence of formal and informal fiscal institutions that help moderate spending.

Disc.: Jelena Subotic, University of Wisconsin

11-9 POLITICS OF FISCAL POLICYMAKING
Room: TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair: Timothy Hellwig, University of Houston
Paper: Fiscal Policy and Capital Flows in North and South
John S. Abhijit, University of Washington
Overview: I examine the reciprocal effects of macroeconomic policies on capital flows and find poorer countries have a harder time attracting investment that wealthier ones.

Paper: The Politics of the Budgetary Process in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union
Cristina Bodea, University of Rochester
Overview: This paper aims to connect political institutions to the evolution of public finances in transition economies. I am particularly interested in uncovering the emergence of formal and informal fiscal institutions that help moderate spending.

Martin S. Edwards, Texas Tech University
Overview: We investigate the distribution of EU structural funds across EU regions on level one and two of the NUTS classification. Our empirical results suggest that swing voters crucially determine the allocation of structural funds.

Disc.: Timothy Hellwig, University of Houston

11-205 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT
Room: TBA, Sat 1:45
Presenter: Pathologies of Neoliberalism: Whither the Can Opener?
Jon D. Carlson, Rockford College
Overview: The foundations of neoliberalism as a development doctrine is examined, with special attention given to preconditions necessary in order for free-market "reforms" to function. Assumptions, often unquestioned, of neoliberal development are questioned.

11-206 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CORPORATE INFLUENCE IN ECONOMIC POLICYMAKING
Room: TBA, Sat 1:45
Presenter: Strategy as Power: A Framework for the Study of Corporate Power
Dennis M. Ray, University of St. Thomas
Overview: This paper identifies and describes five-forces that describe the exercise of corporate power within its larger political and economic environment. These include government, media, investment community, NGOs, and international regulatory regimes.

12-9 U.S. FOREIGN POLICY
Room: TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair: Chris Sprecher, Texas A&M University
Paper: Steel Tariffs and the 2004 Presidential Election
Mark Belgen, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: A President would never publicly admit that they are influenced by electoral concerns. Why then did President Bush decide to impose steel tariffs in 2002? The findings will show that the 2004 election was undoubtedly the main influential force.

Paper: Why has the United States not Lifted the Ban on Assassinations?
Hastie Kargar, Georgetown University
Overview: In the context of today’s war on terror it is interesting to note that the US has not yet lifted the ban on assassinations. This paper will examine why this ban has not been lifted and why it should continue to stay in affect in the future.

Paper: American Exceptionalism and International Institutions
Sri Sri Ramasarma, Clark University
Overview: This paper examines why United States has chosen to exempt itself from the very same institutions that it helped to develop? I refer to this practice as American Exceptionalism, which reflects deeper normative concerns about global institutions.

Elizabeth Turpen, Henry L. Stimson Center
Lorelei E. Kelly, Henry L. Stimson Center
Overview: The authors of "Policy Matters: Educating Congress on Peace And Security” will discuss how to get today’s most important foreign policy and defense issues onto the agenda of the US Congress. How might the academic community help achieve this goal?

Disc.: Benjamin Fordham, Binghamton University

12-14 CIVIL WAR: INTERVENTIONS, MASS KILLING, REGIONAL EFFECTS & RESOLUTION
Room: TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair: Scott Gates, TBA
Paper: A Bargaining Model of External Intervention in Civil Conflicts
Stephen E. Gent, University of Rochester
Overview: I develop a bargaining model in which an external power can intervene in an ongoing civil conflict. I then examine the conditions under which intervention will occur and how the threat of intervention affects the onset and duration of a civil war.

Paper: Peace by Design: Institutional Choices and the Risk of Civil War in Anocracies and Democracies
Matthew C. Ingram, University of New Mexico
Overview: Democratic institutional arrangements affect the risk of civil war in anocracies and democracies.

Paper: Killing the Citizenry: State Violence as Domestic Policy
Stephanie McWhorter, University of California, San Diego
Overview: Why do governments kill their civilian populations? I present preliminary results that suggest the onset of government violence may be most strongly correlated with new threats to the existing government's selectorat by land reform organizations.

Paper: Transnational Rebels and the Regional Dynamics of Civil Conflict
Iadin Salehyan, University of California, San Diego
Overview: Civil wars are not purely domestic phenomenon. This paper examines the transnational operations of rebel organizations.

Disc.: Will Moore, Florida State University

13-9 COPING WITH AND COUNTERING TERRORISM
Room: TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair: Christian W. Erickson, Roosevelt University
Paper: Coping And Countering Terrorism – The Defensive Dimension
Arie Perilger, University of Haifa
Ami Pedahzur, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: The current study map the different defensive counter terrorism measures implemented by the state of Israel and her municipalities in order to analyze and assess there effectiveness.
Paper: Divergent Paths to Justice: A Study of the U.S. War on Terrorism and Drug Policies
Michael R. Sheets, Marquette University
Shuchi Wadhwa, Marquette University
Overview: Should the U.S. continue to pursue homeland security measures when they are completely ignoring fundamental drug policy problems that, if fixed, would have a positive impact on the war on terrorism internationally?

Paper: Stopping the Other Shoe: Terrorism, Counterterrorism, and the Road to Homeland Security
Skyler J. Cramner, University of California, Davis
Overview: This paper presents a formal model of resource allocation in the interaction between a government and a terrorist group; it yields predictions as to when investment in violence will be most advantageous as well as implications for security policy.

Paper: When Do Statesmen Matter? Turkey’s Alliance Behavior in First and Second World Wars
Ramazan Kilinc, Arizona State University
Overview: When external environment is marked by structural ambiguity, statesmen become the most important variable in alliance decisions. If the leaders are risk-tolerant, then war becomes more likely; if they are more prudent, then war becomes less likely.

Disc. Christian W. Erickson, Roosevelt University

14-10 GEOGRAPHY, DEMOGRAPHY, AND CONFLICT
Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair Charity Butcher, Indiana University

Paper: "Head for the Hills!" or This Hard Land? Estimating the Direct and Indirect Effects of Rough Terrain on Civil Conflict Onset
Cullen S. Hendrix, University of California, San Diego
Overview: I estimate both the tactical and indirect-economical and political-effects of rough terrain on civil conflict onset. Rough terrain is significant more for its effects on state capacity rather than the tactical considerations of insurgents.

Paper: Sustainable Society and Peace: Socio-Economic Structure and Violent Conflict
Jong-Han Yoon, University of North Texas
Overview: This paper develops and examines a theory that explains the relationship between the environmental sustainability of socio-economic structures and violent conflicts.

Paper: Putting on the Pressure: The Conditional Marginal Effects of Population Pressure on the Outbreak of Militarized Interstate Conflict
Katharine M. Floros, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: Interstate dispute; population pressure; environment; causes of war

Paper: The Origin of Institutional Design
Neda A. Zawahri, Cleveland State University
Overview: Through an analysis of institutions for managing international rivers, I examine the forces influencing invest in institutional design. The underlying premise is that design matters and it is necessary to consider the origin of this design.

Disc. Samuel S. Stanton, University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point

15-8 PRESIDENTIAL DOCTRINES AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair Denis A. Rey, Texas Tech University

Paper: 'Lessons' of History: Myths of U.S. Foreign Policymaking
Sheldon R. Anderson, Miami University
Overview: This paper examines the evolution of the most important historical myths of twentieth-century diplomatic history. The "lessons of history" they have spawned often misguide U.S. foreign policy thinking today.

Paper: Virtuous Muslims?: Neocconervative and the Greater Middle East
Timothy J. Lynch, University of Leicester
Overview: An assessment of American Neconervative policy prescriptions for altering the course of Middle East politics. The paper argues that the Neconervative contribution to reform stands essentially alone as the only viable plan for democratization.

16-101 THE EDITORS MEET: ASSESSING THE STATE OF POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY BASED ON RECENT EDITED COLLECTIONS.
Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair James Druckman, University of Minnesota
Panelist James Kuklinski, University of Illinois
Kristen Monroe, University of California, Irvine
David Sears, University of California, Los Angeles
Leonie Huddy, Stony Brook University
Peg Herman, Syracuse University
Overview: The roundtable will address questions such as what did your volume reveal about what political psychology is, what are the strengths and weaknesses, what is its relationship with political economy...

17-1 INFORMED CONSENT: HOW VOTERS REASON ABOUT POLITICS
Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair Dean Lacy, Ohio State University

Paper: The Institutional Determinants of Political Sophistication: How Voter Information Needs Shape Political Campaigns
Lorelei K. Moosbrugger, University of California, Santa Barbara
Overview: Low levels of political information are rational only in two party systems. Greater information needs, and the need to organize information within competing ideologic frames, engenders greater political sophistication in multiparty systems.

Christina R. Maimone, Stanford University
Jeremy C. Pope, Brigham Young University
Overview: Using national election studies and CSES data, we show that electoral rules affect individual vote functions; the emphasis voters place on candidate versus party characteristics varies with the type of electoral system in which voters participate.

Paper: Motivated Reasoning and Voting in Advanced Industrial Democracies
Michael R. Wolf, Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne
Overview: This paper expands on the experimental findings of the motivated reasoning literature to numerous election studies in the U.S., Britain, and Germany. Conclusions inform both the information processing and campaign effects literatures.

Leslie E. Anderson, University of Florida
Lawrence C. Dodd, University of Florida
demonstrates that mass citizens can engage in reasoned, responsible and responsive decision-making even in crisis-ridden new democracies.

**Paper** Policy, Performance, Preference, and Participation in the 2004 Election
Merrill J. Shanks, University of California, Berkeley
Douglas A. Strand, University of California, Berkeley
Edward G. Carmines, Indiana University
Henry E. Brady, University of California, Berkeley

Overview: This paper will provide an early, but comprehensive, analysis of the role that policy-related controversies appeared to play in shaping voters’ choices and participation levels in the 2004 presidential election.

**Disc.** Paul Goren, Arizona State University
Dean Lacy, Ohio State University

**17-16 AMBIVALENCE AND UNCERTAINTY IN POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING**

**Room** TBA, Sat 1:45

**Chair** John Brehm, University of Chicago

**Paper** Ambivalence in Context: Party Polarization and the Dynamics of Ambivalence
Marco R. Steenbergen, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Howard Lavine, SUNY, Stony Brook
Christopher Ellis, UNC Chapel Hill

Overview: We study the determinants of ambivalence toward parties and candidates. Combining individual level and contextual (i.e. party polarization) factors, we develop a comprehensive multilevel explanation of ambivalence, which we test with NES data.

**Paper** Ambivalence toward Presidential Candidates and Electoral Choice
Sung Jin Yoo, Stony Brook University
Yoonjung Lee, Stony Brook University


**Paper** Party Differentiation and the Decision to Vote
Ian C. Ostrander, University of Kansas

Overview: The paper explores a link between the levels of perceived party differentiation and the levels of voter turnout. The Downsian hypothesis of party convergence and the consequential decrease in the benefits of voting are tested through survey data.

**Paper** Spatial Uncertainty and Electoral Turnout
Joan Serra, University of Chicago

Overview: Observed abstention is inconsistent with standard electoral models. Here I use a model that allows for voters to be uncertain about their own ideal points on the electoral space that solves this problem.

**Paper** Does Negative Campaigning Reduce Uncertainty?
Takeshi Iida, University of Texas, Austin

Overview: I examined the power of negative campaigning to reduce voters' uncertainty of candidate issue positions. I found that voters had less uncertainty of a challenger's ideological position in the states that feature negative campaigning.

**Disc.** Adam Berinsky, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
John Brehm, University of Chicago

**17-207 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: VETS AND VOTES: MILITARY APPEALS IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**

**Room** TBA, Sat 1:45

**Presenter** Swift Boats and Swing Votes: The 2004 Presidential Election and Military Veterans
Jeremy M. Teigen, University of Texas, Austin

Overview: Paper evaluates political behavior of the recurringly salient military veterans in the 2004 presidential election regarding participation, candidate affect, and party ID & ideology.
22-301 POSTER SESSION: GENDER AND POLITICS

Presenter Responsibility in Terminology? The Case against "Ethnic Cleansing" - Matthew J. Flynn, University of Notre Dame
Overview: There are conceptual problems in our use of the term "ethnic cleansing," with dehumanizing and sexist consequences that follow. This paper prescribes the replacement of "ethnic cleansing" with more precise language in describing atrocities.

Presenter Politics in the Private Sphere: Exploring Gendered Forms of Social Capital - Jillian Evans, University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign
Overview: In this paper, we use Canadian survey data to examine gender differences in both types and levels of social capital and how these differences affect men and women's political participation.

Presenter Race, Gender, and Comparative Social Policies - Kiall A. Anderson, Belmont University

Presenter Women, Welfare Dependency, and Work in the United States - Sherrow O. Pinder, Hobart and William Smith Colleges
Overview: This study discredits welfare dependency as a lack of work ethic. It examines the family ethic. The family ethic which saddles women with child care responsibilities makes workfare without child care unrealistic.

Presenter Domestic Violence an Overlooked Social Phenomenon - Joy Klein, California State University, Fullerton
Overview: Domestic violence is a widespread social phenomenon. Historically viewed as a private problem in patriarchal societies, a philosophical examination should be prepared for the future formation of public policy.

Presenter Bodily Integrity, Reproductive Liberty and Legal Personhood - Julie D. Lane, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: This paper contains a comparative analysis of Supreme Court doctrine in two contrasting frameworks: the right to bodily integrity as it pertains to physical punishments and personal searches and the right to decisional reproductive privacy.

23-9  RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUP IDENTITY
Room  TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair  Mark Q. Sawyer, University of California, Los Angeles
Paper  Political Economy of Identity Formation: An Overlapping Generations Model
Marcus Alexander, Harvard University
Overview: We take a new approach to theorizing the construction of identity. The OLG general equilibrium model allows us to study the dynamics of integration, deriving and testing hypotheses about the shape of the political economy in diverse societies.

Paper  Racial Affect among African Americans and Non-African Americans, An Implicit "Dolls Test"
Thomas C. Craemer, Stony Brook University
Overview: This is a priming study to investigate implicit racial affect among African American students. Clark's (1963) hypothesis that pro-black pronouncements may reflect a "norm of racial pride" rather than genuinely held feelings is supported.

Paper  Intra-racial Differences in an Increasingly Inter-racial World: Native-born Black American and African and Afro-Caribbean Interests in Government and Participation in the U.S.
Christina M. Greer, Columbia University
Overview: This study aims to unfold and determine the attitudinal similarities and differences between the three ethnic groups as well as seek to better understand the future of black racial classification in the U.S.

Paper  Latino Group Consciousness: Examining its Measurement Across Surveys
Natalie Masiuk, University of California, Irvine
Overview: This paper compares measurements of Latino group consciousness across different public opinion surveys. We examine for any variables that consistently strengthen or weaken group consciousness to come to a clearer understanding of its dynamic.

24-9  THEORETICAL PUZZLES
Room  TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair  William A. Gorton, St. Olaf College
Paper  Enclosure and Exclusion: The Invention of Private Property
Alexandra M. Kogil, University of Northern Iowa
Overview: This paper offers an intellectual history and critique of one of the most naturalized notions in American political and economic life: the right to private property.

Paper  From Distributive Justice to Lotteries: Closing the Gap
Peter C. Stone, Stanford University
Overview: Political theorists believe that in many situations a lottery is a fair method for distributing goods. They tend, however, to assume this claim without arguing for it. The truth of this claim is, however, not as obvious as they suggest.

Paper  A Non-Consequentialist Defense of Torture
Yvonne Chiu, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: This paper constructs a non-consequentialist defense of interrogational torture, drawing from the social contract tradition. Violations of the hypothetical agreement to a particular political and social system result in loss of its protections.

Paper  theorizing the transition from Violence to Politics: Insights from the International Criminal Court
Giulia Gatta, University of Minnesota and Ohio State University
Overview: The International Criminal Court provides an internationally negotiated definition of cruelty through discursive practices marked by asymmetries of power among actors. I assess the meaning of the Court for these important themes in political theory.

Disc.  Alexander Moon, Cornell University
25-11  THE POLITICS OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY: ELITES AND ZERO-SUM COMPETITION
Room  TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair  Donald J. Maletz, University of Oklahoma
Paper  Killing the Sons of Brutus: Machiavelli and Modern Democracy
Eric S. Petrie, Michigan State University
Overview: Machiavelli's Discourses are examined to uncover a regime much like modern liberal democracy, with a ruthless competition for power kept in check by a democratic people who understand themselves to have eliminated traditional elites.

Paper  Variations on the Zero-sum Theme
James Read, College of St. Benedict/St. John's University
Overview: Four authors are examined to determine whether a case can be made for a concept of power under liberal democracy that is more than zero-sum.

Paper  Foundational and Anti-foundational Liberalism: What's the Difference?
Folke B. Lindahl, Michigan State University
Overview: The debate between Fish, Connolly, Rorty and Gray regarding the "foundations" of liberal democratic theory are critically examined for the political consequences regarding elite competition.

Disc.  Donald J. Maletz, University of Oklahoma
26-6  TOLERATION AND TRUST
Room  TBA, Sat 1:45
Paper  The Distinctive Paradox of Religious Tolerance
Emile Lester, College of William and Mary
Patrick S. Roberts, University of Virginia
Overview: The empirical literature on tolerance treats religion in much the same way as it treats tolerance toward other groups. We argue that religious tolerance poses distinct challenges which deserve to be addressed.

Paper  The Idea of Trust in a Surveillance Society
Richard A. Moushegian, Jr., University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: What's wrong with a "surveillance society?" It erodes trust. Surveillance inherently assumes the party under surveillance is not sufficiently trusted. At what point then can and does surveillance undermine socially constructive cooperative behavior?

Paper  Sources of Political Authority: Between Legitimacy and Trust
Yordanka Nedalkova, Washington University, St Louis
Overview: The paper explores the conceptual relationship between political legitimacy and generalized trust and its implications for theories of political authority.

Paper  The Distinctive Paradox of Religious Tolerance
Patrick S. Roberts, University of Virginia
Overview: Religious tolerance is distinctive because we have a greater obligation to be sensitive and tolerant towards parts of people's identities that they particularly value and that are fundamental to being human.

Disc.  Mark Warren, University of British Columbia
27-8  POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE
Overview: This paper analyzes the link between sources of party finance and structure of parties to explain why and how high wealth and income inequality and significant discretionary authority of the state has led to a multiplicity of weak parties in Russia.

Paper Electoral Instability and Party System Instability: What is the Nature of the Link?  
Konstantin Sonin, Institute for Advanced Study  
Overview: Electoral instability is assumed to be linked to party system instability. I show that fluctuation in turnout is related to only some and electoral volatility to none of the different measures of party system stabilization in Eastern Europe.

Paper Party Dominance in Africa’s Multiparty Elections  
Daniel J. Young, University of California, Los Angeles  
Overview: In this paper I examine the puzzle of parties winning large seat shares in African democracies despite unfavorable conditions to do so. I test existing theories, find them insufficient to solve the puzzle, and offer an alternative explanation.

Disc. Jae-Jae M. Spoon, University of Michigan

30-9 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND CONTINUITY IN THE PRESIDENCY

Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair Konstantin Sonin, Institute for Advanced Study

Paper Can Political Parties Work as a Source of Electoral Cleavage?  
Jungwha Lee, University of Michigan  
Overview: This paper claims that political parties play an independent and active role in mobilizing and ‘ politicizing’ a latent cleavage, where no territorial configuration of social cleavages is expected to bring about a regionally divided electoral split.

Paper Money, Efforts, and Votes: The Non-Emergence of a Political Party  
Konstantin Sonin, Institute for Advanced Study  
Overview: We analyze the link between sources of party finance and structure of parties to explain why and how high wealth and income inequality and significant discretionary authority of the state has led to a multiplicity of weak parties in Russia.

Paper Electoral Instability and Party System Instability: What is the Nature of the Link?  
Margit Tavits, University of Oxford  
Overview: Electoral instability is assumed to be linked to party system instability. I show that fluctuation in turnout is related to only some and electoral volatility to none of the different measures of party system stabilization in Eastern Europe.

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Daniel J. Young, University of California, Los Angeles  
Overview: In this paper I examine the puzzle of parties winning large seat shares in African democracies despite unfavorable conditions to do so. I test existing theories, find them insufficient to solve the puzzle, and offer an alternative explanation.

Disc. Jae-Jae M. Spoon, University of Michigan

Overview: We discuss a 3-stage estimator that reduces the inefficiency of fixed effects models in estimating rarely changing variables. MC experiments demonstrate the method’s superiority if the between variance is 2.5 times larger than the within variance.

Paper The Flying White House: Presidential Travel as an Emerging Institution  
Michael J. Burton, Ohio University  
Overview: Examines contemporary presidential travel as a part of the White House institution and as a symbolic expression of executive power.

Paper Hamilton’s Executive Government  
Benjamin A. Kleinerman, Virginia Military Institute  
Overview: Provides something of a correction to the conventional wisdom that the Constitution proscribes presidential leadership by examining the political thought of Alexander Hamilton.

Paper Contracts of Normalcy: How Presidents Reconcile Changing Commitments and Political Disruption  
Gregg D. Lindskog, University of Virginia  
Overview: I show how presidents describe the opportunity to effect change and compare this with the historic record to explain presidential action. I argue these presidents have to respond to new commitments, and socio-political disruption and change.

Disc. Sean J. Savage, Saint Mary’s College

31-10 LEGISLATIVE DECISION MAKING AND DISTRIBUTIVE POLICY

Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair TBA

Paper The ‘Law of 1/n,’ Legislature Size, and Government Spending  
David M. Primo, University of North Texas  
Overview: The analysis of time series cross-sectional data has become increasingly popular. We consider a Bayesian multilevel model, using simulations and diverse data applications to benchmark this approach against the popular Beck-Katz PCSE procedure.

Paper Which Time-Series Cross-Section Estimator Should I Use Now? Guidance from Monte Carlo Experiments  
Sven E. Wilson, Brigham Young University  
Overview: We discuss common problematic features of time series cross-section data typically analyzed in political science. Using Monte Carlo experiments, we compare the relative performance of various proposed estimators in coping with these challenges.

Disc. Patrick T. Brandt, University of North Texas

29-11 COMPARATIVE PARTY SYSTEMS

Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair Andrew Gelman, Columbia University

Paper Cheap-talk and Legislative Bargaining in the European Union’s Codecision Procedure  
Bjorn K. Høyland, School of Public Policy, University College London  
Overview: I apply the Crawford-Sobell model of strategic information transmission to legislative politics in the EU. I derive predictions for successful policy locations, adoption stage, voting behaviour and allocation of Codecision reports in the EP.

