Thursday, April 20 – 8:30 am – 10:15 am

2-17 COALITION POLITICS AND POLICY (Co-sponsored with Economic Policy, see 42-12)

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair Jan Vermeir, Vrije Universiteit Brussel

Paper Why it is Better to Live in a Country with Coalition Governments if You Are Not Rich
Despina Alexiadou, European University Institute
Overview: Coalition governments have higher social insurance because left parties control welfare ministries for long periods of time. The long term partisan control of ministries is more critical than the ideology of the cabinet for social spending.

Paper The Enforcement Potential of Political Parties in Coalition Governments
Marc Debus, University of Konstanz
Overview: It is argued that pivotal parties possess a stronger influence in governmental policy making than their coalition partners. An analysis of policy documents in five European states between 1980 and 2005 shows that there is evidence for this argument.

Paper Yes Minister? Coalitional Dynamics and the Politics of Military Spending
Guy Whitten, Texas A&M University
Overview: We examine the role that coalitional dynamics play in determining military spending in advanced industrial democracies when there are divergent policy preferences between government ministers and coalition partners.

Disc. Jan Vermeir, Vrije Universiteit Brussel

3-1 DOMESTIC EFFECTS OF MIGRATION (Co-sponsored with International Political Economy, see 12-14)

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair Neil G. Ruiz, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Paper Rising Political Influence of Migrants in Mexico, El Salvador and Guatemala
Maureen M. Donahue, University of Colorado, Boulder
Overview: Latin American migrants gain increasing political clout as their remittances constitute an ever greater share of their home country’s GDP. This trend is evidenced by the growth of state sponsored migrant programs in Mexico, El Salvador and Guatemala.

Paper Do Remittances Help the Poor?
Claire L. Adida, Stanford University
Desha M. Giord, Stanford University
Overview: Remittances may instigate better governance by empowering citizens or they may foster disincentives for public goods provision by replacing governmental functions. We provide the first systematic analysis of remittances’ effect on governance.

Paper Mexico-U.S. Migration and Sub-National Political Competition in Mexico: Shipping the 'Bad' Apples Out?
Jorge Bravo, Duke University
Overview: This paper assesses whether out-migration has been politically neutral when it comes to partisan competition for local office in Mexico.

Paper Emigration as a Social Policy: The Political Economy of Migrant-Remitting
Roy P. Germann, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: What does a developing country gain from the emigration of its citizens? This paper seeks an answer to this question by examining the relationship between remittances, public spending, and economic liberalization in less developed countries.

Paper Made for Export: Labor Migration, State Power, and Higher Education in a Developing Society
Neil G. Ruiz, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Overview: Why did the Philippine government develop institutions for exporting labor rather than focus its energy on building the domestic economy?

Disc. Alejandro Poire, Harvard University

3-25 EFFECTS OF DECENTRALIZING SOCIAL SERVICES

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair Guillermo M. Cejudo, Boston University

Paper Reaching the Poor Through Decentralized Social Services Delivery
Claudia N. Avellaneda, Texas A&M University
Overview: The paper investigates the political variables that affect local governments’ performance in delivering social services, testing the explanatory power of the mayor’s qualifications for municipality’s performance.

Paper Public Goods: The Effects of Decentralized Government and the Type of Social Network on The Pattern of Government Expenditures
Jessica Teets, University of Colorado, Boulder
Overview: My model states that the level of governance decentralization and the type of social networks influence public goods spending; that social networks function as a mechanism for communicating spending preferences to officials.

Paper Growth Convergence in the Indian States: What Forty Years of Data Tell Us
Ira Parnerkar, University of Chicago
Overview: This paper tests the growth convergence hypothesis for the Indian states. There is little evidence for absolute convergence and some for conditional convergence. Political factors are found to be key in explaining the differential in growth rates.

Paper Impact of the Associação de Municípios Alagoanos on Government Performance
Mariano J. Magalhaes, Augustana College
Overview: I examine the impact of the state municipal association on local government performance in three rural municipalities in Alagoas, Brazil, and its effect in areas such as civic engagement, inter-municipal integration, and the provision of public goods.

Disc. Mona M. Lyne, University of South Carolina, Columbia

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expected, examination of the British model suggests that this has not been the case.

Paper **The Origins of the EU Comitology System**
Jens A. Blom-Hansen, Aarhus University, Denmark
Overview: The formative period of comitology is traced back to the early 1960s when it was introduced as part of the common agricultural policy. It is demonstrated to rest on an interstate bargain between France and Germany.

Paper **Negotiating Agents and Bargaining Strategies: The Case of Coreper I**
Heather McKibben, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: The institutional position of representatives and the type of bargaining strategy they use in the decision-making process interact in fundamental ways with important implications for the forwarding of preferences within a representational setting.

Disc. Isa Camyar, Louisiana State University

5-7 **EUROPEAN PARTIES AND PARTISAN DYNAMICS**

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair Louise K. Davidson-Schmich, University of Miami
Paper **Taking Territoriality Seriously: Ethnoregional Parties and Elections**
Britt A. Carriere, Alma College
Dan Międowink, University of Haifa
Overview: Based on a universe of cases capturing both frequently studied and systematically excluded examples, we demonstrate that territoriality forces these parties to seek to demark their space prior to and frequently at the expense of electoral success.

Paper **Parties, Preferences, and Lock-in: Explaining Patterns of EU Governance**
Sonal R. Desai, University of California, San Diego
Overview: While the members of the EU have surrendered increasing authority over competition policy to the organization, they have proven hesitant to shift authority over taxation policy. This project examines determinants of levels of governance in the EU.

Paper **Intra-Party Dissent in the EU on Issues of European Integration**
Erica E. Edwards, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: This paper develops a model of intra-party dissent and tests it cross-nationally using expert survey data on party positions on EU issues and comparative case studies of political parties in France, Germany, and the UK.

Paper **How does the European Party Representation Work?**
Jeong Hun Han, University of Rochester
Overview: This paper evaluates the extent to which MEPs' voting behavior works as electoral information. Focusing on inter and intra variations of parties' ideal positions in the EP, this paper builds a theoretical foundation for the European party representation.

Paper **Partisan Dynamics in European Union Nations**
Michael S. Lewis-Beck, University of Iowa
Bruno Jerome, Metz University, France
Veronique Jerome-Speziari, Metz University, France
Overview: The paper examines whether there are partisan cycles within and across the nations of the European union, and the determinants of those cycles.

Disc. Jae-Jae Spoon, University of Iowa

5-101 **ROUNDABOUT: IMMIGRATION POLICIES AND THE WORK OF GARY FREEMAN**

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair Terri E. Givens, University of Texas, Austin
Panelist Gary Freeman, University of Texas, Austin
James Hollifield, Southern Methodist University
Gallya Lahav, SUNY, Stony Brook
Mark Miller, University of Delaware
Stuart Tendler, University of Texas, Austin
Valerie Hunt, Southern Methodist University
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<tr>
<th>Room</th>
<th>Chair</th>
<th>Paper</th>
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<tr>
<td>TBA, Thur 8:30 am</td>
<td>Clive S. Thomas, University of Alaska Southeast</td>
<td>Executive-Legislative Relations in Latin America (Co-sponsored with Legislative Politics: Institutions, see 34-21)</td>
<td>The work of Gary Freeman of the University of Texas at Austin has inspired an entire generation of immigration politics specialists.</td>
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<td>Room</td>
<td>Marisa A. Kellam, Institute for Quantitative Social Science</td>
<td>Shifting Majorities: Multiparty Coalitions and Presidential Agendas Within Latin American Legislatures</td>
<td>Overview: I argue that shifting legislative coalitions in some Latin American countries are the consequence of regional and particularistic political parties that give the presidential agenda an outside option off the main ideological dimension.</td>
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<td>Room</td>
<td>Valeria Palanza, Princeton University</td>
<td>Delegation to Executives in Separation of Powers Systems--Latin America</td>
<td>Overview: Latin American legislatures delegate vastly, exceeding what is common practice in other contexts. The paper presents the conditions determining legislative delegation in Latin America. Claims are tested using instances of delegation in four countries.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Room</td>
<td>Carlos Pereira, Michigan State University</td>
<td>The Politics of Policymaking in Permissive Systems: Brazil and Ecuador</td>
<td>Overview: Why do countries like Brazil and Ecuador, with very similar institutional settings, present different policy outcomes? This paper adopts a transaction costs approach to explain this paradox and provides ample empirical evidence from both cases.</td>
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<td>Room</td>
<td>Juliana Bambaci, Stanford University</td>
<td>Presidential Discretion in Argentina, 1900-2005</td>
<td>Overview: Presidential discretion vis-à-vis the legislature increases with formal nomination power of the President, proportionality of the electoral system and party elite disputes. Empirical implications are tested on budget data for Argentina since 1900.</td>
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<td>Room</td>
<td>Scott Desposato, University of California, San Diego</td>
<td>Presidential Powers and Policy Stability in Latin America</td>
<td>Overview: Investigates the impact of institutions on policy stability, focusing on the balance of power between the Executive and Legislative branches in 18 Latin American countries.</td>
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<td>Room</td>
<td>Sebastian M. Saiegh, University of Pittsburgh</td>
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<td>Room</td>
<td>Maria Escobar-Lemmon, Texas A&amp;M University</td>
<td>Decentralization, Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations in Latin America</td>
<td>Overview: This work argues that fiscal transferences have been the result of political bargains guided by political interests and influenced by institutional structures. Political power is measured in relation to Congress, parties, and subnational governments.</td>
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<td>Room</td>
<td>Alice Marla Friedberg, University of Notre Dame</td>
<td>A Gap Index of Particularism: Applications in Mexico and Argentina</td>
<td>Overview: How does promotion incentive affect local taxation policies? Focusing on two similar townships, this paper traces the rotation of key cadres and scrutinizes whether these patterns produce variation in tax burden.</td>
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<td>Room</td>
<td>Tulia G. Falleti, University of Pennsylvania</td>
<td>The Federalist Paradox: Local Power in Argentina and Brazil</td>
<td>Overview: Drawing from a sequential theory of decentralization, this paper will trace the processes of political, fiscal, and administrative decentralization in Argentina and Brazil in the post-developmental period.</td>
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<td>Room</td>
<td>Lucas I. Gonzalez, University of Notre Dame</td>
<td>Presidents, Governors, and the Politics of Federal Resource Distribution</td>
<td>Overview: The paper develops an index of particularism in public policy, which measures the difference of an observed distribution from the universal distribution of benefits. The level of particularism is assessed in subnational cases in Mexico and Argentina.</td>
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<td>Room</td>
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<td>Presidents, Governors, and the Politics of Federal Resource Distribution</td>
<td>Overview: The Federalist Paradox: Local Power in Argentina and Brazil enters into the discussion of political decentralization within a federal system. This paper will trace the processes of political, fiscal, and administrative decentralization in Argentina and Brazil in the post-developmental period.</td>
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7-2 EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA (Co-sponsored with Legislative Politics: Institutions, see 34-21)

8-1 RURAL GOVERNANCE IN CHINA AND VIETNAM

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9-4

**STATE BUILDING AND BUREAUCRATIC BEHAVIOR**

**Room**
TBA, Thur 8:30 am

**Chair**
Victor T. Le Vine, Washington University, St. Louis

**Paper**
NGOs and Local Government Performance in Africa

Gina M. S. Lambright, George Washington University

Overview: An active civil society is believed to help improve government performance. Research in Uganda indicates that the number of NGOs is not related to better performing local governments. This paper explores this puzzle with data from Uganda and Kenya.

**Paper**
Decentralization as Patronage? Local Government and Regime Support in Uganda

Jeffrey K. Kruitz, Columbia University

Overview: An analysis (using statistical methods and GIS) of whether the creation of new administrative units in Uganda can be characterized as response to need for improved service delivery, or as reward for support of the incumbent in particular regions.

**Paper**
Fiscal Governance and Public Services: Evidence from Tanzania and Zambia

Barak D. Hoffman, University of California, San Diego

Clark C. Gibson, University of California, San Diego

Overview: Sources of revenue affect government expenditure. More local taxes increases the budget share of services; more central government transfers and foreign aid increases the share of salaries and administrative costs. We test Tanzanian and Zambian data.

**Paper**
How do Voters Evaluate Corruption? Gap Between Actual Corruption and Voters' Perceptions

Tetsuya Fujiwara, Michigan State University

Overview: The research question in this paper is: Do voters correctly capture actual corruption, or simply guess the degree of political corruption? In both aggregate- and individual-levels analyses, I explain the gap between actual corruption and perceptions.

**Paper**
Bureaucratic Incentives and Decentralizing Forest Management in Africa

Pamela A. Jagger, Indiana University, Bloomington

Overview: This paper addresses the question: what are the incentives of mid-level bureaucrats of federal government agencies involved in the implementation of democratic decentralization reforms focused on forest management in East Africa?

Disc. Victor T. Le Vine, Washington University, St. Louis

10-1

**CANDIDATE AND VOTER BEHAVIOR IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

**Room**
TBA, Thur 8:30 am

**Chair**
Elena McClean, University of Rochester

**Paper**
Businessman Candidates: The Nature of Special-Interest Politics in Postcommunist Russia

Scott Gehlbach, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Konstantin Sonin, New Economic School, Moscow

Ekaterina Zhuravskaya, CEFIR, Moscow

Overview: We explore the phenomenon of businessman candidates, businessmen who attempt to influence policy by running for public office, using a unique dataset of matched firm and candidate characteristics for all gubernatorial elections in postcommunist Russia.

**Paper**
Promoting Parties? Electoral Effects of Russia's 2001 Party Law

Bryan Moraski, University of Florida

Overview: The paper examines the impact of Russia's 2001 party law on the organizational capacity of Russian parties during the 2003 Duma election.

**Paper**
Independents and Partisans in the Russian Duma

Tanya G. Bagashka, University of Rochester

Overview: I address the following questions: 1) Did deputies unaffiliated with a political party at the electoral stage vote as non-partisans once in the Russian Duma? 2) Were the independent deputies more likely to follow the wishes of their electoral district?

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Paper
Sources Against All Candidates Vote in Post-Soviet SMDs

Raminta Stockute, University of Kansas

Overview: I examine the role and its extent of district characteristics, candidate quality, and a set of parties in the district's SMD-tiers on the share of votes cast against all candidates in the district. Focus: Russia and Ukraine (national elections).

**Paper**
Proximity vs. Directional Models: Polish Parliamentary Elections in 2005

Piotr Paradowski, Loyola University, Chicago

Overview: The task of this paper is to compare the relative contributions of directional and proximity models on political party preferences in the Polish electorate during 2005 parliamentary elections.

Disc. Andrew Konitzer, Austin College

10-17

**NEW ELITES, ELITE RECRUITMENT, AND ELITE BEHAVIOR IN THE POST-COMMUNIST WORLD**

**Room**
TBA, Thur 8:30 am

**Chair**
John Ishiyama, Truman State University

**Paper**
Law Making and Decree Making in the Russian Federation

Thomas F. Remington, Emory University

Moshe Haspel, Spelman College

Steven S. Smith, Washington University, Saint Louis

Overview: Based on the Russian case, we analyze the constitutional, policy, and strategic considerations influencing a president's choice over which institutional path to use in enacting policy—bargaining with parliament over legislation or unilateral decree.

**Paper**
The (Re-)Professionalization of Post-Communist Political Elites

Carol S. Leff, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Overview: A conceptual framework for the analysis of elite credentialing and de-credentialing after 1989 in 13 Eastern European countries. This framework is used to analyze the shifting recruitment patterns of some 3000 post-communist cabinet ministers.

**Paper**
Belarus: Presidential Strategies for Personal Domination

Ioulia Shukan, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris

Overview: This paper puts the emphasis on studying the President Lukashenka's strategies of resource accumulation (political authority, discretionary powers, public goods, profitable economic activities) and their reallocation through favoritism and patronage.

**Paper**
Elite Replacement and Municipal Performance in Bosnia and Herzegovina

John W. Hulse, Indiana University, Bloomington

Overview: This paper explores the hypothesis that elite replacement at the municipal level is associated with poorer municipal performance in Bosnia and Herzegovina using data on citizen satisfaction and implementation of property laws regarding returns.

**Paper**
East German Members of the German Bundestag - A Different Elite?

Melanie Kintz, Western Michigan University

Overview: Focusing on demographic characteristics, this paper investigates differences and similarities of East and West German members of the Bundestag. Are East Germans becoming more similar to their West German peers or do they remain a different elite?

Disc. John Ishiyama, Truman State University

11-1

**BARGAINING, CREDIBLE COMMITMENT, AND SIGNALING**

**Room**
TBA, Thur 8:30 am

**Chair**
David H. Bearce, University of Pittsburgh

**Paper**
International Institutions as Outside Options in Bilateral Bargaining

Songying Fang, University of Minnesota

Overview: The paper develops a model of bilateral bargaining with appealing to an international institution as an outside option. The results show that the expectation about the decision...
Paper **Without Carrots or Sticks: How Do Weak International Institutions Matter?**
Xinyuan Dai, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Overview: This paper provides a rationalist framework where weak international institutions may nevertheless influence a state's behavior by altering the strategic environment that a government faces domestically.

Paper **Spiraling, Deterrence, and Hegemony**
Yegevni Kirpichevsky, Harvard University

Amit Modi, Harvard University

Overview: We present a unifying framework for understanding hegemonic stability in a world where uncertainty exists about both resolve and intentions of the hegemon. Thereby, we bridge the gap between spiral and deterrence theories.

Paper **Public Commitment in Crisis Bargaining**
Ahmer Tarar, Texas A&M University
Bahar Leventoglu, Stony Brook University

Overview: It has long been argued that audience costs are beneficial because they allow for credible information transmission. We show how audience costs can be used to generate bargaining leverage and may lead to war, even under complete information.

Paper **The US-North Korea Geneva Agreement**
Eunyoung Ha, University of California, Los Angeles

Overview: The goal of this paper is to analyze the strategic choices of the United States and North Korea in the nuclear crisis of the early 1990s and to explain their credible commitments to reach the Geneva Agreed Framework in 1994.

Disc. Christopher R. Way, Cornell University

11-7 **IR AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD**
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair Kimberly Hudson, Brown University

Paper **Cooperation, Collusion and Coercion: The Third World and International Relations Theory**
Regina M. Baker, University of Oregon

Overview: I critique neoliberal institutionalism for its failure to account for the north-south divide, and introduce an alternative framework that mitigates the great power bias in international relations theory.

Cyril Fegue, Western Michigan University

Overview: After ubiquitous surge of enhanced democratization in the 1990s, Africa is claiming a New Role in Global Politics. This venture is premised by the emergence of a moralizing regional superpower to occupy the empty-left hegemon's fauteuil.

Paper **Cosmopolitanism Reversed: The Case of Latin America**
Ariel F. Ivanier, Boston University

Overview: My paper discusses the impact of Neoliberalism in the reversal of social and economic rights in Latin America throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

Paper **The Self-Determination Concept: Towards an International Relations Understanding**
Mohamed Daadaoui, University of Oklahoma

Overview: The paper examines modern self-determination theory in its two broad categories: classical and secessionist and argues for a constructivist understanding of its key concepts of 'indigenous peoples' and international stability.

Disc. Richard W. Chadwick, University of Hawaii

12-1 **THE POLITICS OF FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT (Co-sponsored with Comparative Politics-Developing Countries, see 3-27)**
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair Gabriela Nava-Campos, Northwestern University

Paper **Regime Type and FDI: How Do MNC’s Decide?**
Steven R. Hall, Ball State University

Overview: This paper seeks to enhance our understanding of the impact of democracy on FDI by modeling corporate investment decisions.

Paper **Reconsider the Political Economy of FDI: A Cross-Sectoral Study of China**
Ying Lin, University of Washington

Overview: Despite high presence of FDI across many Chinese industries, why do some industries quickly catch-up when others fail to do so? I argue government policies have played a crucial role in determining the outcome of technological development.

Paper **Foreign Direct Investment and Institutions: Obstacles or Opportunities?**
Joseph W. Robbins, Texas Tech University

Overview: This study considers institutional arrangements and FDI attraction in FSU and Latin American countries. Preliminary results indicate that stronger executives can attract higher FDI levels where expropriation threats are minimal.

Paper **Does Democracy Attract or Discourage Inflows of Foreign Direct Investment?**
Seung-Whan Choi, University of Illinois, Chicago
Yiagadeesen Samy, Carleton University

Overview: When FDI panel data for developing countries over the past two decades are properly analyzed with an improved model of fixed-effects, the empirical results uncover that democracy does not matter in either attracting or discouraging FDI inflows.

Disc. Lawrence C. Reardon, University of New Hampshire

13-4 **REGIONAL APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL POLITICS**
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair Will H. Moore, Florida State University

Paper **Aggregation Model for State Preferences on Regional Integration**
Min-hyung Kim, University of Washington

Overview: Arguing that different state preferences explain the variation in outcome-depth and evolution-of regional integration, this paper aims to develop an aggregation model for state preference on regional integration.

Paper **Anti-Americanism in Sub-Saharan Africa**
Deva C. Mohler, Cornell University
Nicolas van de Walle, Cornell University

Overview: Anti-Americanism is more muted in Sub-Saharan Africa than in other regions of the world. This paper employs a combination of survey and national-level data to evaluate five hypotheses for the relatively benign view Africans have of the United States.

Paper **Armenian Diaspora: Influence on the Homeland of Armenia’s Foreign Policy**
Jeremy Richart, Illinois State University

Overview: Are the Armenian diaspora able to influence the foreign relations decisions of the Armenian national government and if so, how this influence manifests itself?

Paper **Latin American Responses to the Bush Doctrine**
Brandon G. Valeriano, University of Illinois, Chicago
Victor Marin, Rice University

Overview: In this paper, I discuss Latin American responses to America’s doctrine under the Bush administration regarding the preemptive use of force as an optimal strategy to deal with international threats and terrorism.

Paper **Cooperating Against (Small State) Global Marginalization: The African Union (AU) and CARICOM on Haiti 2004**
Rita Kiki Edozie, Michigan State University

Overview: Examines the 2004 Haitian crisis and new global governance and international security trends with respect to the joint AU and CARICOM response to Aristide's ousting.

Disc. Will H. Moore, Florida State University
GLOBALIZATION AND SECURITY

**Room**
TBA, Thur 8:30 am

**Chair**
Renato Corbetta, University of Alabama, Birmingham

**Paper**
A Feminist Analysis of Oil Shortage and Peace
Maryse C. Helbert, University of Melbourne

Overview: This paper will talk about how women are directly affected by U.S. control of oil in three countries: Iraq, Nigeria, and Venezuela.

**Paper**
Drug Trafficking and Non-Traditional Threats: Rethinking the Role of Globalization
John A. Buchanan, University of Washington, Seattle

Overview: Globalization is attributed to the rise of transnational drug networks. However, the rise of networks linking Burma with the global market reflects the evolution of anti-narcotics norms and a readjustment of global narcotics structures.

**Paper**
Failing Failed States: The Politics of Recognition and Decertification
Bridge L. Coggins, The Ohio State University

Overview: A growing number of scholars advocate decertification for failed States unwilling or unable to meet basic standards of governance. Using insights from recognition, I argue that decertification would not result in more effective domestic government.

**Paper**
Sovereignty/War: The Privileging of War as a Particular Form of Political Violence
Christopher B. McIntosh, University of Chicago

Overview: While war appears one of the most obvious and important concepts in structuring international relations and security studies, little work has been done that treats the concept itself as having an institutional quality.

Disc. Alex Braithwaite, Pennsylvania State University

ALLIANCES AND CONFLICT

**Room**
TBA, Thur 8:30 am

**Chair**
Brian Lai, University of Iowa

**Paper**
State Reputation and Alliance Formation
Jacob D. Kathman, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Mark Crescenz, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Reed Wood, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Katja Kleinberg, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Overview: We develop a measure of state reputation for alliance reliability by considering each state's historical willingness to live up to its alliance commitments. This measure is then used to explain how states go about selecting their alliance partners.

**Paper**
Major Power Security Guarantees and Nuclear Proliferation
Volker Krause, Eastern Michigan University

Overview: This paper examines the extent to which arms, foreign aid, and military assistance in armed conflict may complement or substitute for alliances as major power security guarantees to prevent nuclear proliferation.

**Paper**
Joining the Club: the Politics of Alliance Expansion
Christopher M. Sprecher, Texas A&M University

Overview: This paper examines the expansion of alliances from 1816-2000. I demonstrate that when both sides gain material benefits there is an incentive to expand an alliance, and a common threat is secondary in the expansion decision calculus.

Disc. Brian Lai, University of Iowa

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY UNDER GEORGE W. BUSH (Co-sponsored with International Relations, see 11-21)

**Room**
TBA, Thur 8:30 am

**Chair**
Benjamin O. Fordham, SUNY, Binghamton University

**Paper**
The Realists versus Bush 43's Foreign Policy: The State of the Debate
William D. Anderson, Western Illinois University

Overview: Various IR “realists” have criticized parts of Bush 43's foreign policy; these criticisms have not gone without rebuttal. The paper summarizes the state of the debate, and critiques both sides.