Paper Patronage, Ideology, and Policy Decentralization  
Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro, Columbia University  
Overview: This paper develops a theoretical model of policy decentralization that explicitly accounts for the fact that national and local governments may have preferences over patronage distribution, as well as over policy outcomes.

Paper A Coalition Dominance Approach to Party Behavior  
Gerald Pech, National University of Ireland, Galway  
Overview: Explain that proportional representation results in outcomes closer to the median voter than majority voting. Majoritarian intra-party decisions moderate outcomes in coalition governments. Model party formation as coalition of politicians.

Disc. Steven Callander, Northwestern University  
Gilles Serra, Harvard University

28-5 NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN TIME SERIES CROSS-SECTIONAL MODELS

Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair Kosuke Imai, Princeton University

Paper Efficient Estimation of Rarely Changing Variables in Fixed Effects Models  
Thomas Plümper, University of Konstanz  
Vera E. Troeger, Max Planck Institute Jena  
Overview: We discuss a 3-stage estimator that reduces the inefficiency of fixed effects models in estimating rarely changing variables. MC experiments demonstrate the method’s superiority if the between variance is 2.5 times larger than the within variance.

Paper A Bayesian Multilevel Modeling Approach to Time Series Cross-Sectional Data  
Boris Shor, Princeton University  
Andrew Gelman, Columbia University  
David Park, Professor, Washington University  
Joseph Bafumi, Columbia University  
Luke Keele, Oxford University  
Overview: The analysis of time series cross-sectional data has become increasingly popular. We consider a Bayesian multilevel model, using simulations and diverse data applications to benchmark this approach against the popular Beck-Katz PCSE procedure.

Paper Which Time-Series Cross-Section Estimator Should I Use Now? Guidance from Monte Carlo Experiments  
Sven E. Wilson, Brigham Young University  
Daniel M. Butler, Stanford University  
Christopher Adolph, University of Washington  
Overview: We discuss common problematic features of time series cross-section data typically analyzed in political science. Using Monte Carlo experiments, we compare the relative performance of various proposed estimators in coping with these challenges.

Disc. Patrick T. Brandt, University of North Texas

Updated 03-01-05
Overview: A central finding of the distributive politics literature is that large legislatures engage in more wasteful "pork barrel" spending than smaller counterparts. Utilizing a formal theory and data from the U.S. states, we challenge this result.

Paper **Explaning Oversized Coalitions, Empirical Evidence from Local Governments**

Soeren Serritzlew, Aarhus University
Jens Blom-Hansen, TBA

Overview: The paper tests a number of prominent theories of oversized legislative coalitions using 300 Danish local governments as the empirical testing ground.

Paper **Testing Theories of Distributive Politics and Pork Barrel Spending in Legislatures**

Alan E. Wiseman, Ohio State University
Michael C. Herron, Dartmouth College

Overview: We analyze the manner in which monies were distributed under the FIRST grant program in Illinois to test competing theories of distributive politics.

Paper **The Distributive Consequences of Congressional Seniority in Budgetary Politics**

Kenneth K. Wong, Vanderbilt University
Warren E. Langevin, Vanderbilt University

Overview: Our paper documents the regional shift in formula-based distributions under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act through an analytical framework and quantitative models to explain the concurrent transformation of congressional representation.

Disc. Thomas J. Bränninger, University of Konstanz
Rob Salmon, University of California, Los Angeles

**31-210 ROUNDTABLE: TBA**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Presenter **Cue Taking Without Parties**
Rhonda Saferstein, University of Nebraska, Lincoln
Overview: TBA

**32-5 LEGISLATIVE REDISTRICTING AND REPRESENTATIONAL BOUNDARIES**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair Gregory Koger, University of Montana

Paper **Crossing the Line: Electoral Consequences of Redistricting Across County Boundaries**

Laura E. Miller, Stanford University

Overview: Court-ordered reapportionment of congressional districts in the 1960s positively impacted the incumbency advantage by disrupting previously stable political jurisdictions, reducing the power of local party organizations to challenge incumbents.

Paper **Economic Performance and Electoral Tides: When and Why Does Redistricting Matter?**

Richard Forgette, University of Mississippi
Harvey Palmer, TBA

Overview: We propose a model of redistricting effects under different political and economic contexts. Redistricting effects have become more pronounced in recent cycles and that these growing effects are decreasing electoral party turnover.

Paper **The Role of State Characteristics on Gerrymandering and Congressional Policy Outcomes**

Jason A. Reifler, Duke University

Overview: I examine how state characteristics, such as the number of districts or distribution of ideal points of the population, determine how much gerrymandering in a state can affect national policy outcomes.

Paper **Beyond the District and the State: Reconceptualizing Representational Boundaries**

Justin T. Golsh, Temple University

Overview: The purpose of the paper is to move beyond what I believe is a static view of representational boundaries. The argument will be forwarded that there are alternative ways to view representational boundaries beyond the district and the state.

Paper **Preparing Now for the 2010 Redistricting Cycle**

Carroll G. Robinson, Texas Southern University

Overview: By 2050, fifty percent of the nation’s population will be people of color. Preserving special provisions of the Voting Rights Act will be crucial. I say a “protect-maximize & swing” redistricting strategy best protects minority political power.

Disc. Justin M. Buchler, Oberlin College

**32-9 CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES COMING AND GOING**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair Jeffrey Lazarus, Georgia State University


Robert B. Arsenneau, Independent Researcher

Overview: This paper tests the proposition that national level electoral forces are a contributing cause of challenger quality in U.S. House elections. Using data from the 1946-2002 elections, this analysis provides only modest support for this proposition.

Paper **Money, Entry, and Retirement: Reassessing Candidate Investment in U.S. House Elections**

Walter J. Stone, University of California, Davis
Sarah Fulton, University of California, Davis
Sandy Maisel, Colby College
Cherie Maestas, Florida State University

Overview: Explores the effect of spending, candidate entry by experienced challengers and incumbent retirement by introducing an explicit, exogenous measure of incumbent prospects.

Paper **The Impact of Candidate Motivations on Campaign Resources, Organization and Outcomes**

Alan Gitelson, Emory University

Overview: We distinguish the causal chain that directly links on how they exit from the assembly, namely, through election loss, retirement or death. I construct a survival analysis model taking competing risks and repeated failures into consideration.

Disc. Allan Cigler, University of Kansas

**33-12 THE COURTS AND THE PUBLIC**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair Elliot E. Slotnick, Ohio State University

Paper **Challenging the Status Quo: Interest Mobilization, Popular Initiatives and the Courts**

Jolly A. Emrey, California State University, Los Angeles
Rorie Solberg, Oregon State University

Overview: In direct democracy states courts not only perform judicial review, but also provide opportunities for increased political participation.

Paper **The Supreme Court in American Democracy: Unraveling the Linkages between Public Opinion and Judicial Decision-making**

Micheal W. Giles, Emory University
Richard L. Vining, Emory University
Bethany R. Blackstone, Emory University

Overview: We distinguish the causal chain that directly links public opinion to Supreme Court decision-making. Employing a measure of case salience for analytic leverage, we are able to differentiate the effects of attitude change and strategic behavior.


Kenneth L. Manning, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth
Robert A. Carp, University of Houston
Overview: A state-level study of public opinion and decision-making in the federal district courts which addresses the question: "Do the courts follow public opinion?"

**Paper** Judicial Decisions and Compliance: The Electoral Connection

Thomson W. McFarland, University of Colorado
Vanessa Baird, University of Colorado
Michele Buckley, University of Colorado

Overview: Our paper examines why elected officials comply with judicial decisions. Using an experimental design, we find that levels of diffuse support and political knowledge among citizens create an electoral incentive for officials to comply.

**Paper** An Appeal to the People: Testing the Empirical Foundations of Popular Constitutionalism

Joseph D. Ura, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Overview: I examine the empirical foundations of popular constitutionalism by asking: Does the mass public systematically react to Supreme Court decision-making? I find that the public can and does respond in the aggregate to Supreme Court decisions.

**Panelist** Luke Bierman, North Carolina State University
Ted Eisenberg, Cornell University (Journal of Empirical Legal Studies)
Herbert M. Kritzer, University of Wisconsin-Madison (Law & Society Review)

**Presenters**
Lynn Mather, University at Buffalo (Law and Policy)
Wayne McIntosh, University of Maryland (Law and Politics Book Review)
Laura Beth Nielsen, American Bar Foundation (Law and Social Inquiry)
David Richert, American Judicature Society (Judicature)
Stephen L. Washby, University at Albany (Justice System Journal)

Overview: The editors of law-related journals will discuss the domains and foci of their journals, and will entertain questions from the audience.

**Room** 34-101 ROUNDTABLE: SPECIALIZED LAW-RELATED JOURNALS

**Panelist**
TBA, Sat 1:45

**Presenters**
Luke Bierman, North Carolina State University
Ted Eisenberg, Cornell University (Journal of Empirical Legal Studies)
Herbert M. Kritzer, University of Wisconsin-Madison (Law & Society Review)
Lynn Mather, University at Buffalo (Law and Policy)
Wayne McIntosh, University of Maryland (Law and Politics Book Review)
Laura Beth Nielsen, American Bar Foundation (Law and Social Inquiry)
David Richert, American Judicature Society (Judicature)
Stephen L. Washby, University at Albany (Justice System Journal)

Overview: We applied this landscape theory to explain why some metropolitan area success formation of regional partnership of for economic development, and other metropolitan area failure.

**Paper** Choosing Sides: Formation of Regional Partnership for Economic Development in Metropolitan Area and Landscape Theory of Aggregation

In Won Lee, Florida State University
Hyung Jun Park, Florida State University

Overview: We applied this landscape theory to explain why some metropolitan area success formation of regional partnership of for economic development, and other metropolitan area failure.

**Paper** The Metropolitan Mayors Caucus: The Effectiveness of Ad Hoc Regionalism

Bonnie J. Lindstrom, Northwestern University

Overview: The research will analyze the reasons for the region-wide policy successes and failures of the Metropolitan Mayors Caucus, a new ad hoc regional institution comprised of the city of Chicago and 270 suburbs.

**Paper** Michigan's Urban Core Mayors: Studies in Local Leadership and Cooperation

Rex L. LaMore, Michigan State University
Faron Supanich-Goldner, Michigan State University

Overview: In 1992, the mayors of twelve of Michigan's central cities established a forum in which to share local strategies and speak with one voice about their common concerns. This paper discusses the experience of this group over the past dozen years.

**Disc.** Jered Carr, Wayne State University

**Room** 37-301 POSTER SESSION: PUBLIC POLICY

**Panelist**
TBA, Sat 1:45

**Presenters**
Gretna Thomassey Fink, University of Minnesota, Duluth

This work provides, among other things, a current, up to date reference table listing groundwater doctrines in all 50 US states, which fills a gap in existing literature.

**Presenters**
Kathleen Hale, Kent State University
Overview: This study examines whether states that are more informed by national networks are more likely to take actions at the state level in support of local programs. The study employs data from 1103 drug courts established between 1989 and 2003.

**Presenters**
Cynthia Jackson-Elmoore, Michigan State University
Overview: Local autonomy and service delivery are key issues in municipal boundary change. With this in mind, the advantages and disadvantages of conditional land transfers are discussed with suggestions for policy reforms transferability across states.

**Presenters**
Loan K. Le, University of California, Berkeley
Alison L. Gash, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: We pinpoint the origin and evolution of government policies on marriage and examine anti-miscegenation laws, welfare reform marriage incentives and the components of the same-sex marriage debate.

**Presenters**
Thad E. Hall, University of Utah
Michael Alvarez, California Tech University
Overview: This paper examines the factors affecting changes in the framing of the debate regarding election reform from being about enfranchising people with disabilities to focusing on fraud, using unique survey data and media coverage analyses.

**Presenters**
J. Tobin Grant, Southern Illinois University
Nathan Kelly, SUNY, Buffalo
Overview: We propose new concept, policy flow. We provide a methodology for measuring policy flow that combines measures of budgets and major lawmaking from 1789 – 2002, discuss its dynamics, and model it.

**Presenters**
Thomas Pallesen, University of Aarhus
Overview: TBA

**Room** 38-3 HISTORY AND TEMPORALITY IN US SOCIAL POLICY

**Panelist**
TBA, Sat 1:45

**Presenters**
Steve Pimpare, Yeshiva University
Overview: The Unintended Impact of Social Security Coverage on the Establishment of Medicare and Medicaid Programs
Robert A. Peters, Western Michigan University

Overview: Does Information Matter? A Study of State-level Implementation Efforts to Facilitate Local Drug Court Programs

Dr. Rex L. LaMore, Michigan State University
Overview: In 1992, the mayors of twelve Michigan's central cities established a forum in which to share local strategies and speak with one voice about their common concerns. This paper discusses the experience of this group over the past dozen years.
Keon-Hyung Lee, Western Michigan University
Overview: The exclusion of farm labor from Social Security coverage led southern lawmakers to block Medicare and substitute an expansion of indigent health care. The program's cost delayed Medicare's enactment for an additional five years.

Disc. Stephen Pimpare, Yeshiva University

39-6 POLICY STABILITY (Co-sponsored with Public Policy, see 37-12)
Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair Lilliard Richardson, University of Missouri
Overview: Keywords: Garbage Can Models, Participation in Administrative Decision Making, Education Policy, Crime and Violence Policy

Paper Stability and Punctuations in Public Policy: A Comparative Study of Long-Term Policy Effects of Institutional Choices Peter B. Mortensen, University of Aarhus
Overview: This paper examines institutional effects on the frequency of policy punctuations. It does so by using the theoretical framework of Baumgartner and Jones in a comparative study of Danish civil defense and Danish national home guard policy 1949-2003.

Paper Understanding the Multiple Dimensions of Policy Equilibria Jeff S. Worsham, West Virginia University Viviane Foyou, West Virginia University
Overview: This paper examines the multiple sources of disequilibria—group, institutional, and individual—that account for the evolution of the coal policy subsystem over the course of the 20th century.

Paper The Dynamics of Incrementalism: Subsystems, Politics, and Public Lands Robert S. Wood, University of North Dakota
Overview: This paper examines why challengers are able to break down policy subsystems in one area but not another through a study of policy change in two areas of environmental policy: timber policy in national forests and grazing policy on public lands.

Disc. Dana L. Baker, University of Missouri, Columbia

40-10 ALTERNATIVE PATHS OF INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT
Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair Robert Mickey, University of Michigan
Paper 100% (Non)Natural: Those Who Walked Away from Stratification and Statehood Adam Waldie, York University
Overview: A study of two cultures that countered the historical trend of ever-more complex and stratified societies by, consciously and of their own volition, overthrowing stratification and statehood in favour of simpler, more egalitarian societies.

Overview: Comparison of the political campaigns of Mao Zedong and the Qianlong Emperor to identify enduring elements of Chinese political culture and to explain the broader nature of ruling China.

Overview: This paper examines the impact of domestic institutional organization upon international politics in a historical context.

Paper Border Setting and Ethnic Cleansing in Europe between 1906-1950 H. Zeynep Bulutgil, Yale University

44-4 RELIGIOUS BELIEFS IN U.S. POLITICS
Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair Ted G. Jelen, University of Nevada, Las Vegas
Overview: This study modifies Haider-Markel's morality politics model to analyze the relationship between morality issues and the U.S. House and Senate with an emphasis on member religious affiliation.

Overview: This paper examines the relationship between the religious affiliations and behaviors of U.S. House members and their legislative voting.

Paper Congresional Voting on Religious Issues: Partisan Influences or Personal Beliefs? Tara W. Stricko-Neubauer, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: This study examines the effect of religion on Senators’ votes on conscience issues. As religious beliefs are likely to be a core component of an individual’s basic outlook, it is important to understand how those beliefs affect elite decision-making.

Paper The Political Cohesion of Churches Paul A. Djupe, Denison University Christopher P. Gilbert, Gustavus Adolphus College
Overview: We investigate the attributes of churches that promote political cohesion, including effects from clergy, church members, and the community. Are political minorities less active as their minority status grows more pronounced?

Paper Race, Religion and Partisanship: The Role of Biblical Literalism in Shaping Towards the Republican Party, Eric L. McDaniel, University of Texas Chris Ellison, University of Texas
Overview: The purpose of this paper is to examine the role of religion in African American public opinion. In addition, the paper will also examine the role of race in how much of an effect religion has on its attitudes.

Disc. Geoffrey C. Layman, University of Maryland Marie Eisenstein, Indiana University Northwest

48-1 NEW PERSPECTIVES ON LGBT'S AND POLITICS
Room TBA, Sat 1:45
Chair Kenneth Sheerrill, Hunter College, CUNY
Paper We Are (Or Are We) Family? The Failings of Communitarian Gay Politics Patrick Y. Lagua, University of Michigan
Overview: This paper analyzes the failings of contemporary communitarian oriented gay politics, and why a more “queer” or anti-assimilationist politics is not only more tenable, but necessary in the current political climate.

Paper An Emergent Electorate: Gays, Lesbians, and Bisexuals in the United States Megan E. Osterbur, University of New Orleans
Overview: This paper simultaneously questions the application of public policy categories developed by Lowi and Tatalovich and Daynes examining gay policy formation in France and the United States and the subsequent impact on public opinion.

Updated 03-01-05
Paper The Role of the Slovenian Gay Rights Movement in Challenging the Communist Ideology of Uniformity
Nenad Sunic, Western Michigan University
Overview: The paper examines the role of the first gay rights movement in Eastern Europe in the pluralization of Slovenian communist society in the late 1980s by challenging the official ideology of uniformity.
Disc. Jason Pierceon, St. Norbert College

Saturday, April 9 – 3:45 pm – 5:30 pm

1-101 ROUNDTABLE: NESTING EXPLANATIONS: MULTI-LEVEL ACCOUNTS IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS (Co-sponsored with Comparative Politics-Industrialized Countries, see 2-101)
Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair Rob Franzese, University of Michigan
Panelist Phil Shively, University of Minnesota
Wendy Rahn, University of Minnesota
John Huber, Columbia University
Raymond Due, University of Houston
Overview: Scholars in this session will hold a discussion about multi-level explanations in comparative politics (e.g., how institutional context affects citizen attitudes or behavior).

1-108 ROUNDTABLE: AGENT BASED MODELING OF CULTURE (Co-sponsored with Political Culture, see 42-101)
Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Panelist Scott Page, University of Michigan
Panelist Michael Dawson, Harvard University
Rahvi Bhavnani, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Meri Rolfe, University of Chicago
Overview: TBA

Paper Values, Elections, and Terrorism
John K. White, Catholic University of America
Overview: How to deal with terrorism was the campaign issue of the 2004 presidential election. This paper extrapolates possible policy consequences resulting from the electoral outcome and the degree to which they reflect the values divide in society.

Paper The Presidency and the Struggle to Protect the Homeland: Political Consequences and Policy Realities
John S. Jackson, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Overview: This paper discusses how the institutional structure of the United States has handled the threat of terrorism, and how the role of the Chief Executive in recent years has been transformed by terrorist acts.

Paper Terrorism in a Political Context: 9/11 and Related Events in American History
Jerome M. Mileur, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Overview: This paper will place September 11th in a continuum of events which have threatened the security of the United States, and then analyses how political actors responded to these threats from an institutional perspective.
Disc. James Scott, Indiana State University

Paper The Crisis of Western Communist Parties: Going Beyond Social Determinants.
Luis J. Ramiro, University of Murcia, Spain
Overview: This paper analyses the various possible determinants of the crisis of Western Communist parties. It explores the validity of both social and political factors as explanations to this crisis.

Paper Corporatism and Party System Stability
Margit Tavits, University of Oxford
Overview: New parties are more frequent when the institutional structures are permissive (cost is low), the corporatist arrangements are weak (benefit is high), and the electoral histories of the incumbents are short (electoral viability is high).

Paper Globalization’s Effect on Parties’ Policy Positions
Andrea B. Haupt, University of California, Santa Barbara
Overview: I examine the impact of the international economy on parties’ policy positions cross-nationally.
Disc. Ken Kollman, University of Michigan
Matt Golder, University of Iowa

2-10 PARTICIPATION AND COLLECTIVE ACTION
Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair Jason Wittenberg, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Paper Study on Japanese Citizen Movements: The Environmental NPOs Since 1990s
Euisuk Han, University of Southern California
Haruhiko Furumura, University of Southern California
Overview: Scholars pointed out the weakness of environmental movements in Japan without enough evidence. This study will show the plausible factors which draw the “weak” perception, and provide empirical data on Japanese environmental NPOs since 1990s.

Paper Accede or Not to Accede: Analysis of the Impact of Protests and Concessions on Future Concessions
Taehyun Nam, University of Kansas
Justin A. Tucker, University of Kansas
Overview: We study the effect of protest level on concessions from government and business. We examine how the level of protest affects the likelihood of a concession and that concession’s impact on future concessions.

Frank T. Manheim, George Mason University
Overview: Comparisons between the offshore oil industry in the U.S. and Norway show that each side in the U.S.conflict can thwart the other but not achieve own goals, whereas Norway has no gridlock. New insights for an old U.S. conflict?

Paper Democratic Inclusiveness and Gender: Perceptions of Discrimination and Their Effects on Democratic Support
Ronald Inglehart, University of Michigan
Christian Welzel, International University, Bremen
Overview: This paper demonstrates that participation in spontaneous mass action is much more closely linked with democracy and other positive effects, at both the individual level and the system level, than is membership in voluntary associations.

Ronald Inglehart, University of Michigan
Christian Welzel, International University, Bremen
Overview: If democracy promotes inclusiveness, then individuals that feel excluded may have less favorable views of democracy. Women who encounter more discrimination at the individual level or perceive more in society may express a negative view of democracy.
Disc. Benjamin L. Read, University of Iowa
Jason Wittenberg, University of Wisconsin, Madison

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3-10 POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE I

Chair Ira Parnerkar, University of Chicago

Room TBA, Sat 3:45

Paper Political Institutions and Economic Development: The Context-Dependent Effects of Political Institutions
Jonathan Hanson, University of Michigan
Overview: This paper tests the proposition that a fuller understanding of the relationship between political institutions and economic performance is gained by thinking about the effect of institutions given a country's stage in the development process.

Paper Explaining Human Capital Accumulation: The Interaction of Economic Factors and the Type of Political Regime
Dulce Manzano, New York University
Overview: The political economy literature on human capital typically stresses the impact of per capita income and wealth inequality on education. In this paper, I argue however that the effects of both variables are contingent on the type of political regime.

M. Ines Valdez, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: This paper examines the adequacy of the collective action framework in the literature on market reforms, and shows that many underlying assumptions are not warranted in the actual processes, thus creating an ontological obstacle to theorizations.