**Paper**
Political Violence Today: The Categories, The Innocent, and Just Use
Bryan E. Brophy-Baermann, Lawrence University

Overview: Political violence abounds; however, there is little public consensus on when it can be used, whom to target, and what to call it when it is used. Why? Types of violence are converging, innocents are disappearing, and norms of violence are in flux.

**Paper**
Enforcement of International Human Rights Through Coercive Foreign Policy
David T. Hutt, Legal Services of Central New York, Inc.

Overview: This study considers factors influencing the use of coercive foreign policies by France, the United Kingdom and the United States as a means to enforce international human rights laws between 1990 and 1994, and the effectiveness of such policies.

**Paper**
Democracy in Iraq? Why Multiple Levels of Analysis are Needed
Marshall L. Lilly, Ohio University

Overview: This paper attempts to fully grasp the scope of the problems facing democracy in Iraq by examining state, regional, and international-level problems.

**Paper**
George W. Bush's Foreign Policy in Perspective
Benjamin Zyla, Royal Military College of Canada

Overview: This paper looks at the George W. Bush administration and argues that by looking at American foreign policy traditions his foreign policy is neither surprising nor new.

Disc. Donald D. A. Schaefer, University of Louisiana, Lafayette

ASSESSING THE EFFECTS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND INSTITUTIONS

**Room**
TBA, Thur 8:30 am

**Chair**
Jon Pevehouse, University of Wisconsin

**Paper**
The International and Domestic Politics of IMF Programs
James R. Vreeland, Yale University

Overview: How international relations determine the effects of domestic institutions on IMF program participation.

**Paper**
Success and Failure in International Law: When Does Law Make a Difference?
Oon Hathaway, Yale University

Overview: Why is international law sometimes so powerful and at other times so powerless? Part of the answer can be found by considering the interlocking influence of international legal enforcement, domestic legal enforcement, and payoffs and payback.

**Paper**
Unequal Law: Procedural Costs of GATT/WTO Rules on Developing Countries
Moonhawk Kim, Stanford University

Overview: This paper examines whether changes in the dispute settlement procedure from the GATT to the WTO have made it more or less difficult for developing countries to advance their claims in trade disputes.

**Paper**
Ratification and Compliance in the International Climate Change Regime
Jana von Stein, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Overview: I explore the relationship between institutional design, ratification and compliance in international environmental affairs. I test my hypotheses empirically using data on greenhouse gas emissions and ratification of two core climate change treaties.

**Paper**
Are Effective Regimes for the Converts Only: Relating Assignment to Effectiveness in International Institutions
Nikolay Marinov, Yale University

Overview: The more effective a regime is, the less random membership is. This paper evaluates the direction of the bias caused by non-random assignment, and proposes some statistical solutions to the problem of evaluating effectiveness.
18-1 ADVANCES IN THE STUDY OF AMBIVALENCE (Co-sponsored with Public Opinion, see 22-18)
Room TBA, Thu 8:30 am
Chair Jason Barabas, Harvard University
Paper A Theory of Partisan Ambivalence
Marco R. Steenbergen, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Howard Lavine, Stony Brook University
Debra N. Goolsby, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: We propose a theory whereby partisanship has both stable identity and dynamic evaluative components. We then assess the implications for partisan ambivalence, using NES panel data as the primary source.

Paper An Information Processing Theory of Ambivalence
Thomas J. Rudolph, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Elizabeth Popp, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: This paper develops and tests an information processing theory of ambivalence. We argue that ambivalence is a function of the cognitive effort with which individuals process information relevant to political judgments.

Paper Contextual Sources of Ambivalence
Jennifer Wolak, University of Colorado, Boulder
Luke Keele, The Ohio State University
Overview: We explore the causes of ambivalence in partisanship and candidate evaluations, considering individual level explanations such as attitude strength and knowledge and contextual factors in the way political choices are presented in the environment.

Paper Moderating Framing Effects: The Role of Ambivalence and Affect
Todd K. Hartman, Stony Brook University
Overview: This study examines the role of ambivalence and affect as moderators of framing effects. These measures are tested against existing constructs like the “need for cognition,” “need to evaluate,” political sophistication, etc.

Disc. Paul R. Brewer, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

19-8 GETTING OUT THE VOTE
Room TBA, Thu 8:30 am
Chair Ryan L. Claassen, Kent State University
Paper Campaigns and Turnout: Inferences from Observational Data
Carol A. Cassel, University of Alabama
Overview: How do campaigns mobilize voters? Experimental studies find personal contacts effective but aggregate studies point to more expensive, impersonal campaigns. This study tests the influence of personal contacts and messaging communications on turnout.

Paper Does Publicity of Voting Records Increase Voter Turnout?
A Field Experiment
Alan S. Gerber, Yale University
Mark Grebner, Practical Political Consulting Inc.
Donald P. Green, Yale University
Christopher W. Larimer, University of Nebraska, Lincoln
Overview: We use a field experiment to test whether neighborhood mailings containing the names and voting records of registered voters increase voter turnout. We test the hypothesis that pressure to conform to civic norms increases voter turnout.

Paper The Ground War in the 2004 Presidential Election
Campaign
David B. Magleby, Brigham Young University
Quin Monson, Brigham Young University
Kelly D. Patterson, Brigham Young University
Overview: Using data collected from a 2004 national survey voters who kept a log of all of their campaign communications during the last three weeks of the presidential campaign, we examine what predicts the type of political contacts that voters receive.

Paper Unpacking the Black Box of Door-to-Door Canvassing
David Nickerson, University of Notre Dame
Overview: This paper uses a survey conducted after a randomized voter mobilization experiment to uncover the psychological mechanisms that cause door-to-door canvassing to increase voter turnout.

Paper Is Voting an Unaffordable Luxury? Information Cost and Voter Behavior
Mary L. Schumann, University of Illinois, Chicago
Overview: An examination of the impact on political participation during local, off-year elections when the cost of collecting candidate and issue information is removed.

Disc. Ryan L. Claassen, Kent State University
David Darmofal, University of South Carolina

21-1 ELECTORAL REFORM
Room TBA, Thu 8:30 am
Chair Richard D. Chesteen, University of Tennessee, Martin
Paper Reapportionment in Taiwan-Strategies for Demarcating Electoral Districts
Hsing-Di Cheng, Fo Guang University
Overview: This paper attempts to map out electoral-districting strategies for 2007 congressional election in Taiwan. For research purposes, literature review, case studies and "Delphi technique" will be conducted.

Paper Carter-Baker Election Reform: Too Much, Too Little, Too Early, Too Late
Richard D. Chesteen, University of Tennessee, Martin
Overview: This paper looks at the American University James Baker-Jimmy Carter Election Reform Report (2005) in the context of the requirements of the Help America Vote Act's requirements and the current stage of the states' readiness for compliance to them.

Paper Apportionment and Presidential Election Outcomes
Jason Reifler, Loyola University, Chicago
Overview: Small changes in how we apportion the Electoral College would have reversed the outcome of the 2000 election. I examine which choices would have led to a Gore victory, and comment about how such choices might affect future election outcomes.

Paper Liven Up! How Electoral Reform Can Rejuvenate American Democracy
Mary Ryan, Fair Vote-Center for Voting and Democracy
Overview: Electing women and racial minorities is a vital component to a strong American democracy. Now is the time to discuss how to adopt electoral reform that provides fair representation, builds community, and solves problems cooperatively and directly.

Paper U.S. Federal Voter Assistance Policy: Civic Engagement and Global Democracy
Victoria A. Doyon, Overseas Vote Foundation
Suzan Dziedzuszczyk-Suniat, Overseas Vote Foundation
Overview: U.S. civilian and military citizens living abroad have a right to a practical voter registration system. Current policies and programs, however, are not conducive to enfranchisement. An overseas voter survey sheds light on specific areas for change.

Disc. Gregg R. Murray, SUNY, Brockport

22-4 AFRICAN AMERICAN POLITICAL ATTITUDES (Co-sponsored with Race, Class and Ethnicity, see 26-21)
Room TBA, Thu 8:30 am
Chair Nicholas J. G. Winter, Cornell University
Paper Abortion Attitudes of Hispanic and Black Women
R. Michael Alvarez, California Institute of Technology
Delia Grigg Bailey, California Institute of Technology
Jonathan Nagler, New York University
Overview: We study the abortion attitudes of Hispanic and Black women, and examine their impact on presidential vote preference.
THE LIMITS AND POSSIBILITIES OF KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICS AND MORALITY

Room: TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair: Tobin Craig, James Madison College/Michigan State University

Paper: Calliades, Socrates, and the Danger of Relativism in Plato's Gorgias
- Alex Wall, Harvard University
  Overview: In this paper I argue that Plato's Gorgias anticipates and rebuts the challenge that relativism poses to philosophy today.

Paper: Aristotle on the Precision and Method of Political Philosophy
- Devin Stauffer, University of Texas, Austin
  Overview: A close examination of a series of statements Aristotle makes in Book One of the Nicomachean Ethics on the precision and method of the moral and political sciences.

Paper: Fundamental Metaphors
- Michael W. Grenke, St. John's College
  Overview: An examination of Friedrich Nietzsche's seemingly outrageous claim that human language begins with metaphors.

Disc.: David Levy, Boston College

ON POLITICAL BECOMING AND PERISHING

Room: TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair: Roberto Alejandro, University of Massachusetts

Paper: The Nothingness of Freedom: F.H. Jacobi's Diagnosis of Nihilism
- Samuel Goldman, Harvard University
  Overview: This paper discusses Jacobi's argument that pure practical reason culminates in nihilism and his attempt to provide a 'faith-based' alternative justification for human freedom.

- Volker M. Heins, Concordia University
  Overview: The paper explicates concepts of politics introduced by Frankfurt School theorists. Rather than "depoliticising" theory, these authors have identified structural threats to the very possibility of genuine political action in modern society.

Paper: Abundance, Lack, and Identity
- Leonard Williams, Manchester College
  Overview: Examination of theoretical questions concerning identity and identification by means of a study of the autobiographical texts of apostates—people who have traded one ideological self-identification for another.

Disc.: Roberto Alejandro, University of Massachusetts
- Paul Ulrich, Carthage College

POLITICS AND JUDGMENT

Room: TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair: Joanna V. Scott, Eastern Michigan University

Paper: Kant and Arendt on the Creative Imaginative Nature of Political Judgment
- Mihaela Czabor-Lupp, Georgetown University
  Overview: The paper discusses the creative nature of political judgement in Kant's "Critique of Judgement" and Hannah Arendt's "Life of the Mind." The result is a fourfold role that imaginative judgment can play, especially in situations of crisis.

Paper: Liberty, Obligation, and the Developmental Potential of Deliberation
- Matthew R. Cleary, University of California, Irvine
  Overview: This essay argues that, in contrast to Lockean notions of liberty, L. T. Hobhouse's "organic liberalism" offers a conception of liberty that better serves the interests of freedom and autonomy, and is compatible with deliberative forms of democracy.
29-210 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CULTURE IN DEMOCRATIC THEORY
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Presenter Theories of Personhood and Democracy
Andrew W. McLaughlin, University of Arizona
Gregory Doug Davis, University of Arizona
Overview: A philosophical analysis of personhood, democracy, and the place of corporations in liberal states.
Presenter Early Thoughts on Constitutive Rhetoric from Rousseau and Nietzsche
Dale B. Vierregge, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: Tracing recent insights from cultural studies to canonical texts in political theory, this essay (re)directs scholarship on politics towards the role of language in the construction of ideologies, identities, institutions, and inequality.

30-2 FORMAL THEORIES OF ELECTIONS: CANDIDATE QUALITY
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair Allen B. Brierly, University of Northern Iowa
Paper Candidate Selection and Valence Competition
Scott Ashworth, Princeton University
Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: Two political parties contest a set of elections. Each party has a pool of potential candidates who vary by quality. The candidates in each election compete to accumulate valence. We study the equilibrium distribution of quality across districts.

Paper Political Debates and the Hide and Seek Game
Sourav Bhattacharya, Northwestern University
Overview: Looking at positive and negative advertising in a debate between two candidates with private quality types having the option of costly search, we examine the efficiency of debate and relative extent of slander and information in attack advertising.

Paper Why Honest Politicians May Oppose Anti-Corruption Reforms
Haldun Evrenk, Suffolk University
Overview: We study the honest politicians' support for anti-corruption reforms in a three candidate setup. We introduce a model of electoral competition between three vote maximizing candidates that differ in ability and honesty.

Paper Racial Gerrymandering and Representative Democracy
David Epstein, Columbia University
Sharyn O'Halloran, Columbia University
Overview: We present a model of optimal redistricting schemes to promote minority interests, incorporating both electoral and legislative stages.

Disc. Allen B. Brierly, University of Northern Iowa

32-1 BUSINESS GROUPS AND LABOR UNIONS AS POLITICAL PARTICIPANTS
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair Dorian Warren, University of Chicago
Paper Ideology Matters: Business Preferences for National Health Care Reform
Joseph A. Corrado, Clayton State University
Overview: This paper examines business preferences for national health care reform from 1990-1994. It demonstrates how ideological and political factors account for shifts in preferences.

Paper The Role of the Left in the Modernization of Conservative Pension Policies
Silja Haeusermann, University of Zurich
Overview: The article examines how the role of trade unions and social democratic parties in pension policy reforms in conservative welfare states has evolved since the 1970s and it analyses the reasons for an increasing split of the left on these issues.

Paper Change to Win or No Change Left, Exploring the Dynamics of Union Political Contributions
Susan E. Orr, University of Florida
Overview: How will changes in the structure of organized labor and the regulatory environment (BCRA) impact parties and candidates electorally? This paper seeks insights on the issue drawing on labor's prior campaign finance and mobilization activity.

Disc. Patrick Bernhagen, University of Aberdeen

33-102 AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: BUREAUCRATS AND POLITICIANS: A RETROSPECTIVE
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Panelist Bert A. Rockman, Purdue University
Joel Aberbach, University of California, Los Angeles
Colin Campbell, University of British Columbia
Jos Raadschelders, University of Oklahoma
Graham Wilson, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: 'Bureaucrats and Politicians': A Retrospective

34-2 ASSESSING CONSTITUENT CONGRUENCY
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair Mark Wrighton, University of New Hampshire
Paper Contact your Congressman 101: Grassroots Activation and Representation
Courtney Cullison, University of Oklahoma
Overview: An examination of grassroots activation campaigns as a lobbying strategy and the effect on congressional perceptions of incoming constituent communications and the representational relationship between Representatives and their constituents.

Paper Revisiting the Personal Vote: Using Audits to Measure Constituency Service
Kevin M. Estling, University of California, Riverside
David Lazer, Harvard University
Michael Neblo, The Ohio State University
Overview: Examines new data to uncover the conditions that lead House members to adopt innovative web-based content and technologies for their web sites, with implications for the practice of representation in the information age.

Paper Is Flip Flopping Rational? Legislative Representation and Uncertainty about Constituency Preferences
Christian R. Grose, Vanderbilt University
Antoine Yoshinaka, University of California, Riverside
Overview: Why do some MCs present ideologically inconsistent voting records to constituents? We empirically examine the effect of new constituents and thus the strategy of ambiguity under legislator uncertainty-on whether the MC presents a consistent record.

Disc. Jennifer M. Jensen, SUNY, Binghamton

34-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CORRUPTION IN LEGISLATURES: YOU'VE GOT TO BE KIDDING!
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Presenter The Political Economy of Bribery
Daniel E. Bergan, Yale University
Overview: In this paper, I analyze an actual case of legislative bribery and find that empirical research on the relationship between legal contributions and votes does not lend itself to substantive interpretation.
Paper Off-Reservation Indian Gaming and Intergovernmental Relations in Wisconsin

Overview: A case study of events in Wisconsin highlights trends in intergovernmental relations among tribal, state, and local actors as they negotiate the law and politics of off-reservation Indian gaming.
Overview: I examine movements for voting system reform at the time of suffrage expansion in France, the UK and the US. I argue that elites used these reforms to undermine popular participation. Outcomes vary with the degree of working class mobilization.

Paper Greece and Turkey: Two Modernization Paths in Civil-Military Relations
Evangelos Liaras, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Overview: Using the cases of Greece and Turkey as a basis for comparison, the paper proposes a theoretical typology of political vs. politicized militaries in the modern history of civil-military relations.

Paper Agents of Change: The Role of Teachers and Schools in Creating Hegemony and Consolidating Identity in Postrevolutionary Mexico and Iran
Shervin Malekzadeh, Georgetown University
Overview: Through a comparative study of the role of education in the (re)construction of identities and nation-building in postrevolutionary Iran and Mexico, this paper argues that revolutionary members of society are not made, they are negotiated.

Disc. Howard Schwebel, University of Wisconsin, Madison

46-2 PUBLIC SPACES AND CIVIC IDENTITY
Room TBA, Thu 8:30 am
Chair Timothy E. Durant, University of Oregon
Paper Separation of Church and Zoo: Diversity, Creationism, and Evolution
Jesse C. Donahue, Saginaw Valley State University
Erik K. Trump, Saginaw Valley State University
Overview: A recent attempt to install a Genesis creation display at the Tulsa Zoo and Living Museum reveals that zoological parks are vulnerable to demands that Christian Fundamentalist views be represented alongside non-Western cultural artifacts.

Paper The World War II Memorial and the American National Imaginasion
Avital Shein, University of Maryland, College Park
Overview: This paper establishes a link between the National WWII Memorial and the American national imagination. Through an analysis of the design and location of the memorial, it argues that WWII is represented as a founding moment in the history of the US.

Paper For Peace or Pacification? Yasukuni Shrine and Competing Japanese Nationalisms
Benjamin A. Peters, Rutgers University
Overview: Peters assesses competing nationalisms in contemporary Japanese politics with special focus on prime ministers' visits to Yasukuni Shrine.

Disc. Zachary A. Callen, University of Chicago

47-2 RELIGION AND POLICYMAKING: INTEREST GROUPS, CONGRESS, AND THE PRESIDENT
Room TBA, Thu 8:30 am
Chair Maurice M. Eisenstein, Purdue University, Calumet
Paper Organized Religious Interests in American National Politics
Daniel Hofrenning, St. Olaf College
Overview: This paper will explore both the background and the coalition behavior of religious lobbyists in American national politics. It will test the argument that religious lobbyists are distinctly different—in their identities and strategies.

Paper Constraint and the Political Rhetoric of Religious Groups
Katherine E. Stenger, Gustavus Adolphus College
Overview: I examine the concept of constraint in the context of mediated debates of political issues by looking at the extent to which religious and non-religious groups differ in their development and use of argument frames.

John Michael McGaughey, University of Maryland, College Park
Overview: We have strong reason to believe that religion plays a significant role in determining senators’ votes on issues that address birth control and abortion, gay rights, and religion in public forums.

Paper The Right Ideas: Political Operatives, Idea Networks, and Tax Cuts
Richard J. Meagher, The Graduate Center, CUNY
Overview: Using tax cuts (particularly estate taxes) as a case study, I map out the idea networks that deploy cultural and ideological traditions to engender support among both economic and religious conservatives, often against these groups’ own interests.

Paper Religion, Rhetoric and the American Presidency
Adam L. Warber, Clemson University
Laura R. Olson, Clemson University
Overview: We are concerned with how the use of religious rhetoric by presidents may have varied over time. We offer a rigorous analysis of the use of symbolic religious rhetoric in presidential inaugural addresses from George Washington to George W. Bush.

Disc. Paul A. Djupe, Denison University
Bruce F. Nesmith, Coe College

48-101 ROUNDTABLE: TEACHING POLITICS: AN ACTIVIST APPROACH
Room TBA, Thu 8:30 am
Panelist Dick W. Simpson, University of Illinois, Chicago
Anthony Perry, Henry Ford Community College
Constance Mizon, Daley Community College
Overview: A new DVD, “Teaching Politics” (30 minutes long) will be premiered at the Midwest Political Science Meeting and a panel will discuss various teaching methods beyond the usual lecture/discussion session approach to get students politically engaged.

49-104 ROUNDTABLE: HOW TO PURSUE A NON-ACADEMIC CAREER
Room TBA, Thu 8:30 am
Chair Laurie A. Rhodebeck, University of Louisville
Panelist Bob Gannett, Institute for Community Empowerment
Anna Greenberg, Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research
Vicki Kraft, City of Chicago
Delia Lloyd, Chicago Public Radio - Odyssey
John Samples, Cato Institute and Johns Hopkins University
Overview: This roundtable will discuss alternatives to academic careers. Topics will include the pros and cons of nonacademic jobs, transitioning to a career outside of academia, and the job search.

52-2 THE RACE TO WHERE? THE COMPLEX COURSES OF STATE AND LOCAL WELFARE REFORM
Room TBA, Thu 8:30 am
Chair Mark C. Rom, Georgetown University
Paper The Diffusion of Successful TANF Policies
Craig Volden, The Ohio State University
Michael Cohen, The Ohio State University
Overview: We explore conditions under which different success measures explain the spread of 25 aspects of state TANF policies between 1997 and 2003.

Paper The Race to the Bottom...And Top: Post-PROWRA State Income Support
Glenn Beamer, Rutgers University
Overview: This paper delineates diverging state income support policies since 1996. I develop an event history analysis that
estimates connections among cash and in-kind assistance policies, and state-to-state influence across policies.

Paper  **Spatial Inequality in the Safety Net**  
Scott W. Allard, *Brown University*  
Overview: Welfare reform has led to a transformation in the provision of assistance to the poor. Prior to 1996, welfare checks accounted for over three-quarters of welfare spending. Today, social services comprise nearly that much of welfare spending.

Disc.  Lawrence M. Mead, *New York University*  
Harrell R. Rodgers, *University of Houston*
Paper Local Government Innovations in Domestic Violence Policy
Tina Ebenger, Calumet College of St. Joseph
Tracy McCabe, Calumet College of St. Joseph
Overview: This paper looks at corruption in Lake County (IN) politics, specifically the vote buying scandals surrounding Robert Pastrick’s mayoral re-election in 1999 and 2003 in East Chicago, Indiana.

2-1 HEALTH, DRUGS AND GAMBLING - PERSPECTIVES ON COMPARATIVE PUBLIC POLICY
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair Miriam Laugesen, University of California, Los Angeles
Paper Local Government Innovations in Domestic Violence Policy in The Netherlands
Mitzi L. Mahoney, Sam Houston State University
David H. Carwell, Eastern Illinois University
Overview: This paper explores Dutch local government efforts to develop domestic violence programs tailored for various immigrant communities.

Paper Elite Theory and Health Policy: A Case Study of Germany and the United States of America
Brett A. Kaffee, William Paterson University, CUNY
Overview: A comparative case study that uses Elite Theory to explain the differences between US and German health care policy.

Paper Institutional Restraints on Drug Policy Liberalization
Chad R. Nilson, University of New Orleans
Overview: Cross-national, multivariate regression analyses and interviews with key policy actors in Canada, Netherlands, Austria, and the United States reveal and describe the relationship between institutional variables and the legalization of drugs in various states.

Paper A Comparative Analysis of the Passage of Disability Rights Legislation in the U.S. and France
Karen J. Vogel, Hamline University
Annika Johnson, Hamline University
Overview: This study uses a qualitative comparative approach to understand the manner in which disability rights legislation is passed in the United States and France.

3-2 COMPARATIVE NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair Krister P. Anderson, University of Colorado
Paper Polycentricity, Institutional Congruence, and Natural Resource Governance
Krister P. Anderson, University of Colorado
Elinor Ostrom, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: We develop and analyze the concept of institutional congruence—the idea that institutional imperfections at one level of governance may be compensated for by relative strengths of other institutions at other levels—in natural resource regimes.
Overview: Using interviews with both masses and agents of political culture, and institutional performance. It also discusses the impact of institutional trust on the prospect of democracy in authoritarian political institutions in China, including trust in the central government and in political officials, in central and local governments, and in the media.

Disc. Pierre F. Landry, Yale University

3-26 THE DETERMINANTS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair Ira Parnerkar, University of Chicago
Paper Economic Policy-Making in a Segmented Rentier State
Steffen Hertog, St. Antony's College, Oxford
Overview: My paper scrutinizes several recent Saudi Arabian economic reform efforts against a historical analysis of Saudi state creation, arguing that despite internally efficient agencies, the segmentation of the state leads to severe policy failures.

Paper Democracy, Development, and the Resource-Rich State
Andrew B. Kirkpatrick, Emory University
Overview: This paper addresses three issues, the concept of institutional trust originates, develops, gains momentum, and reaches threshold of the diffusion effects in Chinese local governments, and in the media.

Disc. Christian Ponce de Leon, University of Chicago

4-1 POLITICAL TRUST IN AN AUTHORITARIAN STATE: THE CHINESE CASE (Co-sponsored with Asian Politics, see 8-16)

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair Wenfang Tang, University of Pittsburgh
Paper Trust in the Media in China
Daniela Stockmann, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: This paper addresses three issues, the concept of media trust and its relationship to political trust in China, the change of media trust over time, and the impact of media trust on media consumption and on attitude change.