Disc. Ira Parnerkar, University of Chicago

Mustafa R. Ozturk, University of Chicago

4-13 EU EXPANSION

Chair Lee D. Walker, University of Kentucky

Room TBA, Sat 3:45

Paper Elites and Democratic Policy: 10 Years of European Integration
Lars K. Hallstrom, St. Francis Xavier University
Overview: Due to policy integration, elites in the Czech Republic and Poland have shifted their orientations toward the EU. This has happened at the expense of the participatory and civil elements of democratic political life in these states.

Paper I'd Buy that for a Dollar: Consumption and Support for the European Union
Kevin P. Allen, University of Houston
Overview: This paper looks at the role of consumption of both small and big ticket items in regards to support for the European Union.

Paper Party Alternation as Limit to Corruption: State-business Relations and the Promotion of Economic Development in Post-Socialist Eastern Europe
Roger Schoenman, Columbia University
Overview: Schoenman examines the impact of state-business elite relations on outcomes of state intervention in the economy in Poland, Romania and Bulgaria.

Paper The Road to Europe – Legacies, Strategies, Norms and the Development of the Rule of Law in Hungary and Bulgaria
Aneta B. Spendzharova, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: This study argues that through the pre-accession conditionality process the European Union has influenced positively the quality of the rule of law in Hungary and Bulgaria.

Room TBA, Sat 3:45

Paper Solving Kosovo: A European Union Integrative Approach
Steven Majstorovic, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire
Overview: This paper presents a conflict resolution process for Kosovo that utilizes the expansion of the European Union and its integrative capacities as the engine of resolution.

Disc. Claire V. Kramer, Duke University

6-9 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND DEMOCRATIZATION

Chair Lisa Baldez, Dartmouth College

Room TBA, Sat 3:45

Paper Popular Mobilizations, Civil Society, and Democracy in Latin America
Eduardo O. Frajman, University of Maryland, College Park
Examines the effect that popular mobilizations of civil society and social movements have on Latin American democracy. Criticizes conceptions of civil-society-based “participatory democracy” as disconnected from available empirical evidence.

Paper New Politics in Argentina? The Piqueteros, Policy Change and the Demands of the Unemployed
Melissa Scheier, University of Houston
Isabella Alcaniz, University of Houston
Overview: This paper traces the development, strategies and goals of the Piqueteros movement in Argentina. We argue that the Piqueteros are a powerful new political actor which can bridge the gap between social movement and political party.

Paper Nonviolent Politics in Action: A Comparative Analysis of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo and the Brazilian Relentless Resistance
Khalil M. Marrar, Loyola University
Overview: This is a comparative examination of two non-violent movements in Argentina and Brazil.

Paper Unemployment and Opportunism: The “Piqueteros” of Argentina
Aldo F. Ponce, University of Connecticut
Overview: This paper sheds light on the possible explanations that produced the emergence and consolidation of the “piqueteros” social movement in Argentina from a comparative perspective, based on Latin America.

Disc. Lisa Baldez, Dartmouth College

Benjamin Goldfrank, University of New Mexico

6-10 EXECUTIVE POWER IN LATIN AMERICA: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

Chair Carlos Guevara Mann, Florida State University

Room TBA, Sat 3:45

Gabriela Nava-Campos, Northwestern University
Overview: This paper examines the link between government performance and the institutional structures framing decision-making. The results show that performance is negatively affected by more dispersed distributions of power and a highly restricted executive.

Paper The Executive Assault Problem: Resisting Predatory Presidents in Latin American Democracies
William T. Barnard, Princeton University
Overview: The essay analyzes attempts by presidents to restrict political liberties in Latin America. Why do presidents attempt these executive assaults? Why do some assaults succeed, while others fail? What are the best strategies for defeating assaults?

Paper Executive-Legislative Relations and Economic Policy Design
Leonardo Gatica, University of Texas
Overview: The paper studies the institutional determinants that shape the relationship between executive and legislative, and their effect over the stabilization strategies in Latin America.

Paper One for All and All for One? A Theory of Presidents and Their Parties with Application to Privatizations in Latin America (1980s-1990s)
Vidal Romero, Stanford University
Overview: I develop a theory explaining when and how presidents and their parties collaborate. Given positive transaction costs, collaboration is not straightforward; presidents obtaining their parties’ support results from these actors being able to exchange.

Paper Squeeky Wheels and Unequal Policy: Executive Authority and Education Reform in Latin America
Clayton L. Thyne, University of Iowa
Erika Moreno, University of Iowa
Overview: I develop a theory explaining when and how presidents and their parties collaborate. Given positive transaction costs, collaboration is not straightforward; presidents obtaining their parties’ support results from these actors being able to exchange.
Overview: The World Bank has long promoted controversial education reforms in Latin America. This paper seeks to explain how variations in democratic governance and executive power can either help or hinder the passage of these reforms.

Disc. Gregg B. Johnson, Butler University

Carlos Guevara Mann, Florida State University

9-7 PARTIES AND PARTISANSHIP IN THE POSTCOMMUNIST WORLD

Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair David S. Mason, Butler University
Paper It's a Family Affair: Party Systems in East-Central Europe
Adrian P. Hull, Jackson State University
Overview: Statistical analysis delineates the families of party systems in East-Central Europe, challenges historical institutionalism of Kitschelt et al. 1999, and offers micro-level examination of parties and electorates. Includes Bulgaria as case study.

Paper Rise of Populism in Post-Communist Poland in A Comparative Perspective
Jacek Lubecki, Millikin University
Overview: The paper will examine, in a comparative perspective, conditions leading to the rise of two most important populist movements in post-communist Poland: Andrzej Lepper's Samoobrona (Self-Defense) and the League of Polish Families.

Paper The Battle Over Privileges and Pension Reform in Central and Eastern Europe - Evidence from legislative Roll Call Analysis
Oana I. Armeanu, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: Party spatial positions can predict coalitions that support pension reform. A roll call analysis of voting in Poland and Slovakia suggests that reform is more likely where multiple pro-reform coalitions can form and there is left-right consensus.

Paper The Evolution of the Former Dominant Parties in Marxist Leninist Regimes in Sub Saharan Africa
John Ishiyama, Truman State University
Overview: This paper offers an examination of how the ruling parties in the avowedly Marxist Leninist regimes in Angola, Benin, Congo-Brazzaville, Guinea-Bissau, Ethiopia, and Mozambique adjusted to the changed circumstances of the post cold war period.

Paper Making and Breaking the Radical Right in Central and Eastern Europe
David C. Art, College of the Holy Cross
Dana Brown, TBA
Overview: This paper argues that the variation in the success of far right parties in Poland, the Czech Republic, can be explained by the different responses of mainstream political parties to them.

Disc. Mariusz Ozminowski, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

10-12 NEW APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ORGANIZATION

Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair Amanda Kirk, University of Massachusetts
Paper Toward a Constructivist Theory of Soft Law
Patrick Cottrell, University of Wisconsin, Madison
David M. Trubek, University of Wisconsin
Overview: This paper will draw upon constructivist approaches to develop a theory of soft law, analyze its use and operation in Europe, and suggest ways in which how soft law might usefully be coupled with hard law.

Paper War Within Law? Adjusting Quantitative International Relations to International Law
Lisa M. Danish, SUNY, Buffalo
Overview: This paper argues that war databases are flawed because they do not account for the international legal status of conflicts. It reviews the legal status of conflicts since 1945 and shows how this redefinition would effect existing scholarship.

Paper EU-Induced Democratization? The Case of Turkey on the Road to Membership
Beken Saatcioglu, University of Virginia
Overview: This paper examines the impacts of the EU's political conditionality on the democratization of Turkey to argue that compliance with the admission criteria requires not just legislation but more significantly, implementation of democratic measures.

Disc. Amanda Kirk, University of Massachusetts

Mark E. Wojcik, John Marshall School of Law

10-20 CAUSES OF WAR

Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair David Clark, Binghamton University
Paper Alignment amid Famility: Why Warm Peace Eludes Greece and Turkey
Rebecca Murphy, Columbia University
Overview: Our study seeks to explain variations in relations between former military rivals. It examines constructivism, institutionalism, and a realist-based alternative -- alignment interconnections against the case of Greece and Turkey.

Paper The Role of Relative Salience in Territorial Conflict: Differentiating Between Initiator and Target
Nazli Avadan, Duke University
Joshua D. Rubinstein, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: By reconceptualizing territorial salience as a relative concept, our study extends recent scholarship first through a directional argument in differentiating between initiator and target; second by taking a longitudinal perspective.

Paper The Democratic Peace Argument Extended: Absence of Balancing Under Democratic Hegemony
Lucrecia Garcia Iommi, University of Notre Dame
Overview: Under Balance of Threat theory, and considering offensive intentions as a function of domestic alienness, we find that democracies not only don’t fight each other, but they balance each other to a lesser extent.

Disc. David Clark, Binghamton University

11-10 POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair Nathan M. Jensen, Washington University
Paper A Model of Military Spending, Endogenous Investment, and Economic Growth
Muhammet A. Bas, University of Rochester
Overview: A formal model of the relationship between military spending, investment and economic growth is presented. Empirical test of the implications from the model is provided.

Paper Democracy and Economic Growth: The Importance of Regional Context
Jonathan T. Kriekhauss, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: The paper moves beyond aggregate cross-sectional tests of a central hypothesis in the literatures and examines instead if democracy might influence growth differently depending upon the regional political context.

Paper Complements of Human Capital in Technological Catch-Up: Openness, Capital and Technology Transfer in East Asia
Matthew Shapiro, University of Southern California
Overview: This study advances study of the crucial links among technological change, human capital accumulation and openness and their impact on growth in per capita income in East Asia.

Paper The Effect of Multilateral Borrowing on Economic Development: Evidence from 46 African Countries
Jonathan R. Strand, University of Nevada, Las Vegas
Tina F. Mueller, University of Nebraska, Lincoln
John P. Tuman, University of Nevada, Las Vegas
Overview: We use three models pooling data from 46 African countries to test the effect of borrowing from the World Bank on national wealth.

Disc. Nathan M. Jensen, Washington University

Updated 03-01-05
12-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LEGITIMACY AND CRISIS
Room: TBA, Sat 3:45
Presenter: Interaction between the Internal and the External State Legitimacy Crises: A Recipe for the Interstate Conflict
Presenter: Wahed A. Khan, Purdue University
Overview: States are mainly legitimacy-seeking actors in the international system. In this paper, I ask the question, “How do the external and internal legitimacy crises of states interact to lead to the interstate conflicts?”

12-204 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: GLOBALIZATION
Room: TBA, Sat 3:45
Presenter: Globalization and Immigration: The Golden Rush of Indians to the Silicon Valley
Shibani Chattopadhyay, University of Florida
Overview: This paper explores the impact of globalization on the immigration through the study of the Indian Diaspora.
Presenter: Unleashed Global Capital
Majid K. Sharifi, University of Florida
Overview: I argue that global capital has increasingly freed itself from the constraints of its territorial and sociopolitical forces. I suggest that this is an unprecedented historical phenomenon with grave global implications.

13-10 STRATEGIES FOR MODERN WAR
Room: TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair: Ashley Leeds, Rice University
Paper: Sight Unseen: A Reexamination of the Influence of Third Parties on the Conduct and Duration of Interstate Wars
Alex Weisgerber, Columbia University
Overview: I argue that third parties often can influence interstate wars without intervening directly, while those that do intervene are disproportionately unlikely to have a major effect.
Paper: A Bridge Over Troubled Waters or a Bridge to Nowhere? Britain and Rapid Reaction Forces for Europe
James J. Marquardt, Lake Forest College
Overview: This paper studies Britain’s support for NATO and EU rapid reaction forces. Emphasizing the interoperability of these forces, Britain seeks to bridge the widening strategic divide between America and Europe.
Paper: The Role of Military Strategy in Modern "Hybrid" Wars
Erin M. Simpson, Harvard University
Overview: This paper is an initial investigation into the dynamics of these hybrid conflicts with particular emphasis on the effects of war-fighting and war-termination strategies on eventual victory.
Paper: Diasporadic Minorities, Terrorism, and Great Powers’ National Security Strategies
Richard W. Chadwick, University of Hawaii
Overview: Great powers’ national security, antiterrorism policies often focus on migrant and other ethnic minorities. Refocusing on classical diasporadic minorities, and perceived social injustices, is suggested to avoid costly if not fatal policy errors.
Disc. Ashley Leeds, Rice University

14-12 PROSPECTS FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION
Room: TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair: Landon E. Hancock, Conflict Analysis & Resolution Paper: Getting the Moderates to the Table... And Keeping Them There
Eric N. Budd, Fitchburg State College
Overview: In each phase of conflict resolution (pre-negotiation, negotiation, and implementation), success or failure in large part rests on the role of the moderates. The paper examines the role of the Israeli-Palestinian moderates in the peace process.
Paper: Engineering Peace through Institutional Design
Kristopher W. Ramsay, Princeton University
Mark Fey, University of Rochester
Overview: In this paper we study how rationality and various forms of uncertainty influence the prospects for designing international institutions that settle international disputes peacefully.

Paper: Putting the “Up” in Bottom-Up Peacebuilding: Aiding the Process of Credibility-Building for Civic Peacebuilding Organizations
Bruce W. Hemmer, University of California, Irvine
Overview: Theory and empirical study show that linking grassroots peacebuilding to the political level is a crucial element of bottom-up peacebuilding. This study examines impediments to forming this linkage, and develops a theory of how they can be overcome.

Paper: Encouraging the Moderates, Enabling the Militants: Selective Engagement in British Responses to Irish Nationalism
Devavshree Gupta, Cornell University
Overview: This paper explores how selective engagement strategies by governments as a response to nationalist pressures affect prospects for successful negotiations in the near future and the movement’s long-term internal balance of power.
Disc. Landon E. Hancock, Conflict Analysis & Resolution

15-9 PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY: EXTENDING THE STATE OF THE ART.
Room: TBA, Sat 3:45
Panelist: Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Extending the State of the Art
Richard Sobel, Harvard University
Eric Shiraev, George Washington University
Dukin Andary, Texas A & M
Wilhelm Vosse, International Christian University
Jack Holmes, Hope College
Gaspere Genna, University of South Florida
Overview: We test for realignment effects in elections for the House and President, going back as far as 1828. Our analysis employs a new data and highly accurate source on House elections: Rush’s 2001 Statistical History of the American Electorate.

Paper: The Politics of Realignment: Wattenberg Revisited
Jonathan L. Williamson, Lycoming College
Kyle L. Saunders, Colorado State University
Matthew Gunning, Emory University
Overview: We test for realignment effects in elections for the House and President, going back as far as 1828. Our analysis employs a new data and highly accurate source on House elections: Rush’s 2001 Statistical History of the American Electorate.

Paper: Redefining Realignment – Regional Changes in the 1990s
Daniel E. Bliss, University of Illinois, Chicago
Overview: This paper argues that political realignment is an aggregation of regional shifts, and that the cultural/ideological realignment long predicted already occurred a decade ago.

Curtis W. Nichols, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: Using factor analysis and punctuated equilibrium modeling I reinvigorate realignment theory. I develop a narrative that attempts to place the elections of 1994 and 2004 in a broader perspective.
within the context of an empirically verifiable pattern of realignment.

Disc. Karen Kaufmann, University of Maryland
Jim Stimson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

17-21 IMPACT OF THE BIPARTISAN CAMPAIGN REFORM ACT IN COMPETITIVE U.S. SENATE CONTESTS

Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair Kelly D. Patterson, Brigham Young University
Paper The Impact of BCRA in the 2004 South Dakota Senate Election
Elizabeth Theiss Smith, University of South Dakota
Rich Braunstein, University of South Dakota
Overview: A detailed case study of the 2004 South Dakota U.S. Senate election.

Paper The Impact of BCRA in the 2004 Florida Senate Election
Robert E. Crew, Florida State University
Teri Susan Fine, University of Central Florida
Susan A. MacManus, University of South Florida
Overview: A detailed case study of the 2004 Florida U.S. Senate election.

Paper The Impact of BCRA in the 2004 Alaska Senate Election
Clive Thomas, University of Alaska Southeast
Carl E. Shepro, University of Alaska Anchorage

Paper The Impact of BCRA in the 2004 North Carolina Senate Election
Steve Greene, North Carolina State University
Erik Heberlig, University of North Carolina

Disc. Clifford W. Brown, Union College
Thad Hall, University of Utah

17-209 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE EFFECTS OF THE INTERNET ON VOTING

Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Paper Causal Effects of Internet: Does Internet Cause Voting and Political Participation other than Voting?
Hyung Lee Park, Purdue H3017 University
Overview: Causality of Internet use on political participation will be discussed using NES panel data from 2000 and 2002.

Paper Internet Voting and the Digital Divide: You Can’t Divide By Zero
Robert S. Done, University of Arizona
Overview: Opponents of Internet voting typically claim that there is a digital divide that would violate the Voting Rights Act. Survey data suggest that there is practically no digital divide between whites and non-whites that would violate this law.

17-210 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE EFFECTS OF THE INTERNET ON VOTER INFORMATION AND CHOICE

Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Paper Indecision 2004*: The Rise of Non-Traditional Media Sources For Contemporary Voting Behavior
Eric A. Booth, Texas Tech University
Nathan Mitchell, Texas Tech University
Joe Robbins, Texas Tech University
Overview: In this paper we assess the effects of non-traditional media in contemporary voting. Preliminary findings support our hypotheses that voters who utilize these sources rely less on party identification than other factors.

18-5 AMERICAN ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND REFORMS

Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair Todd Donovan, Western Washington University

Paper Reluctant Incumbents: Partisan Conflict, Electoral Competition, and Motor Voter Reform
Kaori Shoji, Columbia University
Overview: This paper investigates the impact of partisanship and district-level competitiveness on the timing and path of state-level motor voter reform between 1975 and 1993 using survival analysis, specifically competing risks models.

Paper Ranked-Choice Voting in San Francisco: The Ease and Impact of Electoral Reform to a Preferential Voting System
Francis Neely, San Francisco State University
Corey Cook, San Francisco State University
Overview: In 2004 San Francisco will use preferential voting. Concerns about voters understanding the new ballot are examined through an exit poll and mail-in survey of absentee voters. Interviews with candidates gauge their impressions of the system.

Paper An Institutional Analysis of the California Recall Election
Johnny Goldfinger, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianaapolis
Margaret Ferguson, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianaapolis
Thomas Schlatter, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianaapolis
Overview: This paper examines the normative implications and practical consequences of the election rules used in the California recall, along with several possible variations involving the choice set and the voting procedures.

Paper Troubling Elections, Changing Electoral Structures, and Presidential Election Reform
Gary Bugh, Texas A&M University
Overview: Why do intense efforts to reform the Electoral College rarely occur? This research paper moves beyond troubling elections and explores the possibility that the electoral landscape mediates such attempts.

Paper Mend It or End It: Reforming or Eliminating the Electoral College
Paul M. Sackow, Texas Southern University
Carroll G. Robinson, Texas Southern University
Overview: Conflict between big states and small states settled under foundational compromises in the Constitution that established our historic US government and survived a bloody civil war. Will Section Two, Article One have failed us now?

Disc. Melissa C. Anderson, University of California, Berkeley
Todd Donovan, Western Washington University

19-11 THE PUBLIC OPINION-PUBLIC POLICY RELATIONSHIP

Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair Rosalee A. Clawson, Purdue University
Paper Teasing Out the Linkage Between Public Opinion on Environmentalism and Animal Rights
Mahalley D. Allen, University of Kansas
Overview: The linkage between public opinion on animal rights and the environment must be clarified and understood before we can have a clear idea of how public opinion on these issues influences the policymaking process.

Paper Parallel or Non-Parallel Public Opinion Change?
Peter K. Enns, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: Do educated and uneducated citizens’ opinions have the same influence on government? This analysis suggests that the influence of spending preferences on policy outcomes is nearly identical for the most and least educated segments of the population.

Paper Dynamic Representations: Policy Response to the Multiple Dimensions of Public Mood
David Peterson, Texas A&M University
Sean Nicholson Cotity, University of Missouri
Overview: We examine how federal criminal justice policy responds to the second dimension of Stimson’s mood. We show that in this policy domain, it is the second, and not the first dimension that the government attends to when setting criminal justice policy.
Patrick J. Egan, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: In this paper, I use the unprecedented power offered by the 2000 National Annenberg Election Study to explore the relationship between Congressional district-level opinion and Congressional policymaking.

Disc. Greg Shaw, Illinois Wesleyan University
Rosalee A. Clawson, Purdue University

19-17 PARTY IDENTIFICATION, CANDIDATE EVALUATION AND VOTE CHOICE
Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair Gabriel S. Lenz, Princeton University
Michael J. Ensley, Indiana University
Edward G. Carmines, Indiana University
Overview: We analyze the connection between policy predispositions and partisan identification. The ideological consistency of attitudes towards social-welfare and cultural policies mediates citizens' reactions to the increasing elite partisan polarization.

Paper The Dynamics of Information Processing and Candidate Evaluation: a Web-Based Experimental Approach
Beth Miller, Rice University
Randolph T. Stevenson, Rice University
Overview: In this paper, we examine the implications of the two models scholars propose to explain the way individuals process campaign information using a novel web-based dynamic experiment.

Paper Authoritarian Beliefs and Political Choice
Marc J. Hetherington, Vanderbilt University
Jonathan Weiler, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: Scholars' have forgotten about authoritarianism. Using data from the 1992 and 2000 NES, we demonstrate that authoritarianism both directly and indirectly drives vote choice.

Paper Latent Classes in the American Electorate: The Social Architecture of Political Segmentation
James R. Simmons, University of Wisconsin
Solon J. Simmons, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: In this paper we develop a citizen profile that takes the Pew Center's popular typology as a starting point. We use Latent Class Analysis and the Pew Center's 2000 and 2003 surveys to examine the social fragmentation of the American Electorate.

Disc. Matthew J. Streb, Loyola Marymount University
Gabriel S. Lenz, Princeton University

20-11 CIVIC LIFE
Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair Paul S. Martin, University of Virginia
Paper Building Up the Third Leg of the Stool: Community-Based Energy and the Reinvigoration of Civic Life
Angela High-Pippert, University of St. Thomas
Steven M. Hoffman, University of St. Thomas
Overview: This paper examines the civic potential of community-based energy. Through content analyses and participant surveys, we examine citizens’ motivations for joining and participating in such organizations.

Paper “The Art of Associating”: The Central Role of Peers in Civic Life
Casey A. Kloostad, Harvard University
Overview: This project examines the impact that the people with whom we hold interpersonal relationships (“peers” or “social network”) have on how we participate in civil society. The analysis makes use of new survey data that were collected by the author.

Paper Civic Volunteerism and the Character of Social Networks and Milieu
Dari E. Sylvester, Stony Brook University
Overview: This project seeks to link the individual decision to volunteer to influential contextual factors such as one's social network and the geographic area in which they live. Furthermore, it seeks to link disparate research across disciplines.

Paper The Impact of Individualism on Community and Political Participation
Stephanie M. Walls, University of Cincinnati
Overview: Robert Putnam documents the decline of individual participation, but the causes he cites for this decline fail to account for the ideological shift that has led many toward neo-classical liberal individualism and withdrawal from participation.

Disc. Paul S. Martin, University of Virginia

21-301 POSTER SESSION: MASS MEDIA AND POLITICS
Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Presenter Blue Notes: Ownership Intervention at the New York Times, 1951-1967
Daniel Chomsky, Temple University
Overview: Chomsky (2004) found numerous notes from the Times owner to his editor. This study considers evidence over a broader period of time. This may reveal a higher rate of intervention and provide a more complete measure of ownership intervention.

Presenter Does the Media Pick Up Where It Leaves Off? News Agenda Recovery From the Media’s September 11 “Disaster Marathon”
Tim Faickler, University of Texas
Nathalie J. Frensley, University of Texas
Overview: How did September 11 affect news agendas beyond the crisis events themselves? What factors explain any common steps in reconstructing the news agenda? We test hypotheses using a content analysis of national news before and after the attacks.

Presenter Comparing the Content of Spanish and English Language Ads in the 2000 Presidential Election
Marisa A. Abrajano, New York University
Overview: This paper tests the hypothesis that content of English-language and Spanish-language ads differ as a result of the varying levels of political information between Anglos and Latinos.

Presenter Online Civic Discourse in the United States: A Qualitative Study of Democrats.com
Joshua N. Azriel, University of Florida
Overview: This paper examines the online political discourse of the members of democrats.com. This qualitative study's results indicate the conversational threads are examples of Gabriel Almond's theory of civic culture and Jurgen Habermas's public sphere.

Presenter Janet Jackson, Howard Stern, and the FCC: Indecency Violation Response As A Case Study in Political Control of the Bureaucracy
B. Jason Barlow, Randolph-Macon College
Lauren C. Bell, Randolph-Macon College
Overview: In this paper, we examine the factors that affect the level of activity within the FCC’s Enforcement Bureau. We seek to determine whether variation in the Bureau’s activities can be attributed to changes in the political environment.

Presenter Unintended Consequences: the Growing Cooperative Agenda of the FTC and NAD, 1973-2003
Thomas H. Gould, Kansas State University
Overview: Since 1973, the agenda of the two largest advertising regulatory groups have grown closer in some areas and fallen further apart in other areas. The result may represent an unintended extension of advertising deception oversight.

Presenter Performance Reporting: Communicating Results to the Citizenry
Ottalee Schiffel, State University of New York, Geneseo
Ken Smith, Willamette University
Overview: Our study will examine the press coverage of the 1999 state government rankings, based on a series of
Overview: As most of the political activity of the Mexican communities in NYC and LA has taken place outside the electoral arena it is necessary to examine other aspects that affect the incorporation of Mexican immigrants into the American polity.

Disc. Gustavo Cano, Mexico North Research Network

24-7 ISSUES IN MODERN LIBERALISM

Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair Sharon K. Vaughan, Morehouse College
Paper Absence of Narrative and the Problem of the Agency in Liberal Political Thought
William A. Gorton, St. Olaf College
Overview: Agency in liberal political thought begins in the division between the two halves of Hobbes’s Leviathan. This division is reflected in Locke’s moral psychology. Political agency requires reason and motive, and motive requires narratives.

Paper Rawls, Subjective Happiness, and the Just Society
Andrew Poaza Loyo, New York University
Overview: I present an epistemic critique of Rawls’ deduction of the principles of justice. I argue that the fact that normative political theories are embedded in an evolving theoretical knowledge takes away the hope for deductivity.

23-1 IMMIGRANT TRANSNATIONALISM

Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair Louis DeSipio, University of California, Irvine
Paper Disentangling Racial Relations in Mexico
Rosario Aguilar, University of Michigan
Overview: A Psychological Approach to the Study of Racial Relations in Mexico. Studying race in countries lacking a racial consciousness.

Paper Mexico-United States Migration and the Dynamics of Gender Roles in Mexico
Jorge Bravo, Duke University
Overview: In this paper I assess the following conjecture: That (male-heavy) migration to the US has had the unintended consequence of expanding the domains where females are decision makers - from farming to managing finances to politics.

Paper Theoretical Considerations on Political Transnationalism
Gustavo Cano, Mexico North Research Network
Louis DeSipio, University of California, Irvine
Overview: The paper addresses the theoretical development of the term “political transnationalism.” It identifies the main differences with other disciplines regarding their methodology, working hypotheses, units of analysis and conceptual references.

Paper Political Incorporation of Mexican Immigrants in New York City and Los Angeles: An Examination of Non-Electoral Politics
Alejandro Echegaray, New School University

26-9 EPISTEMOLOGY AND RESEARCH IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair Mike Latner, University of California, Irvine
Paper No Place Like Home: The Role of Community and the Search for Democracy in Political Science
Geoffrey Latner, University of California, Irvine
Overview: An evaluation of recent research in political science as it relates to the theory of democratic pluralism and alternative accounts of democratic politics as objects of social scientific inquiry.

Paper Alternative Epistemologies: An Examination of the Prospects for Epistemological Positions Centered Around African-American Particularities
Osei Robertson, Howard University
Overview: Given the plethora of critiques advanced toward positivism over the past few decades, the question arises: what are the implications for those conducting research on minority groups? This study seeks to address these issues.

Paper But Does It Mean Anything?: An Answer to Some Critics of Comparative Political Theory
Sara R. Jordan, Texas A&M University
Overview: A defense of comparative political theory from the charge of irrelevance

27-7 PARTIES IN ELECTIONS

Updated 03-01-05
Overview: We develop a model of electoral control of politicians in an environment in which potential candidates belong to political parties. Thus, unlike previous models of electoral control, we do not assume that all candidates are identical ex ante.

Gilles Serra, Harvard University
Overview: This paper builds a model of primary elections in a two-party system with a unidimensional policy space, in which candidates must first compete inside their parties to obtain the nomination before competing in the general election to get elected.

Paper: Spatial Model with Valence Dimensions
James Adams, University of California, Santa Barbara
Overview: We develop a spatial model of multi-party elections with valence dimensions, and explore the characteristics of party equilibria.

Paper: Measuring Political Knowledge: How and Why?
Jason Barabas, Harvard University
Jennifer Jerit, Southern Illinois University
Overview: Scholars often attribute low levels of knowledge to demographic factors, but we concentrate on the role of media messages. We show how variations in the quantity and quality of information affect political knowledge.

Paper: Political Sophistication and Political Intelligence
James H. Kuklinski, University of Illinois at Urbana, Champaign
Overview: I will consider whether politically sophisticated people, as we normally identify them, also update their beliefs and attitudes in reaction to changes in the political environment.

Paper: “Don’t Know” Means “Don’t Know”!
Robert C. Luskin, University of Texas, Austin
John Bullock, Stanford University
Overview: This paper examines the recommendation that knowledge questions be phrased, framed, and administered so as to minimize the frequency of “don’t know” (DK) responses. We experimentally manipulate knowledge items put to a national random sample.

Paper: Political Knowledge Under Respondent-Friendly Conditions
Markus Prior, Princeton University
Arthur Lupia, University of Michigan
Overview: We examine if people perform poorly on political knowledge tasks not because they are incapable of answering the questions, but because they are caught unprepared and unmotivated. Data come from a survey experiment.

Paper: Political Control and Electoral Accountability
Cecilia Testa, Royal Holloway University of London
Overview: Parties use polarization strategically to provide incentives to candidates. Polarization arises as a compromise between party’s policy preferences and electoral goals. Under converge to the median voter, electoral accountability is compromised.

Paper: Media Driven Variations in Political Knowledge
Brendan J. Doherty, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: I analyze the geography of presidential actions to investigate whether presidents govern as if they represent a national constituency, or if they govern in ways that reflect the institutional incentives of the Electoral College.

Paper: Strategic Collection and Use of Polling Data
James N. Druckman, University of Minnesota
Lawrence R. Jacobs, University of Minnesota
Overview: We use a unique data set consisting of the private polls from four US presidents. We explore the conditions under which these policy-makers collected and used different types of public opinion data.

Paper: White House Communications Operations: Managing the ‘Pipe Organ of the Presidency’
Martha J. Kumar, Towson University
Overview: I will explore the value and nature of White House communications operations through the voices of senior officials who worked on the White House staffs of Presidents Clinton and George W. Bush.

Paper: Presidential Debates and Campaign Context: How Debates Rhetoric Shapes and is Shaped by the Press and Public
Justin S. Vaughn, Texas A&M University
Overview: Candidate rhetoric in presidential election debates is shaped by campaign context, measured by trial heat polls and press coverage. Debate rhetoric also shapes subsequent public opinion, but is mediated by the nature of the press coverage.

Paper: The Coalition Merchants: Tracing the Origins of Party Coalitions to Their Ideological Roots
Hans C. Noli, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: Why do Republicans and Democrats have the coalitions they have? I argue that ideological discussion brings issues into and out of alignment, and that the divisions we see in government are a reflection of coalitions shaped in the discourse.

Overview: This paper will assess the distinctive aims and dynamics of third parties in American politics by drawing from historical examples.

Paper: Untangling the Sources of Partisanship: Ideology, Opportunism, and Agenda Leadership
Frances E. Lee, University of Maryland
Overview: In order to disentangle the different sources of party cohesion, this paper seeks to account for variation in partisanship by reference to the substantive issues at stake in rollcall votes.

Overview: They Transform of American Partisan and Electoral Politics
Daniel J. Tichenor, Rutgers University
Daniel A. Fuerstman, University of Wisconsin
Overview: Scholars of third party and intra-party challenges in the US focus on the limits of insurgencies in shaping election and policy outcomes. We highlight a neglected legacy of these campaigns: their episodic capacity to alter the political process.
Overview: This project examines how the executive branch translates policy inputs into policy outputs. Most research begins with an assumption concerning whether the President is a rational actor or a cybernetic decision-maker. I test these assumptions.

30-204 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PRESIDENTIAL CHARACTER AND SUPREME COURT NOMINATIONS
Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Presenter
Chair Bruce I. Oppenheimer
Room 31-14 EXPLAINING LEGISLATIVE POLICYMAKING
Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair Bruce I. Oppenheimer, Vanderbilt University
Sarah Anderson, Stanford University
Overview: This paper tests the pivotal politics models of policymaking against party-based models using data on the budget and interest group scores to determine whether changes in policy track with changes in the gridlock interval.

Paper Congress, the President and Lawmaking, 1877-1996
John S. Lapinski, Yale University
Joshua Clinton, Princeton University
Overview: This paper evaluates the role of preferences and institutions in the lawmaking process over a 120 year period. We evaluate competing hypotheses about lawmaking on a unique dataset that includes every public statute this period (n=38,100).

Paper Stalemate: The Senate, the Labor Law, and the Low Rates of Unionization in America
Tracy Roof, University of Richmond
Overview: The weakness of labor, a key part of American exceptionalism, is linked to the Senate, America's most exceptional institution. Representation and supermajority requirements make it hard for organized labor to pass legislation facilitating organizing.

Paper Legislative Behavior and Foreign Direct Investment in the United States
Oleg Smirnov, University of Oregon
Overview: The U.S. Congress remains a major player which determines the policy toward foreign direct investment. In the context of inward FDI, congressional behavior appears to be puzzling. The paper examines economic and political aspects of the phenomenon.

Disc. David R. Jones, Baruch College, City University of New York
Bruce I. Oppenheimer, Vanderbilt University

31-13 LEGISLATIVE INSTITUTIONS AND AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair Keith L. Dougherty, University of Georgia
Paper Assessing the Incumbency Advantage Across Time: Evidence from the Nineteenth Century U.S. Congress
Jamie L. Carson, University of Georgia
Jason M. Roberts, University of Minnesota
Overview: In this paper, we take advantage of newly collected historical elections data to test for the presence of an incumbency effect in the context of nineteenth century House elections.

Paper Voting on Slavery at the Constitutional Convention
Keith L. Dougherty, University of Georgia
Jac C. Heckelman, Wake Forest University
Overview: This paper analyzes the motivation of the framers on issues of slavery at the Constitutional convention and analyzes which types of constituent interests affected votes on slavery issues.

Paper The Partisan Impact of Malapportionment on the 19th and Early 20th Century House of Representatives
Erik J. Engstrom, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: This paper will examine the causes and partisan consequences of unequal district size (i.e. malapportionment) on the 19th and early 20th century House of Representatives.

Paper Agenda Control, Majority Party Power, and the House Committee on Rules, 1939-1965
Eric Schickler, Harvard University
Kathryn Pearson, University of Minnesota
Overview: We study the role played by the Rules Committee from 1939-1965.

Disc. Charles Stewart, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Calvin Jillson, Southern Methodist University

32-10 THE IMPACT OF THE BIPARTISAN CAMPAIGN REFORM ACT (BCRA) ON COMPETITIVE U.S. HOUSE CONTESTS
Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair Andrew J. Civettini, University of Iowa
Paper The Impact of BCRA in the 2004 South Dakota At-Large Congressional District Election
Elizabeth Smith, University of South Dakota
Overview: A detailed case study of the 2004 campaign for the South Dakota at-large congressional district seat.

Paper The Impact of BCRA in the 2004 Texas 32nd Congressional District Election
Matthew Wilson, Southern Methodist University
Overview: A detailed case study of the 2004 campaign for the Texas 32nd congressional district seat.

Paper The Impact of BCRA in the 2004 Pennsylvania 13th Congressional District Election
Allan Cigler, University of Kansas

Disc. Cherie Maetas, Florida State University

33-13 RACE AND GENDER IN THE COURTS AND ON THE BENCH
Room TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair Wendy L. Martinek, Binghamton University
Paper The Impact of Race and Gender at the Supreme Court Bar
Corey A. Ditslear, University of North Texas
Jenni L. King, University of North Texas
Overview: Analysis of the impact of race and gender on Supreme Court decisions.

Paper Litigation by Women's Groups in the United States and Canada
Lori Housegger, Louisiana State University
Overview: This project undertakes a systematic analysis of the impact of women's interest groups on the policies emerging from the U.S. and Canadian Supreme Courts. It is an attempt to understand group litigation and the influences on judicial decision making.

Paper Reading Between the Lines: Assessing the Similarities and Differences Between Black and White Newspapers and their Coverage of Grutter v. Bollinger and Gratz v. Bollinger
Augustus J. Jones, Miami University
Jewel T. Maxwell, Miami University
Overview: We intend to address the similarities and differences between black and white newspapers in their coverage of
Paper **Unscrambling Representation: Race, Gender, Class, and the U.S. Supreme Court**  
**Overview:** This paper evaluates the level of representation on the modern U.S. Supreme Court by comparing poll data to Supreme Court decisions.

**Disc.** Wendy L. Martinek, Binghamton University

Steve R. Van Winkle, University of Wyoming

**33-14 LAW AND LITIGANTS**

**Room** TBA, Sat 3:45

**Chair** Richard L. Pacelle, Georgia Southern University

**Paper** **Getting Attention: U.S. Supreme Court Response to Litigant Demands**  
**C. Scott Peters, University of Northern Iowa**  
**Overview:** Develops a model to test competing theories of Supreme Court Attentiveness, including attitudes, actions of other branches, litigant activity and prior Court decisions.

**Disc.** Richard L. Pacelle, Georgia Southern University

**Paper** **Justifying Outcomes? An Experimental Look at How Legal-Decision Makers May Get to Where They Want to Go**  
**Eileen Braman, Indiana University**  
**Overview:** This study looks at what authority legal decision-makers cited to support their outcome choices in a relatively closed system where law students participated and were given a mock legal brief to make a standing decision.

**Disc.** Nancy A. Merritt, Rutgers University

**34-6 HISTORIC AND CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS IN CRIMINAL LAW**

**Room** TBA, Sat 3:45

**Chair** David Schultz, Hamline University

**Overview:** By coding civil liability and forensic evidentiary opinions from federal district courts for existing reliability indicators, the test for the presence of a criminal-civil divide in the federal reliability standards for expert testimony.

**Disc.** Nancy A. Merritt, Rutgers University

**Paper** **Race and the Death Penalty: The Effects of Minority Decision Makers on State Policies**  
**TBA, Sat 3:45**

**Chair** Allen Brierly, University of Northern Iowa

**Paper** **Mixed Messages: The Supreme Court's Conflicting Decisions on Juries in Death Penalty Cases**  
**Kenneth Miller, Arizona State University**  
**David Niven, Ohio State University**  
**Overview:** We discuss the implications of a conflicting set of Supreme Court holdings which expand the right to a jury in death penalty cases without addressing jurors inability to understand judicial instructions.

**Disc.** Nancy A. Merritt, Rutgers University

**Paper** **How Do Jurors Determine Which Defendants “Deserve” to Die? An Examination of the Predictability and Consistency of Capital Jurors Decisions,** Tonya Cropper, Harvard University  
**Overview:** I develop a model that incorporates former capital jurors’ attitude toward the criminal justice system and assessment of evidence concerning the crime, victim, and characteristics of the defendant. I use the model to predict sentencing outcomes.

**Disc.** William M. Leiter, California State University, Long Beach

Howard Schweber, University Wisconsin, Madison

**35-7 STATE COURTS AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE**

**Room** TBA, Sat 3:45

**Chair** Nancy A. Merritt, Rutgers University

**Paper** **Federal Oversight, State Policy Making and the Courts: An Empirical Analysis of Nursing Facility Litigation Under the Boren Amendment**  
**Miller A. Edward, Yale University**  
**Overview:** Few examine the role of the courts in federal regulation of state policy decisions in the health sector. This article reports content analysis of all reported cases resulting from nursing facility litigation under the Boren Amendment.

**Paper** **Understanding State Attorneys General and Multi-State Consumer Protection Litigation, 1989-2004**  
**Colin Provost, Nuffield College, Oxford University**  
**Overview:** I estimate a pooled model, analyzing the effects of political and economic factors on each state’s multi-state consumer protection lawsuit participation rate from 1989 through 2004.

**Paper** **Revisiting the Politics of Punishment: Which Political Party Isn’t Tough on Crime?**  
**Christopher W. Larimer, University of Nebraska, Lincoln**  
**Eric A. Whittaker, University of Nebraska, Lincoln**  
**Overview:** Using a pooled-time series analysis for the years 1980-2000, we find significant decreases in state incarceration rates when Democrats take control of state legislatures, but fail to find the opposite relationship when Republicans gain control.

**Paper** **Race and the Death Penalty: The Effects of Minority Population Upon States’ Capital Punishment Policies**  
**TBA, Sat 3:45**

**Chair** Allen Brierly, University of Northern Iowa

**Paper** **Political Mobilization around Access to Work Programs: Chicago and Kansas City**  
**Eric Petersen, Northwestern University**  
**Kim Hunt, Independent Scholar**  
**Overview:** This paper will explore the relative lack of political mobilization for Access to Work programs in Kansas City in contrast to the strong grassroots support for them in Chicago.

**Paper** **Transportation Equity and Access to Jobs in Metropolitan Milwaukee**  
**TBA, Sat 3:45**

**Chair** Joel Rast, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

**Overview:** This study uses GIS to examine how well public transit in Milwaukee provides residents with access to regional job opportunities. It contributes to the literature on spatial mismatch by providing empirical evidence from the Milwaukee region.

**Paper** **Car-free Housing: If You Build It, Will They Come?**  
**Sherman Lewis, California State University, Hayward**  
**Overview:** Rapid bus could connect Cal State Hayward to urban rail transit and a thirty acre building site is on the route.
37-9 PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS: LEARNING FROM INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

Room: TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair: Graeme A. Hodge, Monash University
Paper: Public-Private Partnerships: An International Performance Review
Graeme A. Hodge, Monash University
Carsten Greve, Copenhagen Business School
Overview: PPPs are today an international phenomenon. The objective of this paper is to review the empirical experience of PPPs globally and learn from the outcomes achieved across a range of different experiments to date.

Paper: Privatisation of Government Services: Policy Choice or Inevitable Consequence?
Lawrence L. Martin, University of Central Florida
Graeme A. Hodge, Monash University
Overview: PPPs are today an international phenomenon. The objective of this paper is to review the empirical experience of PPPs globally and learn from the outcomes achieved across a range of different experiments to date.

38-4 SOCIAL POLICIES IN THE AMERICAN STATES (Co-sponsored with State and Intergovernmental Policies, see 35-12)

Room: TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair: Dana L. Baker, University of Missouri, Columbia
Glenn Beamer, Rutgers University
Overview: Using event history analysis and measures of state-to-state differences, this paper investigates the diffusion of state tax credits and estimates how institutions, policy interactions, and politics have encouraged state policy innovation.

Paper: The Myth of Two Party Convergence?: Party's Strategic Deviation on State Child Education Policy
Joohyun Kang, Florida State University
Overview: The purpose of paper is to offer theoretical refinements on previous works studied the relationship between interparty competition and policy change by testing the joint effects of electoral competition and party strength on child education policy.

Carl E. Klarner, Grinnell College
Overview: Paper looks at the partisan, institutional, and economic determinants of Unemployment Insurance policy over time in the U.S. states.

Kyoungbag Lee, West Virginia University
Overview: Using logistic and ordered logistic regression methods, this study expects to find the effectiveness of federal interventions in determining state policy choices under the devolution revolution.

Paper: Representation in State Legislatures: Consequences for Policy
Elizabeth Rigby, Columbia University
Overview: Examining the relationship between elected officials and the policies they choose, this paper tests the effects of changes in the partisan and gender composition of state-level elected officials on state child care and preschool policy.

43-102 AUTHOR MEETS AUTHOR: THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Room: TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair: J. Eric Oliver, University of Chicago
Panelist: Taeku Lee, University of California, Berkeley
John Skenzly, University of California, San Diego
Nancy McLean, Northwestern University
Dennis Chong, Northwestern University
Overview: TBA

45-101 ROUNDTABLE: THANK YOU FOR LAUGHING: THE PEDAGOGICAL UTILITY OF CHRISTOPHER BUCKLEY'S POLITICAL SATIRE

Room: TBA, Sat 3:45
Panelist: Clyde Brown, Miami University
Caroline Koop Berry, Walsh University
John P. Forren, Miami University
Chris Kelley, Miami University
David M. Paul, Ohio State University, Newark
Mark Sachleben, Miami University
Kevan M. Yenerall, Clarion University
Overview: Christopher Buckley’s novels (LITTLE GREEN MEN, THANK YOU FOR SMOKING, NO WAY TO TREAT A FIRST LADY, FLORENCE OF ARABIA and THE WHITE HOUSE MESS) will be evaluated for their classroom value in teaching American politics and government.