Paper Incumbent-Based and Regime-Based Trust: An Explanation of Their Gap in China
Tianjian Shi, Duke University
Overview: This paper examines why trust in central government is higher than in government officials in China. Survey data from China reveals that the answer lies in the unique understanding of authority relationship in Chinese political culture.

Paper Sources of Institutional Trust in China
Qing Yang, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: This paper explores four different sources on institutional trust in China: modernization, mobilization, political culture, and institutional performance. It also discusses the impact of institutional trust on the prospect of democracy in China.

Paper Institutional Trust "Personalized"
Ning Zhang, University of California, Santa Barbara
Overview: Using interviews with both masses and agents of institutions, this paper explores the processes in which institutional trust originates, develops, gains momentum, and reaches threshold of the diffusing effects in Chinese local political environment.

Paper Political Trust in an Authoritarian State: The Chinese Case
Wenfang Tang, University of Pittsburgh
Pierre Landry, Yale University
Overview: The four papers in this panel examine popular trust in authoritarian political institutions in China, including trust in the central government and in political officials, in central and local governments, and in the media.

Disc. Pierre F. Landry, Yale University

4-21 INSTITUTIONALIZING DEMOCRATIC NORMS IN TRANSITIONAL STATES

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair TBA
Paper Promoting Democratic Values in Transitional Societies Through Foreign Aid
Arthur H. Miller, University of Iowa
Overview: To what extent does US foreign aid promote democratization? A 2000-04 panel study of aid program participants in four transitional societies sheds light on recent democratic revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine as well as democratization generally.

Paper Promoting Democracy Without Naming It: International Organizations in China
Xiangfeng Yang, University of Southern California
Overview: Under what conditions can international organizations (IOs) push authoritarian states to democratize? This paper analyzes the influence of three types of IOs (international governmental organizations; grant-giving, private institutions; NGOs) on the

Paper Measuring the Impact of Courts on Democratic Consolidation
Eric N. Nelson, Texas Tech University
Overview: This paper examines the impact of an independent judiciary on democratic consolidation. If courts are seen as viable options, then evidence of consolidation exists due to increasing transaction costs of regime change.

Disc. William A. Barnes, Independent Scholar, Attorney at Law

5-1 ASSESSING ORGANIZATIONAL IMPACTS ON EU POLICY

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair Zeki Sarigil, University of Pittsburgh
Paper Allocation of the EU Budget: An Examination of Voting and Proposal Rights
Deniz Aksoy, University of Rochester
Overview: This paper seeks to explain budgetary allocation in the EU. I specifically illustrate the role of two key institutional factors: voting and proposal rights of the member states in determining the amount of funding they receive from the EU.

Paper The Influence of EU-Level Interest Groups
Stacy M. Bondanella, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: This paper asks whether and under what conditions EU-level organizations of national interest groups have an independent influence on EU policy. The agricultural policy network is examined and hypotheses are generated for testing across issue areas.

Paper Decision-making in the European Union: The Case of Pension Portability
Alexandra Hennessy, Boston University
Overview: Using document analysis, interviews, and game-theoretic modeling, I hypothesize that efforts to create a European-wide regulatory framework to govern pension portability across borders was a credible project in 2003, but not before (1991-1999).

Paper Assessing the Effect of Power on Committee Bias in the European Parliament
Bjorn Hoyland, University College London
Overview: The paper analyzes the development of the committee system in the European Parliament between 1979 and 2004. It compares the preferences of the committee rapporteurs and the floor median. The difference is decreasing as committee power increases.

Paper A Principal-Agent Perspective to MEP Voting Behavior
M. Shawn Reichert, University of Central Florida
Overview: Why do MEPs vote the way they do? This paper employs a principal-agent (PA) model to examine MEPs' voting behavior. Roll-call votes are used to test hypotheses derived from this PA model.

Disc. Jens A. Blom-Hansen, Aarhus University, Denmark
5-3  EMPLOYMENT STRATEGIES IN EUROPE
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair Gregory Baldi, Georgetown University
Paper In Support of Mothers' Employment: Limits to Policy
Convergence in EU?
Olga A. Avdeyeva, Purdue University
Overview: The article analyzes the trends in policy development (1980s - 2000s) in order to identify the degree of policy convergence in EU. Findings reveal modest policy harmonization and suggest that integrating markets have a small effect on social policy.

Paper Making Europe Work: The Impact of the European Employment Strategy on the EU
Aaron P. Boesenneker, Georgetown University
Overview: Drawing on a recent set of elite interviews, the paper traces the impact of the European Employment Strategy on the economic reforms in individual EU member states and evaluates this empirical evidence against the prevailing theoretical literature.

Assem M. Dandashly, University of Oklahoma
Overview: This paper aims to study the quantitative labor market performance of 27 European countries in the period following the 1997 launch of the European Employment Strategy. It focuses on the transition taking place in the new members that joined the EU.

Disc. Gunther M. Hega, Western Michigan University

6-101  CHANGES IN CANADIAN-AMERICAN ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Panelist Convergence and Divergence in American and Canadian Public Policy
Debora L. VanNijnatten, Wilfrid Laurier University
Barry G. Rabe, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
William Lowery, Washington University, St. Louis
Carolyn Johns, Ryerson University
Debora L. VanNijnatten, Wilfrid Laurier University
Chris J. Bosso, Northeastern University
George Busenberg, University of Colorado, Denver
Overview: TBA

7-301  POSTER SESSION: LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS
Presenter The Politics of Biotechnology Policy in South America's Agricultural Powers
Room TBA, Board 1, Thur 10:30 am
Sybil D. Rhodes, Western Michigan University
Overview: The paper analyzes the role of information - or lack thereof - as an explanation for split-ticket voting. An empirical test - and for the Madisonian and expected utility hypotheses - is provided using data on the 2000 Mexican elections.

Presenter Split-Ticket Voting: The Uncertainty Hypothesis
Room TBA, Board 2, Thur 10:30 am
Marco A. Morales, New York University
Overview: This empirical evidence against the prevailing theoretical literature.

8-3  RESISTANCE, PETITIONING AND PARTICIPATION IN EAST ASIA
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair Lianjiang Li, Hong Kong Baptist University
Paper Suing the State: Pollution Lawsuits as a Protest Strategy in Japan
Margaret Gibbons, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: Has LDP dominance reduced Japanese judges' willingness to rule against the government in pollution cases? I find that judges' passivity results more from the limits of environmental law and social movements' resources than from careerist interests.

Paper Dynamics of Institutional Change: The Case of Petitioning in the PRC
Jason G. Tower, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: This paper presents an analysis of attempts by Chinese government actors to channel social disputes through various institutional channels. It finds that re-channeling disputes through new institutions creates potential for social disorder.

Paper A Political Participatory Institution in China?: Xinjiang (Letters & Visits)
Wooyeal Paik, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: I explore a unique Chinese political participatory institution, Xinjiang (letters and visits) in the Post-Mao reform to see how the CCP and its soft authoritarian regime resolve the citizen's increasing political recognition and demand.

Paper China's Urban Political Participation and Work Unit
Diqing Lou, Texas A&M University
Overview: In this paper we explored the contextual influence of work units upon China's urban political participation, and we discussed the implication of this finding upon China democratic prospect.

Paper When the State Tells History: Representations of Political Resistance in North and South Korea
Dennis M. Hart, Kent State University
Overview: The North and South Korean states have created differing national identities and memories. By teaching distinctive narratives on political resistance they have created a national history that legitimizes the current regime and discredits their rival.

Disc. Lianjiang Li, Hong Kong Baptist University
Xi Chen, Harvard University

9-301  POSTER SESSION: ETHNIC POLITICS, DEMOCRATIZATION, AND CORRUPTION
Presenter Informal Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Zambia
Room TBA, Board 3, Thur 10:30 am
Wonbin Cho, Michigan State University
Overview: Using Arabometer survey data, this research tries to examine how, in a context where all politicians promise distributive policies to the people whose votes they are seeking, perceptions of informal institutions.

Presenter Political Pathology and Criminalization of the Electoral Process in Nigeria
Room TBA, Board 4, Thur 10:30 am
Israel C. Okoye, Nnamdi Azikiwe University
Overview: Nigeria's human and material resources remain largely underdeveloped and parasitically exploited.

10-2  EXPLANATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE POST-COMMUNIST WORLD
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair Meg E. Rincker, Washington University, St. Louis
Paper Civil Society and Political Participation in Moldova and Romania
Paul E. Sum, University of North Dakota
Overview: I evaluate explanations of social capital and socialization in Moldova and Romania. I find that both are important predictors of participation but the virtues associated with social capital are derived from specific patterns of socialization.

Paper The Art of Compromise - With an Eastern European Touch
Alin Dumurescu, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: One particularity of the new democracies in Eastern Europe is represented by civil society's refusal to accept the compromise - a refusal which not only dominates the public discourse, but also forces political parties to unusual forms of adaptation.
Paper | Bad Civil Society and Its Effects on Democratic Consolidation  
---|---  
Lauren Schapker, Miami University  
Overview: While civil society and social capital are so often considered essential to democratic consolidation, in Russia, the emergence of bad civil society and the failure of social capital to adhere are increasingly deterring democratic development.  
---|---  

Paper | Impact of Foreign Aid on State and NGO Capacity in Uzbekistan  
---|---  
Erica J. Johnson, University of Washington  
Overview: Foreign aid to Uzbekistan's state and civil society groups has created a weak state-weak society -- results opposite to the intentions of foreign donors. Why has this happened and what are the consequences for Uzbekistan's state-society relations?  
---|---  

Paper | Competition and Trust in Post-Communist Europe  
---|---  
David O. Rossbach, Texas A&M University  
Overview: This paper seeks to answer the question "how has the competitive nature of both political and economic transition affected citizen trust in Post-Communist Europe?"  
---|---  

Paper | Deterrence or Aggression: Alliance Configurations and Military Conflict  
---|---  
Volker Krause, Eastern Michigan University  
Overview: Building on Leeds (2003), this paper investigates in how far effects of defensive and offensive alliances on military conflict are a function of their multilateral versus bilateral alliance configurations.  
---|---  

12-2 | INSTITUTIONS, ELECTIONS, AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE (Co-sponsored with Economic Policy, see 42-14)  
---|---  
Room | TBA, Thur 10:30 am  
Chair | Stephanie J. Rickard, Pennsylvania State University  
Paper | Trade and The Timing of Elections  
Mark A. Kayser, University of Rochester  
Overview: This paper shows that export expansions do not differ substantively from booms in aggregate output in inviting opportunistic governments to call elections, especially as their terms mature.  
---|---  

Paper | Majoritarian Politics, Distribution of Skill Endowments and Trade Protectionism  
---|---  
Bumba Mukherjee, Florida State University; Dale L. Smith, Florida State University; Quan Li, Pennsylvania State University  
Overview: We hypothesize international trade institutions reduce the volatility of trade. Multivariate statistical tests, using annual data on exports for all pairs of countries from 1951 through 2001, provide strong support for our arguments.  
---|---  

Paper | International Institutions and the Volatility of International Trade  
---|---  
Eric Reinhardt, Emory University; Edward D. Mansfield, University of Pennsylvania  
Overview: We hypothesize international trade institutions reduce the volatility of trade. Multivariate statistical tests, using annual data on exports for all pairs of countries from 1951 through 2001, provide strong support for our arguments.  
---|---  

Paper | Much Ado About Something: Public Opinion and Trade Policy  
---|---  
Daniel Y. Kono, University of California, Davis  
Overview: Does public opinion affect trade policy? Yes.  
---|---  

13-11 | IDEOLOGY, INSTABILITY AND WAR  
---|---  
Room | TBA, Thur 10:30 am  
Chair | Claudia Dahlauer, Albion College  
Paper | The Effect of Electoral Systems on the Frequency of War  
Ryan H. Isaacson, University of Colorado, Boulder  
Overview: Countries in which an executive can be removed by a vote of no confidence are found to bend to the public mood throughout an election cycle, while systems without such mechanisms adhere to public mood only in the last quintile of an election cycle.  
---|---  

Paper | Regime Stability and War in New Democracies  
---|---  
Brian Min, University of California, Los Angeles  
Overview: Democratizing nations with a history of destabilizing regime change have a higher risk of engaging in interstate conflict than new democracies in nations that have had no prior experience under democratic rule.  
---|---  

Paper | Threat Perception: Differences in International Conflict Behavior Among Authoritarian Regimes  
---|---  
Erica Franz, University of California, Los Angeles  
Overview: In this paper, I look at how different types of dictatorships respond to threats issued by democracies in the context of James Fearon's audience cost argument.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Detours to Ethnic Conflict: The Diversionary Effect of Domestic Unrest</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cigdem Sirin, Texas A&amp;M University</td>
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<td>Overview: The paper tests the argument that the source of instability in a state (economic downturn or domestic socio-political unrest), that instigates diversionary behavior, determines the utility of involvement in a certain conflict (ethnic/non-ethnic).</td>
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<th>Paper</th>
<th>The Teaching of Foreign Languages in the U.S. During the First World War</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dorothee M. Bouquet, Purdue University</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Overview: Why are the French seen as excessively proud? How do international relationships and foreign policies affect the representation of countries in American mentalities? A study in the teaching of foreign languages in U.S. during the First World War.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Disc.</th>
<th>Claudia Dahlerus, Albion College</th>
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<th>Room</th>
<th>14-2 ALLIANCES</th>
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<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Alliances, Trading Agreements, and Polarity: Explaining Bilateral Trade Flows</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Benjamin Freeman, Texas A&amp;M University</td>
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<td>Zowie Hay, Texas A&amp;M University</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Douglas W. Kuberski, Texas A&amp;M University</td>
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<td>Overview: A gravity model is employed to test the influence of polarity on the relationship between preferential trading agreements and bilateral trade flows.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Entrapped? Alliance Obligations and German Motivations in the Great War</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amanda M. Rosen, The Ohio State University</td>
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<td>Overview: TBA</td>
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<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>The Complex Interstate Alliance Network</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tarah M. Wheeler, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Overview: An analysis of the characteristics of the interstate alliance network.</td>
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<th>Paper</th>
<th>Trust and Alignment: External Balancing as a Result of Commitment Problems</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Zachary C. Shirkey, Columbia University</td>
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<td>Ivan Savic, Columbia University</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Overview: Realist explanations of balancing fail to fully explain states’ motivations. This paper argues that states engage in external balancing as a response to commitment problems. This is shown using a signaling model as well as two brief case studies.</td>
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<th>Disc.</th>
<th>Craig B. Greethouse, University of Arkansas, Monticello</th>
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<th>Room</th>
<th>15-13 POST-CONFLICT POLITICAL DYNAMICS</th>
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<th>Paper</th>
<th>From Paramilitary to Parliamentary: The Peaceful Process of Political Shape Shifting?</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Shelley M. Deane, Bowdoin College</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Overview: The IRA, the PLO, Hizbullah and now Hamas and even ETA have morphed from paramilitary to predominantly political in strategic orientation. What best explains their shifts toward war by other means?</td>
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<th>Paper</th>
<th>Toward a Theory of Reparation</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Jeremy H. Rabideau, University of Notre Dame</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Overview: This paper looks to establish a cohesive moral vision of entitlement to the pursuit of reparations and lodging of demands for restitution, incorporating insights from the work of Waldron and Barkan.</td>
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<th>Paper</th>
<th>Bargaining During and After War: Endogenizing Adherence to Peace Settlements</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Dan Reiter, Emory University</td>
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<td>Clifford Carrubba, Emory University</td>
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<td>Scott Wolford, Emory University</td>
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<td>Overview: This paper contains a formal, bargaining model of war which endogenizes the adherence to war-terminating settlements. It builds on Filson and Werner (2002). It offers hypotheses on the initiation, termination, outcomes, and consequences of war.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Disc.</th>
<th>Desha Girod, Stanford University</th>
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<th>Room</th>
<th>15-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ENMITY, ETHNICITY, AND CONFLICT</th>
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<tr>
<th>Presenter</th>
<th>A Shadow Economy Model of Ethnic Conflict</th>
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<tr>
<td>Joseph J. St. Marie, University of Southern Mississippi</td>
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<td>Samuel S. Stanton Jr., University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shahdad Naghshepour, University of Southern Mississippi</td>
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<td>Overview: This study generates a political economy theory of ethnic conflict initiation. The theory focuses on the notion of an increasing shadow economy-both legal and illegal-creating the conditions where ethnic conflict becomes more likely.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Presenter</th>
<th>Institution, Policy, and Ethnic Conflict: The Chinese in 4 SEAsian Countries</th>
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<tr>
<td>Rosa Tsai-wei Sun, University of Singapore</td>
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<td>Overview: It tests the causal link between state-majority-minority relations and conflict in SEAsia in general and the Chinese-natives relations in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand in particular by paying special attention to policy-related variables.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Room</th>
<th>15-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: TERRORISM, VIOLENCE AND ISLAM</th>
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<tr>
<th>Presenter</th>
<th>Future Jihadis: Projecting the Evolving Strategies of Al Qaida and the Khumainist Organizations Against the US Walid A. Phares, Florida Atlantic University</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overview: Future Jihadis: Projecting the evolving strategies of al Qaida and the Khumainist organizations against the US. September 11 led the US to declare war on terrorism, which it identified lately as a confrontation with a transnational ideological movement</td>
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<tr>
<th>Presenter</th>
<th>Effects of Repression and Cooption on Islamic Social Movement Organizations Rebekah Tromble, Indiana University, Bloomington</th>
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<td>Overview: Investigates why certain Islamic social movement organizations engage in violent acts of political contention while others choose only non-violent means of contention. Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood and al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah are examined.</td>
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<th>Room</th>
<th>17-2 DECISIONS TO JOIN INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS</th>
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<tr>
<th>Chair</th>
<th>Sara McLoughlin Mitchell, University of Iowa</th>
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<tr>
<td>Social Rewards and Socialization Effects in International Institutions Xiaojuan Li, University of Georgia</td>
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<td>Overview: This paper adapts the socialization theories in various contexts, suggesting incompatibility between modern and non-modern ways of mind. Terrorism is basically an attack on rationality and must be examined as such in cross cultural analyses.</td>
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<th>Chair</th>
<th>Ewan Harrison, Colgate University</th>
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<tr>
<td>The Democratic Peace Research Program and System Level Analaysis Ewan Harrison, Colgate University</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview: The paper shows how a shift to the system level within democratic peace research is compatible with a Lakatosian succession of theories developing from core assumptions, and builds on dyadic inquiry to frame a second generation research agenda.</td>
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</table>
Paper  Voting Patterns in the International Whaling Commission  
Jonathan R. Strand, University of Nevada, Las Vegas  
Overview: Observers of the IWC have accused pro-whaling countries of attempting to overcome their minority coalition status through the buying of votes from countries to which they provide a great deal of foreign aid.

Paper  Triangulating Cooperation: Exploring the Link Between Military Alliances, Preferential Trade Agreements and Currency Unions  
Andrea L. Limbago, University of Colorado, Boulder  
Overview: This article analyzes the relationship among international agreements in three distinct policy realms - security, trade and monetary policy. The findings will shed light on the relationship among these diverse agreements.

Disc.  Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, University of Iowa

17-7  THE DESIGN OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE INSTITUTIONS
Room  TBA, Thu 10:30 am
Chair  Moonhawk Kim, Stanford University
Paper  Accounting for the Depth of Cooperation: The Design of Regional Trade Agreements  
Douglas Stinnett, University of Georgia  
Overview: This paper addresses a gap in the study of international cooperation by examining the depth of cooperation in regional trade agreements. In particular, I develop a direct measure of the depth of trade cooperation.

Paper  Third-Party Intervention and the Long-Term Trade Liberalization  
Koji Kagotani, University of California, Los Angeles  
Overview: This paper investigates the effects of dispute settlement procedure on the long-term stability of trade liberalization under international trade agreements.

Paper  Organization Matters to Institutions: Understanding the United Nations and World Trade Organization as Legal Rational and Causational Organizations  
Christopher Balding, University of California, Irvine  
Jana Chapman, Columbia University  
Daniel Wehenfennig, University of California, Irvine  
Overview: International institutions research has ignored the organization. Scholars have long recognized that some institutions work better than others (Keohane 1998).

Paper  Building Institutions: Practical Knowledge and Institutional Design  
Anne Holthofer, University of Chicago  
Overview: This paper asks what kind of knowledge is required to design international institutions well. It explores how social scientists can contribute to institution building by discussing the role different forms of knowledge play in the process.

Disc.  Michael R. Tomz, Stanford University

18-2  WHEN EMOTIONS RUN HIGH: CRISIS, CAMPAIGNS, AND SCANDALS
Room  TBA, Thu 10:30 am
Chair  John Brehm, University of Chicago
Paper  Election Night's All Right for Fighting: The Participatory Impact of Negative Emotions  
Nicholas A. Valentino, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor  
Vincent L. Hutchings, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor  
Eric W. Groenendyk, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor  
Krysha Gregorowicz, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor  
Overview: We explore the distinct impact of anger and anxiety on electoral participation. In particular we are interested in the possibility that negative emotions will have different effects in different contexts.

Paper  The Effects of Crises on Political Evaluations  
Jennifer L. Merolla, Claremont Graduate University  
Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, University of California, Davis  
Overview: We use an experimental design to test how different types of crisis - security and economic - influence political evaluations. We compare trait evaluations and their effect on overall evaluations of Bush across experimental conditions.

Paper  Feeling the Scandal: Emotional Reactions as Mitigators of Scandal Harm  
Tereza Capelos, Leiden University  
Overview: This paper is interested in the emotionality of voters’ reactions to a scandal. Two questions are addressed: 1) how do voters react emotionally to political scandals; and 2) what is the influence of their emotional reactions on political evaluations.

Paper  How Anxiety Eliminates the Influence of Values When People Evaluate Policy  
Antoine J. Banks, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor  
Overview: This study examines the affect anxiety, enthusiasm, and anger have on the relationship between values and policy judgments.

Disc.  Darren W. Davis, Michigan State University

18-201  INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ADVANCES IN PROSPECT THEORY
Room  TBA, Thu 10:30 am
Presenter  The Role of Emotions in Prospect Theory  
Cengiz Erisen, SUNY, Stony Brook University  
Overview: This paper scrutinizes the importance of emotions which subject has not been studied thoroughly in prospect theory. The main goal is to integrate the emotional dispositions into the decision-making process structured by prospect theory.

Presenter  Forgoing the Gains of Victory: US Disarmament Demands at the Cold War's End  
Matthew C. Fuhrmann, University of Georgia  
Bryan R. Early, University of Georgia  
Overview: This article uses prospect theory's psychological model of decision making to explain US nuclear arms control policies towards Russia in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War.

18-202  INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LEADERSHIP AND ELITE BEHAVIOR
Room  TBA, Thu 10:30 am
Presenter  Transformational Leadership in Liberal Society  
Marti K. Renfro, Northern Kentucky University  
Overview: Transformational leadership is a resource available to develop civic virtues. To be explained are the mechanisms for how the transformational leader truly compels by altering listeners’ sensibilities.

19-1  CANDIDATE ATTRIBUTES AND VOTE CHOICE
Room  TBA, Thu 10:30 am
Chair  Michael G. Hagen, Temple University
Paper  The Impact of Latino Candidates on Voting Behavior in 5 Mayoral Elections  
Matthew A. Barreto, University of Washington  
Overview: This paper compares Latino and non-Latino voter turnout and candidate preference in recent mayoral elections in Los Angeles, New York, Houston, Denver, and San Francisco, given the presence of a Latino candidate for mayor.

Paper  Candidate Military Experience as a Heuristic  
Will Dubay, U.S. Naval Academy  
Overview: Using data from the 2000 and 2004 primaries, this paper tests the hypothesis that a candidate's military experience is a decision aid for veterans.

Paper  A Woman for U. S. President? Gender and Leadership Traits Before and After 9/11  
Susan B. Hansen, University of Pittsburgh  
Laura Wills Otero, University of Pittsburgh  
Overview: Analysis of trends in candidate traits from ANES surveys since 1992 to test whether the "strong leader" cue became more or less important after 9/11, and to consider the impact of sex and party on leadership traits.

Paper  Different Strokes for Different Folks: Candidate Race and the Electoral Calculus of Black and White Voters  
Taeku Lee, University of California, Berkeley  
Michael Murakami, University of California, Berkeley  
Tatishe Nteta, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: We develop a general theory of how variation in candidate race and party affects the electoral calculus of white and black voters. We test our hypotheses with precinct-level election returns and census data, using methods of ecological inference.

**Paper** Campaigns and the Communication of Competence and Integrity  
Jeffery J. Mondak, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign  
Robert A. Jackson, Florida State University  
Robert Huckfeldt, University of California, Davis  
David Hendry, Florida State University  

Overview: With focus on the 2002 U.S. House elections, this paper examines the processes by which voters come to view candidates as hard working, honest, and effective. The effects of campaign intensity and the tone and volume of campaign ads are considered.