47-5 POLITICS, PHILOSOPHY, AND THE ARTS

Room: TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair: Ann Ward, University of Nevada, Las Vegas
Paper: The Political Philosophy of Aesop's Fables
Edward W. Clayton, Central Michigan University
Overview: Aesop's fables are referenced in the writings of Plato, Aristotle, and Aristophanes but are largely ignored by political theorists. This paper aims to show that Aesop's fables deserve more attention as political writings than they have received.

Paper: The Wisdom of Dionysus: The Relationship Between Politics and Art In Nietzsche’s The Birth of Tragedy: Out of the Spirit of Music
Robert A. L’Arrivee, University of Winnipeg
Overview: Using event history analysis and measures of state-to-state differences, this paper investigates the diffusion of state tax credits and estimates how institutions, policy interactions, and politics have encouraged state policy innovation.

Paper: The Contexts of Obligations: David Miller and Cosmopolitanism
David J. Watkins, University of Washington
Overview: Christopher Buckley’s novels (LITTLE GREEN MEN, THANK YOU FOR SMOKING, NO WAY TO TREAT A FIRST LADY, FLORENCE OF ARABIA and THE WHITE HOUSE MESS) will be evaluated for their classroom value in teaching American politics and government.

51-3 ORDER AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Room: TBA, Sat 3:45
Chair: Martin Graberg, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh
Paper: Toward a New Policy History
Stephen Pimpare, Yoshiva University
Overview: This paper offers an examination of the implications of retelling American welfare state history by honing in on policy outcomes and outcomes -- charting welfare state development by examining its varied impact over time upon its targets.
Overview: David Miller's recent work contains several criticisms of cosmopolitanism. This paper responds to Miller's criticisms and show that some of Miller's theories about obligation and duty actually support a cosmopolitan position.

Paper: International Human Rights Law in America: Case Studies of Organizations That Think Globally and Act Locally

Mark F. Massoud, University of California, Berkeley

Overview: This paper assesses political strategies of interest groups that seek to bring international law into local government politics in this country. The paper evaluates effects on compliance by local governments.

Paper: Domestic Violence an Overlooked Social Phenomenon

Joy Klein, California State University, Fullerton

Overview: Domestic violence is a widespread social phenomenon. Historically viewed as a private problem in patriarchal societies, a philosophical examination should be prepared for the future formation of public policy.

Disc.: David M. Jones, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh

Sunday, April 10 – 8:30 am – 10:15 am

1-111 ROUNDTABLE: LATINOS AND THE 2004 ELECTIONS (Co-sponsored with Midwest Latino Caucus, see 52-101)

Room: TBA, Sun 8:30

Chair: Jason Casellas, Princeton University

Panelist: Efrain Escobedo, NALEO Educational Fund

Louis DeSipio, University of California, Irvine

David Leal, University of Texas, Austin

Melissa R. Michelson, California State University, East Bay

Elaine Rodriguez, Northeastern Illinois University

Overview: Turnout, vote choice, and impact of Latino voters in the 2004 presidential and congressional elections

2-11 COMPARATIVE PUBLIC POLICY (Co-sponsored with Public Policy, see 37-13)

Room: TBA, Sun 8:30

Chair: Tony E. Wohlers, Eastern Illinois University

Paper: Focusing Events and Public Policy: The Role of Gun Violence in Creating New Policy in Four Democracies

Anthony Fleming, West Virginia University

Paul Rutledge, West Virginia University

Korok Biswas, West Virginia University

Overview: We look at how focusing events (school shootings, massacres, and assassinations) play a significant role in creating new gun control policy in parliamentary systems, and why they play less a role in presidential systems.


Frank T. Manheim, George Mason University

Overview: Stalemate in offshore oil leasing reflects an old conflict between U.S. environmentalists and industry. Comparison with Norway suggests that the conflict is anachronistic. New paradigms could yield advantages to all sides.


Dana L. Baker, University of Missouri

Trudy A. Steuernagel, Kent State University

Overview: The purpose of this essay is to demonstrate and compare the impact of the autism narrative construction on federal autism policy in the United States and Canada.


Tabitha Alissa Warters, Francis Marion University

Gerald Robert Pace, University of Denver

Overview: By comparing American and Russian responses to school targeted terrorism this paper analyzes comparative preparedness policies and dissemination techniques practiced.

Disc.: Priscilla Lambert, Western Michigan University

Tony E. Wohlers, Eastern Illinois University

3-11 POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE II: FINANCIAL LIBERALIZATION AND CENTRAL BANKS

Room: TBA, Sun 8:30

Chair: Victor C. Shih, Northwestern University

Paper: Finance Ministers and Economic Reforms in Latin America

Moises Acre, Louisiana State University

Ashley D. Ross, Louisiana State University

Overview: While controlling for several competing explanations, the paper evaluates the effects of the tenure of finance ministers on the expansion of market reform across 15 Latin American countries for the 1980-2000 period.

Paper: The Politics of Central Bank Reform in Developing Countries: Brazil, Mexico, and Thailand

Raymond Hicks, Princeton University

Overview: I examine central bank reform efforts in Brazil, Thailand, and Mexico, arguing that more veto players inhibit reform and that competition over the benefits of policy innovation can prevent reform, even if most players agree it would be beneficial.


Sawa Omori, University of Pittsburgh

Overview: My paper examines political determinants of the degree of financial liberalization in developing countries by looking at the IMF, political parties within the executive branch, and interest groups.

Disc.: Victor C. Shih, Northwestern University

4-15 POLITICAL PROCESS AND REGIME VARIATION

Room: TBA, Sun 8:30

Chair: Maryjane Osa, Northwestern University

Paper: Wealth Source and Regime Type: Economic Origins of Democracy and Authoritarianism

Mehmet Gurses, University of North Texas

Overview: Cross sectional time series analysis shows that land based economic resources are associated with authoritarian regimes while a large manufacturing sector is associated with democratic regimes.

Paper: International Inequality and Integration: Explaining Regime Type Variation in Eastern Europe

Nikola Mirilovic, University of Chicago

Overview: Cross-national wealth inequality is a determinant of whether countries will integrate internationally. Furthermore, the poor dictatorships that have realistic prospects for integration with rich countries are more likely to democratize.

Edmun J. Malesky, Harvard University
Overview: I demonstrate that the creation of new provinces is part of a systematic clientelism played by factions in the Vietnamese central government, as new provincial leaders become loyal supporters in voting blocs of subsequent Party Congresses.

Paper
Superpower-Client Relations and Democratization: The Cases of South Korea and Poland, 1980-1989
Andrew I. Yeo, Cornell University
Overview: Examining the interaction of international and domestic factors in democratic transitions, I demonstrate how the U.S. and the Soviet Union, through their role as superpowers, influenced democratic transitions in South Korea and Poland.

Disc. Cristina Corduneanu-Huci, Duke University

5-12 THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT
Room TBA, Sun 8:30
Chair Juri Mykkänen, University of Helsinki
Paper
The Constitutional Power of the Voting Owners in the European Parliament
Silvia Fedeli, University of Rome "La Sapienza"
Francesco Forte, University of Rome "la sapienza"
Overview: The claim that the distribution of votes in the EP is unfair (because it favours the electors of big countries voting for big parties) is assessed on the basis of voting powers and weights of the electors as related to those of their representatives.

Paper
Legislative Organization in the European Parliament
Julie J. Won, Stanford University
Overview: By testing theories of legislative organization, this paper seeks to understand how the European Parliament functions and what incentives drive its Members. Primary results show that EP committees maintain an informational role.

Paper
Multi-level Representation, European Citizens’ Electoral Choice and MEPs’ Voting Behavior
JeongHun Han, University of Rochester
Overview: This paper analyzes the multi-level structure of political representation in the European Union. Using a simultaneous equation model, it shows the linkage between European citizens’ choices in the EP elections and MEPs’ responsive voting behavior.

Paper
Representation and Committee Assignments in the European Parliament
Pierre Hausener, London School of Economics and Political Science
Overview: Develops and tests a model of committee assignments in the EP. There is a trade-off between representation and policy influence. Different factors govern the composition of regulatory and redistributive committees.

6-13 FEDERALISM: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES
Room TBA, Sun 8:30
Chair Mark Jones, Rice University
Paper
Brazilian Federalism After Cardoso: The End of the Governor’s Politics
Andre Regis de Carvalho, AEO
Overview: This paper shows why Cardoso was able to change the Brazilian federalism in a way that put an end of the so-called governor’s politics.

Paper
The Adoption of Gender Quotas in the Argentine Provinces: Analyzing Diffusion at the Sub-National Level
Adriana M. Crocker, Northern Illinois University
Overview: This paper seeks to explain the diffusion of a gender quota legislation-originally adopted for candidates in Argentine congressional elections- to 22 of 24 Argentine provinces in less than a decade.

Paper
Federalism and Electoral Manipulation in Social Welfare Programs in Mexico: from PRONASOL to PROGRESA
Gabriela Perez-Yarahuan, Universidad Iberoamericana
Overview: The objective of this paper is to see how different social welfare programs in Mexico compare in the extent of their political use, under an authoritarian regime or a democratically elected government.

Paper
Regional Differentiation in the Argentine Electorates: Analyzing the Peronist Vote
Carlos M. Lisoni, University of Notre Dame
Overview: This paper attempts to explain the Peronist vote and behavior of the Peronist Party by focusing on the socioeconomic diversity among the regions in Argentina, the autonomy of local leaders and the ideological ambiguity that characterizes the party.

Disc. Mark Jones, Rice University
Scott Desposato, University of Arizona

7-1 JAPANESE PARTY POLITICS (Co-sponsored with Comparative Politics-Industrialized Countries, see 2-16)
Room TBA, Sun 8:30
Chair Rob Weiner, Cornell University
Paper
Comparative Analysis on Generation Gap in East Asia: Public Opinion of South Korea and Japan
Kyuyoun Chung, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper examines generation gaps of public opinion in East Asia, especially in terms of anti-US sentiment in cognitive, affective and behavioral dimensions. This generation gap originated from differential social experiences between generations.

Paper
The Japanese Partisan Gender Gap: Why are Women Less Likely to Support the Ruling Party than Men?
Natsu Matsuda, Yale University
Overview: The purpose of this paper is to explain the long term trends of Japanese partisan gender gap, especially the fact that women are less likely to support the ruling party, the LDP, than men, using aggregate time-series data.

Paper
Accountability, Economics, and Party Politics in Japan
Barry C. Burden, Harvard University
Overview: This paper explores the connection between national economic performance and success of the Liberal Democratic Party. In particular, I investigate why the public continued to support the LDP after the economic downturn of the 1990s.

Paper
Seemingly Irrational Position-Taking in the Japanese Party-System
Akitaka Matsuo, Michigan State University
Etsuhiro Nakamura, Kyoto University (Japan)
Overview: This paper examines the puzzle in the Japanese politics: Why the SJP could not overcome the decline of the support in the 1970s, while the LDP could. Using VARFIMA model, we show the decline was related to voters’ rightward shift in foreign policy.

Paper
An Irrational Party Made by Rational Members: A New Explanation of the Immobility of the Japan Socialist Party
Ko Maeda, Michigan State University
Overview: I demonstrate how Japan's electoral system gave an incentive to some socialist politicians to wish their party not to become larger and hence to resist the proposed change to their leftist platform.

Paper
PROMOTING GOOD GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA
Room TBA, Sun 8:30
Chair John Harbeson, City College of New York
Paper
Power, Territoriality and the Discourse of Marginal-Dominant Ethnic Groups’ Clashes in Nigeria
Wale Adebanwi, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom
Overview: Examines media discourses of the violent clashes between a dominant ethnic group (Hausa-Fulani) and a marginal ethnic group (Kataf) in Nigeria from the perspective of discursive territoriality.

Paper
Dictators, Democrats and Political Coalitions: Regime Type and Government Performance in an African Country
A. Carl LeVan, University of California, San Diego
Overview: Government performance in Nigeria is best explained through a tradeoff between fairness and efficiency.
Large political coalitions are more geopolitically representative but face collective action problems that hinder the delivery of public goods.

**Paper** Using Indigenous Knowledge to Strengthen Local Government and Governance in Nigeria

Geoffrey I. Nwaka, Abia State University

Overview: The paper questions the uniform, single-tier structure of local government introduced in Nigeria in 1976 for both the rural and urban areas. This arrangement overlooks the country’s cultural pluralism and diverse local practices.

**Disc.** John Harbeson, City College of New York

**9-9 INSTITUTIONS AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION IN THE POSTCOMMUNIST WORLD**

**Room** TBA, Sun 8:30

**Chair** John O. Norman, Western Michigan University

**Paper** Evaluating the Tenuous Link between State Autonomy and State Capacity in Putin’s Russia: Evidence from Three Micro-Structural Reform Efforts

S. Mohsin Hashim, Mulhenberg College

Overview: The paper evaluates the state’s capacity to implement structural reforms in natural monopolies, housing, and civil service.

**Paper** Tax ‘En and Hang ‘Em: Explaining Economic Performance in the former Soviet Union

Aleksandra J. Szczajder, Yale University

Overview: Why have some post-Soviet states done better economically than others? Comparing Estonia, Moldova and Belarus, this paper argues that state capacity is more important for economic growth and social cohesion than government policy.

**Paper** Comparing Liberal and Corporatist Associations in Nigeria

Kimberly L. Sheff, Independent

Overview: The impact of liberal and corporatist associations on interethnic trust in Nigeria are compared. Liberal groups alone have no impact on trust. Corporatist groups are associated with greater trust and rejection of violence for some groups.

**Disc.** John Harbeson, City College of New York

**10-13 NORMS AND IDENTITY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**Room** TBA, Sun 8:30

**Chair** Zaryab Iqbal, University of South Carolina

**Paper** The Influence of International Educational Exchanges on Political Identity

Carol Atkinson, Command and Staff College, United States Air Force

Overview: The study examines the impact of university-level educational exchanges on the political identity of states, testing a fundamental claim in the security community literature that close social interactions increases trust and convergence of identities.

**Paper** From Foulard to Hijab: Islamic Headscarf as a Site of Normative Contestation

Cigdem Cidam, University of Minnesota

Overview: In the paper, by analyzing the recent debates that took place on the headscarf issue in France, I address two questions: How does normative contestation within the discourse of human rights occur? And second, which norms matter under what conditions?

**Paper** Hijacked Justice: Domestic Appropriation of International Norms

Jelena Subotic, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Overview: Motivation of states to adopt transitional justice has changed over time. States increasingly use these institutions to achieve international legitimacy, eliminate political opponents, obtain international payoffs, or deal with political uncertainty.

**Paper** Potemkin Strategies and Hegemonic Order: Southeast Asian Identities of Self and the United States

Dwayne L. Ledsome, West Virginia University

Overview: Using dramaturgical analysis, this paper will explore the strategies that states use in their “presentation of self” to others. Special attention is given to Potemkin strategies designed to deceive the United States.

**11-11 POLITICS OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC INTEGRATION**

**Room** TBA, Sun 8:30

**Chair** Lui Hebron, Eastern Washington University

**Paper** Building Blocks or Stumbling Blocks: An Evaluation of the Development of AFTA

De-Yuan Kao, University of Chicago

Overview: This paper reviews the development of the ASEAN Free Trade Area in the recent years. I’ll ask the question whether AFTA could be a building block or a blocking block to a global free and more multilateral trade regime.

**Paper** The Construction of East Asian Regionalism: The Rise of New Regionalist Ideas and Policy Networks

Yasumasa Komori, University of Pittsburgh

Overview: This paper examines the formation of the ASEAN Plus Three (APT) framework by focusing on the rise of new regionalist ideas and policy networks.

**Paper** The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: Projecting EU Economic Ideas into the Southern Mediterranean

Nivien Saleh, American University

Overview: This paper argues that the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership has been a tool in the hand of the EU Commission, serving to project EU economic ideas into the Southern Mediterranean. An analysis of the Partnership is followed by a study of two cases.

**Paper** Intersecting Capitalism, Patriarchy, and the Environment: Looking at the NAFTA through a Gendered Lens

Kristen L. VanHouweweghe, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Overview: This research seeks to examine the intersections of capitalism, patriarchy, class, labor, and the environment by analyzing the impacts of the NAFTA on the women of North America.

**Disc.** Aslaug Asgeirsdottir, Bates College

Lui Hebron, Eastern Washington University

**12-10 HUMAN RIGHTS: COURTS, NORMS & TRAFFICKING**

**Room** TBA, Sun 8:30

**Chair** Steven D. Roper, Air War College

**Paper** Mixed and Domestic Courts for Prosecution of International Human Rights Violations: The East Timor Serious Crimes Panel and the Indonesian Human Rights Court

Lilian A. Barria, Eastern Illinois University

Overview: We examine the rationale, mandate and effectiveness of the East Timor Serious Crimes Panel and the Indonesian Human Rights Court in addressing violations of international human rights during the 1999 UN administered independence ballot in East Timor.

**Paper** Internationalizing Post-Conflict Justice: The “Hybrid” Special Court for Sierra Leone

Lisa M. Danish, SUNY, Buffalo

Overview: Does party system under-institutionalization increase the likelihood that party system institutionalization will occur? Comparing Estonia, Moldova and Latvia have not had a left government. This has had some influence on privatization and trade policies, but not on labor and social policies.

**Paper** A Global Free Trade Area in the Recent Years. I’ll ask the question whether AFTA could be a building block or a blocking block to a global free and more multilateral trade regime.

**Paper** The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: Projecting EU Economic Ideas into the Southern Mediterranean

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**Paper** Intersecting Capitalism, Patriarchy, and the Environment: Looking at the NAFTA through a Gendered Lens

Kristen L. VanHouweweghe, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Overview: This research seeks to examine the intersections of capitalism, patriarchy, class, labor, and the environment by analyzing the impacts of the NAFTA on the women of North America.

**Disc.** Aslaug Asgeirsdottir, Bates College

Lui Hebron, Eastern Washington University

Updated 03-01-05
Overview: This paper focuses on a hybrid international criminal court: the Special Court for Sierra Leone. It reviews the Special Court's creation and assess which the hybrid model is likely to be used more widely.

Paper
Do the Boomerang Effect and the Spiral Models Apply? The Case of Human Trafficking in Central and Eastern Europe
Anita Knutekova-Patel, University of Illinois, Chicago
Overview: This paper focuses on the activities of various transnational actors as they seek to diffuse international anti-trafficking norms to domestic level and influence state anti-trafficking policies and initiatives in Central and Eastern Europe.

Paper
State Sovereignty and Compliance with International Human Rights Norms
Sarah E. Spengeman, University of Notre Dame
Overview: This paper examines the extent to which sovereign states within a decentralized system of international relations can be effective in ensuring compliance with international human rights norms.

Disc.
Bethany A. Barratt, Roosevelt University

12-12 INTEGRATION IN EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA

Room
TBA, Sun 8:30

Paper
Revisiting the Governance-Interdependence Nexus: Imperial Transitions and European Regional Integration
Matteo Colombi, University of Chicago
Overview: This paper argues for a strong empirical link between imperial linkages and their re-organization, the Post-WW2 process of restructing the American and European states, and the emergence of the EEC.

Paper
International Police Cooperation Organizations: Beyond Mandates, Toward Untended Roles.
Nadia Gerspacher, TBA
Overview: This study argues for a sequence of roles that must be performed by international police cooperation organisations to reach mandate fulfillment.

Paper
National Interests and the Development of the European Union's CFSP and ESDP: The Role of Domestic Political Preferences in Selecting the Level of Action and Institutions for Advancing Foreign and Defense Policy
K. P. O'Reilly, University of South Carolina
Overview: This paper examines why EU member states may or may not perceive that body as the appropriate level and institution for advancing national interests in the areas of foreign policy and defense and security policy.

Paper
Subnational Interests and Economic Integration: The Influence of Local Interests in the Commercial Structure of the Southern Cone Common Market
Anthony A. Pezzola, University of Washington
Overview: I argue that subnational interests directly influenced the commercial structure of Mercosur. The responsiveness of Argentine and Brazilian policy-makers to subnational interests led to their incorporation to national trade policy decisions.

Disc.
Sriini Sitaraman, Clark University

13-11 THREATS AND SECURITY RISKS

Room
TBA, Sun 8:30

Chair
Giray Sadik, University of Georgia

Paper
The Importance of Moral Entrepreneurs in Emerging Global Prohibition Regimes: The Case of the United States
Jonathan S. Miner, University of South Carolina
Overview: This paper is an analysis of the post-9/11 response of American civil society. A content analysis of the national debate over five international terror attacks investigates the effectiveness of moral entrepreneurs in an emerging anti-terror regime.

Paper
Threat Inflation, Existential Threat, & Domestic Mobilization for War
Brent Strathman, Ohio State University
Bridget Coggins, Ohio State University
Overview: Although threat is central to international security, few works examine how statesmen manipulate external threats to satisfy their own security goals. This paper provides a theory of threat inflation, and investigates cases of American adventurism.

Paper
Acceptable Risk and the Cuban Missile Crisis: The Tactical Nuclear Missiles in Cuba
David Coleman, University of Virginia
Overview: This paper examines the issuing of calculating acceptable nuclear risk, a pressing issue for international security policy, by examining the issue of tactical nuclear weapons in Cuba.

Disc.
Giray Sadik, University of Georgia

15-7 STRATEGY AND INSTRUMENTS IN FOREIGN POLICY

Room
TBA, Sun 8:30

Chair
Stephen B. Dyson, Saint Olaf College

Paper
How Successful Are Economic Sanctions?
Julia H. Kim, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: As one of coercive measures, economic sanctions are frequently used. This paper analyzes the situations of economic sanctions using game theory and explains the success rate of economic sanctions using a logit model.

Paper
Nuclear Strategy: It's Greek to Me
Ron Hirschbein, California State University, Chico
Overview: Draws parallels between ancient Greek accounts of conflict and the metaphors improvised to render American nuclear endeavors intelligible and manageable.
16-13  **POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY AND CONFLICT**
Room  TBA, Sun 8:30
Chair  Zachary Elkins, University of Illinois
Paper  Ethnocentrism, Group Identity, and Public Opinion Towards World War II
Adam J. Berinsky, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Lara Rogers, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Overview: Recent work in public opinion has demonstrated the power of stereotypes and other group-centered attitudes in determining political attitudes. In this paper, we examine the role of ethnic identity in determining attitudes towards World War II.

Paper  Binding Ties and Wartime Lies: Assessing the Political Attitudes of the Friends and Families
Christopher S. Parker, University of California, Santa Barbara
Overview: Comparing Gulf War I with Vietnam, this paper examines how having a loved one in harms way (in the war) affects citizens' support for war.

Paper  Public Responses to Terrorism: Perceiving a Threat vs. Feeling Threatened
Ted Brader, University of Michigan
Overview: I argue that predicting the effects of threat on political behavior requires distinguishing between and among perceptions and emotions (e.g., fear vs. chronic anxiety). I use panel survey data conducted after the 9/11 terrorist attacks as evidence.

Paper  Collective Self Healing Process (CSHP)
Rafi Nits, Tel Aviv University
Overview: This paper proposes a Self Healing Process in which parties to intractable conflicts heal themselves from the offences transpired in the course of the conflicts without collaborating with their opponents (as is happening in a reconciliation process).
Disc.  Zachary Elkins, University of Illinois

17-22  **A DEFINING ELECTION? THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL RACE**
Room  TBA, Sun 8:30
Chair  William J. Crotty, Northeastern University
Paper  Policy Consequences and Democratic Values in the Aftermath of the 2004 Elections
John K. White, Catholic University of America
Overview: Democratic values lie at the heart of the 2004 presidential debates and other (unanticipated) events that bear on the race and its outcome.

Paper  The Geographic Politics of the Presidential Vote
Jerome M. Mileur, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Overview: This paper will analyze the geographic "Red" and "Blue" divisions to understand the respective campaign strategies of the presidential candidates.

Paper  The Congressional Races and Their Consequences
John S. Jackson, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Overview: This paper analyzes the outcome of the 2004 congressional elections.

Paper  The Presidential Campaign: Strategy, Issues, and Outcomes
Patricia H. Conley, University of Chicago
Overview: This paper surveys the 2004 presidential campaign; the strategies employed; the use of media; the impact of the presidential debates and other (unanticipated) events that bear on the race and its outcome.

Paper  The Presidential Campaign: Setting and Overview
William J. Crotty, Northeastern University
Overview: The 2000-2004 Bush administration has been a politically demanding four years, with hotly contested national and international issues. This paper surveys George W. Bush's term as it is directly relevant to the outcome of the 2004 election.
Disc.  Dan Shea, Allegheny College
Alan Gitelson, Loyola University Chicago

18-6  **INFLUENCES ON AND OF ELECTORAL REFORM**
Room  TBA, Sun 8:30
Chair  Shaun Bowler, University of California, Riverside
Paper  Democratization and Electoral Reform in South Korea: Actors, Incentives, and Power Relations
Dennis P. Patterson, Texas Tech University
Sangmook Lee, Texas Tech University
Overview: We examine those factors that explain why different Korean governments chose to change existing election rules in minor ways under democratic governments.

Paper  Electoral Change in Japan and New Zealand: A Breakdown of the Similarities and Differences of the Switch to a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) System
Howard B. Sanborn IV, University of Iowa
Overview: This paper investigates the similarities and differences of the change to an MMP system in Japan and New Zealand and illustrates which effects are specific to MMP and which are related to pre-existing customs and institutions.

Paper  Two Rival Models to Explain the Introduction of Proportional Representation Electoral Systems
John L. Ensch, University of California, Irvine
Overview: This research note tests the hypothesis that the degree of disproportionality in electoral systems provides a causal step in explaining the switch of electoral systems from majority rule to proportional representation.

Paper  Endogenizing Political Participation and Electoral Systems
Eric Chang, Michigan State University
Ronald Rogowski, University of California, Las Angeles
Overview: Studies of electoral systems have been developed in two parallel fashions: one considers electoral systems exogenous and the other endogenous. This paper seeks to integrate these two seemingly unconnected researches into a unifying framework.
Disc.  Shaun Bowler, University of California, Riverside
Tatiana Kostadinova, Florida International University

19-16  **MEDIA AND CAMPAIGN EFFECTS (Co-sponsored with Mass Media and Political Communication, see 21-13)**
Room  TBA, Sun 8:30
Chair  David Kimball, University of Missouri, St. Louis
Paper  The Information Class Structure of the United States and the Democracy of Political Judgments
Michael MacKuen, University of North Carolina
Evan Parker-Stephen, University of North Carolina
Overview: Here we report on an information-class-structural analysis of opinion dynamics in the United States. We examine 30 years of different time series to assess the extent to which public opinion dynamics are more democratic or more elite in character.

Paper  Building Bridges or Blinders: The Interplay between Mass Media and Attitudes Towards Other Countries at the Southwestern Edge of the United States
David J. Levin, University of Texas, El Paso
Overview: This paper shows that persons who make use of mass media are more likely to treat other countries with awareness and respect, than those who restrict themselves to their home nation mass media.

Paper  The Power of Local Political Debates to Influence Prospective Voters: An Experiment at the Congressional Level
John W. Williams, Principia College
Overview: We know a lot about presidential debates. But, there is very little literature on the impact and influence of local political debates. This field experiment begins to establish the baseline of knowledge.

Paper  Shaping Voter Priorities in the 2004 Presidential Election?
John Aldrich, Duke University
Jill Rickershauser, TBA
Overview: This study assesses whether presidential campaign communications affect citizens' policy priorities, and how campaigns decide upon the issues they will emphasize.

Paper: **(Re)defining the Relationship Between Party Identification and Core Values: The Power of “Code words”**  
David Doherty, University of Colorado, Boulder  
Overview: This paper examines the influence of presidential campaign rhetoric on how voters connect core values to party identification.

Disc. David Niven, Ohio State University  
David Kimball, University of Missouri, St. Louis

20-12 **SOCIABILITY AS A DEPENDENT VARIABLE**  
Room: TBA, Sun 8:30  
Chair: Kartibck Ramakrishnan, Public Policy Institute of California  

**Paper: Political Mobilization and the Organizational Structure of Civic Associations**  
Louis J. Ayala, Notre Dame University  
Overview: Paper uses an original survey of 1200 Indiana residents to explore potential mitigating impact of organizational characteristics like membership heterogeneity on the relationship between associational mobilization and political participation.

**Paper: Exacerbating Privilege: How Voluntary Organizations Promote Political Participation**  
Melissa K. Miller, Northwestern University  
Overview: Voluntary organizations are not egalitarian in promoting political participation. Privileged Americans are: 1) more likely to join voluntary groups; and 2) more likely to benefit from their participation-promoting properties once they join.

**Paper: Social Capital and Its Influence on Political Participation in America: Theory, Evidence and Implications**  
Ira Parnerkar, University of Chicago  
Overview: After confirming a strong empirical relationship between social capital and political participation, this paper concludes that education is an important causal mechanism, and that the relationship operates primarily at the individual level.

**Paper: Exploring the Bases of Democratic Communities**  
John L. Anderson, University of Nebraska, Kearney  
Overview: This paper explores the way small, rural communities create trusting relationships that foster engagement.

Disc. Kartibck Ramakrishnan, Public Policy Institute of California

21-10 **NEW MEDIA AND AMERICAN POLITICS**  
Room: TBA, Sun 8:30  
Chair: Salma I. Ghanem, University of Texas  

**Paper: The “Dean for America” Weblog and Civic Involvement**  
Matthew R. Kerbel, Villanova University  
Overview: This paper will assess how the Dean for America weblog facilitated civic engagement through discussion of system-affirming topics absent from or unusual in televised political coverage. Data are from an original content analysis of the site.

**Paper: Minor Parties and the Internet**  
Costas Panagopoulos, New York University  
Overview: This paper assesses the online presence of minor parties in America.

**Paper: Mapping the Political Blogosphere: An Analysis of Large-scale Online Political Discussions**  
Ezzer Hargittai, Northwestern University  
Jason Gallo, Northwestern University  
Sean Zehnder, Northwestern University  
Overview: TBA

**Paper: A Comparative Study of How Presidential Candidates and Organizations Treated Their Endorsements in 2004**  
Christine B. Williams, Bentley College  
Ellen R. Foxman, Bentley College  
Jeff Gulati, Bentley College  
Overview: Do candidates publicize their organizational endorsements and organizations their candidate endorsements? Is web site attention equal in amount and prominence? Do size, resources, political or strategic factors explain differences in treatment?

**Paper: Civil Society and Cyber Society: The Internet and Political Participation in Local Communities**  
Michael J. Jensen, University of California, Irvine  
James N. Danziger, University of California, Irvine  
Atifai Venkatesh, University of California, Irvine  
Overview: This paper explores if and how the Internet is changing politics in local communities. The central question the central question we address is whether conventional models of offline political participation hold for online participants.

Disc. Salma I. Ghanem, University of Texas

22-1 **WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS CHALLENGES**  
Room: TBA, Sun 8:30  
Chair: Judith Baer, Texas A&M University  

**Paper: The Politics of Human Rights Practice: Institutionalizing “Women’s Rights are Human Rights” in International Criminal Tribunals**  
Jonneke Koomen, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities  
Overview: How has the slogan “women’s rights are human rights” informed the workings of international criminal tribunals? How, in turn, have the experiences of these courts caused activists to redefine their demands?

Amber Ussery, University of Arizona  
Nico Kayner, University of Arizona  
Overview: Using quantitative methods, this paper addresses the relationship between national responses to human trafficking and women's collective insecurity.

**Paper: Freedom From Violence: A Struggle Between Women's Rights and Right to Religion and Culture**  
Archna Agarwal, University of Southern California  
Overview: Religion and culture, even though it safeguards, also plays a huge role in perpetuating violence against women. However, there should not be allowed any kind of religious or cultural defense to any form of violence that is unacceptable to women.

**Paper: Magnificent Norms and Modern Values: How Honor Killings Can Be Brought to an End**  
Cynthia Pascoe,  
Overview: This paper aims to explain the way in which honor killings can be brought to an end in predominantly Muslim countries. The argument is that change must be instituted at the local level, by Muslim women and religious clerics, respectively.

Disc. Judith Baer, Texas A&M University

22-8 **WOMEN SHAPING POLICY**  
Room: TBA, Sun 8:30  
Chair: Ange-Marie Hancock, Yale University  

Lee Ann Banaszak, Pennsylvania State University  
Overview: The paper asks how feminist activists’ access to government positions and their activism in government is affected by presidential administrations. When are feminists hired, and what happens to these bureaucrats when hostile administrations win?

**Paper: Pinned Against the Mat: Title IX and the Bush Administration**  
Leanne Doherty, Simmons College  
Overview: Discusses the DOE’s 2002 Commission on Opportunities for Athletics, its call for major reform to the compliance rules of Title IX, and the reasons behind the Bush
Administration’s decision to not make any changes to the legislation and hospitality were not taken seriously. Any society suffers when the voices of women are not allowed to be heard in public spaces.

Paper Domestic Housewives vs. Women monarchs According to Shakespeare, Should Political Regimes Encourage Women to be Directly Involved in Political Affairs or to Refrain from Exerting Any Significant Political Influence?
Megan Kerr, Northern Illinois University
Overview: Some political philosophers argue that Shakespeare’s historical plays can be a “recognized source for the serious study of moral and political problems” and a setting for “philosophic reflection.”

Paper Rousseau and the Modern Family
William J. G. Bewick, Michigan State University
Overview: This paper is an examination of why and how Rousseau hoped to persuade us to make family the center of our lives. It situates Rousseau’s teaching about love, marriage and parenting in the context of his broader thought.

Paper The Virtues of Vice: How The Lowell Mill Girl Debates Inform Contemporary Feminist Ethics & Activism
Jocelyn M. Boryczka, Fairfield University
Overview: The Lowell mill girls, America’s first nearly all-female labor force, engaged in a debate illustrating how the virtue-vice paradigm limits women’s full citizenship and offering insight into creating a democratic contemporary feminist ethics.

Disc. 26-10 FREEDOM AND RIGHTS
TBA, Sun 8:30

Chair Michael R. James

Bucknell University

Paper The Right to Privacy in Theory and Practice
Mary McThomas, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: My paper will examine the right to privacy with the idea that there are two distinct strains (one based on a Lockean notion of a right to property and one justified by a Millian right to liberty) that leads decisional privacy to be treated differently.

Paper Nietzsche, Arendt, and the Psychology of the Political
Jocelyn M. Boryczka, Fairfield University
Overview: This paper uses psychoanalytic theory to discuss Arendt’s and Nietzsche’s notions of freedom.

Disc. 25-13 CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT
TBA, Sun 8:30

Chair Ann Davies, Beloit College

Paper The Theorist as Architect: John Locke and the Carolina Constitution
Scott C. Pandich, University of Vermont
Overview: An examination of Locke's largely overlooked foray into real world government design with the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina.

Paper The Notion of the Common Good in Early American Thought
Nancy L. Bednar, California State University, Dominguez Hills
Overview: This paper explores the notion of the common good in early American thought, using the Federalist arguments for and the Anti-Federalist arguments against the ratification of the Constitution of 1787 as its basis.

Paper The Anti-Federalists Reconsidered
Teena Gabrielson, Southwestern University
Overview: Essay argues that Madison's 'Party Press Essays' are best understood as a refinement of Locke's critical doctrine of resistance. Draws upon the empiricism of each author.

Paper Empiricism and Action: Madison's Contribution to the Doctrine of Resistance
Peter Schultz, Assumption College
Overview: The purpose of my paper will be to explore some of the major themes of the Anti-Federalists political thought as they apply to concerns that animate our political drama today.

Disc. 24-10 PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN AND THE FAMILY
TBA, Sun 8:30

Chair Eileen Hunt Botting, University of Notre Dame

Paper Womanly Aretai and the Greek Polis
Joyce M. Mullan, Oakton University
Overview: The typical character of ancient Greek public life was agonistic. Private womanly virtues such as peacefulness
Overview: We illustrate the pitfalls and possible remedies for the analysis of cross-national survey data through a Monte Carlo experiments. We find that a Bayesian two-step strategy has computational and statistical advantages over classical methods.

Paper: **EDA for HLM**

Jake W. Bowers, University of Michigan

Overview: Within-macro-unit regression coefficients provide the raw material necessary to justify some of the crucial decisions required by a multilevel model. EDA before estimation also may allow analysts to learn new things about their subject.

Disc. Brad Jones, University of Arizona

Kevin Quinn, Harvard University

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### Session: 27-9 CITIZEN DECISIONS AND BELIEFS

Room: TBA, Sun 8:30

Chair: Eric Dickson, New York University

**Paper: The Welfare of Biased News**

John T. Gasper, Carnegie Mellon University

Overview: We examine why one would expect a new firm to enter the news industry. This entails examining the firm's choice of slanting the news. We then examine the relationship between the number of media outlets and the information the society receives.

**Paper: Conditional Choice: Evidence and Results from a Boundedly Rational Decision Function**

Meredith Rolfe, University of Chicago

Overview: This paper describes, derives propositions from, and provides experimental support for a model of conditional choice based on the notion of bounded rationality and repeated interactions in social networks.

**Paper: Subjective Mobility, Fairness, and the Demand for Redistribution**

Christina M. Fong, Carnegie Mellon University

Overview: People who believe that their society has few impediments to upward mobility tend to oppose governmental redistributive programs. Is this due to self-interest or fairness? This paper empirically examines which of these views is correct.

**Paper: Age and Turnout: A Considerations-Based Model**

Nathan A. Collins, Stanford University

Overview: I examine the functional form of the relationship between age and turnout and propose a simple formal model to explain the relationship.

Disc. Krishna Radha, New York University

Eric Dickson, New York University

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### Session: 28-2 STRATEGIES FOR THE ANALYSIS OF HIGHLY CLUSTERED AND MULTILEVEL PUBLIC OPINION DATA

Room: TBA, Sun 8:30

Chair: Nathaniel Beck, New York University

**Paper: Reconciliation after Communism? Analyzing New Survey Data to Uncover the Mechanism of Transitional Justice Procedures**

Monika Nalepa, Columbia University

Overview: We use mechanism design to demonstrate that it is possibility of transitional justice procedures which by allowing targets to reveal collaboration with the former authoritarian regime, reduce entirely the error of false acquittal.


Karen L. Jusko, University of Michigan

Overview: Which strategies are best suited for the analysis of cross-national public opinion data? We continue our discussion of this question, extending our earlier analysis to models with binary dependent variables.


Orit Kedar, University of Michigan

Overview: Utilizing a two-step research design in a sample of elections in OECD countries, I show that voter strategy reflects institutional mechanisms of power-dispersion.

**Paper: Analyzing Cross-Country Survey Data: Results from Monte Carlo Experiments**

Eduardo Leoni, Columbia University

Overview: We illustrate the pitfalls and possible remedies for the analysis of cross-national survey data through a Monte Carlo experiments. We find that a Bayesian two-step strategy has computational and statistical advantages over classical methods.

Paper: **EDA for HLM**

Jake W. Bowers, University of Michigan

Overview: Within-macro-unit regression coefficients provide the raw material necessary to justify some of the crucial decisions required by a multilevel model. EDA before estimation also may allow analysts to learn new things about their subject.

Disc. Brad Jones, University of Arizona

Kevin Quinn, Harvard University

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### Session: 30-10 CHIEF EXECUTIVES’ UNILATERAL ACTION

Room: TBA, Sun 8:30

Chair: Wayne P. Steger, DePaul University


Melissa J. Buchler, Purdue University

Richard M. Yon, University of Florida

Anthony S. Marcum, Purdue University

Overview: Executive orders have given presidents the ability to circumvent the government safeguards provided by the constitution. By analyzing executive orders the authors will illustrate how the prevalence and types of executive orders have evolved.

**Paper: The Exponential Executive Agreement: The Necessity of Understanding the Nature of International Agreement Data**

Randall D. Smith, University of Illinois, Chicago

Overview: This paper finds that many executive agreements accrue exponentially and discuss subsequent implications for study. I then test the hypothesis that the annual number of standalone agreements modern presidents conduct has not risen significantly.

**Paper: Rethinking Presidential Power--The Unitary Executive and the George W. Bush Presidency**

Christopher S. Kelley, Miami University

Overview: This paper applies the theory of the Unitary Executive to the current Bush administration.

Disc. Wayne P. Steger, DePaul University

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### Session: 31-8 EXPERTISE, SPECIALIZATION, AND LEGISLATIVE INFORMATION

Room: TBA, Sun 8:30

Chair: Wendy Schiller, Brown University

**Paper: Measuring Legislative Specialization: Herfindahl Scores and Committee Membership**

Michael J. Berry, University of Colorado, Boulder

E. Scott Adler, University of Colorado, Boulder

John Winkerson, University of Washington

Overview: This paper empirically measures legislative specialization and assess its relationship with committee membership. While Herfindahl Scores improve on prior measures, the link between committee membership and specialization needs further analysis.

**Paper: Pockets of Expertise: Careers and Professionalism in 20th-Century State Legislatures**

Nancy E. Burns, University of Michigan

Laura E. Evans, University of Washington

Gerald Gamm, University of Rochester

Corrine M. McConnaughy, University of Texas, Austin

Overview: We use mechanism design to demonstrate that it is possibility of transitional justice procedures which by allowing targets to reveal collaboration with the former authoritarian regime, reduce entirely the error of false acquittal.

**Paper: When Politics is Personal: The Role of Personal Policy Interests in Committee Activity**

Lesli McCollum Gooch, University of Oklahoma

Overview: We use mechanism design to demonstrate that it is possibility of transitional justice procedures which by allowing targets to reveal collaboration with the former authoritarian regime, reduce entirely the error of false acquittal.
Overview: This paper expands upon our current understanding of congressional participation by examining the role of personal policy interests in committee activity.

Paper **Floor Debate in Congress**
Andrew J. Taylor, North Carolina State University
Overview: I test two hypotheses: (1) floor debate has deteriorated over time, (2) floor debate is better in the Senate than in the House. I find fewer longitudinal and inter-cameral differences than predicted.

Disc. **Matthew Green**, Yale University
Wendy Schiller, Brown University

**33-15 THE SUPREME COURT: PARISING THE VOTE**
Room TBA, Sun 8:30
Chair Chad M. King, University of Texas at Dallas

Paper **Reexamining the Dimensionality of the Rehnquist Supreme Court**
Robert Anderson, Stanford University
Overview: Studies of the Supreme Court have concluded that the justices organize their voting according to a single “left-right” dimension. We present results suggesting that the Rehnquist Court’s decisions exhibit at least two ideological dimensions.

Paper **Heterogeneity in Supreme Court Decision-Making: Exploring Variation in the Impact of Policy Preferences**
Brandon L. Bartels, Ohio State University
Overview: I analyze the conditions under which Justices’ policy preferences have a greater or lesser impact on their choices. I use hierarchical modeling to test whether certain case-level factors explain variation in the impact of preferences across cases.

Paper **Conceptualizing “Sincere” and “Strategic” Behavior on the U. S. Supreme Court: How Can We Empirically Tell the Difference?**
Chris W. Bonneau, University of Pittsburgh
Thomas H. Hammond, Michigan State University
Reginald S. Sheehan, Michigan State University
Overview: Strategic behavior on the United States Supreme Court.

Paper **Can Supreme Court Justices Predict the Outcome of Cases?**
Timothy R. Johnson, University of Minnesota
Paul J. Wahlbeck, George Washington University
James F. Spriggs II, University of California Davis
Overview: We use newly discovered data from Justice Harry Blackmun's papers to determine the accuracy with which he was able to predict how his colleagues would vote in all cases where predictions exist between 1970 and 1994.

Paper **Pursing Conservatism on the Rehnquist Court**
J. Mitchell Pickrell, Washington State University
Joseph V. Debons, Washington State University
Cornell W. Clayton, Washington State University
Overview: This paper examines differences in conservative attitudes on the Supreme Court. Using a political regimes type framework, we show how divisions among Rehnquist, Scalia and Thomas, reflect divisions among conservatives in the current political regime.

Disc. Chad M. King, University of Texas at Dallas
Andrew D. Martin, Washington University

**36-14 NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS IN LOCAL POLITICS**
Room TBA, Sun 8:30
Chair Sherman L. Lewis, California State University, Hayward

Paper **Jockeying for Volunteers: Non-Profit Competition for Volunteers in a Second-Class Minnesota Metro-Area**
Scott Granberg-Rademacher, Minnesota State University, Mankato
Avra J. Johnson, Minnesota State University
Jacob A. Helton, Minnesota State University
This paper seeks to determine the scope and nature of competitive pressures which compel non-profit agencies to compete with one another for volunteers. This paper uses survey, interview, and GPS data from local non-profit directors.