**Disc.** Jeffrey W. Koch, SUNY, Geneseo

**20-3** CAMPAIGN PROCESSES ACROSS LEVELS OF ANALYSIS  
**Room** TBA, Thu 10:30 am  
**Chair** Sean A. Cain, University of California, San Diego  
**Paper** Explaining Soft Money Transfers in State Gubernatorial Elections  
Troy Gibson, University of Southern Mississippi  
William L. Gillespie, Kennesaw State University  
M. V. Hood, University of Georgia  

Overview: This paper examines what factors affect non-federal contributions to gubernatorial races by national Republican and Democratic committees and what effects these contributions have on the elections.

**Paper** State Polls and National Forces: Forecasting Gubernatorial Election Outcomes  
Jay DeSart, Utah Valley State College  

Overview: This paper develops and examines a gubernatorial election forecast model utilizing state-level trial-heat voting data, as well as national-level indicators.

**Paper** The Modern Effect of Coattails in the House of Representatives  
Latisha Younger, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee  

Overview: Representing the ability of the president to lead members of his own party into office, the coattail effect has proven to be an elusive research area over the past twenty-five years, which is revisited in this study looking at incumbency strength.

**Paper** The Affect of Senate Campaigns on the Presidential Vote  
David F. Damore, University of Nevada, Las Vegas  
Shelia Dubron-Lambert, University of Nevada, Las Vegas  
Allison Johnson, University of Nevada, Las Vegas  

Overview: This paper examines the affect that competitive senate elections may exert on the state level vote in presidential elections.

**Disc.** Jeffrey M. Stonecash, Syracuse University

**21-8** THE CAMPAIGN DISCLOSURE PROJECT  
**Room** TBA, Thu 10:30 am  
**Chair** Joseph Doherty, University of California, Los Angeles  
**Paper** Not Just a Private Matter: The Purposes of Disclosure in an Expanded Regulatory System  
Robert F. Bauer, Perkins Coie LLP  

Overview: This paper suggests that informational interests of voters have become secondary to the interests of the State in developing and enforcing legal restrictions on politics.

**Paper** Who Tells the Story? Third Party Reporting About Campaign Finance in the States  
Raymond J. La Raja, University of Massachusetts, Amherst  

Overview: This paper asks whether intermediary institutions (public interest groups, press, etc.) in the states use campaign finance data to write stories or analyses about campaign finance.

**Paper** The Campaign Disclosure Project  
Daniel Lowenstein, University of California, Los Angeles  
Joseph Doherty, University of California, Los Angeles  

Overview: TBA

**Paper** What has the US Disclosure System Wrought? A Comparison of US and Other National Campaign Finance Disclosure Systems  
Stephen Ansolabehere, Massachusetts Institute of Technology  

Overview: Campaign finance disclosure in the US exceeds disclosure requirements in most other countries.

**Paper** A (Classical) Liberal View of Campaign Finance Disclosure  
John Samples, Cato Institute and Johns Hopkins University  

Overview: This paper argues that social science does not support the justifications for mandatory disclosure of campaign donations. It proposes an alternative based on citizens possessing the right to disclose or withhold such information.

**Disc.** Joseph Doherty, University of California, Los Angeles

**22-7** CONFIDENCE AND TRUST IN GOVERNMENT  
**Room** TBA, Thu 10:30 am  
**Chair** John R. Hibbing, University of Nebraska, Lincoln  
**Paper** The Impact of Media Exposure on Political Trust  
James M. Avery, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale  

Overview: I use individual-level cross-sectional and aggregate time-series analyses to examine the influence of media coverage on political trust across the 2000 presidential election.

**Paper** State-Level Public Trust in the Federal Government  
Paul Brace, Rice University  
Martin Johnson, University of California, Riverside  

Overview: Federalism is central to American government yet public opinion studies do not examine variations in trust in the federal government among the states. Using a survey-based measure we explore and explain differential federal trust across the states.

**Paper** Democratic Citizenship and its Consequences  
Russell J. Dalton, University of California, Irvine  

Overview: This paper analyzes new evidence on the norms of citizenship from the 2004 GSS/ISSP survey on citizenship. We demonstrate that changing norms are transforming participation patterns, political values and evaluations of government.

**Paper** Trust in Government Across Levels and Institutions of Government  
Joseph Gerhardtson, Eastern Kentucky University  
Dennis L. Plane, Juniata College  

Overview: This research informs us about variations in trust across state government institutions and across subnational levels of government, and deepens awareness of trust’s effects on citizen participation and evaluations of individual political figures.

**Disc.** Paul Gronke, Reed College

**22-12** THE INFLUENCE OF CANDIDATES AND CAMPAIGNS ON PUBLIC OPINION (Co-sponsored with Electoral Campaigns, see 20-8)  
**Room** TBA, Thu 10:30 am  
**Chair** Lauren Cohen Bell, Randolph-Macon College  
**Paper** Re-examining the Skeptical American: Exploring the Meaning of Political Trust  
Stacy G. Ulbig, Missouri State University  

Overview: Empirical observations of governmental trust have neglected the dimension of active distrust of government. This paper explores sources and consequences of trust and mistrust, and distinguishes between trust, mistrust, skepticism, and cynicism.

**Paper** Constructing Optimal Campaign Strategies: A Test of Public Opinion Models  
Beth Miller, Rice University  

Overview: I use two models of public opinion formation and change-on-line and memory-based-to explore the dynamic impact of different campaign communication strategies on public opinion.

**Paper** Campaign Dynamics in Battleground and Non-Battleground States  
Costas Panagopoulos, Yale University  

Overview: TBA
Paper 'Going Local': Candidate Appearances, Political Knowledge and Issue Concerns
Jill Rickershauser, Duke University
Overview: Using national survey data and the topics and locations of speeches given by presidential candidates in 2004, this paper investigates the individual-level effects of candidate visits on people's primary issue concerns and knowledge of the candidates.

Disc. Barbara C. Burrell, Northern Illinois University

23-5 YOUTH SOCIALIZATION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE U.S.
Room TBA, Thu 10:30 am
Chair Laura Stoker, University of California, Berkeley
Paper Lasting Political Consequences of High School Environments: Results from the Four-Wave Political Socialization Study
Laura Stoker, University of California, Berkeley
M. Kent Jennings, University of California, Santa Barbara
Overview: Examines the lasting consequences of high school environments on civic engagement, also taking into account the individual's own level of civic engagement in high school, characteristics of the family of origin, and changes in SES across adulthood.

Paper Unpacking the Effects of Education and Socialization on Participation
Cindy D. Kam, University of California, Davis
Carl Palmer, University of California, Davis
Overview: The conventional wisdom suggests education confers skills, resources, and opportunities that boost participation. We argue instead that the youth experiences that predispose individuals to acquire higher education also predispose them to participate.

Paper Does Technology Influence Civic Engagement of American Government Students?
Margaret E. Lippens, Wayne State University
Ronald E. Brown, Wayne State University
Overview: This is a preliminary assessment examining the degree to which interactive computer technology in the classroom influences civic engagement, political participation, and political trust among students taking introductory American government classes.

Paper Equalizing Participation Abilities: Civic Education and Civic Skills
Melissa K. Comber, Allegheny College
Overview: Civic education has a positive effect on cognitive civic skills for fourteen-year-old American students. The effect is stronger for African-American and Latino students than for non-Hispanic white students.

Paper Do States' Citizenship Education Policies Increase Youth Volunteering?
Becky Nesbit, Indiana University, Bloomington
David Reingold, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: This paper investigates the relationship between states' civics education policies with youth volunteering using data from the Current Population Survey and the Education Commission of the States' State Policies for Citizenship Education Database.

Disc. Rachel K. Cremona, Flagler College

24-1 NEW TECHNOLOGIES OF PERSUASION IN FEDERAL POLITICS
Room TBA, Thu 10:30 am
Chair Andrew Paul Williams, Virginia Tech University
Paper Sharp Elbows on the Airwaves: Do Primary "Reforms" Provoke Negative Ads?
Christopher C. Hull, Georgetown University
Overview: This paper explores the ways in which new primary procedures and the proliferation of new technologies have increased negative advertising.

Paper Podcasting Politics: Microphones and Messages in Cyberspace
Monica Postelnik, University of Florida
Lynda Lee Kaid, University of Florida
Overview: This paper explores the use of the new technology of Podcasting as a way for political leaders and interest groups to distribute their messages directly to voters.

Paper Candidate Control in Cyberspace: Using the News Media on Campaign Websites
Matthew F. Taylor, Mount St. Mary's University
Overview: This study examines articles that appeared in the news sections of websites belonging to three different candidates (a Republican, a Democrat, and an Independent) during the 2005 gubernatorial campaign in Virginia.

Paper Narrowcasting and Beyond: Segmentation, Viral Marketing and E-mail
Andrew Paul Williams, Virginia Tech University
Overview: The study reports on the prevalent Bush and Kerry campaign 2004 e-mail issue and attribute strategies as well as how these messages attempted to narrowcast and segment targeted members of the electorate.

Disc. Alison Howard, Dominican University of California

25-2 GENDER AND THE DYNAMICS OF POLITICAL DISCUSSION AND PARTICIPATION
Room TBA, Thu 10:30 am
Chair Kristi Andersen, Syracuse University
Paper Gender and the Content of Political Discussion
Tracy L. Oswald, Bridgewater State College
Jeanette M. Mendez, Oklahoma State University
Overview: This paper explores the gender gap in political discussion. We argue women will discuss politics, both in frequency and content, differently from men.

Paper Gender Differences in Turning Church Activity into Civic Resources
Paul A. Djupe, Denison University
Anand E. Sokhey, The Ohio State University
Christopher P. Gilbert, Gustavus Adolphus College
Overview: Women's acquisition of civic resources is driven by organizational and social forces, whereas men's is structured around personal resources. Men can choose to develop skills, while women are often allowed access to skill-building opportunities.

Paper Women, Men, and the Capacity to Communicate During Public Deliberation
Ashleigh Smith Powers, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: As public deliberation becomes more popular, it is important to understand the dynamics of power within these forums. Do all citizens have an equal opportunity to communicate, or are certain groups advantaged? I address this question.

Paper He Said, She Said: The Relationship of Gender and Social Influence in Interpersonal Networks
Michelle Wade, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Overview: We explore how patterns of social communication between men and women relate to gender differences in voting behavior. Using data drawn from the 2000 National Election Study we test three different models of gendering voting.

Disc. Kristi Andersen, Syracuse University

26-1 LATINO POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
Room TBA, Thu 10:30 am
Chair Ricardo Ramirez, University of Southern California
Paper Self-Interest and Self-Identity: Explaining Hispanic Political Attitudes
Agnes K. Koos, University of New Orleans
Overview: Length of stay in the US, and belonging to a later generation of immigrants, have a polarizing effect on group consciousness: they strengthen an American identification, but also favor the development of a minority Latino consciousness.
Paper Understanding Latino Electoral Participation: Does Voter Validation Matter?
David L. Leal, University of Texas, Austin
Robert Wrinkle, University of Texas, Pan American
Jerry Polinard, University of Texas, Pan American
Overview: This paper tests whether the use of validated voting data affects the political science understanding of the structure of Latino electoral participation. It analyzes a 2004 survey of 1,200 Latino respondents in Texas.

Paper Naturalized Latino Voting: The Intersection of Age and Voter Turnout
Sarah V. Sponaugle, University of Arizona
Overview: Latino voter turnout follows the same lifespan pattern as the rest of the electorate, but naturalized Latinos follow the opposite pattern. Levels of assimilation and the political context are explored in this study.

Paper Mexican American Politics – and Attitudinal Study
Fernando Pinon, San Antonio College
Overview: Mexican Americans are the fastest-growing minority group in the country and are expected to be the majority population in Texas within 20 years. This study focuses on cultural and attitudinal issues which bear upon the electoral behavior of the group.

Paper Latino Legislator Career Paths
Jason P. Casellas, University of Texas, Austin
Jolly A. Emrey, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater
Overview: This paper traces the career paths of Latino legislators by examining their political ambition and strategic positioning in legislative districts. I suspect that many Latino legislators understand the difficulty of getting elected to higher office.

Paper Understanding Latino Participation: Does Trust in Government Matter?
Ruth M. Melkonian, Gordon College
Sarah V. Sponaugle, University of Arizona
Overview: Using data from the National Center for State Courts, we seek to advance scholarly understanding of the relationship between Latino attitudes towards authority and levels of political participation.

Paper The Political Philosophy of Lucretius
John M. Colman, Ashland University
Overview: The limited rationality of politics is at the heart of Lucretius’ poem. When Lucretius applies atomic science to the human things we find that the lack of rational order in atomic motion is reflected in the behavior of men and politics.

Paper Bacon on Bacon on the Ancients
Tobin Craig, Michigan State University
Overview: A consideration of Bacon's critique of the rationalism of classical thought.

Paper Sailing the Human Archipelagos: The Duty of Cosmopolitan Freedom
Stephen W. Moore, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: This paper explores how Locke's political critique depends on an early-modern version of the imagination that functions through affect, rhetoric, and social practices.

Paper Hegel on Personal Inviolability
Maria G. Kowalski, Hojstra University
Overview: My argument is that at the core of Hegel’s defense of individual rights is the idea—to quote Rawls—of “personal inviolability,” an inviolability of the free will which, because it expresses the idea of respect for individual freedom, can never be sac

Paper Politicians, Virtue, and Reason: Political Rationalism in Plato’s Meno
Stephen Lange, Morehead State University
Overview: Plato's Meno concludes that political men have correct opinions but not knowledge about political things. This paper examines the argument behind this conclusion and discusses the implications for the role of reason in politics.

Paper Hannah Arendt in The Post-9/11 World: Totalitarianism and The Banality of Evil
Joanna V. Scott, Eastern Michigan University
Overview: This paper proposes a re-examination, in the context of the "War on Terrorism," of Hannah Arendt's two enduringly relevant and equally contested contributions to the lexicon of political analysis: Totalitarianism and "the banality of evil". In Dec.,
### Paper Reflections on Little Rock
**Han Il Chang, New York University**

**Overview:** After examining the preexisting debate on whether Arendt was an elitist or a populist, I will show its limit and new approach.

### Paper The Question of Life in the Political Theory of Giorgio Agamben
**Diego H. Rossello, Northwestern University**

**Overview:** The paper focuses on the question of life in the political theory of Giorgio Agamben. Following Agend's insights on necessity and politics, I will argue that Agamben's notion of life prevents, rather than enables, the return of the political.

### Paper Dynamic Leadership under Uncertainty: Innovation and Public Welfare
**Marcus Alexander, Harvard University**

**Overview:** Focusing on the FDA, we argue that leaders are most successful when they adopt flexible policy choices, easily amendable to accumulation of new information and possible radical changes in the nature of the policy problem leaders need to solve.

### Paper Miller and Stokes Revisited: Studying Representation Using an Internet Panel
**Jeffrey Milyo, University of Missouri**

**Overview:** This is a model of delegation that differs conceptually from the standard approach, focusing directly on the nature of expertise. I find that delegation can be successfully deployed, even absent commitment, but is often of a different form.

### Paper When and Why Constitutions Work?
**James Glass, University of Maryland**

**Overview:** When and why do constitutions work? I propose a model of delegation that differs conceptually from the standard approach, focusing directly on the nature of expertise. I find that delegation can be successfully deployed, even absent commitment, but is often of a differently form.

### Paper Interaction
**Sean Gailmard, Northwestern University**

**Overview:** We examine oversight as a tool for addressing agency problems in legislative-bureaucratic interaction. We model oversight as a quick-response tool unilaterally controlled by the legislature, and empirically explore several implications of this view.

### Paper Commitment and Inefficiency in Delegation
**Steven Callander, Northwestern University**

**Overview:** I propose a model of delegation that differs Conceptually from the standard approach, focusing directly on the nature of expertise. I find that delegation can be successfully deployed, even absent commitment, but is often of a differently form.

### Paper Bureaucratic Oversight and Suboptimal Resource Allocation
**Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, Washington University, St. Louis**

**Overview:** In our model, oversight distorts agency effort toward the observable. Agencies have no incentive to hide expenditures so unobservability must come from technological constraints.

### Paper Conventional Stability: Spontaneous Order vs. Collective Agency
**Terrence Watson, Bowling Green State University**

**Overview:** We argue that the norms that emerge spontaneously from the undirected behavior of individuals provide for more stable and effective coordination than those that are enforced by collective agencies, especially political institutions.

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**Matthew Stephenson, Harvard Law School**

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### Paper The Relation Between Legality and Morality in the Social Contract
**Murray W. Skees, University of Kentucky**

**Overview:** Political authority is regarded as the right to set forth binding commands given by the sovereign. However, the laws and enforce them with the use of coercion. These laws are from the undirected behavior of individuals provide for more stable and effective coordination than those that are enforced by collective agencies, especially political institutions.

### Paper The Question of Life in the Political Theory of Giorgio Agamben
**Diego H. Rossello, Northwestern University**

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Overview: Miller and Stokes' landmark study of representation in Congress is revisited using the techniques of the twenty-first century: ideal point estimates based upon a large Internet panel.

Paper When Do Party Cues Matter?
Matthew S. Levendusky, Stanford University
Overview: It's well established that party cues help voters, but much less is known about the conditions under which they are effective. I show that two factors—sophistication and elite polarization—affect how useful such cues are to citizens.

Disc. Jeff Lewis, University of California, Los Angeles

32-2 CORPORATE LOBBYING AND POLITICAL ACTION
Room TBA, Thu 10:30 am
Chair Silja Haeusermann, University of Zurich
Paper Corporate Lobbying as a Two Sage Rent Seeking Game: Cooperation and Competition
Scott Ainsworth, University of Georgia
Ken Godwin, University of North Carolina, Charlotte
Overview: A two-stage model of rent seeking is developed to derive testable hypotheses related to several important questions concerning corporate lobbying, conditional lobbying, issue agendas, and policy development. The model reflects standard portrayals

Paper The Adaptation of Complex Associational Systems: Coordination and Lobbying Strategies of Business Associations in the Context of Modernization, Globalization, and Europeanization
Volker Schneider, Harvard University
Achim Lang, University of Constance, Germany
Johannes M. Bauer, Michigan State University
Overview: This paper explores the role and effects of business associations in the chemical and information industries in five OECD countries on public policy decisions using a unique data set of the cooperative and competitive relations among associations.

Paper The Determinants of Business Lobbying of the European Parliament
Patrick Bernhagen, University of Aberdeen
Neil J. Mitchell, University of Aberdeen
Overview: We test a model of business political action at the European Union level, using data on Forbes Global 2000 companies. Initial results suggest that standard predictors of firm-level political activity such as firm size perform equally well in Europe

Paper Evaluating the Hidden Power of Conglomerates: Lobbying the U.S. Congress
Holly Brasher, University of Alabama, Birmingham
Overview: An evaluation of corporate lobbying behavior of diverse types of firms as measured by revenue, sales, and geographic dispersion. This paper evaluates both contract lobbying and in-house lobbying efforts.

Paper In a Bind: Business Plans, Market Position and Corporate Lobbying Strategies
Marcus B. Osborn, R&R Partners/Arizona State University
Michelle B. Chin, Arizona State University
Overview: When will firms try to influence the political environment and when will they modify business models in anticipation of a policy shift? By understanding firm market position and issue characteristics an understanding firm strategies can be developed.

Disc. Richard Jankowski, SUNY, Fredonia

33-2 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE PRESIDENCY
Room TBA, Thu 10:30 am
Chair Sean J. Savage, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame
Paper American Political Development and Presidential Inaugural Addresses
Michael E. Bailey, Berry College
Overview: Presidential inaugural addresses aim to unite a sprawling and diverse people by articulating their common political principles. How well do inaugural addresses reveal changes in American political development as political principles have changed?

Paper Presidential Values: Do They Differ Pre- and Post-Institutionalization?
Anna Marie Schub, Rosevelt University
Geralyn Miller, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne
Overview: This paper explores the differences between the post- and pre-institutionalized of the American presidency by reviewing the values espoused in presidential speeches and the values enacted in presidential executive orders.

Paper Hiding in Plain View: Bill Clinton's Social Contractarianism
David J. Siemers, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh
Overview: Clinton sounded contractarian themes at critical junctures during his presidency. I argue that his contractarianism is worth a serious second look because of its unusual sensitivity to periodicity and to the incentives that public policies create.

Disc. Shirley Anne Warshaw, Gettysburg College
Sean J. Savage, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame

33-301 POSTER SESSION: PRESIDENCY RESEARCH
Presenter Political Motivations, Information Gains, and Presidential Polling
Room TBA, Board 10, Thu 10:30 am
James N. Druckman, Northwestern University
Lawrence Jacobs, University of Minnesota
Overview: We present a theory of how politicians collect and use public opinion data. We test expectations with unique private data from Nixon and Reagan.

Presenter Promoting the President's Foreign Policy Agenda: Executive Agreements as Presidential Policy Vehicles
Room TBA, Board 11, Thu 10:30 am
Kiki Caruson, University of South Florida
Victoria A. Farrar-Myers, University of Texas, Arlington
Overview: The paper demonstrates, quantitatively, how presidents during the post-1977 period have used executive agreements as a tool of foreign policy and as a means to promote their foreign policy priorities.

Presenter Forecasting the Runner-Up: Vice Presidential Selection in the Modern Era
Room TBA, Board 12, Thu 10:30 am
Brian J. Brox, Tulane University
Overview: This paper looks at the process by which presidential candidates choose running mates with an eye toward developing a predictive model that will forecast future vice-presidential selections.

Presenter Presidential Policy Priorities and Subcabinet Appointments
Room TBA, Board 13, Thu 10:30 am
Kevin Parisen, University of Minnesota
Overview: This study uses a database of subcabinet appointments between 1961 and 2000 to examine how presidential priorities affect the expertise and loyalty of his subcabinet appointees to different cabinet departments.

Presenter A Unified Explanation of Presidential Activities in the Policy Process
Room TBA, Board 14, Thu 10:30 am
Jonghun Eun, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: I present a unified explanation of presidential activity in the policy process by examining all significant bills and executive orders. Presidential activity involves using formal powers, going public, and personally contacting political actors.