Paper **Social Capital and the Longevity of Community-Based Organizations**
Gregory D. Saxton, SUNY - Brockport
Overview: I posit that communities with higher levels of social capital will have more robust nonprofit sectors. This is tested in 284 counties using the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey, IRS Business Master Files, and other county-level data.

Disc. Brenda Sullivan, Cheyney University

**37-10 ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTIVENESS AND ENFORCEMENT**
Room TBA, Sun 8:30
Chair Brian J. Gerber, Texas Tech University

Paper **Collective Action, Environmental Activism, and Air Quality Policy**
Mark N. Lubell, University of California, Davis
Arnold Vedlitz, Texas A&M University
Sammy Zahran, Texas A&M University
Leitia Alston, Texas A&M University
Overview: Analyzes a behavioral model of collective action to understand citizen air policy activism and support for stricter air regulations.

Paper **Regulatory Competition and Environmental Enforcement: Evidence from the U.S. States**
David M. Konisky, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Overview: In this paper, I study a panel dataset of state-level enforcement of federal environmental regulation to evaluate whether states use their enforcement effort as a competitive instrument vis-à-vis other states.

Paper **“We know we cannot stop it” Environmental Decision-Making and Local Biosolids Policy in the Commonwealth of Virginia**
Celia M. Carroll, Washington and Lee Universities
Overview: Examines the local and state political factors affecting environmental policy decisions in the state of Virginia.

Disc. Bill Leach, Center for Collaborative Policy

**39-7 PRESIDENTS AND BUREAUCRATIC RESPONSIVENESS (Co-sponsored with Presidency and Executive Politics, see 30-4)**
Room TBA, Sun 8:30
Chair Samuel B. Hoff, Delaware State University

Paper **Politicalizing Administration in the United States, 1988-2003**
David E. Lewis, Princeton University
Overview: The paper explains why some administrative agencies are more politicized than others and why the levels of politicization change over time.

Paper **Federal Agencies as Principals and Agents in Policy Implementation: Quality Assurance Programs as a Form of Oversight in the Social Security Disability Program**
Lael R. Keiser, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: This paper explores the responsiveness of 3rd party actors to oversight activities of federal executive agencies and the mediating role federal agencies play between elected federal officials and state government agencies.

Paper **Executive Clemency or Bureaucratic Discretion? Two Models of the Presidential Pardons Process**
Helen A. Erler, Yale University
Overview: This paper examines the use of the presidents pardon power from 1955 to 2002 and argues that the presidents control over the pardons process is severely limited by the Justice Department, the actions of past presidents, and political factors.
Paper  Parsing Politicization: Presidents, Responsiveness, and the Office of Management and Budget
Andrew C. Rudalevige, Princeton University
Matthew J. Dickinson, Middlebury College
Overview: This paper documents the efforts of presidents to make the Office of Management and Budget to make that agency more responsive to their administrative and political needs. Does "politicization" always mean the same thing?
Disc. Samuel B. Hoff, Delaware State University

Paper  49-4 STATES AS POLICY LABORATORIES OF DEMOCRACY
Room TBA, Sun 8:30
Chair Mark Rom, Georgetown University
Paper State Responses to the Children’s Health Insurance Program
Saundra Schneider, Michigan State University
Overview: TBA
Paper State and Intergovernmental Response to Crisis: A Comparative Analysis of State & Municipal Responses to AIDS and Homeland Security
Glenn Beamer, Rutgers University
Overview: TBA
Paper When Do States Pursue Targeted Economic Development Policies? The Adoption and Expansion of State Enterprise Zone Programs
Mark Cassell, Kent State University
Overview: TBA
Paper Are States Effective Laboratories of Democracy?
Mark Carl Rom, Georgetown University
Overview: TBA
Disc. Karen Mossberger, Kent State University

Sunday, April 10 – 10:30 am – 12:15 pm

1-103 ROUNDTABLE: RECRUITING AND RETAINING WOMEN GRADUATE STUDENTS (Co-sponsored with Midwest Women's Caucus, see 46-104)
Room TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair Lee Ann Banaszak, Pennsylvania State University
Yvette Alex-Assensoh, Indiana University
Vicki Hesi, University of Iowa
Celeste Montoya, Washington University, St. Louis
Susan Welch, Pennsylvania State University
Overview: This roundtable will discuss strategies targeted at female graduate students, with insights offered by former and current Graduate Directors.

2-12 MARKETS AND NON-MARKET COORDINATION
Room TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair Pablo Beramendi, Syracuse University
Paper In Whose Footsteps?
Katrin K. Sieberg, Binghamton University
Overview: This paper explores divergences in histories of labor unions in the US and in Scandinavia and creates a formal model to show the differing effects of these unions on wages and the standard of living.
Daniel Geffen, Columbia University
Tom Kenyon, Princeton University
Overview: This paper presents a new panel dataset measuring non-market coordination in OECD countries across several spheres of the political economy. The paper uses the dataset to test hypotheses about the origins and maintenance of non-market coordination.

Paper  The New Centrism and the New Economy: Determinants of the National Effort for Competitiveness in OECD Countries
Shunta Matsumoto, Florida State University
Overview: The new centrist ideology in Western democracies matters in technology policies since the 1990s. Pooled time-series models are employed in analyzing the determinants of government R&D spending, worker retraining programs, government subsidies, etc.
Disc. 3-12 POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS: THEORIES AND COMPARISONS
Room TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair Julian Wetherhout, Carleton College
Paper Interactive Effects of Electoral Rules and Forms of Government on Checks and Balances among Politicians
Gyung-Ho Jeong, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: I argue that the effects of electoral rules depend on forms of government. Electoral rules that encourage strong parties have negative effects on checks and balances in presidential systems, while they have positive effects in parliamentary systems.
Paper The Game that Sets the Rules: Parties, Military Rulers and the Making of Constitutions in Latin America
Gabriel L. Negretto, CIDE
Overview: Constitution Making, Presidential regimes, Latin America, Electoral Rules, Presidential Powers
Paper Bureaucratic Accountability: The Role of Congress in Emerging Democracies
Alejandra Rios-Cazares, University of California, San Diego
Overview: Analysis of legislative control of bureaucracy in presidential regimes. Particular emphasis on the role of electoral democracy and the ability of congress to implement instruments of bureaucratic control in developing presidentialisms.
Paper Not So Different After All: The Influence of Islamic Law, Canon Law and Common Law on Women’s Rights in Modern Legal Systems
Catherine E. Warrick, American University
Overview: This paper compares the incorporation of Islamic law into Arab and other legal systems to the incorporation of canon law in the West, particularly with regard to the effect on women’s rights and the prospects for democracy.
Disc. Julian Wetherhout, Carleton College

3-14 PROSPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT AFTER CIVIL WARS, LAND REFORMS, AND COUPS
Room TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair Fotini Christia, Harvard University
Paper Is it the Institution or Institutional Change? A Theoretical Examination of Civil War Recurrence
Shawn H. Williams, University of North Texas
Overview: This paper examines the role political institutions play in preventing the return of civil war. It argues that the presence of a period of institutional evolution is the best indicator of continued peace.
Paper Pressures from Above, Below and Both Directions: The Politics of Land Reform in South Africa, Brazil and Zimbabwe
Fodei J. Batty, Western Michigan University
Overview: This paper will examine the politics of land reform in South Africa, Brazil and Zimbabwe to illustrate the unique
Paper **Third World Phoenixes: The Political Economy of Postwar Economic Development**
Irfan Nooruddin, Ohio State University
Thomas E. Flores, University of Michigan

Overview: Our paper seeks to address a general neglect of the security imperatives of economic development by investigating the causes of economic recovery from interstate and civil war over the last four decades.

Paper **Reaching and Consolidating Peace after Civil Wars**
Omar Yilmaz, New York University

Overview: This paper introduces a formal model of civil war termination, which illustrates the interaction of institutional power-sharing arrangements with the veto player structure.

Paper **Designed Underdevelopment: Examining How Political Development Impacts Public Administration in Rural Areas**
Jermain Griffin, Illinois State University

Overview: Paper will discuss how political development infuses negligence that spurs the devolution of rural communities.

Disc. Fotini Christia, Harvard University
Scott Strauss, University of Wisconsin

4-18 **ISSUES IN LATIN AMERICAN TRANSITIONS**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair TBA

Paper **What Comes First: Democracy or Corruption?**
Kathleen R. Barrett, Georgia State University

Paper **Stability of Party Identification in Mexico**
Luis M. Estrada, University of California, San Diego
Giuseppe Ragusa, University of California, San Diego

Overview: There is a controversy in the Mexican voting literature about whether vote choice determines party ID or the reverse. Using panel data we find that party ID in Mexico is different from, and more stable than, vote choice.

Paper **New Wine in Old Bottles: How New Democracies Deal with Inherited Bureaucratic Apparatuses, The Experiences of Mexico and Spain**
Guillermo M. Cejudo, Boston University

Overview: This paper discusses how new democratic elites deal with bureaucracies inherited from authoritarian past. It is argued that both old regime trends and new regime agendas explain differences in timing and scope of administrative reform.

Paper **Getting Money, Getting Political: The Role of Remittances on Democratic Transitions**
Jose Merino, New York University

Overview: A empirical analysis of the effect of remittances on the probability of democratization of recipient countries from 1970 to 1998

Paper **The Non-Transitions of Cuba and North Korea: The Negative Role of International Factors**
Jennifer Romine, University of Illinois

Overview: My paper examines the reasons why Cuba and North Korea, two countries that were heavily reliant on Soviet aid, have been able to resist regime change in an international context that is seemingly conducive to regime change in communist states.

Disc. William T. Brandt, Princeton University

5-13 **ETHNICITY IN EUROPE**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair Maria R. Freire, Universidade Lusida

Paper **Mainstreaming Muslims: Islam, Islamic Instruction and the Religious Identity of Children in French and German Schools**
Sylvia C. Maier, Georgia Institute of Technology

Overview: This paper discusses the emergence and distinct character of a new government policy of “mainstreaming Muslims” in France and Germany. Islam and Islamic instruction in public and private schools will be used as a case study.

Paper **Politics in Russia: (Un)democratic Practices and the Case of Chechnya**

Maria R. Freire, Universidade Lusida

Overview: This paper analyzes the increasingly undemocratic course of Russian politics, questioning principles and procedures in both theoretical and operational terms, and applying it to the case of Chechnya.

Paper **Against Immigration and Against Europe: Rising Social Movements in Great Britain**
Sara B. Wallace, Georgetown University

Overview: This paper describes social movements against immigration in Great Britain. I illustrate that a social group’s position on the European project determines their attitude towards immigration.

Paper **Keeping Identity at a Distance: Explaining France’s New Legal Restrictions on the ‘Islamic’ Headscarf**
Elaine Thomas, Bard College

Overview: This paper explores France’s adoption of surprising new legislation against religious signs in public schools. Historical continuities of French political thinking together with recent social and legal developments help explain this decision.

Disc. Michelle C. Boumgard, Muskingum College

6-12 **DECENTRALIZATION: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair Randall Parish, Texas A&M International University

Benjamin Goldfrank, University of New Mexico

Overview: Comparing three cities in different countries, I explain why only some experiments in participatory government succeed in Latin America. I argue that strongly institutionalized parties can undermine decentralization’s benefits for local democracy.

Paper **Political Power, Institutions and Decentralization in Latin America: Towards a General Explanation?**
Lucas I. Gonzalez, University of Notre Dame

Overview: This paper develops a model to explain the regional variation in the decentralization processes across Latin America from a unique explanatory framework and presents the statistical evidence (for a group of countries between 1982-2000) to sustain it.

Paper **Decentralization and Funding Changes - The Impact on Family Planning Programs in Latin America**
Sarah M. Wheeler, Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Overview: The IMF's recommendation to decentralize government services has resulted in some unexpected consequences. Rural conservative areas have had an opportunity to roll back some of the social advances made in family planning.

Samuel P. Handlin, University of California, Berkeley

Overview: This paper examines patterns of party competition for the support of organized business and the role of decentralization in opening up possibilities for new party-business linkages.

Disc. Eliza Willis, Grinnell College

9-3 **STATE AND LOCAL POLITICS IN CHINA**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30

Paper **Judicial Control of Bureaucracy: Conflicting Preferences and Strategic Interactions within Chinese Courts**
Yi Zhao, Macalester College

Overview: By analyzing the interaction between judges and institutions of Chinese courts, this paper explains why Chinese courts have made significant progress in adjudicating administrative cases in which overrements are the defendants.

Paper **Gerrymandering – Vietnamese Style: The Clientelist Motivations behind the Creation of New Provinces in Vietnam**
Edmund J. Malecky, Harvard University
Overview: I demonstrate that the creation of new provinces is part of a systematic clientelism played by factions in the Vietnamese central government, as new provincial leaders become loyal supporters in voting blocs of subsequent Party Congresses.

Paper  Empowering Citizens, Controlling Cadres and Legitimizing the Authoritarian Leadership: Local Political Reforms in the People’s Republic of China
John J. Kennedy, University of Kansas
Overview: This paper examines leadership motives behind the introduction of local reforms within an authoritarian regime. The author finds that political reforms can increase citizen participation as well as political legitimacy of the authoritarian regime.

Paper  Socioeconomic Conditions and Political Control in Rural China: A Corporatist Perspective
Wei Shan, Texas A&M University
Qi Zhang, The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China
Mingxing Liu, Peking University, Beijing, China
Overview: Based on the literature of local corporatism, this paper attempts to address the socioeconomic determinants to the behavior of the Chinese local state in choosing different strategies of political control over village governance.

Paper  Judicial Control of Bureaucracy: Conflicting Preferences and Strategic Interactions within Chinese Courts
Yi Zhao, Macalster College
Overview: By analyzing the interaction between judges and institutions of Chinese courts, this paper explains why Chinese courts have made significant progress in adjudicating administrative cases in which governments are the defendants.

Disc. Victor Shih, Northwestern University

10-14  POWER AND HEGEMONY IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM
Room  TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair  Zaryab Iqbal, University of South Carolina
Paper  Learning from the Past: US Strategies to Stay Restrainted
Mark E. Schaefer, West Virginia University
Overview: What types of strategies can the United States employ to prevent balancing? This work will use lesson drawing from past hegemonic actors to describe how balancing can be prevented with the use of a strategy of hegemonic restraint.

Paper  A Hegemon at War: What Will the Mice Do While the Cat’s at War?
Lilach Gilady, Yale University
Alexandra G. Gusinger, Notre Dame University
Overview: Expanding from the logic of hegemonic stability theory and the role of the hegemon in providing stability, this paper explores the implications of a hegemon’s involvement in war on the incidence of conflict elsewhere in the world system.

Paper  The Empirical Analysis of Casual Link Between Hegemony and Peace
Jun Wei, University of Alabama
Overview: In this paper, I will examine the role assumed by a hegemonic power to maintain peace.

Disc. Zaryab Iqbal, University of South Carolina

10-15  THE DYNAMICS OF IGO MEMBERSHIP
Room  TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair  Timothy Nordstrom, University of Mississippi
Paper  Beyond Hegemony: Regional Order Construction and IGO Participation
Ryan M. Fitzharris, University of Arizona
Katharine Petersen, University of Arizona
Overview: Purpose of this paper is to explore the regional dynamics of IGO participation and construction in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East.

Paper  Membership Has Its Privileges: How Joining International Institutions Decreases Risk in Developing Countries
Julia Gray, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: I show how, in an information-poor environment, membership in constraining institutions can signal future stability in developing countries, regardless of the observable economic conditions on the ground.

Paper  The Democratic Community and the Expansion of International Organizations
Megan Shannon, University of Iowa
Overview: In this paper, I identify systemic conditions that promote enlargement of international organizations. I argue that as the systemic level of democracy increases, IOs are more likely to expand. Statistical analyses provide support for my argument.

Disc. Timothy Nordstrom, University of Mississippi

11-18  POLITICAL SOURCES OF ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE AND RISK
Room  TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair  Kenneth Scheve, University of Michigan
Paper  Succession in the Temple: Central Bankers Careers and the Politics of Appointment
Christopher Adolph, University of Washington
Overview: I demonstrate that the creation of new provinces is part of a systematic clientelism played by factions in the Vietnamese central government, as new provincial leaders become loyal supporters in voting blocs of subsequent Party Congresses.

Paper  Positive Dependencies? FDI, Property Rights, and Enforcement costs in Developing Countries
John S. Ahluquist, University of Washington
Aseem Prakash, University of Washington
Overview: We examine the influence of FDI on the costs of enforcing contracts in the developing world. FDI is associated with cheaper contract enforcement. This relationship strengthens in interaction with export dependence and democratization.

Paper  Using Markets to Measure Political Risk
Nathan M. Jensen, Washington University
Andrew Sobel, Washington University
Overview: Our project will use market measures (such as equity price movements) to predict political risk and political events in large sample of developing countries.

Paper  What Makes Money? Institutions, Risk, and FDI Inflows
Andreea S. Mihalache, Pennsylvania State University
Overview: How do institutions affect inflowing FDI? This paper suggests that certain institutional configurations signal stability, altering the uncertainty and decision-making equations of foreign investors, thus reducing risk and encouraging investment.

Disc. Jennifer Tobin, Yale University

12-11  WAR: INPUTS & OUTPUTS
Room  TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair  Sara Mitchell, University of Iowa
Carmela Lutmar, American University
Overview: I am interested in this paper in finding out whether states changed their foreign policy behavior after wars, and whether deposing leaders serves as the mechanism underlying this process.

Paper  Democratic Peace Theory and Institutional Variation
David J. Plazek, West Virginia University
Overview: This research examines whether majoritarian democracies pursue more aggressive foreign policies than consensus democracies and hence contributes to democratic peace theory.

Paper  Domestic Unrest, Diversion, and Enduring Rivalries
Laron K. Williams, Texas A&M University
Chris Sprecher, Texas A&M University
Overview: How do the ever-present opportunities present in enduring rivalries affect the diversionary use of force?

Disc. Mark Souva, Florida State University
Sara Mitchell, University of Iowa

13-12  SECURITY DILEMMAS OF CIVIL WAR
Room  TBA, Sun 10:30
Overview: In this paper, I will examine the role assumed by a hegemonic power to maintain peace.
Chair William Reed, Rice University

Paper Inter-Ethnic Conflict and the Humanitarian Crisis: The Problems with Military Intervention in Ethnic/Civil Warfare during the Post-Cold War Era
Jacob F. Enghl, Marquette University
Overview: Military intervention in ethnic/civil war raises disturbing questions regarding sovereignty, state building, and the precedent set by using improperly trained combat military forces serves to aggravate the situation especially in insurgency warfare.

Paper Escalating Civil Wars: The Papers of Weak States
Stacy Bergstrom Hold, Gettysburg College
Overview: Civil wars escalate for several reasons, but ideology has the greatest potential to draw in outside states.

Paper Escalating Civil Wars: The Dangers of Weak States
Jacob Bercovitch, University of North Texas
Nicolas Rost, University of North Texas
Overview: A variety of tools are available for managing civil wars including negotiation, mediation, and peacekeeping. In this study, we use a competing risks approach to study the conditions that promote the use of each type of conflict management effort.

Paper The Opposing Effects of Mediation on Conflict Settlement and Durability
Scott S. Gartner, University of California, Davis
Jacob Bercovitch, University of Canterbury
Molly M. Melin, The University of California, Davis
Overview: We develop and test a theoretical framework that captures the opposing effects of mediation on settlement duration.

Disc. William Reed, Rice University

16-11 COMMUNICATION EFFECTS

Room TBA, Sun 10:30

Chair Margaret Ann Curran, Weber State University

Paper The Relevant Campaign, 2000: Using Panels to Analyze Campaign Effects and the Emergence of Voters' Judgments
Scott J. Basinger, Stony Brook University
Todd K. Hartman, Stony Brook University
Overview: We employ systems of simultaneous equations to analyze the 2000 National Annenberg Election Study, to investigate how voters’ judgements about the candidates changed during the campaigns, recognizing voter heterogeneity.

Paper Strategic Communication and the War on Terror
Tara M. Kirkpatrick, Indiana University
Heather K. Tillberg, University of Virginia
Overview: The Bush administration has skillfully used the “War on Terror” and the fear behind September 11th to build a case for invading Iraq while inhibiting dissent by defining a moral agenda for the American People.

Paper Disagreement and Its Discontents: Reconciling Conflicting Findings on the Cross-Pressures Hypothesis
Iliah Nir, University of Pennsylvania
Overview: The study proposes an explanation that integrates conflicting findings on exposure to disagreement and time of voting decision. Cross-pressures are beneficial for some people and detrimental for others. ANES 2000 data supports this explanation.

Paper Media Coverage on Assessments of Who Wins Debates
Jason Reifler, Duke University
Lena Dimas, Duke University
David Dyson, Duke University
Jeff Goldfarb, Duke University
Thomas Harris, Duke University
Aidan Myers, Duke University
Overview: Using a simple three-celled experiment, we show the effect of media coverage on citizen evaluations who "won" a political debate.

Disc. Margaret Ann Curran, Weber State University

17-8 KEEPING THE FAITH: THE ROLE OF RELIGION, VALUES AND CHARACTER IN VOTE CHOICE

Room TBA, Sun 10:30

Chair James L. Guth, Furman University

Paper Religious Affiliation and Candidate Evaluation
Sara Rajan, Wayne State University
Ewa A. Golebiowska, Wayne State University
Overview: We investigate experimentally the impact of candidate’s religious affiliation (mainstream v. non-mainstream) and the level and type of office for which s/he is running on voters' responses to the candidate.

Paper An Empirical Examination of the Role of Religion in American Voting Behavior Between 1948 and 2002
Marvin K. Hoffman, Appalachian State University
James E. Prather, Georgia State University
Overview: Religion and its salience to Presidential voters in shaping their choices are assessed using NES data.

Paper Cultural Politics: Displacement or Addition to Political Divisions?
Jeff M. Stonecash, Syracuse University
Mark D. Brewer, University of Maine
Overview: As cultural issues have become more important as a source of political divisions, have they displaced other sources of division (such as class and race) or have they just added to the prior sources of division?

Marty Cohen, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: My paper looks at the increasing importance of moral issues like abortion and gay rights in deciding Congressional elections. This phenomenon has benefited the Republicans and played a major role in their takeover of the House in 1994.