Presenter The Dynamics of Recess Appointments
Room TBA, Board 15, Thu 10:30 am
Anthony Madonna, Washington University, St. Louis
Ryan Owens, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: This paper looks at all recess appointments from the 40th to the 108th Congresses. We evaluate important factors that influence a President's decision to make a recess appointment. We then apply these results to recent controversial appointees.
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<tr>
<th>Presenter</th>
<th>Out of Time: Examining the Effects of Executive Term Limits</th>
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<tr>
<td>Room</td>
<td>TBA, Board 16, Thur 10:30 am</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>DeWayne L. Lucas, Hobart and William Smith Colleges</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Legislative Professionalization and Divided Government in U.S. States</td>
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<td>Insun Kang, University of Rochester</td>
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<td>Overview</td>
<td>I investigate the relationship between legislative professionalization and divided government. I find there is a positive effect of legislative professionalization through incumbency and a negative effect due to voters' policy considerations.</td>
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| Paper     | Congress Under Attack: Congressional Office Administration Post-9/11 |
|           | Jocelyn J. Evans, University of West Florida |
|           | Stephen Stanquist, University of West Florida |
| Overview  | The terrorist attacks of 2001 brought critical changes to the Hill, involving staff training, preparedness, responsibility, and emergency protocol. This analysis examines the factors contributing to staff job satisfaction, performance, and tenure. |

| Paper     | Working or Shirking? A Closer Look at MPs’ Expenses and Attendance |
|           | Valentino Larcinese, The London School of Economics and Political Science |
|           | Timothy Besley, The London School of Economics and Political Science |
| Overview  | This paper studies determinants of MP's expense claims in the UK Parliament. We use the results to reflect on two views of the motivation of MPs, the Public Choice view and the public service view. |

| Paper     | Who Specializes? The Internal and External Influences on Issue Specialization in State Legislatures |
|           | John D. Wilkerson, University of Washington |
|           | Lynda Powell, University of Rochester |
|           | E. Scott Adler, University of Colorado |
|           | Cherie Maestas, Florida State University |
| Overview  | We propose a general theory of legislative issue specialization. We then test this theory using multi-level statistical techniques and individual-level survey data on legislative specialization across the states (in 1995 and 1992). |

| Disc.     | Jacob R. Straus, University of Florida |

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<td>Chair</td>
<td>David C. W. Parker, Indiana University, South Bend</td>
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<td>Paper</td>
<td>Committee Discharge and Minority Party Discontent in the House of Representatives</td>
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<td>Overview</td>
<td>I conduct two empirical analyses of the use of the discharge petition in the House. An aggregate analysis shows discharge filings as a function of electoral, partisan, and ideological factors.</td>
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| Paper | Revisiting the Rules Committee: Do Restrictive Rules Control Floor Votes? |
|       | Sang-Jung Han, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor |
| Overview | This paper empirically investigates the argument that through special rules, the party leadership can engineer passage of bills that have to pass but some members dislike voting for. |

| Paper | Agenda Control Uncovered: Motions to Table in the Senate |
|       | Chris Den Hartog, Northwestern University |
|       | Nathan W. Monroe, Michigan State University |
| Overview | Senate agenda control is widely thought to be precluded by Senators' ability to offer non-germane amendments. We examine the extent to which this conclusion is attenuated by motions to table, which are sometimes used to kill proposed amendments. |

| Paper | Divided Government and Oversight: Utilization of the Congressional Watchdog |
|       | Jeremy D. Waling, Southeast Missouri State University |
| Overview | It is argued in this paper that unified government leads to an increase in member and GAO initiated reports and that divided government leads to an increase in non-routine reports and testimony requested by congressional committees. |

| Paper | Hostile Amendments on Senate Appropriations Bills, 1995-2000 |
|       | Diana Evans, Trinity College |
| Overview | The paper examines hostile amendments proposed to Senate Appropriations bills during three congresses with a focus on changes in partisanship in amending activity over time, especially among committee members. |

| Disc. | C. Lawrence Evans, College of William and Mary |

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<td>James S. Battista, University of North Texas</td>
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<td>Paper</td>
<td>Campaign Effects in US State Legislative Elections</td>
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<td>Doug Roscoe, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth</td>
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<td>Overview</td>
<td>Examines importance of major electoral actors in conduct of candidates' campaigns, as well as campaigns' style, activities and professionalism using candidate/party chair surveys. Assess whether any of these factors affect election outcomes.</td>
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| Paper | Party-Switching Among Incumbent State Legislators |
|       | Edward M. Burmila, Indiana University, Bloomington |
| Overview | Literature on party switching among elected officials is hampered by an over-reliance on Congress. This paper targets state legislatures, where cases are more plentiful, and considers motivations beyond traditional rational choice assumptions. |

| Paper | Personal Politics: Explaining State-level Financial Limits |
|       | Ramona S. McNeal, University of Illinois, Springfield |
|       | Mary Schmeida, Cleveland Clinic Foundation |
|       | Kathleen Hale, Kent State University |
| Overview | In this paper, we will investigate what factors influence the passage of state-level legislative financial disclosure laws. Using multivariate statistical methods, we will examine the influence of factors drawn from the agenda setting literature. |

| Disc. | Jeffrey Lazarus, Georgia State University |

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<td>Richard L. Pacelle, Georgia Southern University</td>
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<td>Paper</td>
<td>Litigation and Bureaucratic Response: Forum Choice in Challenging the IRS</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Robert M. Howard, Georgia State University</td>
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<td>Overview</td>
<td>I examine litigation choice in challenging assessments by the Internal Revenue Service. This manuscript compares the responses of prospective litigants to precedent, litigation success, and amount of assessment in choosing a forum to sue the IRS.</td>
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| Paper | Repeat Players |
|       | Maxwell H. Mak, Stony Brook University |
| Overview | Using an improved measure of litigation experience, I retest McGuire’s (1995) hypotheses that litigation experience at the Supreme Court matters. I find that the relationship between experience and success at the nation's highest court does not appear. |

| Paper | How Justice is Served: The Influences Behind U.S. Attorney Decision-Making |
|       | Colin L. Provost, Nuffield College, Oxford University |
| Overview | This paper examines the decision of U.S. attorneys to fully prosecute or plea-bargain criminal cases, with an emphasis on the relationship between the U.S. Attorney and the Attorney General. |
Paper The Tenth Justice? The Politicization of the Solicitor General’s Office
Patrick C. Wohlforth, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: Here I report on the political role of the solicitor general's office over time. I utilize time series data comparing the SG's success rate with median justice ideology to examine the extent with which the SG advocates presidential policy positions.
Disc. Scott E. Graves, Georgia State University

36-14 COMPLIANCE WITH SUPREME COURT DECISIONS
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair Bradley C. Canon, University of Kentucky
Paper The Supreme Court’s Jurisprudence of Religion and Public School Compliance
Francis J. Carleton, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay
Christina Zuraski, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay
Overview: This paper explores the extent to which select public secondary schools in Brown County, Wisconsin are complying with the U.S. Supreme Court's First Amendment jurisprudence dealing with the Establishment Clause and the Free Exercise Clause.

Paper Impact of Concurring Opinions
Pamela C. Corley, Vanderbilt University
Overview: In this paper, I address whether concurring opinions that accompany Supreme Court decisions influence lower court compliance.

Paper The Effects of a Discretionary Docket on Judicial Compliance
Jonathan K. Kastellec, Columbia University
Overview: I test theories of lower court compliance, using the Supreme Court’s switch from a mandatory docket to a discretionary one to test whether the Court’s ability to pick cases to review at its discretion enhances the probability of compliance.

Paper The Effect of the Lemon Regime on Courts of Appeals Decision Making
Jennifer K. Luse, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Wendy L. Martinek, Binghamton University
Overview: This paper provides a test of the effect of the Supreme Court's Lemon jurisprudential regime on the decisions made by the United States Courts of Appeals.

Paper Strategic Defiance of the United States Supreme Court
Jeffrey Segal, Stony Brook University
Charles Cameron, Princeton University
Lee Epstein, Washington University, Saint Louis
Chad Westerland, University of Arizona
Scott Comparato, Southern Illinois University
Overview: We examine the extent to which panels of the United States Courts of Appeals defy Supreme Court decisions, based on the ideological distance of the panel from the enacting Court, the current Court, and the panel's circuit.

Disc. Donald R. Songer, University of South Carolina

37-2 CONSTITUTIONAL DESIGN AND CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair Christopher B. Budzisz, Loras College
Paper Contrastings Theories of Federalism in Early Constitutions
Michael R. Fine, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire
Overview: The paper compares the 25 earliest state constitutions in 14 states and the National Constitution to extract the underlying theories of federalism to see if the National Constitution and State Constitutions embraced different theories of federalism.

Paper The Sovereign Security Dilemma and the Rule of Law
Hellmut Lotz, University of Maryland
Overview: Analyzing Hobbes's Leviathan from the ruler's point of view, this paper uncovers a paradox, which facilitates the rule of law rather than absolutism. To provide for their own security, rulers must accept limitations, which amount to a constitution.

Paper The Condom Court Case for Supermajority Rules
John O. McGinniss, Northwestern University
Michael R. Rappaport, University of San Diego
Overview: While scholars sometimes argue that the Condorcet Jury Theorem favors majority rule in the legislature, we demonstrate that supermajority rules are often best even within the Condorcet paradigm.

Paper Rewriting the Guarantee Clause: How Courts Translate Public Perception
Kevin M. Wagner, Florida Atlantic University
Overview: Using the shifting meaning of the Guarantee Clause, this paper illustrates how the judiciary subtly redefines the meaning of the Constitution to meet the demands of a dynamic society allowing shifts to occur gradually in the governing structure.

Paper The Origins of Substantive Due Process and Judicial Activism in the Indian Supreme Court
Manoj Mate, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: This paper explores the anomalous development of substantive due process in the Indian Supreme Court, given the framers of the Indian Constitution chose to omit a due process clause to preclude such a development.
Disc. Cornell W. Clayton, Washington State University

38-2 EXECUTIVE POWER IN THE STATES
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair Eric A. Booth, Texas Tech University
Paper Formal and Informal Powers as Sources of Gubernatorial Influence in the State Legislature
James D. King, University of Wyoming
Overview: Students of state government recognize that the governor’s influence over public policy, like the president’s, is not simply a matter of exercising the formal powers of the office.

Paper Executive Orders in the States
Margaret R. Ferguson, Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis
Cynthia Bowling, Auburn University
Overview: This paper presents an exploratory analysis the governors' use of executive orders in the American states.

Justin H. Phillips, Columbia University
Thad Kousser, University of California, San Diego
Overview: We examine the extent and sources of gubernatorial influence on state-level policymaking.

Paper State Policymaking: Adding the Executive into the Legislative-Judicial Equation
Teena Wilhelm, University of Georgia
Overview: This research examines the impact of interbranch relations on state policymaking. Specifically, it asks whether the executive branch conditions the impact of judicial influence on state legislatures.

Paper Creating Welfare as We Know It: State Executive Power and Policy Formation
Joseph J. Fox, University of Wisconsin, Waukesha
Overview: This project examines the relationship between measures of gubernatorial power and welfare policy variation across the American states from 1996-1999.
Disc. Stacy B. Gordon, University of Nevada, Reno

38-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: INTERGOVERNMENTAL LOBBYING
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Presenter Intergovernmental Interest Groups: Horizontal Federalism and Federal Preemption in Reverse as an Alternative Form of National Policies-Making
Jack McGuire, SUNY, Potsdam
Cornell W. Clayton, Washington State University
Overview: Intergovernmental interest groups are cooperating in formal and informal ways which is altering the face of American federalism. The central question this paper addresses
is: to what extent are intergovernmental interest groups coordinating their act

Presenter: Why Do Cities Lobby? Evidence from California
Bertram Johnson, Middelbury College
Overview: What explains why some cities lobby states? I examine 30 years worth of lobbying data to find out.

39-12 CITY GOVERNINg INSTITUTIONS
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair: Trenton J. Davis, Northern Illinois University
Paper: From Daley to Daley: Fifty Years in Chicago Politics
Dick W. Simpson, University of Illinois, Chicago
Overview: The paper studies the political, social, economic and governmental transformations over 50 years in Chicago. It focuses particularly upon changes in the political machine as reflected in election results, campaign contributions, and city council voting.

Paper: City Manager Performance Appraisal: Theory and Practice
Gerald T. Gabris, Northern Illinois University
Gregory Kuhn, Northern Illinois University
Overview: Paper analyzes survey results on how city managers are evaluated by elected officials, and offers insights into best practices.

Paper: Bridging the Gender Wage-Gap: Examining Wages in Professional City Management
Trenton J. Davis, Northern Illinois University
LeAnn Beatty, Northern Illinois University
Overview: Women are at the threshold of ‘breaking the glass ceiling’ in professional city management. This research assesses whether women continue to experience disparate treatment, compared to their male counterparts, in terms of wages.

Disc. Megan Mullin, Temple University
Sandra L. Frankel, Town of Brighton

39-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: EFFECTS OF KATRINA
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Presenter: The Misguided Opportunities of Disaster: Reactions in New Orleans
William G. Holt, University of Connecticut
Donald F. Celmer, New Haven Police Department
Overview: Hurricane Katrina’s devastation of New Orleans presents opportunities to deal with existing urban problems. This paper examines the paradoxes between the proposed policies and existing urban realities in the city.

Presenter: The Effects of Hurricacaine Katrina: The Real Tragedy
Roy McClendon, Jr., Georgia Military College
Overview: In this paper, I will seek to find if the effects of Hurricane Katrina will be present during the 2006 and the 2008 elections of Louisiana. What impact, if any, will this disaster have on the elections throughout the Gulf Coast?

40-10 KATRINA AND FEMA: THE POLITICS AND POLICY OF DISASTER RELIEF (Co-Sponsored with Public Administration, see 43-13)
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair: Karen Mossberger, University of Illinois, Chicago
Paper: The Disastrous Response to Hurricane Katrina: Blame It On the Bureaucracy?
Saundra K. Schneider, Michigan State University
Overview: Why did the governmental response to Hurricane Katrina fail? This paper examines this question by relying upon theories of bureaucratic organization and sociological perspectives on collective behavior. It employs data drawn from media accounts.

Paper: Katrina and Her Waves: Presidential Leadership, Intergovernmental Disaster Management and Hurricane Response and Recovery
Brian J. Gerber, West Virginia University
David B. Cohen, University of Akron
Overview: We evaluate the combined impact of presidential leadership and intergovernmental factors in explaining disaster management outcomes. Specifically, we investigate the dynamics of hurricane response and recovery in the U.S., including Katrina.

Paper: Bureaucracy and Its Hindrances
Viviane E. Foyou, West Virginia University
Arnita Sitasesari, West Virginia University
Overview: After 911, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) moved from an independent federal agency to an agency under the Department of Homeland Security. The paper examines how a change in structure affects FEMA’s response to natural disasters.

Paper: Institutional Design and Participation in Administrative Decision-Making
Scott E. Robinson, University of Texas, Dallas
Overview: Using the results of a unique survey on school violence prevention decision-making in school districts, this paper assesses the effects of two institutional characteristics (bureaucratization and district affluence) administrative process.

Disc. Renee J. Johnson, University of Florida
Karen Mossberger, University of Illinois, Chicago

40-16 THE BIG PICTURE: HEALTH CARE POLICY IN THE AMERICAN STATES (Co-Sponsored with Social Policy, see 41-4)
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair: Colleen M. Grogan, University of Chicago
Paper: The Missing Link in Fiscal Federalism Theory: Waivers and Health Policy
William G. Weissert, Florida State University
Carol S. Weissert, Florida State University
Overview: Can the national health service (NHS) model work in the US States?

Paper: Explicit Language: Fragmentation and Policy Specificity in the US States
Rachel M. VanSickle-Ward, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: This paper tests the effects of political fragmentation on policy specificity (measured using an original coding scheme) by employing a cross sectional design to compare US state statutes on Mental Health Parity.

Paper: The National Health Service and the U.S. Veterans Health Administration
Kay Knickrehm, James Madison University
Jessica R. Adolino, James Madison University
Charles H. Blake, James Madison University
Overview: Can the national health service (NHS) model work in the United States? We examine various indicators to determine if the Veterans Health Administration has performed similarly to the experience with the NHS model abroad.

Paper: Is it Politics or Economics That Influences State Health Policies?
Pamela J. Walsh, Eastern Michigan University
Overview: This study explores the impact of socioeconomic and political characteristics of the fifty states on the passage of eight health policy areas from 1993 through 2002 to identify which of these characteristics influence the passage of health policies.

Paper: The Historical Development of Health Insurance in the US and Canada
Gerard W. Boychuk, University of Waterloo
Overview: Contemporary differences in the health care systems of the United States and Canada are argued to have been shaped by the politics of race in the former and the politics of territorial integration in the latter.
Panelist Much to Do About Suffering
Ronda L. Roberts, Northern Illinois University
Overview: This paper explores the obligations of societies to citizens with regards to suffering. It looks first at a definition of suffering as it concerns societal decision makers, and then argues there is a duty based upon Kantian ethics.

Panelist Social Exclusion
Shawa Fremstad, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities
Overview: The term “social exclusion” appears in the framework laws of the European Union and the laws of several nations. The concept of social exclusion—little used here—has potential to improve our understanding of social issues and our social policies.

Panelist Panelist TBA
Martin Gruberg, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh
Overview: TBA

42-9 WELFARE AND HEALTH IN NEW, OLD, AND OPEN DEMOCRACIES (Co-Sponsored with International Political Economy, see 12-20)

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair Irfan Nooruddin, The Ohio State University
Paper Partisanship and the Welfare State in Developing Countries
Jungkeun Yoon, Claremont Graduate University
Overview: Based on new measurement of partisanship in terms of popularly-based versus non-popularly-based parties, this paper tests a thesis "partisanship matters" in the globalization era in the context of developing countries.

Paper The Three Worlds of Developmental Welfare States
Erik M. Wibbels, University of Washington
John Ahlquist, University of Washington
Overview: We present a model of the formation of developmental welfare states. Economic openness, labor market inequalities, and regime type combine to influence two distinct approaches to social spending. We show how these approaches affect development.

Paper Voting for Welfare: Institutions’ Effect on Issue Salience and Vote Choice
Steve B. Lem, Binghamton University
Brandon C. Zicha, Binghamton University
Overview: We present a model linking the institutional-strategic environment to the weight voters give to the issue dimension of the public provision of societal well-being when making their vote choice, explaining the diversity and dynamics of welfare states.

Disc. Jose Fernandez-Albertos, Harvard University
Irfan Nooruddin, The Ohio State University

43-3 BUREAUCRATIC TURNOVER
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair Dan Wood, Texas A&M University
Paper Information Asymmetries, Public Debt and the Cost of Political Turnover
Robert W. Walker, Texas A&M University
Eric L. Krueger, University of North Texas
Overview: We build a model of state bond ratings in which political turnover creates informational problems for investors. Absent knowledge of the repayment preferences of future coalitions, markets price that transaction cost into the bond interest rate.

Paper Career Choices of Elected County Executives: What Explains Political Ambition?
Jennifer M. Jensen, SUNY, Binghamton
Overview: This paper uses data from a nationwide survey of elected county executives to analyze what institutional and individual factors lead these officials to seek higher office, to remain in their current positions, or to exit public life.

Paper Tenure in the President’s Cabinet: A Quantitative Analysis
Kyle A. Scott, Miami University
David P. Zellers, Jr., Miami University
Overview: In seeking a better understanding of what factors affect the tenure of department heads we perform a quantitative analysis taking into account political and social factors that illuminate explanations at both the macro and micro levels of behavior.

Paper The Analysis on Duration of City Managers and Competing Risks Model
In Won Lee, Florida State University
Overview: Reflecting the limitations of previous research streams, this paper will add more rigorous explanation on manager duration in two senses.

Disc. David E. Lewis, Princeton University

44-2 EXPLORING ETHNICITY AND INEQUALITY

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair Dan Slater, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Paper Persistence of the Institutions of Ethnicity in Russia, Turkey, and Austria
Sener Akhurst, University of California, Berkeley
Joseph E. Luders, Yeshiva University
Overview: In the paper, I present a set of analytical tools for the historical and comparative analysis of American political inequality. This research is meant to broaden the academic conversation about these larger aspects of inequality research.

Paper American Political Inequality in Historical and Comparative Perspective
Shawn Fremstad, Claremont Graduate University
Overview: We present a model of the formation of developmental welfare states. Economic openness, labor market inequalities, and regime type combine to influence two distinct approaches to social spending. We show how these approaches affect development.

Robert Mickey, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: This paper traces the legacies for economic development generated by different processes of democratization in the authoritarian enclaves of Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

Disc. Dan Slater, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

44-101 AUTHOR MEETS CRITIC: CONSIDERING THE BUSH PRESIDENCY IN POLITICAL TIME

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Panelist Amy Bridges, University of California, San Diego
Michael P. Brown, University of California, Santa Cruz
Eileen McDonagh, Northeastern University
Alvin Tillery, University of Notre Dame
Keith Whittington, Princeton University
Stephen Skowronek, Yale University
Overview: TBA

46-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: TOCQUEVILLE AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Presenter Tocqueville’s 19th Century Theory in Solving Putnam’s 21st Century Problem
David M. Dolence, Cuyahoga Community College
Overview: Tocquevillian theory of associations will be examined in the context of his entire democratic theory and it will be shown how this is valuable in understanding Putnam’s (2000) associational findings and improving his arguments on American democracy.
Presenter: Economic Inequality, Its Spatial Concentration and Its Affect on Civic Life
Amy Widstrom, Syracuse University
Overview: Political participation has declined as economic inequality and segregation has increased, a relationship that remains understudied. This paper explores how economic segregation affects the civic life of neighborhoods and civic engagement.

47-11 ISLAMIC POLITICAL THOUGHT
Room: TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair: Sergei I. Zhuk, Ball State University
Paper: Fundamentalism Revised: Mawdudi, Khomeini, and the Fundamentalist Paradigm
Simon Wood, University of Nebraska, Lincoln
Overview: This paper critiques the prevailing model of religious fundamentalism, which was first advanced in the Fundamentalism Project (1991-95). I draw on the writings of Mawlana Mawdudi and Ayatollah Khomeini to argue that the model lacks utility.

Gamal A. M. Gasim, Texas Tech University
Overview: This study will attempt to answer the following question: How does Khomeini manage to revolutionize the political thought of Shi'ah on the issue of legitimacy without changing the basic pillars of the Shi'ah doctrine?

Paper: Protesting the Heresies of Modernity
Hassan Bashir, Texas A&M University
Overview: The development of Islamic fundamentalism in South Asia is a result of the advent of modernity. The genesis of Islamic fundamentalist political thought has parallels with the theories of Habermas and Rawls.

Paper: Equal, Subservient, or Something in Between?
Megan Kerr, Northern Illinois University
Overview: Due to some important moral and political implications for the development of liberal democracy in Muslim states, one must seek to acquire an accurate understanding of the role of women under Islamic teachings.

Disc.: Ted G. Jelen, DePauw University
Shodja E. Ziaian, York University

49-301 POSTER SESSION: WOMEN IN POLITICAL SCIENCE: TRENDS IN EMPLOYMENT AND FAMILY STATUS
Room: TBA, Board 17, Thur 10:30 am
Presenter: Sarah Hughes, NORC at the University of Chicago
Overview: Using data from the most recent Survey of Doctoral Recipients this paper assesses the relationship between gender, employment, and family status for female political scientists.

51-1 THE RIGHT TO MARRY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE
Room: TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair: Susan Burgess, Ohio University
Paper: Same-Sex Marriage in the United States and Canada
Amanda J. Burgess, Wayne State University
Overview: This paper presents an in-depth examination of the same-sex marriage debate simultaneously occurring in the United States and Canada. The political, constitutional and societal elements of this debate will be considered.

Paper: Gay Marriage As a Religious Right
Debra DeLaet, Drake University
Rachel Paine Caufield, Drake University
Overview: This paper explores the implications of framing gay marriage as a "religious right," the validity of conceptions of marriage as a sacred heterosexual union, and pertinent U.S. legal cases that define religious liberty and marriage rights.

Disc.: Julie White, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Thursday, April 20 – 1:45 pm – 3:30 pm

2-2 HUMAN CAPITAL AND THE DETERMINANTS OF EDUCATION POLICY

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Gunther Hega, Western Michigan University
Paper Measuring Human Capital: A Comparative Analysis of PISA Background Factors
Elisabeth B. Muhlenberg, University of Illinois, Chicago
Overview: This paper assesses macro-level structural factors and agent characteristics behind the OECD’s student achievement scores (PISA) of more than 40 countries. Germany is used to show how measuring human capital connects education and the economy.

Jane R. Gingrich, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: This paper uses pan-OECD data to demonstrate that important shifts in education governance have occurred over the past twenty years. The paper assesses the power of informal action by social actors versus formal legal change in explaining this shift.

Paper Determinants of Public, Private and Sectoral Education Spending in OECD Countries
Marius R. Bussemeyer, University of Heidelberg
Overview: This talk presents results from an analysis of the statistical determinants of public, private and sectoral education spending in 21 OECD countries.

Paper From the Ballot to the Blackboard: Partisan and Institutional Effects on Education Policy
Ben W. Ansell, Harvard University
Overview: This paper examines the effects of partisanship, conditional on electoral institutions, in determining the level of education spending in the OECD from 1960 to 2000.

Paper Who Cares About Human Capital? The Politics Behind Recent Education Reforms
Katherine Glassmyer, Yale University
Overview: Using an original dataset and two case studies, I examine the politics that led to recent education policy reforms in the rich democracies. Particular attention is paid to what role, if any, business interests have played.

Disc. Gunther Hega, Western Michigan University

2-18 THE POLITICS OF REFERENDA -- THE EU CONSTITUTION

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Marco R. Steenbergen, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Paper The Failed EU Constitution Referendum: The French Case in Perspective
Francesca Vassallo, University of Southern Maine
Overview: The failed EU Constitution referendum in France has highlighted a new spreading attitude towards the European integration project. Both domestic and international factors are responsible for this increasing French dislike of the EU.

Paper Clientelism as Political Strategy: a Formal Theory
Leonardo A. Gatica-Arreola, University of Guadalajara
Overview: This paper proposes a formal model to explain the use of clientelism and its relationship with political competition, social cleavages, poverty and inequality.

Paper A Kingdom Divided Against Itself: The Ratification of the EU Constitution
Timothy S. Boylan, Winthrop University
Overview: This study examines and evaluates the ratification of the EU Constitution. It compares and contrasts the 2004-2005 ratification process in Europe with that of its American counterpart in 1787-1788.

Paper The Spanish Referendum on the EU Constitution: Issues, Parties and Second Order Effects
Joan Font, Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS)
Overview: The results of the Spanish referendum on the EU Constitutional Treaty (especially the option to vote YES/NO) will be discussed using the CIS postreferendum survey.

Paper Why the French Voted No
Bruno Cautres, CIDESP
Overview: The results of the French referendum on the EU Constitutional Treaty (especially the option to vote YES/NO) will be discussed using a postreferendum survey.

Disc. Marco R. Steenbergen, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

3-17 LINKING (OR UNLINKING) DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL SPENDING

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Kimberly E. Moloney, American University
Paper The Impact of Economic Reforms on Corporate Governance
Nancy E. Brune, Princeton University
Overview: This paper explores the impact of the IMF, and mediating effects of democracy and openness on social spending in emerging economies.

Paper Democratization and Public Sector Change: Evidence From Latin American Countries
Guillermo M. Cejudo, Boston University
Overview: What are the effects of democratization on the performance of the public sector? This paper explains the effects of democratization on bureaucratic effectiveness, public sector size, corruption and professionalism.