Disc. James L. Guth, Furman University

19-12 ATTITUDES TOWARD SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY AND POVERTY

Room TBA, Sun 10:30

Chair Joe Soss, University of Wisconsin

Paper Different Places, Different Perceptions: The Impact of Context on Attitudes Towards Poverty
Daniel J. Hopkins, Harvard University
Overview: Americans’ conceptions of poverty hinge on their surroundings. Using newly available 2001 survey data, this paper shows that respondents in counties that are poor and white are more likely to adopt structural views on poverty.

Paper Opinion on the Welfare State: Generational and Life-Cycle Differences
Hector L. Ortiz, Syracuse University
Overview: Generational and life-cycle influences on public opinion about the welfare policies state have remained largely unexplored. Using the GSS I analyze the effects these variables on opinion about education, health, social security and welfare.

Paper Are Citizens More Informed than We Think? Ambivalence and Non-Attitude about Social Welfare
Jason Gainous, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Overview: This study sets out to determine if inconsistent attitudes centered on social welfare are a product of ambivalence as well as non-attitude.

Paper A Structural Equation Model of Attitudes toward Domestic Welfare and Foreign Aid Policy
Bon Sang Koo, Stony Brook University
Overview: This study presents a structural equation model of mass public’s attitudes toward domestic welfare and foreign aid policy based on core values and ideology and finds links between attitudes toward the policies included in different domains.

Paper Elite Discourse, Public Opinion, and Significant Social Policy Change during the Clinton Administration: The Cases of Welfare and Health Care
Hannah Goble, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Stacey L. Pelika, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Updated 03-01-05
Overview: In this paper, we compare two cases, welfare and health care, in order to investigate how elite discourse shaped public opinion in ways that facilitated or discouraged significant social policy reforms during the Clinton Administration.

Disc. Lauren Appelbaum, Claremont McKenna College

20-13 TRUST, EFFICACY, AND PERCEPTIONS OF GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE

Room TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair Meredith Rolfe, University of Chicago
Paper Cynical and Conservative: Why Democrats Don’t Support Democrats
Jeffrey T. Britton, University of Oregon
Overview: Democrats out number Republicans in the US, yet many of our legislative bodies have a Republican majority. This paper argues that cynicism can make liberal democrats behave like conservatives.

Paper Citizen Participation: Pain or Gain?
Mary Grisez Kweit, University of North Dakota
Robert W. Kweit, University of North Dakota
Overview: This paper will examine empirically the impact of citizen participation on the evaluation of government policy.

Paper Deliberative Democracy: The Perceptions of Participants
Tina Nabatchi, Indiana University
Overview: This paper presents results from before and after surveys of participants in a deliberative democracy forum. It examines their perceptions about participation, deliberation, civic education, accountability, justice, citizenship, and sustainability.

Paper Nothing Succeeds Like Success: The Reciprocal Effects of Political Efficacy and Participation
Timothy Vercellotti, Elon University
George Taylor, Elon University
Overview: This paper examines the reciprocal relationship between efficacy and political participation, in that support for a successful candidate contributes to greater efficacy.

Disc. Samantha Luka, University of Minnesota

21-11 MEDIA ABROAD

Room TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair David J. Levin, University of Texas, El Paso
Paper Communication Mediation in a Society in Turmoil: Results from the Civic Culture Study
Hernando Rojas, University of Wisconsin
Overview: Findings suggest that under conditions of duress, normative evaluations might not be as important for political participation as the mobilizing potential that associational ties provide.

Paper Effects of Press Freedom on Likelihood of Democratization
Lee Franklin, University of California, Irvine
Overview: This research examines the role of the media in promoting support for democracy. It addresses the contention that freedom of the press must be restricted in new democracies in order to avoid instability.

Paper Pressure on the Press: The Decline of Media Freedom in Russia and Ukraine
Daniel J. Beers, Indiana University
Overview: This paper examines media-state relations in Russia and Ukraine, offering a typology of state-sponsored media coercion and an informal model of coercion escalation to elucidate the motives and patterns behind the systematic manipulation of the media.

Paper Explaining Foreign Conflicts Coverage
Adam J. Schiffer, Texas Christian University

Disc. David J. Levin, University of Texas, El Paso

22-9 WOMEN’S WAYS OF KNOWING: GENDER AND POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

Room TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair Suzan J. Harkness, University of District of Columbia
Paper Gender Jeopardy: “What is the Gap in Political Knowledge between Women and Men, Alex?”
Daniel R. Jones-White, Pennsylvania State University
Heather L. Ondercin, Pennsylvania State University
Overview: This paper explores two questions important to understanding women’s participation in politics: What is the impact of women’s lower level of political knowledge? And why do such differences exist?

Paper Gender Crossfire?: The Political Discussion of Women and Men
Jeanette M. Mendez, University of Houston
Tracey L. Osborn, Bridgewater State College
Overview: This paper explores the gender gap in a new area - political discussion and political sophistication. We argue women will discuss politics, both in frequency and content, differently from men, depending on their political sophistication.

Paper The Deliberating Woman: An Examination of the Social Forces that Govern Women’s Participation (or lack thereof) in Public Political Discussions
Ashleigh S. Powers, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: This experiment examines whether women are free to enter and speak within public political deliberation. The findings suggest that the social presence of men suppresses the influence of women within deliberation.

23-13 BLACK POLITICS: CLASS, GENDER AND NATIONALISM

Room TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair Maruice Mungam, Southern Illinois University
Paper The Dimensionality of Black Nationalism and Its Impact on Civic Involvement
Tony E. Carey Jr, SUNY, Stony Brook
Overview: This research analyzes whether Black Nationalism is a one or two-dimensional construct and the impact of its dimensionality on electoral participation and neighborhood involvement.

Paper Black Feminism And The Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas Hearings: Projecting Multiplicity, Living Oppression
Christopher B. Lee, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This essay brings to a head competing epistemological claims regarding the status of race and gender and forces us to reconsider the ways in which lived experiences operate alongside theoretical formulations and grass roots mobilizations.

Paper Homosexuality and African Americans: Looking Inside the Black Political Church
Shannon Singlet, University of New Orleans
Megan E. Osterbur, University of New Orleans
Overview: This paper examines the effects of the black political church on African American opinion towards homosexuality.

Paper Am I Black Or Rich? The Joint Influence of Race and Class on Political Trust
Scott E. Robinson, University of Texas, Dallas
Millie Wormley Smith, University of Texas, Dallas
Overview: Keywords: Race, Class, Political Trust

Don-Terry Veal, Sr., Auburn University
Keenan D. Grell, Auburn University
Overview: Growth and economic development are explored through partnering Black Empowerment movements in the U.S. and in South Africa. The conceptual ideas are the result of a conference held in Cape Town South Africa on Empowerment Though Entrepreneurship.

24-11 ISSUES IN FORMAL THEORY

Room TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair Peter C. Stone, Stanford University
Paper Condorcet’s Gambler: Risk, Probability, and Democracy
Helene E. Landemore, Harvard University
Overview: I revisit the criticisms of Condorcet’s “Jury Theorem” – which formalizes an old intuitive statistical argument in favor of majority rule – and show why we should ultimately endorse as a rational gamble Condorcet’s faith in democracy.

Paper **Elections and American Political Thought**
Jay K. Dow, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: This paper discusses the expectations of elections in the American Tradition with reference to disciplinary understandings of what elections are capable of achieving in light of contemporary social theory.

Paper **A Political Theory of Endogenous Institutional Change**
Elif Erissen, Stony Brook University
Overview: The paper develops a political theory of endogenous institutional change that emphasizes associational relations within families of institutions and the interactive properties of a given institutional mix.

Paper **A New Perspective of Incentive Study in City Government**
Yahong Zhang, Florida State University
Overview: In the Second Discourse, Rousseau argues amour propre results from the overvaluation of talent.

Paper **Self Interest Properly Understood**
Carl P. Stover, Governors State University
Overview: Explains that "interet bien entendu" and Tocqueville's estimate of what it does for America may have several meanings--including almost none, which it has to persons under 60 today.

Paper **Emma Goldman and Ayn Rand: Ethical Egoism and Constraint**
Janet E. Day, St. Joseph’s College

Paper **Egoism, Reconciliation and History in Alexander Kojeve and Emmanuel Levinas**
Glenn D. Clifton, University of Notre Dame
Overview: This paper examines the issue of reconciliation in the work of Kojeve and Levinas. It argues that Levinas is better able than Kojeve to account for the experience of guilt and the desire for reconciliation.

Disc. Johnny Goldfinger, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis

25-14 **INDIVIDUALISM AND EGOISM REVISITED**
Room TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair Jacinda M. Swanson, Western Michigan University
Paper Mandeville and Rousseau on the Relationship Between Vanity and Commercial Society
Michael L. McLendon, California State University, Los Angeles
Overview: In the Second Discourse, Rousseau argues amour propre results from the overvaluation of talent.

Paper **Self Interest Properly Understood**
Carl P. Stover, Governors State University
Overview: Explains that "interet bien entendu" and Tocqueville's estimate of what it does for America may have several meanings--including almost none, which it has to persons under 60 today.

28-3 **QUASI- AND NATURAL EXPERIMENTS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**
Room TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair Christopher H. Achen, Princeton University
Paper The Illusion of Learning from Observational Data
Donald P. Green, Yale University
Alan S. Gerber, Yale University
Overview: Using a bayesian statistical framework, this paper analyzes the relative weight that scholars should place on observational and experimental data when drawing causal inferences from research literatures.

Paper **Randomization Inference with Natural Experiments: An Analysis of Ballot Effects in the 2003 California Recall Election**
Kosuke Imai, Princeton University
Daniel E. Ho, Yale University
Overview: We illustrate nonparametric randomization inference (RI) with natural experiments. Focusing on the 2003 California Recall, we show that RI yields accurate estimates while conventional estimators used in political science are highly model-dependent.

Paper **Does it Help or Hurt Kerry if Nader is on the Ballot?**
Walter R. Mebane, Cornell University
Israel S. Waisel-Manor, Cornell University

26-11 **DEMOCRACY AND THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE**
Room TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair Dan Engster, University of Texas, San Antonio
Paper **Democracy, Power, and the Constitution**
Yasmin A. Dawood, University of Chicago
Overview: This paper develops a Madisonian theory of power distribution in a democracy, and explores some of the implications of this theory for the Supreme Court’s voting rights jurisprudence.

Paper **Civic Education, C.E. Merriam, and American Democracy**
William M. Downer, Thiel College
Overview: C.E. Merriam's writing on civic education in the inter-war period in the light of his work on American political thought and design for a new science of politics in the context of emergent developments in contemporary American political culture.
Overview: Two experiments (1, undergraduates; 2, TESS), analyzed using matching and choice model methodology, show Nader's candidacy prompts some voters to choose Kerry

**Paper**  **The Costs of Voting: Evidence from a Natural Experiment**  
Henry E. Brady, University of California, Berkeley  
John E. McNulty, University of California, Berkeley  
Overview: This paper uses the consolidation of polling places in Los Angeles County during the gubernatorial recall election to study the costs of voting. Increases in distance to the polls and deficits in information both adversely affect turnout.

**Disc.**  
Rebecca Morton, New York University  
Christopher H. Achen, Princeton University

**29-15 PARTY RESPONSE TO ELECTORAL CHANGE**  
Room: TBA, Sun 10:30  
**Paper**  
The Ascendant Irresponsible Party Model: Reconceptualizing Benchmarks for Responsible Party Politics in a Candidate-Centered Era  
Tim J. Barnett, Jacksonville State University  
Overview: The responsible party model is a benchmark for theorizing about political party reforms. I demonstrate the attractions of reconceptualizing party responsibility by emphasizing economic elements rather than the executive-legislative relationship.

**Paper**  
How Parties and Candidates Used E-mail Lists in the 2004 Presidential Primary and General Elections  
Joongsik Kim, University of Cincinnati  
Michael Margolis, University of Cincinnati  
Overview: Content analysis e-mails that presidential candidates and national party organizations sent to supporters during primary and general election of 2004.

**Paper**  
The Role of Political Parties in Term-limited States  
Matthew Michelin, Wayne State University  
Overview: This paper proposal is a new initiative designed and implemented to study the effects term limits have had upon the roles of local party organizations. It utilizes qualitative data gathered through survey questions of local party elites in MI.

**Paper**  
Political Parties and Elections: A Comparative Examination of the Republican and Democratic Party in Texas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana  
Joshua P. Stockley, Nicholls State University  
Overview: A survey of 400 legislative candidates and interviews with 50 members of the state party in Oklahoma, Texas, and Louisiana finds that the state Republican and Democrat Party play a variety of complex and subtle roles in state legislative elections.

**Disc.**  
Richard M. Skinner, Bowdoin College

**31-12 INSTITUTIONAL EVOLUTION OF CONGRESS**  
Room: TBA, Sun 10:30  
**Chair**  
Timothy Nokken, University of Houston  
**Paper**  
The Growth of Committee Autonomy in the Antebellum House  
John Baughman, Bates College  
Overview: This paper reevaluates our thinking about the notion of property rights in the antebellum House and argues that property rights developed more slowly than previously believed.

**Paper**  
Are Partisan Theories of Agenda Control in the Senate Plausible?  
Michael H. Crespin, Michigan State University  
Nathan W. Monroe, Michigan State University  
Overview: Partisan theories typically pay less attention to the Senate because of the individual rights that exist. This paper suggests that the majority possesses tools to exercise agenda control in the Senate.

**Paper**  
Party Loyalty and Privileged Committees in the U.S. House of Representatives  
Chris Den Hartog, University of California, San Diego  
Craig Goodman, Kennesaw State University  
Overview: Some committees in the House are privileged meaning that they can report directly to the floor. This paper explores whether the majority stacked privileged committees with loyal partisans in order to exercise negative agenda control.

**Disc.**  
Patrick Sellers, Davidson College

**31-15 LEADERSHIP INFLUENCE ON CONGRESSIONAL VOTING**  
Room: TBA, Sun 10:30  
**Chair**  
Patrick Sellers, Davidson College  
**Paper**  
Michael P. Bobic, Emmanuel College  
Overview: This is a statistical analysis of Robert Byrd's influence on Senate voting patterns in the first two years of the Reagan administration.

**Paper**  
Partisan Vote Gathering and the House Whip System  
C. Lawrence Evans, College of William and Mary  
Sarah E. Brown, College of William and Mary  
Keith T. Devereaux, Department of Government, College of William and Mary  
Overview: This paper will use archival records of over 600 whip counts conducted by party leaders in the U.S. House, 1955-86, to address significant scholarly disputes about the role of partisan institutions in Congress.

**Paper**  
Party Loyalty and Legislative Success: Are Loyal Members More Successful?  
Edward Hasecke, Cleveland State University  
Jason Myeroff, University of Delaware  
Overview: We hypothesize that party leaders reward loyal party members with greater legislative success. Using data from eight Congresses, we examine loyalty as demonstrated through floor voting and financial contributions to the party's reelection efforts.

**Paper**  
House Party: Party and Presidential Influence on Congressional Voting  
Alexander M. Tahk, Stanford University  
Stephen A. Jesse, Stanford University  
Overview: Employing a unique dataset which includes matching final passage and veto override votes from the 80th through 106th Congresses, we estimate the relative strength of party and presidential pressure on members' votes.

**Paper**  
Measured Ideology and the Selection and Powers of Congressional Leadership  
Robert O. Yowell, Stephen F. Austin State University  
Overview: This paper uses DW-Nominate scores to create an ideological continuum the helps explain how the homogeneity and mean position of the majority party creates a contextual role of member ideology that affects choices of leadership personnel and powers.

**Disc.**  
Stephen A. Borrelli, University of Alabama  
Patrick Sellers, Davidson College

**33-16 DISSENT AND CONSENSUS ON THE SUPREME COURT**  
Room: TBA, Sun 10:30  
**Chair**  
Saul Brenner, University of North Carolina, Charlotte
Overview: This study compares the influence of select Women’s PACs and health professions PACs on the passage of women’s health policies in the states.

Paper Analyzing the Impact of State Level Anti-Abortion Legislation in the Post-Casey Era
Michael J. New, University of Alabama

Overview: This paper will make extensive use of time series cross sectional data to analyze the impact of various types of state level anti-abortion legislation on abortion rates and ratios

Paper The Problem With Uninsurance: Explaining the Differing Levels of Health Coverage in the American States
Nathan Meyers, University of Illinois, Springfield

Ethan M. Bernick, University of Illinois, Springfield

Overview: In this paper we look at both the political motivations as well as the health market characteristics as indicators of health coverage in the states.

Paper Against All Odds: Managed Care Regulation in the States
Virginia Gray, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

David Lowery, Universiteit Leiden

Erik Godwin, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Overview: While patient protection legislation has failed to emerge from Congress, the fifty states have passed over 900 laws regulating managed care. Why has this reform occurred in the states? Why have some states been innovators while others have not?

Paper The Politics of Making Midwifery Legal: A Study of Legalization Battles in Wisconsin and Minnesota
Lawrence M. Anderson, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater

Jennifer J. Draeger, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Overview: This paper examines the forces at play in the fight to make midwifery legal in Wisconsin and Minnesota. Its focus is on the activities of local doctors’ guilds and local midwives’ guilds and their activities in the legislative process.

Paper Levels of Health Coverage in the American States

Lawrence M. Anderson, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater

Jennifer J. Draeger, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Overview: This paper examines social citizenship in the distinct welfare systems of Denmark and the U.S., 1990-1999. The results demonstrate that both inefficient outcomes and strict emphasis on efficiency in implementation are detrimental.

Paper Whose Citizenship is this Anyway?

Gal Levy, The Open University

Overview: The Debate over the Citizenship Rights of Labour Migrant Children and its implications for Education

Paper Gendered Citizenship: Women and Abortion

Holona L. Ochs, University of Kansas

Overview: This paper examines social citizenship in the distinct welfare systems of Denmark and the U.S., 1990-1999. The results demonstrate that both inefficient outcomes and strict emphasis on efficiency in implementation are detrimental.

Paper Gendered Citizenship: Women and Abortion

Rosemary Nossiff, Maymount Manhattan College

Overview: This paper examines how gender assumptions about women continue to slow their progress in achieving citizenship by analyzing the continuing controversy over abortion policy as expressed in the major court decisions on abortion between 1965-1995

Disc. Merike Blofield, Grand Valley State University

38-5 SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP AND SOCIAL POLICY

Room TBA; Sun 10:30

Chair Merike Blofield, Grand Valley State University

Paper Constructing Social Citizenship: What’s Working, What’s Fair?

Holona L. Ochs, University of Kansas

Overview: This paper examines social citizenship in the distinct welfare systems of Denmark and the U.S., 1990-1999. The results demonstrate that both inefficient outcomes and strict emphasis on efficiency in implementation are detrimental.

Paper Whose Citizenship is this Anyway?

Gal Levy, The Open University

Overview: The Debate over the Citizenship Rights of Labour Migrant Children and its implications for Education

Paper Gendered Citizenship: Women and Abortion

Rosemary Nossiff, Maymount Manhattan College

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Disc. Merike Blofield, Grand Valley State University

40-3 RACE, STATE AND WELFARE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Room TBA; Sun 10:30

Chair Stephen Pimpare, Yeshiva University


Scott J. Spitzen, Chapman University

Overview: This paper examines the racial politics of the Reagan administration’s retrenchment of welfare, linking their efforts to the politics of race and welfare in the 1960s and early 70s.

Paper Race, Labor & the State: Fair Employment Policy in Postwar North America

Margaret Rung, Roosevelt University

Overview: This paper examines the racial politics of the Reagan administration’s retrenchment of welfare, linking their efforts to the politics of race and welfare in the 1960s and early 70s.
Overview: Using a comparative framework, this paper explores the parallel rights revolutions in Canada and the United States, particularly as they relate to the implementation of federal fair employment policies during the 1940s and 1950s.

Paper Purposes + Unintended Consequences = Unforeseen Future: The 1965 Hart-Cellar Act, the 2000 Census, and the Possible Disruption of the US Racial Order
Jennifer L. Hochschild, Harvard University
Traci Burch, Harvard University
Overview: We examine justifications for the 1965 Hart-Cellar Act and the 2000 census multiracial policy in order to see if political actors intended to disrupt or anticipated disruption of the American racial order; in combination, these policies may do so.

Disc. Stephen Pimpare, Yeshiva University

42-3 THE POLITICS OF POPULAR CULTURE
Room TBA, Sun 10:30

Paper The Politics of the Beat Generation
Judith R. Halasz, The Graduate Center, CUNY
Overview: This analysis of the Beat Generation’s literary innovations, unconventional everyday life practices, and direct political activism establishes their political import and legacy.

Paper Civic Engagement through Service Learning: Assessing Present Efforts and Encouraging Future Success
Murray Young, Lambton Kent District School Board
Overview: This paper explores the contemporary landscape of efforts to improve civic engagement among college students and offers preliminary data from honors students in Introduction to US Government courses.

Disc. Scott R. Furlong, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay

44-3 COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF RELIGION AND POLITICAL
Room TBA, Sun 10:30

Chair Maurice Eisenstein, Purdue University, Calumet

Paper Debunking the Doctrine Myth: Religious Values and Support for Democracy
Ani Sarkistan, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: I test arguments that assert the importance of religious values in creating and sustaining democracy. Using cross-national, individual level survey data, I find little support for theories about the compatibility of religions with democracy.

Paper Separation of Religion and State in Democracies: Myth or Misconception?
Jonathan Fox, Bar Ilan University
Overview: This study utilizes the Religion and State (RAS) dataset which includes 62 different measures of separation of religion and state (SRAS) for 175 countries to evaluate the extent to which SRAS really exists in democracies.

Paper Cultural and Social Determinants of Political and Civil Human Rights Status (A Cross-National Study)
Wooyeal Paik, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper explains a much less pursued subject: cultural (religion/colonial experience) and social influence (corruption/education) on Political & Civil Human Rights, a fundament and proxy of democratization, with statistical cross-national method.

Paper Religion and Political Tolerance in South Korea
Junghyoun Kim, University of Tennessee
Dokyung Kim, University of Tennessee
Overview: The main research question in this paper is how individuals’ religiosity relates to their political attitude, especially political tolerance in South Korea.

Disc. Douglas Strand, University of California at Berkeley

45-4 CIVIC ENGAGEMENT
Room TBA, Sun 10:30
Chair Brian D. Posler, Millikin University

Paper Religion and Political Tolerance in South Korea
Junghyoun Kim, University of Tennessee
Dokyung Kim, University of Tennessee
Overview: The main research question in this paper is how individuals’ religiosity relates to their political attitude, especially political tolerance in South Korea.

Disc. Douglas Strand, University of California at Berkeley