Paper Does Democracy Keep its Promise? Democracy and Post-Transfer Inequality
Sung Park, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Woojin Kang, Florida State University
Dae Jin Yi, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: This paper tries to contribute to the controversy on the relation between democracy and inequality.

Paper Inequality and the Welfare State in Developing Countries
Wonik Kim, Louisiana State University
Overview: The purpose of this paper is to explore and test the relationship between the distribution of income within a society and the welfare state expansion in developing countries.

Disc. Michelle L. Dion, Georgia Institute of Technology

3-101 ROUNDTABLE: INTERNATIONAL AID AND REGIME STABILITY

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Panelist Does Democracy Attract More Foreign Aid?
Yu-Sung Su, CUNY, The Graduate Center
Overview: Does regime type matters in determining the amount of foreign aid a country would receive? This paper quests the answer by employing 2SLS, matching methods, Heckman selection method, and difference-in-difference estimation.

Panelist Aid and Growth in Autocracies: How Time Horizons Impacts the Use of Aid
Joseph Wright, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: I model how autocratic leaders’ time horizons affect their decisions over the use of foreign aid in different types of autocracies. I test this model using aid and growth data on 112 autocracies between 1970 and 2000.

4-2 SYSTEMIC THEME AND VARIATION IN TRANSITIONAL DEMOCRACIES

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Simone R. Bohn
Panelist Does Democracy Keep its Promise? Democracy and Post-Transfer Inequality

Panelist Sustaining Democratic Regimes: Structure, Institutions, and Culture
Pippa Norris, Harvard University
Overview: What distinguishes the nations which forged ahead with major regime transitions, becoming stable democracies
Paper **Referendum and Popular Support for Democracy**
Eric Chang, Michigan State University
Overview: This paper contributes to the literature and proposes an important yet previously unexplored source of popular support for democracy: the availability of referendum. This paper argues that referendum gives citizens a valuable opportunity to direct

Paper **Electoral Systems as Outcomes of Political Transitions**
Minodora A. Buliga-Stoian, Binghamton University
Overview: The paper analyzes the political factors that impact the choice of a certain type of electoral system over others in the context of countries in transition.

Paper **The Lifespan of a Constitutional System**
Zachary S. Elkins, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Thomas Ginsburg, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
James Melton, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: Drawing from a new set of cross-national data, the authors describe patterns in the duration of constitutional systems and test predictions based on the design of the constitution, state-level factors, exogenous shocks, and theories of diffusion.

Paper **Recalibrating the War on Terror by Enhancing Sustainable Development**
Kevin J. Fandl, George Mason University
Overview: The war on terrorism has brought Middle East democratization to the forefront of foreign affairs. This essay examines the possibility that current democratization approaches in the Middle East may be increasing the likelihood of terrorist activity.

**Disc. TBA**

4-8 **ASSESING THE DEPTH OF TAIWAN'S DEMOCRACY**

Room TBA, Thurs 1:45 pm
Chair TBA

Paper **National Identity Change and Multiple Identities in Taiwan**
Shiau-chi Shen, Columbia University
Overview: This paper questions the conventional view seeing Taiwanese national identity and Chinese national identity as mutually exclusive; further this paper offers explanations to the compatible coexistence of the two national identities.

Paper **The Difference a Legislature Makes: Air Pollution Fees in Taiwan and China**
Eric Zusman, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This article examines how Taiwan's Legislative Yuan has tightened administrative rules governing air pollution fees. The lack of representative legislature in China has left the state-level factors, exogenous shocks, and theories of diffusion.

Paper **Maintaining Taiwan's Democracy**
Ketty W. Chen, University of Oklahoma
Overview: The paper investigates the possibility on the maintenance of Taiwan's new democracy by examining institutional factors presented by Juan Linz and Scott Mainwaring on the perils of presidentialism and multipartyism.

Paper **Does Democracy Cultivate Higher Democratic Values in Taiwan?**
Kuang-hui Chen, University of California, Santa Barbara
Overview: This paper is designed to explore the impacts of democratization on people's political attitudes by examining democratic values of two generations of university students who grew up during different stages of democratization in Taiwan.

Paper **What's in a Name? Identity Politics and Civil-Military Relations in Taiwan**
Yisuo Tseng, George Washington University
Overview: Current scholarships have failed to address how to promote democratic civil-military relations under contested national identity politics. This paper intends to fill in the blank by examining Taiwan's path toward democratic control of the military.

**Disc. TBA**

4-22 **THE ROLE OF INFORMATION AND MEDIA IN DEMOCRATIZING SOCIETIES**

Room TBA, Thurs 1:45 pm
Chair William J. Crotty, Northeastern University

Paper **I Want My MTV: Media, Freedom of Information and Democracy**
Thomas D. Zweifel, Columbia University
Overview: A simple yet surprising relationship between the availability of television, and the emergence and consolidation of democracy.

Paper **A Multi-level Approach to Mass Media and Democratization**
Paul M. Loveless, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: Rather than a variation of Western media institutions in democratizing countries vary substantively from them and provide these citizens qualitatively dissimilar mass media choices that result in a non-Western array of observed media effects.

**Disc. Kam C. Wong, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh**

5-2 **ELECTORAL POLITICS IN EUROPE**

Room TBA, Thurs 1:45 pm
Chair Christos Bourdouvalis, Augusta State University

Paper **The Survey of E-learning Policies**
Yong Jim Park, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: The paper examines the patterns of e-learning policies in higher-educational markets of three nations – the US, EU, and South Korea. This study argues that regulatory legacies embedded in each nation hinder effective e-learning policy development.

**Disc. TBA**

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### 6-301 POSTER SESSION: CANADIAN POLITICS

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<th>Presenter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Room</th>
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<tr>
<td>State Capacity in Local Government: British Columbian Tuberculosis Control</td>
<td>TBA, Board 1, Thur 1:45 pm</td>
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<td>Alan G. Czaplicki, Northwestern University</td>
<td>Overview: This paper explores the development of a centralized British Columbian tuberculosis control system through the integration of local government and non-government health initiatives, resulting in an uneven hybridization of local and provincial powers.</td>
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<td>Presenter Writs of Election and Voting Rights: Towards Incremental Electoral Reform?</td>
<td>TBA, Board 2, Thur 1:45 pm</td>
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<td>Brian M. Doody, University of Montreal</td>
<td>Overview: TBA</td>
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<td>Presenter Canadian Political Realignment: Regionalism and Federal PID</td>
<td>TBA, Board 3, Thur 1:45 pm</td>
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<td>Shauna F. L. Reilly, Georgia State University</td>
<td>Overview: This paper explores the shift in partisan identification due to failed Constitutional transformation, which plagued Canadian politics from the late 1970s to the early 1990s and the impact of this melodrama on partisan identification of Canadians.</td>
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<td>Presenter The Song Remains the Same: Sexual Assault Myths and Stereotypes in English Canadian Newspapers</td>
<td>TBA, Board 4, Thur 1:45 pm</td>
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<td>Shannon M. Sampert, University of Winnipeg</td>
<td>Overview: This paper examines the use of sexual assault myths in English Canadian newspapers in 2002. Using content and critical discourse analysis, the coverage of sexual assault in six daily newspapers was examined over a one year period.</td>
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<td>Presenter Mending Fences: Towards a More Representative System of Canadian Government</td>
<td>TBA, Board 5, Thur 1:45 pm</td>
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<td>Loreta L. M. Smith, University of Guelph</td>
<td>Overview: In Canada, there have been numerous calls to reform its electoral system. How might such reforms increase both the numeric and substantive representation of Canada's indigenous population?</td>
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<td>Presenter Canadian Electoral Reform: A Move Toward More Proportional Representation</td>
<td>TBA, Board 6, Thur 1:45 pm</td>
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<td>Chris S. Andrews, University of Connecticut</td>
<td>Overview: This paper compares the processes used to reach electoral reform recommendations in several Canadian provinces and analyzes those recommendations both comparatively across provinces, and in the context of the electoral reform literature.</td>
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<td>Presenter Quebec Anglophones, Human Rights, and Linguistic Peace</td>
<td>TBA, Board 7, Thur 1:45 pm</td>
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<td>William C. Green, Morehead State University</td>
<td>Overview: A comparative analysis of Quebec Anglophone domestic constitutional and international legal challenges to their province’s efforts to secede from Canadian and to its French language business advertising and public education policies.</td>
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<td>Presenter Is Influence Illusionary? The Effects of Ownership on Political Coverage</td>
<td>TBA, Board 8, Thur 1:45 pm</td>
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<td>Cristina J. Howorun, Queen’s University</td>
<td>Overview: Examining the differences in political coverage as newspapers change owners; from Hollinger to CanWest.</td>
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### 7-1 ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND CAMPAIGNS IN LATIN AMERICA

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<tr>
<th>Room</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TBA, Thur 1:45 pm</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chair</th>
<th>University of Tennessee</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jana Morgan Kelly</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Campaign Spending in Multimember Districts: When Incumbents Face Incumbents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felipe Botero, Universidad de los Andes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Santiago Olivia, Universidad de los Andes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview: As incumbency may lose its explanatory power in districts where incumbents are pitted against other incumbents, we explore the effects of campaign expenditures on political competition in highly competitive settings.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>False Opportunity? District Magnitude and Ethnic Parties in Ecuador and Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karleen A. Jones, University of Iowa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview: This paper examines how within-country variation in district magnitude affects the ability for parties that target geographically-concentrated minorities to earn seats in the Spanish Congress of Deputies and the Ecuadorian National Congress.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>The Political Consequences of Malapportionment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eduardo L. Leon, Columbia University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview: Malapportionment occurs whenever there is a discrepancy between the share of proportion of seats and the proportion of the population present in a country's districts.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Preference Vote and Party Cohesion: Incentives to Cultivate a Party-Vote</td>
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<td>Juan Carlos Rodriguez-Raga, University of Pittsburgh</td>
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<td>Overview: By analyzing results in over 1,000 Colombian local legislative elections, the paper examines the factors explaining the decisions made by parties and voters aimed at promoting a party-centered vote in a highly personalized context.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>The Political Dynamics of Special Economic Zones in China</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tony Frye, Miami University, Oxford</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview: This paper addresses the growth, types, as well as the political dynamics of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) in China.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Ford Motor Company and the Political Economy of China's Automotive Sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Schortgen, Miami University of Ohio</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview: The paper addresses the politics of automotive sector investment and expansion in China, with specific focus on Ford Motor Co.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Role of Local Authorities in Attracting Investment: China and Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irina G. Aervitz, Miami University</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview: The paper focuses on the implementation of investment policies in China and Russia at the local level.</td>
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Disc. Walter Arnold, University of Ohio
Paper Economic Inequality in the Era of Globalization
Su-Hyun Lee, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: This paper examines what effects globalization exercises on economic inequality and welfare spending and how these effects are intermediated by domestic political institutions. It focuses on the cases of advanced industrial countries since the 1980s.

Paper Foreign Direct Investment and Income Inequality in Developing Countries: An Exploration of the Causal Relationship Using Industry-Level FDI Data
John M. Stringer, University of Notre Dame
Overview: This paper examines the effect of foreign direct investment on income inequality in developing countries. Industry level data is used in an attempt to further the understanding of the causal mechanisms behind the relationship of FDI and income inequality.

Disc. Layna Mosley, University of North Carolina

13-2 INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS, DOMESTIC POLITICS
Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Daniel Y. Kono, University of California, Davis
Paper Linking Domestic Decision-Making and External Bargaining in Trade Policy
Laura R. Dawson, Carleton University
Overview: This paper pairs Kingdon’s multiple streams with synthetic utility bargaining to examine the evolution of the highly contested Canada-US Free Trade Agreement, bringing domestic and external decision-making together in an integrated framework.

Paper Nonparametric Effect of Domestic Economic Conditions on Crisis and War
Yingying Na, New York University
Overview: Smith (1998) proposes a quadratic relationship between domestic politics and hawkish foreign policy. Diversionary war hypothesis suggests the relationship is linear. I employ GAMs to assess the effects of domestic politics on hawkish foreign policy.

Paper Trade Specialization and Educational Attainment in Developing Countries
Tim C. Wegenast, University of Pompea Fabra
Overview: This paper relates countries’ export structures with their educational attainment figures, arguing that an export specialization on certain types of agricultural goods partly explains the differences in schooling found within the developing world.

Paper Why Economic Exchanges Could Not Produce Peace Across Taiwan Strait?
Eugene Kuan, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: This paper explains the volatility accompanying the pacifying power of economic interdependence in Taiwan-China relations. Viewing from Taiwan's domestic politics, I argue an explanatory factor is how consolidated the Taiwanese leader's power was.

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

14-3 US SECURITY
Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Donald Schaefer, University of Louisiana, Lafayette
Paper Collective Paranoia and Trust Dilemma: A Psychological Approach to the Beijing-Washington-Taipei Triangular Relationship
Xiaoyu Pu, Kent State University
Overview: This paper provides a psychological explanation of the Taiwan Strait crisis within the framework of trust and distrust in international relations. The author also discusses the implications of the case in political psychology and Asian security.

Paper Long Term International Security: The International Futures Simulation and Emerging Global Order
Richard W. Chadwick, University of Hawaii
Overview: This paper discusses the National Intelligence Council’s “2020 Report,” the publicly available computer simulation employed, the nature of its alternative national security futures, and the need for greater public education about this work.

Andrew C. Richter, University of Windsor
Overview: Canada and the US have been partners in the defense of North America for over six decades. However, new tensions have recently begun to emerge. This paper will examine some of the current controversies as well as the increasing political divergence.

Paper Civil-Military Relations and Strategy
Dessie P. Zagorcheva, Columbia University
Overview: This article analyzes how relations among civilian and military leaders at the top of the government affect the ability of a state to make and implement decisions on the use of force.

Disc. Alex Braithwaite, Pennsylvania State University
John H. Parham, Davenport University

15-2 MEDIATION AND CONFLICT
Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Mark Crescenzi, University of North Carolina
Paper Regional Organizations and Conflict Management
Holley E. Hansen, University of Iowa
Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, University of Iowa
Overview: We argue that as a regional organization becomes more democratic it will be a more proactive and effective conflict manager. We also compare how effective regional IGOs, conflict parties, and other international actors are at resolving issue claims.

Paper Seizing Silences in Struggles: When Does Mediation Matter in Civil Wars?
Rodelio C. Manacsa, Vanderbilt University
Scott E. Walker, University of Canterbury
Overview: This paper tests the effects of potential determinants of successful civil war mediation. It adopts a “two timeframe” approach to mediation success in civil wars; probing the impact of key variables to peace defined in “short” and “extended” terms.

Paper State Mediation vs. IO Mediation: When Do States Dump Mediation?
Young D. Cho, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: This paper examines the question “Why do states mediate some interstate conflicts and international organizations others?” By investigating this question, the paper attempts to clarify the context in which each of the two actors offer to mediate.

Holger Schmidt, College of William and Mary
Kyle Beardsley, University of California, San Diego
Overview: This paper examines the relative efficacy of different crisis management techniques. Drawing on bargaining theory, we argue that non-coercive techniques are more effective than coercive techniques and test this claim by examining all UN interventions in int. crises between 1945 and 2002.

Disc. Mark Crescenzi, University of North Carolina

15-6 INTERVENTION AND OUTCOMES
Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Michael P. Colaresi, Michigan State University
Paper The Effectiveness of Directive Mediation Strategies and Interdependence
Siu-Mi Lee, SUNY, Binghamton
Overview: Confirming that directive mediation strategies are the most effective in international militarized disputes, this paper attempts to argue that they are particularly successful when disputants are less interdependent - economic and political.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Interested Parties: The Economic Determinants of Civil War Intervention</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christine Carpino, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patrick Egan, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Reed Wood, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Overview: Using a hazard analysis, we compare the onset and intensity of third party intervention to the degree of international economic investment in the conflict country.</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Promises, Promises, Promises... Informal Commitments and Military Interventions in Ongoing Disputes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Renato Corbetta, University of Alabama, Birmingham</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overview: This paper expands existing arguments on the reliability of international commitments by looking at the influence of informal (verbal) commitments on the likelihood of future third party military interventions in ongoing inter-state conflicts.</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>When is Enough Enough: Domestic Politics and the Duration of Democratic Interventions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Michael T. Koch, Texas A&amp;M University</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Patricia L. Sullivan, University of Georgia</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Overview: Tends examine only the onset of conflict and is centered squarely on the United States. What is missing is an understanding of how domestic political conditions continue to influence conflict once underway.</td>
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| Disc. | Michael P. Colaresi, Michigan State University |

16-2 CONGRESS AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

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<tr>
<th>Room</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>Matthew M. Caverly, University of Florida</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Committees, Leaders and Congressional Effects on Presidential Uses of Force</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peter M. Holm, University of Wisconsin, Madison</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Timothy Werner, University of Wisconsin, Madison</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Overview: We build on recent work by Howell and Pevehouse (2005) to explore the effects of interbranch and institutional factors beyond partisanship in the way that Congress affects the presidential use of force.</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Executive-Congressional Information Sharing in Foreign Policy</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hilde E. Restad, University of Virginia</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Overview: Exemplified by Angola and Iraq, the author argues that the structural bias in favor of the Executive in terms of public information and confidential intelligence control is what excludes Congress from a constitutional partnership in foreign policy.</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Partisan Politics of China NTR Extensions: Party Influence in Foreign Policy</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jungkun Seo, University of Texas, Austin</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Overview: This paper revisits the congressional politics of NTR extensions to China from 1990 to 2000 to see how congressional members facing different party status change their vote choices on a key foreign policy issue over time.</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tao Xie, Northwestern University</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overview: This paper offers an aggregate analysis of Congress' role in foreign policy, in particular U.S. policy toward China. That Congress has always been an active and influential actor in China policy makes such a study necessary and meaningful.</td>
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| Disc. | James M. McCormick, Iowa State University |

17-3 DESIGNING SECURITY INSTITUTIONS

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>Brett Ashley Leeds, Rice University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>European Security Institutions and Rational Institutional Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leanne C. Powner, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overview: Application of Koremenos et al’s (2001) conjectures about rational institutional design to the various institutions of European security</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Big Sticks and Contested Carrots: A Power-Centric Approach to the Study of International Security Institutions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vaidyanatha Gundupet, University of Chicago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overview: This paper investigates into why states build institutions in the security sphere and argues that institution-building in the international security sphere have to be understood as a cost-effective instrument of powerful states to regulate the behavior</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>State Reputation and the Rational Design of Institutions: Military Alliances Before the First World War</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gregory D. Miller, College of William &amp; Mary</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overview: I suggest that a state's reputation for reliability affects the design of its military alliances in three ways: the precision of the treaty; the costs required to be a member; and the degree to which the member states' militaries are integrated.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Theorizing Chinese Security Cooperation in the New Great Game</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mininali Menon, University of British Columbia</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overview: This paper evaluates the factors shaping the Chinese decision to pursue a multilateral strategy for security cooperation in Central Asia through the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in the context of regional US bilateral agreements since 2001.</td>
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| Disc. | Brett Ashley Leeds, Rice University |

18-7 MISPERCEPTIONS, MISINFORMATION, AND LEARNING

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<th>Room</th>
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<tr>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>Toby Bolen, Northwestern University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Guibbile Public, Cunning Executives, or Negligent Media? A Theory of Misperceptions</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kevin D. Navratil, University of Illinois, Chicago</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Overview: Scholars often attribute citizens' political misperceptions to psychological mechanisms. Experimental data is used to illuminate the role of political factors and information processing in the formation and maintenance of public misperceptions.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>The Enduring Power of False Political Information</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John G. Bullock, Stanford University</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overview: Voters are not thought to be influenced by statements that they don't believe. But theory suggests that they are. I use experiments to show that they are influenced by political messages they know to be false. The effect is amplified by partisanship.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Experiencing Politics Through Entertainment -- Evidence from Experiments</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Doris A. Graber, University of Illinois, Chicago</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overview: My paper reports evidence from experiments which test what types of political knowledge viewers gain from watching political situations embedded in popular television dramas. The focus will be on the political significance of the findings.</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Can Citizens Learn from Deliberation? Examining a Deliberative Experiment</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lori M. Weber, California State University, Chico</td>
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<td>Peter Muhlberger, Carnegie Mellon University</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Overview: Using data from a representative sample of 568 Pittsburgh residents who came to a one day deliberative experiment, this paper examines the effect of deliberation on political knowledge and sophistication—a trait called “deliberative learning.”</td>
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| Disc. | Paul J. Quirk, University of British Columbia |

18-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: COLLECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS AND CONGRESS

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Room</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Presenter</td>
<td>Congressional Bipartisanship Through a Consciousness-Based (SM) Approach</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rachel S. Goodman, Maharishi University of Management</td>
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<td></td>
<td>David W. Orme-Johnson, Maharishi University of Management</td>
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<td>David H. Goodman, Maharishi University of Management</td>
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<th>Paper</th>
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<td>Overview: This paper evaluates the factors shaping the Chinese decision to pursue a multilateral strategy for security cooperation in Central Asia through the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in the context of regional US bilateral agreements since 2001.</td>
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| Disc. | Brett Ashley Leeds, Rice University |

102
Paper: The Saliency of Race and Religion in Southern Elections
Overview: Republicans have dominated recent presidential elections in the South, but not state elections. This study analyzes the reasons for this by examining the politics of race and religion in the South.

Paper: The Racial and Political Implications of the Straight-Ticket Option
Overview: This paper applies ecological inference to data from Washington, DC enhanced bipartisanship.

Paper: The Salience of Race and Religion in Southern Elections
Overview: This paper examines policy voting in the 2000 and 2005 electorates, using the same general approach taken in THE AMERICAN VOTER. The basic findings are also considered in terms of more recent theories, analyses, and controversies.

Paper: The Impact of Race and Ideology on Voting: Does Race Still Matter?
Overview: Using a unique data set that contains information on candidates' ideological positions as well as exit polls of two House elections, the paper examines the role of race in voting decisions even after controlling for the effects of ideology.

Paper: The Salience of Race and Religion in Southern Elections
Overview: Scholars and journalists have difficulties predicting the events related to Iran (IRI) because this state behaves like a schizophrenic individual rather than rationally.

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Paper: The Salience of Race and Religion in Southern Elections
Overview: Scholars and journalists have difficulties predicting the events related to Iran (IRI) because this state behaves like a schizophrenic individual rather than rationally.

Paper: The Racial and Political Implications of the Straight-Ticket Option
Overview: This paper applies ecological inference to data from Washington, DC enhanced bipartisanship.
Overview: The beginning of the Iraq war brought about a rally and to roughly the same extent, change their opinions at the same time, in the same direction, on a visible oppositional message presented by credible sources.

Overview: This paper shows that influence their decisions? Or, do political networks overlap with personal networks that are a reflection of our everyday interests?

Overview: In this paper, we focus on the nature of political networks. Do people construct specialized political networks that may account for it.

Overview: Three sets of randomized field experiments were conducted on cable systems across the country during the 2003 election. We conduct a neural network analysis to examine the differential response among partisans and political independents to negative campaign advertising in terms of their expected probability of voting in the 2000 Presidential election.

Overview: Through an examination of African American networks, and African American Opposition to the War in Iraq

Overview: Indonesia is a technologically sophisticated Muslim country where officials have had to balance the seemingly conflicting developments in music, technology and globalization with traditional cultural values and religious fundamentalism.

Overview: When testing political knowledge, personality and undergrads is used to assess the effects of including a "don't know" option when testing political knowledge. Personality and risk-taking behavior are controlled in this split-ballot design.

Paper Family Members, Friends, and Neighbors: Differences in Personal and Political Networks
Scott D. McClurg, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Casey Klofstad, Miami University
Meredith Rolfe, Oxford University
Overview: In this paper, we focus on the nature of political networks. Do people construct specialized political networks that influence their decisions? Or, do political networks overlap with personal networks that are a reflection of our everyday interests?

Paper Don't Know, Don't Care: Political Knowledge Tests and the Don't Know Option
Melissa K. Miller, Bowling Green State University
Shannon Orr, Bowling Green State University
Overview: New and least educated sample surveys of 800 undergrads is used to assess the effects of including a "don't know" option when testing political knowledge. Personality and risk-taking behavior are controlled in this split-ballot design.

Paper Do You See What I See? Partisan Bias, Campaign Negativity, and Turnout
Thomas M. Carney, Florida State University
Melissa Neal, Florida State University
Overview: We analyze how racial messages increase voting participation. I consider the effects of racial attitudes on turnout in a racialized Presidential campaign compared to one less racialized. I find racial messages cue racial factors, increasing turnout.

Paper Racial Campaign Messages as Cues to Increase White Voting Participation
Gregory A. Petrov, University of Nebraska, Omaha
Overview: I analyze how racial messages increase voting participation. I consider the effects of racial attitudes on turnout in a racialized Presidential campaign compared to one less racialized. I find racial messages cue racial factors, increasing turnout.

Paper Role of New Media in Indian Civil Society
Sarbeswar Sahoo, National University of Singapore
Overview: By taking a case study, the paper will argue that the new media knowledge in India has been confined to the elite sphere and it is the traditional media which has created a social space for the periphery in democratic and civil society movements.

Paper The Politics of the Internet in Asia: Facilitating Politics from the Bottom-Up or the Top-Down?
Orion A. Lewis, University of Colorado, Boulder
Overview: This comparative study of four Asian countries that have embraced information technology-China, Singapore, Malaysia and South Korea-attempts to move beyond a dichotomous debate about whether the Internet will or will not lead to democracy.

Paper Do You See What I See? Partisan Bias, Campaign Negativity, and Turnout
Thomas M. Carney, Florida State University
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Overview: We analyze how racial messages increase voting participation. I consider the effects of racial attitudes on turnout in a racialized Presidential campaign compared to one less racialized. I find racial messages cue racial factors, increasing turnout.

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Gregory A. Petrov, University of Nebraska, Omaha
Overview: I analyze how racial messages increase voting participation. I consider the effects of racial attitudes on turnout in a racialized Presidential campaign compared to one less racialized. I find racial messages cue racial factors, increasing turnout.
Panelist: Regaining a Backbone? Journalism Post-Katrina
Margaret Hankenson, University of Wisconsin Colleges

Overview: The paper explores the aggressive reporting witnessed during Hurricane Katrina and asks whether this extends beyond, paying special attention to the reporting of the indictment of Tom Delay and coverage of events in Iraq, following Katrina.

InFORMAL Roundtable: GenDEr AND STAte JudgeMent EleCtions
Room: TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Presenter: Gender & State Courts: The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same
Elaine Martin, Eastern Michigan University
Bethany Snead, Eastern Michigan University

Overview: The present study goes beyond earlier studies examining the impact judicial selection methods have on the representation of women on state trial courts, to include additional state-based variables and three time frames.

25-202 INFORmAL ROUNDTABLE: GENDER AND STAtE JUDICIAL ELECTIONS
Room: TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Presenter: An Examination of How Gender Stereotypes Affect Voters' Perceptions of State Supreme Court Candidates
Melissa L. Feldner, Ohio University

Overview: Only rarely have the effects of voters' gender stereotypes been studied in conjunction with the selection of State Supreme Court candidates. This paper uses an historical analysis as well as survey data to explore this issue.

25-301 PosT ER SESSION: GENDERED POLITICS AROUND THE WORLD
Room: TBA, Board 9, Thur 1:45 pm
Presenter: What Women Want: Suffrage, Female Voter Preferences and Government
Patricia Funk, Stockholm School of Economics
Christina Gathmann, Stanford University

Overview: This paper's use of a unique data set of issue votes to identify multi-dimensional gender gaps. In accordance with female voter preferences, political participation of women affected the scope, but less the size of government.

Presenter: Gender, Technology, and Empowerment: The Case of Visual Simulation Models
Room: TBA, Board 10, Thur 1:45 pm
Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, University of Utah
Rob Bateman, American University of Sharjah

Overview: The classic feminist research on gender and technology is pessimistic about the ability of technological change to challenge gender hierarchies in the workplace. Research in this tradition documents the persistence of gendered beliefs about competence.

Presenter: Emotions, Women and Politics and Their Influences on Iran and Iraq-USA Foreign Policy
Room: TBA, Board 11, Thur 1:45 pm
Fatemeh Masjedi, Illinois State University

Overview: In this paper, I will demonstrate how emotions have changed women in their political lives. How emotions are named in speech acts, as well as how they involve sensations that can be felt psychically and physically.

Presenter: State, Religion and Gender in Selected Asian Countries
Room: TBA, Board 12, Thur 1:45 pm
Chandra Y. Mudaliar, Michigan State University

Overview: The paper examines the interaction between state, religion and society, and its impact on shaping gender relations in selected Asian countries.

Presenter: National Competitiveness and Soft Power
Room: TBA, Board 13, Thur 1:45 pm
Minjeoung Kim, University of Seoul

Overview: This paper investigates Korean Politics from a view of gender. I regard Korean Politics as exclusive and conflicting and sometimes corruptive. This comes from the characteristics of Korean Politics that is highly male-dominated.

Presenter: Indonesian Women and Politics
Room: TBA, Board 14, Thur 1:45 pm
Arnita Sitasari, West Virginia University

Overview: The aim of this paper is to examine gender and political participation in Indonesia. It takes into account the factors influencing the participation of women in politics and ways of increasing women's participation in Indonesian politics.

Presenter: Women: Political Participation against the Backdrop of Demographic Change
Room: TBA, Board 15, Thur 1:45 pm
Sherry L. Martin, Cornell University

Overview: This paper seeks to understand the extent to which demographic and social changes that disrupt gender balances in populations, local and national, facilitate an increase in women's participation and representation in elite politics.

Presenter: A Study of Ismaili Women in Higher Education in Iran
Room: TBA, Board 16, Thur 1:45 pm
Maryam Rezaee, University of York

Overview: This study tries to bring together different viewpoints either for or against tertiary education. It examines the institutional norms, societal cultures and ideological beliefs which govern the prevention of females from having higher education.

Presenter: Cypriot Women's Voices and Multiple Realities
Room: TBA, Board 17, Thur 1:45 pm
Maria Hadjiapoulou, University of Cyprus

Overview: Presentation of a research project (2002-03) on Women in all Cypriot Communities. For the first time women's experiences and desires are examined in the context of the Cyprus conflict as well as their connection to women's global issues.

Presenter: Kenyan Participation in Political Rallies: Do Gender or Religion Matter?
Room: TBA, Board 18, Thur 1:45 pm
Virginia P. Beard, Michigan State University

Overview: To add to the conversation on the compatibility of Islam and Christianity with democracy, I ask if religious adherence or gender help to explain Kenyan levels of democratic behavior, specifically examining participation in political demonstrations.

Presenter: Attaining Agency: Female Suicide Bombers and Struggles for Sovereignty
Room: TBA, Board 19, Thur 1:45 pm
Tiffany Turner, Georgia Institute of Technology

Overview: This comparative analysis will delineate the motivations of female suicide bombers. Using recent scholarship, the author will assert that self-sacrifice is a means of empowerment and political agency for women in societies struggling for sovereignty.

Presenter: Women's Employment in the Public Sector in Twenty-Three Countries
Room: TBA, Board 20, Thur 1:45 pm
Abdulfattah Yaghi, Mississippi State University
Madalla Alibeli, Memphis University

Overview: This is an empirical investigation of the progress in females' employment in the public sector. UN data from twenty-three countries were used. Size of the sector, males' unemployment, education, and urbanization are important factors.

Presenter: Cultural Resonance and Framing Processes in Two Turkish Women's Movements
Room: TBA, Board 21, Thur 1:45 pm
Havva Karakas-Keles, Syracuse University
Heidi J. Swarts, Syracuse University

Overview: Focusing on the connection between the meso and macro levels of analysis, we analyze how two autonomous women's organizations in the same country mobilize conflicting cultural resources to fill in the same master frame, education as a human right.
Institutional and individual traits that explain these differences.

Partisanship and ideology across states. Then we test party identification. First we examine the variation of Latino on the issues that Hispanics are traditionally affiliated with.

Overview: In the aftermath of hurricane Katrina, the New Orleans Police Department found themselves in the midst of an environmental mobilization in multi-ethnic Southern California. Case studies offer theoretical and comparative lessons for poor to contest environmental injustice in Southern California.

Ethical dimensions of the conflict.

Democratic man needed to work on his pride rather than his humility.

Rousseau would have agreed with Tocqueville's insight regarding immigrants and immigration and a host of perceived policy choices.

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Disc. Suzanne Soule, Center for Civic Education
Elizabeth A. Bennion, Indiana University, South Bend
Margaret E. Gilkinson, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire
Mary Lou Kendrigan, Lansing Community College
D. Christopher Brooks, St. Olaf College
Kimberly B. Cowell-Meyers, American University

26-2 LATINO POLITICAL DECISION MAKING
Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Alisa Hicklin, Texas A&M University
Paper The Effect of Ethnic Context on Vote Choice
Simran Singh, New York University
Overview: This paper looks to explore the way in which vote choice is influenced by the ethnic context of an area.

Paper The Hispanic Vote in the 2004 Presidential Election: Insecurity and Moral Concerns
Marisa A. Abrajano, Texas A&M University
R. Michael Alvarez, California Institute of Technology
Jonathan Nagler, New York University
Overview: This paper examines Hispanic voting behavior in the 2004 Presidential elections. We contend that Hispanic opinions on national security and moral values outweighed their concerns on the issues that Hispanics are traditionally affiliated with.

Paper Latino States of America: State Measures of Latino Ideology and Partisanship
Sylvia Manzano, St. Mary's University
Barbara Norrander, University of Arizona
Overview: We estimate state level measures for ideology and party identification. First we examine the variation of Latino partisanship and ideology across states. Then we test institutional and individual traits that explain these differences.

Disc. Jennifer L. Merolla, Claremont Graduate University

26-4 RACE AND ETHNICITY IN URBAN AMERICA
Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair TBA
Paper The Spatial Decline of Middle America and its Political Implications
Jason Booza, Wayne State University
Jackie Cutsinger, Wayne State University
Overview: Our study focuses on the decline of the middle class in America by focusing on the 100 largest metropolitans. As the middle class becomes a smaller proportion of the American landscape, we discuss the political implications.

Paper Organizing For Justice: The Urban Poor And Environmental Politics in Multi-Ethnic Southern California
Armando Xavier Mejia, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: Paper examines three organized efforts by the urban poor to contest environmental injustice in Southern California. Case studies offer theoretical and comparative lessons for successful grassroots environmental mobilization in multi-ethnic regions.

Paper Suburbia on My Mind
Maria C. Minney, University of California, Irvine
Overview: This paper proposes an analysis of the American Dream ideology and its effects on the current level of naturalization among legal Mexican immigrants.

Paper Target of Opportunity: Armed Conflict in the Aftermath of Katrina
Roger A. Richardson, University of Southern Indiana
Overview: In the aftermath of hurricane Katrina, the New Orleans Police Department found themselves in the mist of an armed struggle with citizens. This research provides an analysis of the ethical dimensions of the conflict.

Paper Immigrants and Immigration: The Multidimensionality of Public Opinion
Max Neiman, University of California, Riverside/Public Policy Institute of California
Doug Strand, Public Policy Institute of California
Overview: Based on nearly 700 telephone adult interviews, this is a report on the structure of public opinion regarding immigrants, with a focus on the interplay between opinion regarding immigrants and immigration and a host of perceived policy choices.

Disc. Nathan D. Woods, Welch Consulting

27-3 READING TEXTS AND TRADITIONS
Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Lorna M. Dawson, Lynchburg College
Paper 21st Century Ethics: The Aristotelian-Confucian Connection
Anne Colmo, Dominican University
Overview: FBA

Paper Hedonism in Sir Thomas More's Utopia
Gabriel T. Barlett, University of Toronto
Overview: In this paper I explore the hedonism of the inhabitants of Thomas More's fictional island Utopia and the relation of their hedonism to Christianity.

Paper Pre-modern Social Contract: Francisco Suarez Against the Divine Right Theory
Steven J. Brust, Catholic University of America
Overview: This paper will present a pre-modern social contract approach to political community and authority that a Spanish Jesuit, Francisco Suarez, used to argue against King James I's claim to a Divine right to rule.

Paper Rousseau's Authorial Voices in His Dedication to the Republic of Geneva
Leonard R. Sorenson, Assumption College
Overview: I propose that in his Dedication to Geneva Rousseau introduces his corpus as political philosophy, a main purpose of which is to reconcile wisdom, rooted in natural inequality, with consent, rooted in natural equality.

Disc. Stewart W. Gardner, Boise State University
Leigh K. Jenco, University of Chicago

27-19 THE VIRTUE OF MEN AND HEROES
Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Eric Buzzetti, Concordia University, Montreal
Paper The Forgotten Political Virtue: Heroism, from Homer to Havel
Anthony Kammes, University of Southern California
Overview: This essay is the first step toward a systematic analysis and problematization of the various forms and transformations of heroic virtue over the course of western political thought.

Paper Meno's Manliness and Traditional Greek Conceptions of Arete
Joyce M. Mullan, Oakton College
Overview: Analysis of traditional and Fifth century ideals of manliness and Socrates' response

Paper Xenophon's Cyropaedia and the Nature of Spiritedness
Christopher M. Whidden, Lake Forest College
Overview: Cyrus, as the spirited individual par excellence, reveals the contradictory nature of spiritedness, insofar as his spirited ambition for empire compels him to attempt do away with the us/them distinction, without which spiritedness cannot survive.

Paper Rousseau and Tocqueville on Democratic Pride
Fiona Miller, Colgate University
Overview: Despite his sometimes severe criticisms of amour-propre, Rousseau would have agreed with Tocqueville’s insight that democratic man needed to work on his pride rather than his humility.

Disc. Daniel J. Kapust, University of Georgia
John T. Lombardini, Princeton University
28-3 RECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES: PROBLEMS OF PERSONHOOD AND RECOGNITION IN DEMOCRATIC THEORY

Room TBA, Thurs: 1:45 pm
Chair David Thunder, University of Notre Dame
Paper The Role of Arbitrariness in Republican Freedom
Jessica M. Flanigan, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: This essay challenges Pettit's theory of republican freedom through an analysis of individual's capacity to know the interests of others, and shows that FND must be redefined to overcome epistemological barriers.

Paper Demonstrating Respect in Deliberative Politics
Michael P. McKeon, Syracuse University
Overview: Gutmann and Thompson argue that justice requires that citizens demonstrate moral respect toward a position (even when they think it morally wrong) on any issue that is not deliberatively certain. I argue that such a claim is untenable in politics.

Paper On the Generation and Circulation of Political Power
Glenn D. Mackin, University of Washington
Overview: This paper develops a conception of democratic participation that is based on the assumption of genuinely diverse human capabilities. This leads to a conception of political engagement requires constant reinterpretation of what we owe to others.

Paper Adam Smith, the Concept of Leisure, and the Division of Labor
Brian A. Smith, Georgetown University
Overview: Adam Smith is often blamed for the emergence of "economic man." This essay argues Smith realized the dangers of his division of labor and attempts to reconstruct his approach and suggest that his account was more nuanced than is commonly understood.

Paper Redistribution vs. Recognition: The Impact of Public Space and Personhood
Laura Montanaro, University of British Columbia
Overview: Recognition and redistribution are often competing sides in the discourse of social justice. To what extent are their goals mutually incompatible, and what framework is required to allow for social justice to consist of both?
Disc. David Thunder, University of Notre Dame

28-17 POLITICAL THEORY: FOUNDATIONS AND PROSPECTS

Room TBA, Thurs: 1:45 pm
Chair Peter Breiner, SUNY, Albany
Paper Realism and Poststructuralist Ethics: Weber, Ricoeur, Connolly
James Wiley, St. Norbert College
Overview: Compares the ethical and political theories of Weber, Ricoeur and Connolly. Argues that Weber's distinction between a realist ethics of responsibility and an ethics of conviction is implicit in Connolly's ethics.

Paper Paradigms and Vision: The Desire for Tradition in Political Theory
Jason M. Scruton, University of Albany
Overview: An analysis of Wolin's revised Politics and Vision through the work of Thomas Kuhn, creating a philosophy of (political) science. The end result, I hope, will help loosen the hold of recent terminological trends in political theory

Paper Contextualizing Political Theories in Fields of Political Conflict
Peter Breiner, SUNY, Albany
Overview: Recently, there has been renewed interest in placing political ideas in the context of political conflict in which these ideas are fought out (Frieden). I suggest three ways of conceptualizing this field of political struggle.

Paper Liberal Pluralism and the Problem of Foundations
Folke B. Lindahl, Michigan State University
Overview: Can liberal pluralism be justified without foundations? Even the most anti-foundational liberal pluralism seems to assume a moral and political justification that ultimately rests on values that are foundational.
Disc. Sophia Mihic, Northeastern Illinois University

29-2 CREATING SOCIAL JUSTICE

Room TBA, Thurs: 1:45 pm
Chair Joshua D. Goldstein, University of Toronto
Steve Vanderheiden, University of Minnesota, Duluth
Overview: I explore the concept of consumer sovereignty - which supposes that consumers, rather than producers or the state, wield ultimate sovereignty over society's production of goods - with its implications for democracy, the environment, and justice.

Paper Justice, Strategy, and American Indian Land Claims
Burke Hendrix, Cornell University
Overview: This paper considers the potential conflict between long-term projects of social justice and attempts by American Indian nations to escape poverty through land claims, and tries to analyze the moral trade-offs involved in either political strategy.

Paper Democratic Political Theory and the Modern Corporation
Richard A. Moussesian, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: Democratic political theory ought to take far more seriously the role of the corporation and the idea of corporate citizenship. One reason for doing so is that the modern corporation has much that is new to say about personhood and property.

Paper What's Wrong with Exploitation?
Robert Mayer, Loyola University, Chicago
Overview: This paper identifies the specific wrong of which exploiters are guilty and then assesses how wrong exploitation is as a way to gain at the expense of others.

Paper A Theory of Corruption as Injustice
Jong-Sung You, Harvard University
Overview: Although the general public sees corruption as a problem of social justice, the academic literature has explored it as a problem of development. This paper attempts to develop a normative theory of corruption as a form of injustice.

Disc. Fragano S. J. Ledgister, Clark Atlanta University
Paul R. DeHart, Lee University

29-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: DELIBERATION & JUDGMENT

Room TBA, Thurs: 1:45 pm
Presenter Intelligent Democracy: The Cognitive Properties of Deliberation
Helen Landemore, Harvard University
Overview: This paper is part of a larger attempt to justify democracy on cognitive grounds, i.e. as a socio-political system that produces collective intelligence. I focus here on the cognitive properties of democratic deliberation.

Presenter Training the Imagination: Power and the Practices of Political Judgment
Laura K. Grattan, Duke University
Overview: How might we conceive of democratic judgment as an activity deeply intertwined with power? This paper explores this question and its stakes in relation to Habermasian and Arendtian theories of judgment and democratic social movements.

29-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: EPISTEMOLOGY

Room TBA, Thurs: 1:45 pm
Presenter Politics and Epistemology, A Proposal for Interaction
Alireza Shomali, Syracuse University
Overview: Analytic epistemology overlooks the epistemic relevance of the socio-political context of ideas. We need an
epistemology which is attentive to the fact that socio-political contexts and truth claims are mutually-constitutive.

**Presenter**  
*Lenin's Dentist and the Science of Sociality*  
Benjamin J. Lozano, University of California, Santa Cruz  
Overview: This paper (1) addresses questions of the "scientificity" of the social sciences and (2) argues for the incorporation of the concept of the imaginary into social and political analysis.

30-4 **CHANGING THE GAME**

**Room**  
TBA, Thur 1:45 pm  
**Chair**  
Randall Calvert, Washington University, St. Louis  
**Paper**  
*Endogenous Institutions: The Co-evolution of Strategic Structure*  
Scott Moser, Carnegie Mellon University  
Overview: This project examines the formation and stability of endogenous political institutions. It seeks to provide a general, theoretical framework for studying endogenous institutions.

**Paper**  
*Game Theory and Heresthetics*  
William Hixon, Lawrence University  
Overview: This paper proposes a reorientation of Riker's notion of heresthetics, replacing the original social-choice foundation with a game-theoretic definition. This redefinition corrects several criticisms of the original presentation of heresthetics.

**Paper**  
*Mahatma Gandhi and the Prisoner's Dilemma*  
Chowdhury Irdad A. Siddiky, University of Warwick  
Overview: Strategic civil disobedience and Great Britain's great loss of empire in India

**Disc.**  
Randall Calvert, Washington University, St. Louis

30-17 **FORMAL THEORIES OF LEGISLATIVE POLITICS**

**Room**  
TBA, Thur 1:45 pm  
**Chair**  
Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, Washington University, St. Louis  
**Paper**  
*Revisiting the Role of Structure on the Induction of Legislative Equilibrium*  
Tasos Kalandrakis, University of Rochester  
Overview: We consider the role of legislative organization in the context of a dynamic game in which a legislature decides a continuing policy in each of a finite number of jurisdictions.

**Paper**  
*Pivotal and Signaling Voting Motivations in Bicameral Legislatures*  
Matias Jaryzower, California Institute of Technology  
Sebastian Saiegh, University of Pittsburgh  
Overview: We study voting incentives in a bicameral legislature. We show that homogeneity of interests is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for transmission of information between chambers. We test the theory with data for the US Congress.

**Paper**  
*The Dynamics of Parliamentary Bargaining and the Vote of Confidence*  
Seek-ju Cho, Yale University  
Overview: This paper develops a dynamic model of policy-making and government-making with a two-dimensional policy space and transfers. I prove the stability of every government and examine the dynamics of policy-making across different types of governments.

**Paper**  
*Using Time Constraints as a Method to Avoid Bargaining Before an Audience*  
Thomas Braeuning, University of Konstanz  
Overview: This paper develops and evaluates empirically a signaling model on the use of time constraining rules in legislative bargaining.

**Disc.**  
Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, Washington University, St. Louis

31-3 **BAYES RULES**

**Room**  
TBA, Thur 1:45 pm  
**Chair**  
Andrew D. Martin, Washington University, St. Louis  
**Paper**  
*Heterogeneity and Choice Models: Comparisons and Evaluations*  
Luke Keele, The Ohio State University  
David K. Park,  
Overview: We use Bayesian estimation techniques and generalized nonlinear models to account for heterogeneity in discrete choices models. We compare these estimators to the standard ML estimator.

**Paper**  
*All Change!: Political Science Applications of Structural Break Modeling*  
Arthur Spirling, University of Rochester  
Overview: The paper deals with Bayesian hierarchical structural break modeling for limited dependent variables in political science.

**Paper**  
*The Social Basis of Legislative Organization*  
James H. Fowler, University of California, Davis  
Overview: Using MCMC to estimate the effect of social ties on 84 million cosponsorship decisions and controlling for ideology, parties, committees, and geography, we show that social relationships play an important role in explaining legislative behavior.

**Paper**  
*A Bayesian Analysis of Time-Series Event Count Data*  
Kentaro Fukumoto, Gakushuin University  
Overview: When data is both time-series and event count, it is difficult to take into consideration both features. This paper proposes a new Bayesian model of such data. This model enables us to assume various kinds of data generation processes.

**Disc.**  
Won-ho Park, University of Florida

32-3 **FORGING PARTY UNITY IN OFFICE**

**Room**  
TBA, Thur 1:45 pm  
**Chair**  
Eric S. Heberlig, University of North Carolina, Charlotte  
**Paper**  
*The Structure of Policy Conflict*  
Frank R. Baumgartner, Pennsylvania State University  
Jeffrey M. Berry, Tufts University  
Marie Pe Hojnacki, Pennsylvania State University  
David C. Kimball, University of Missouri, St. Louis  
Beth L. Leech, Rutgers University  
Overview: Based on over 300 interviews with advocates and public officials involved in a random sample of 98 policy debates in the Clinton and Bush administrations, we focus on the structure of disagreement and conflict. While each issue was highly multidimensional

**Paper**  
*How Legislative Staffers View Partisanship in the House of Representatives*  
Zachary F. Cook, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee  
Overview: The results from 25 exploratory interviews with House legislative staffers are presented. Staffers share opinions about the Democratic and Republican parties, and whether or not "parties matter."

**Paper**  
*Intra-Party Opinion Structure: Moving Beyond May's Law*  
Steven A. Weldon, University of California, Irvine  
Overview: Are party activists extremists? Employing a unique set of member surveys, the article examines intraparty opinion structure in 29 parties across 5 democracies. Finding limited support for May's Law, it then seeks to explain the divergent patterns.

**Paper**  
*Intraparty Dissent and Party Control: Examining Debate in the US House of Representatives*  
Stewart L. French, Sagamore Valley State University  
Overview: Key to the success of any party is its ability to get individual members into a cohesive force that will consistently and predictably produce outcomes that will benefit the party as a whole.

**Disc.**  
Margit Tavits, University of Missouri, Columbia
constructing an issue agenda. Sessions of Congress differently and strategically when the politics of creating new judgeships, with an eye to the end of Reconstruction through the contemporary era. For the construction of the federal bench. We explore the impact of redistricting on electoral competition. In this era of new judicial selections, are unmistakable. Issued rulings that arguably reconfigured the legal and political dimensions of American federalism. Outcomes from this centrifugal movement, away from Congress and toward the states, are unmistakable.

Chair: E. Scott Adler, University of Colorado
Paper: The Impact of the Australian Ballot on Member Behavior in the U.S. House
Eric Schickler, Harvard University
Kathryn Pearson, University of Minnesota
Overview: We examine the influence on constituency characteristics on senatorial voting and on aggregate conditions for measuring the extent of conditional party government from the end of Reconstruction through the contemporary era.

Paper: The Conservative Coalition and Partisan Agenda Control in the House
Eric Schickler, Harvard University
Kathryn Pearson, University of Minnesota
Overview: We assess gatekeeping in the House during the conservative coalition era (1937-65) through a systematic examination of the Rules Committee's deliberations and of efforts to circumvent the committee stage through the use of discharge petitions.

Paper: Strategic Redistricting and Critical Elections
Erik Engstrom, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: Students of congressional elections are divided over the impact of redistricting on electoral competition. In this paper, I examine the impact of redistricting in an era less frequently studied - 19th century America.

Paper: Partisanship and Agenda Construction in Lame Duck Sessions of Congress, 1869 to 1933
Jeffrey A. Jenkins, Northwestern University
Timothy P. Noeken, University of Houston
Overview: We examine whether party leaders used lame duck sessions of Congress differently and strategically when constructing an issue agenda.

Disc. E. Scott Adler, University of Colorado
Jason M. Roberts, University of Minnesota
36-10 THE INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF COURTS
Room: TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair: Kevin T. McGuire, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Paper: Congressional Construction of the Federal Bench
Sarah Binder, George Washington University/ Brookings Institution
Forrest Maltzman, George Washington University
Overview: Congress's influence over the federal judiciary begins with the construction of the federal bench. We explore the politics of creating new judgeships, with an eye to explaining congressional allocation of new judgeships across the federal bench.

Paper: Political Uncertainty, Reform Movements and Judicial Independence
Valerie Hoekstra, Arizona State University
Overview: In this paper I examine how political uncertainty and larger political reform efforts affect legislative decisions to alter the rules governing the selection, retention, and terms of state high court judges between 1850 and 2000.

Paper: Why States Change the Way Judges are Selected
Kyle A. Scott, Miami University
Overview: This paper examines the political factors that lead a state to reform its method of judicial selection. Focusing on the courts of last resort allows one to isolate political factors which lead a state to adopt a new form of judicial selection.

Paper: American Political Development and the U.S. Supreme Court: The Evolution of Stare Decisis
James F. Spriggs, University of California, Davis
Paul Wahlbeck, George Washington University
Timothy Johnson, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities
Overview: This paper examines the development of the norm of stare decisis on the U.S. Supreme Court.

Paper: Veiled Intent: Rehnquist, Centrifugal Federalism, and Federal Dockets
John W. Winkle, III, University of Mississippi
Overview: The U.S. Supreme Court during the past decade issued rulings that arguably reconfigured the legal and political dimensions of American federalism. Outcomes from this centrifugal movement, away from Congress and toward the states, are unmistakable.

Disc. James R. Rogers, Texas A&M University
36-13 JUDICIAL ELECTIONS
Room: TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair: John Szmer, University of Missouri, Kansas City
Paper: Mobilizing Interest: Money, Quality, and Ballot Rolloff in State Supreme Court Elections
Chris W. Bonneau, University of Pittsburgh
Melinda Gann Hall, Michigan State University
Overview: In this paper, we examine ballot roll-off in partisan and nonpartisan state supreme court elections from 1990 through 2004, in order to answer some basic questions about the nature of citizen participation in these races.

Paper: Candidate Emergence in State Courts: 1960-2004
Eric A. Booth, Texas Tech University
Overview: This study focuses on institutional incentives for judicial candidacy and judicial electoral competition at the state and district levels utilizing a newly collected dataset of state primary elections from 1960-2004.

Paper: Factors Affecting Success in Lower Level Judicial Elections in Wisconsin
David M. Jones, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh
Overview: The study assesses the relative impact of such factors as incumbency, campaign expenditures, and “quality” of previous position (e.g., was a candidate a district attorney) on the success of candidates in contested lower court elections in Wisconsin.

Paper: Incumbent Spending and Campaign Finance Reform in State Supreme Court Elections
C. Scott Peters, University of Northern Iowa
Overview: This paper builds a model to explain incumbent electoral performance in races in which they face a challenge and uses the results of the model to perform simulations to examine the possible effects of proposed electoral reforms on the competitiveness.

Disc. Rachel Paine Caufield, Drake University/American Judicature Society
CONSTITUTIONAL INTERPRETATION AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS

Paper Established a General Theory of the Establishment Clause
Dennis J. Goldford, Drake University
Overview: This paper seeks to articulate a general theory of the Establishment Clause and to apply this theory to the classic establishment-clause cases to see how those decisions would come out under the principle the theory proposes.

Paper Idealist's Insights into the Case of God v. Science
Eric S. Kos, Eastern Michigan University
Overview: An analysis of how the British Idealists help us understand the challenge science poses to religion that has resulted in the invocation of the law.

Paper The Death Penalty and the Moussaoui Case
Harry L. Pohlman, Dickinson College
Overview: The death penalty phase of the trial of Zacarias Moussaoui will begin in early 2006. At this hearing, Moussaoui will have the opportunity to present mitigating evidence, but he will not be allowed to call al Qaeda detainees as witnesses.

Paper Value Pluralism, Liberal Pluralism, and the First Amendment
Chris Stangl, College of St. Benedict
Overview: This paper provides an examination of the debate over the compatibility of liberalism with value pluralism. It then examines varying understandings of the First Amendment against the backdrop of the debate over liberalism's pluralistic qualities.

Disc. Bruce G. Peabody, Fairleigh Dickinson University

STATES AND SCHOOLS: ACCOUNTABILITY AND PERFORMANCE

Paper Local School District Discretionary Authority: A Fifty State Analysis
David Shock, Kennesaw State University
Overview: This paper conducts a fifty state quantitative analysis using various independent and dependent variables to explain interstate variations in local school district discretionary authority in the U.S.

Paper How Do Local School Districts Affect States' School Performance?
David J. Webber, University of Missouri
Overview: This paper examines three routes (local funding, state political influence, and administrative complexity) by which a state's school districts affect school performance.

Paper State Compliance to Federal Policy: Is Federalism Inhibiting?
Tamara Wilder, Columbia University
Overview: This study investigates state compliance to the No Child Left Behind Act to discover if noncompliance is due to public education's roots in Federalism and the corresponding prominent value of localism.

Disc. Christopher A. Simon, University of Nevada, Reno

INTERGOVERNMENTAL INFLUENCE ON LOCAL POLICIES

Paper Perspectives on State Intervention in Urban Institutions
Debra H. Moore, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Overview: Historically, states have intervened in cities experiencing fiscal crisis in an attempt to move them toward stability. Exercised through the state's will and capacity intervention is a tool that allows a state to bailout or recover a city.

Paper State Restructuring of Local Policy Regimes
Richard C. Hula, Michigan State University
Chelsea Haring, Michigan State University
Overview: This paper explores how state officials bring about substantive institutional and regime change in local policy arenas. We discuss two examples from the state of Michigan: charter schools and brownfield redevelopment.

Paper Urban Redevelopment Decision-Making: Local and Intergovernmental Influences
Dorothy M. Daley, University of Kansas
Overview: The paper examines the relationship between local decision-making and intergovernmental connections. It relies upon survey data to examine the influence of intergovernmental relationships and programmatic goals in Brownfield redevelopment programs.

Disc. Juliet F. Gainsborough, Bentley College

MODELS OF LABOR-MARKET POLICY (Co-Sponsored with Comparative Politics-Industrialized Countries, see 2-20)

Paper Labor Market Policies with Ideological Parties in an Agent-Based Model
Christian W. Martin, University of Hamburg
Michael Neugart, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin
Overview: We develop a model of labor market regulation with self-interested voters and political parties. Policies depend on the interaction of exogenous shocks with the size of severance...
Paper Explaining Firing Costs: Strong Labor, Economic Shocks and the Dilemmas of Capital
Jose Fernandez-Albertos, Harvard University
Dulce Manzano, Juan March Institute
Overview: We show how the cost of firing workers across OECD countries can be the result of the interaction between labor demands for protection and employers’ dislike of social security transfers as a way of addressing these demands.

Paper Inequality and Policy Concertation: The Links Revisited
Jose A. Aleman, Fordham University
Overview: To date, no systematic test of the corporatism-household inequality claim has been carried out. Using a new global dataset, this paper reexamines the relationship between policy concertation and income inequality in 16 OECD nations (1975-1999).

Paper Cooperation Across Capitalisms: Intrafirm Coordination of Market Types
Andrew Appleton, Washington State University
Brianna Lawrence, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: This paper posits that the nationally based components of the European firm Airbus are willing to alter short term strategies based on market type in order to reap the long term pay off of strategic cooperation.

Disc. John Ahlquist, University of Washington

Room TBA, Thurs 1:45 pm
Chair Charles Shipan, University of Iowa

Paper Bureaucratic Influence on Social Welfare Effort in the American States
Andrew B. Whitford, University of Georgia
Amber Sinclair, University of Georgia
Overview: We provide statistical evidence on the choice of organizational form for addressing core and competing issues in public health and environmental protection policy at the state level.

Paper Bureaucratic Influence on Social Welfare Effort in the American States
SeanNicholson-Crotty, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: This paper investigates the predictors of program design in the implementation of social welfare policies in the American States, as well as the independent impact that strategic bureaucratic actors within those structures have on welfare effort.

Paper The Conditional Nature of Administrative Responsiveness to Public Opinion
Julia Rabinovich, Northwestern University/ Princeton University
Overview: Contrary to the conventional wisdom, I show that administrative responsiveness and legislative responsiveness do not always appear in tandem. Different institutional preferences influence the extent of administrative responsiveness

Paper Divided Government and Agency Discretion 1946 – 1997: Congressional Control or Agency Freedom?
Cole D. Taratoot, Georgia State University
David C. Nixon, Georgia State University
Overview: This research investigates how divided government and inter-chamber conflict affect Congressional statutory controls over agency discretion for federal administrative agencies created during the 1946 - 1997 period.

Paper Authorization and Oversight: Are They Substitutes?
Keith W. Smith, University of California, Davis
Overview: This project examines Bawn’s (1997) hypothesis that committees view authorizing legislation and oversight as substitutes in their attempt to control the behavior of executive agencies under their jurisdiction.

Disc. Christian R. Grose, Vanderbilt University

Room TBA, Thurs 1:45 pm
Chair David F. Ericson, Wichita State University
Paper Corporate Prosecutions and the Decline of State Capacities, 1865-1900
Jonathan Chausovsky, Marquette University
Overview: This paper examines causes of the decline of state economic regulatory authority in the United States from 1865-1900 by an analysis of state prosecutions of corporations for violations of their charter authority.

Paper Slave Society, Weak State?
David F. Ericson, Wichita State University
Overview: My paper revises two accepted truths about the pre-Civil War period: (1) that slavery was a negative factor in the development of the American central state; (2) that the American central state remained a relatively weak state throughout the period.

Howard Schweber, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: From 1877 to 2005, American courts increasingly became sites for generating policy and discourse. In the process, courts “captured” the language of liberal politics, and in particular the meaning of “public” and "private."

Paper Monopolistic Government in American Cities
Jessica L. Trounstine, Princeton University
Overview: In an analysis of urban regimes in the first half of the 20th century I find that coalitions establish a monopoly over government by biasing the system in their favor.

Disc. John Padgett, University of Chicago

Room TBA, Thurs 1:45 pm
Chair Farshad Malek-Ahmadi, Naugatuck Valley Community College

Paper The Occultation of the 12th Imam and Its Impact on Shiite Identity
Alexander R. Dawood, Western Michigan University
Overview: This paper addresses the phenomenon of the Twelfth Imam and its impact of forming Shiite identity and the structuring the Shiite political movement in the Islamic world.

Paper Teaching Jihad: Preparing the Next Generation of Martyrs
Micheal C. Struemph, University of Kansas
Kari L. Morgan, University of Kansas
Overview: Institutionalized teaching of martyrdom to school children solves the collective action problem facing terrorist groups, creating a generation of martyrs with an acceptance of excessive political violence and a willingness to sacrifice their lives.

Paper Suicide Bombers: Power in the Hands of the Powerless
Abdy Javadzadeh, Florida International University
Overview: A critical look at the identities of suicide bombers and what motivates them to make this ultimate sacrifice. In this paper I will argue that suicide bombing is mostly correlated with occupation of a nation by foreign forces.

Paper Analyzing the Multiple Identities of the Arab World
Russell E. Lucas, University of Oklahoma
Overview: Using survey data from eight different Arab societies I test the interrelationships between attitudes various competing identity frames in the Arab world (Arab, Islamic, state-centric, family, tribe, and city), and demographic characteristics.

Disc. Farshad Malek-Ahmadi, Naugatuck Valley Community College
INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: RELIGION, IDEOLOGY, AND POLITICAL DISCOURSE
Room: TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Presenter: Powers of Heaven and Hell: Christian Discourses of Force and Legitimacy
Rachel Kirkland-Gaymer, Wayne State University
Overview: This presentation will analyze forms of power held by the two main characters of Christian scripture: God and Satan. The behaviors attributed to each character across Christian sects provide insight into premodern and modern discourses of power.

Presenter: The Political Economy of Beliefs: Why Do Fiscal and Social Conservatives/Liberals Come Hand-in-Hand?
Daniel L. Chen, University of Chicago
Jo T. Lind, University of Oslo
Overview: Religious intensity as social insurance explains why fiscal and social conservatives and liberals come together. We explain the changing nature of religious movements and why church-state separation arose in the US but not in many European countries.

INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: RELIGION AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE
Room: TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Presenter: How and What Do Suicide Bombers Really Want to Win?
Ivan Strenski, University of California, Riverside
Overview: Critique of Robert A. Pape's Dying To Win for its attempt to eliminate the religious motivations of suicide bombers.

SIMULATIONS FOR TEACHING POLITICAL SCIENCE
Room: TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair: Brian D. Posler, Millikin University
Paper: CSI, A Computer Assisted Simulation Game
Richard W. Dutson, Mount Union College
James R. Klayder, Mount Union College
Michael L. Zwilling, Mount Union College
Overview: CSI, Crisis Simulation International, is a Computer Assisted Simulation Game. It is designed to be used in lower level Foreign Policy, National Security or International Relations courses; to provide hands on application of the theories being taught.

Paper: Teaching Political Science Through Simulations and RPGs
Sarah M. Wheeler, Indiana University of Pennsylvania
Overview: There are now an abundance of Role Playing Games and Simulations available for use in small and large Political Science classes. They are often time-consuming. The novice had best be advised of the potential downfalls as well as the benefits.

Paper: The Game of Politics: Creating Student Motivation
Melvin A. Kahn, Wichita State University
Overview: This simulation enhances American Politics courses by actively involving students in the political process. Each student functions as a participant in one of the three major governmental branches or as a reporter or lobbyist.

NEW RESEARCH IN LATINO POLITICS
Room: TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair: Mitzi Ramos, University of Illinois, Chicago
Paper: Viva Bush! Targeting Latino Voters Through Candidate Web Sites
Kristen D. Landreville, University of Florida
Abby G. LeGrange, University of Florida
Overview: The Latino vote garnered media interest in 2004. This study analyzes Bush and Kerry's online campaign material directed at Latino voters, such as issue information, news releases, e-mails to supporters, blog posts, and community pages.
Thursday, April 20 – 3:45 pm – 5:30 pm

2-4 GLOBALIZATION AND ITS POLICY CONSEQUENCES

Room: TBA, Thurs 3:45 pm
Chair: Jonathan Swarts, Purdue University North Central

Paper: Protecting Jobs in the Age of Globalization: Examining the Relative Salience of Social Welfare and Industrial Subsidies in OECD Countries

Xuan Cao, University of Washington
Aseem Prakash, University of Washington
Overview: We examine the relative budgetary salience of social welfare and industrial subsidies in 16 OECD countries 1980 to 1995. Results suggest the relative budgetary salience is influenced by the interplay between partisan gravity and changes in imports.

Paper: Policy Diffusion, Globalization, and the Retrenchment of Welfare States

Duane H. Swank, Marquette University
Guy D. Whitten, Texas A&M University
Kerry G. Herron, Texas A&M University
Hank C. Jenkins-Smith, Texas A&M University
Neil J. Mitchell, University of Aberdeen
Overview: One of the most important roles of foreign affairs advisors to national leaders is the assessment of threats posed by other nations. However, little is known about what influences advisors’ perceptions of threats to their nation.

Paper: Precautionary Regulation

Brendon Swedlow, Northern Illinois University
Zheng Zhou, University of Pennsylvania
James K. Hammitt, Harvard University
Jonathan B. Wiener, Duke University
Overview: In this paper, we report on the extent to which the U.S. and Europe have converged and diverged over the past 35 years in their regulation of 100 risks randomly selected from a universe of nearly 3000 risks.

Disc. Jonathan Swarts, Purdue University North Central

3-18 WHAT CAUSES CORRUPTION?

Room: TBA, Thurs 3:45 pm
Chair: Nick Jorgensen, College of William and Mary

Paper: Determinants of Corruption: The Interactive Effects of Political Awareness

Ryan H. Isaacsen, University of Colorado, Boulder
Aubrey L. Westfall, University of Colorado, Boulder
Overview: Recent research suggests that majoritarian governments exhibit lower levels of corruption due to increased accountability. We suggest that this effect holds only in countries with high levels of political awareness.

Paper: Why Are Smaller Governments Less Corrupt?: Corruption, the Market, and the Government

Jong-Sung You, Harvard University
Overview: This article tries to explain why smaller, not larger, governments are more corrupt, contrary to the prediction of much of the corruption literature. It demonstrates that market failures such as market power, externalities, and information asymmetry are more problematic.

Paper: Why Do Corrupt Governments Maintain Public Support?

Luigi Manzetti, Southern Methodist University
Carole J. Wilson, University of Texas, Dallas
Overview: We address an important and often neglected question: Why do citizens support corrupt governments? In a cross-national study we find citizens in countries with ineffective institutions will support corrupt leaders that may provide tangible benefits.

Disc. John M. Ackerman, FLACSO, Mexico

3-14 EXPLAINING AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

Room: TBA, Thurs 3:45 pm
Chair: Seda Demiralp, American University

Paper: Electoral Budget Cycles Under Authoritarianism: Evidence from Egypt

Lisa Blyades, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: Do authoritarian regimes manipulate fiscal policy in the run up to semi-competitive elections?

Paper: Is Leadership Instability Contagious?

Timothy A. Carter, Wayne State University
Singh Nauinhal, University of Notre Dame
Overview: This paper employs a series of duration models to estimate the determinants of leadership survival in non-democratic countries. We attempt to quantify the impact of globalization by explicitly modeling processes of global and regional instability.

Disc. Jonathan Swarts, Purdue University North Central

4-9 DEMOCRATIC EQUITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Room: TBA, Thurs 3:45 pm
Chair: Thomas B. Pepinsky, Yale University

Paper: Equity and Democracy: Does Income Inequality Erode Democratic Support

Jason M. Wells, University of Missouri, Columbia
Jonathan Kriekhaus, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: We examine the relationship between income inequality and democratic support. Using multi-level modeling to analyze data from 35 countries, we find that income inequality has a substantial negative effect on citizens' support for democracy.

Paper: Reassessing Modernization Theory: The Lag Effect of Economic Development

Min Tang, Purdue University
Overview: This paper applies VAR and Granger test to demonstrate the pattern of the effect of economic development on democracy, and reexamine the modernization theory. Lag
terms and reciprocal causality are methodological issues to be addressed.

Paper Economic Inequality and Democracy
Walter C. Wilson, University of Oklahoma
Overview: This paper examines the relationship between economic inequality and the quality of democracy to determine if a relationship between these social variables exists. Findings suggest evidence of a relationship and directions for future research.

Paper Democratic Marketism: Selling Democracy Short
Anthony S. Marcus, University of Maryland
Melissa J. Buchler, Purdue University
Overview: If a transitioning democratic policy does not provide for credible investments through rule of law, it will have difficulties developing an economy and transitioning to democracy. We demonstrate that socialization is vital to a democratic regime.

Disc. Frederick Solt, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

4-101 ROUNDTABLE: PROSPECTS OF DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION IN CHINA
Room TBA, Thu 3:45 pm
Chair Stephen Manning, University of Detroit, Mercy
Panelist Bruce Gilley, Princeton University
Edward Friedman, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Barrett McCormick, Marquette University
John Rapp, Beloit College
Ralph Thaxton, Brandeis University
Overview: This roundtable will discuss Bruce Gilley's controversial 2004 book 'China's Democratic Future. How It Will Happen and Where It Will Lead'.

5-4 ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY AND EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS
Room TBA, Thu 3:45 pm
Chair Debra Holzhauer, Southeast Missouri State University
Panelist Devolution and Environmental Politics
Debra Holzhauer, Southeast Missouri State University
Overview: Examination of the impact of devolution upon environmental politics in the UK.

Paper Outsiders Looking In: The Rosia Montana Gold Mining Project in Romania
Cristina E. Parau, London School of Economics
Overview: This paper examines how the EU impacts State-civil society relations through detailed micro-analysis, those Europeanisation mechanisms which have empowered civil society and altered the course of the Romanian government's decision-making processes.

Paper The Influence of Electoral Cleavage Patterns on Environmental Group
Lori M. Poloni-Staudinger, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: This paper seeks to explore the relationship between changes in electoral cleavages and concomitant changes in activity choice among environmental non-governmental organizations in three West European countries, the United Kingdom, France and Germany.

Disc. Catherine E. Netjes, Free University, Amsterdam

6-4 FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL RELATIONS
Room TBA, Thu 3:45 pm
Chair Tony L. Hill, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Panelist Youth Employment Policy and Intergovernmental Relations in Canada
Okyeon Y. Hong, Seoul National University
Overview: By examining youth employment policy, this paper explores how the current strategy of integrating social welfare policy with education policy in accordance with a neo-liberal framework has contributed to the elusive social union in Canada.

Disc. William C. Green, Morehead State University

7-9 SPLIT-TICKET VOTING IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE
Room TBA, Thu 3:45 pm
Chair Barry C. Burden, Harvard University
Panelist Split-Ticket Incentives Under Alternative E-Voting Designs: An Analysis of the E-Vote Pilot Conducted During the 2005 Argentine National Election
Ernesto Calvo, University of Houston
Overview: Taking advantage of a large scale e-vote experiment, this paper estimates the effect of different e-vote designs on the likelihood that voters will select different party candidates for the National Congress and the Local Legislature.

Paper Ticket-Splitting as Electoral Insurance: The Mexican 2000 Elections
Gretchen Helmke, University of Rochester
Overview: This paper develops and tests a new theory of ticket-splitting based on voter uncertainty using survey and ecological data from the Mexican 2000 elections.

Paper Party Identification in Third Wave Democracies: Brazil's 2002 Elections
Lucio R. Renno, University of Arizona
Barry C. Ames, University of Pittsburgh
Andrew Baker, Northeastern University
Overview: Is party identification a stable and exogenous determinant of vote choice or is it endogenous to elections, outcomes and political events? We propose to study the stability of partisanship in Brazil, using a unique four-wave panel data set.

Paper Presidential Coattail Effects in Comparative Perspective
David J. Samuels, University of Minnesota
Mark P. Jones, Rice University
Overview: This project assesses the institutional sources of presidential coattail effects in the world's presidential democracies, mainly in Latin America.

Paper Split Ticket in Mixed Electoral Systems: the 2001 Italian General Elections
Kamleh Khatib, London School of Economics
Overview: This paper uses several quantitative methodologies to test the impact of the policy platform of candidates as well as the type of district on the phenomenon of split ticket voting in mixed electoral systems.

Disc. Harvey D. Palmer, University of Mississippi
Elizabeth Zechmeister, University of California, Davis

8-4 PARTIES AND PORK IN JAPAN
Room TBA, Thu 3:45 pm
Chair Robert J. Weiner, Cornell University
Panelist The LDP's Influence on the Redistribution of Public Investment
Keiko Tamada, Fukuoka University
Overview: This paper examines the relation between the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and the redistribution of public investment in Japan. Contrary to general beliefs, it is found that the LDP has only weak power over the redistribution of public investment.

Tomoaki Nomi, Southeast Missouri State University
Overview: This paper examines the pork barrel politics in Japan from 1991 to 2000. The impacts of the changes in the electoral system and the end of LDP's one party rule on the budget transfer from the national to local governments are analyzed.

Paper The Myth of Electoral Advantage from Infrastructure Investment in Japan
Jun Safo, Yale University
Overview: This study challenges the conventional wisdom that investment on highways and bullet trains was the key to the electoral success of Japan's LDP. A formal model and empirical evidence corroborates the above claim.
Democratic Party of Japan.

However following the 1994 electoral reform we find that ministerial selection also represents party interests in policy and vote-maximization.

Paper: Money Politics and Opposition Party Weakness in Japan

Overview: Using newly collected campaign finance data, I focus on the empirical linkages between candidate quality, money and votes for incumbents and new candidates in the Democratic Party of Japan.

Disc. Robert J. Weiner, Cornell University

11-14 INTERNATIONAL NORMS

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Paper: The Intrinsic Compliance Pull of Norms

Overview: TBA

Disc. Andreas von Staden, Princeton University

11-15 SINO-AMERICAN GREAT POWER POLITICS

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Chair Xinyuan Dai, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Paper: The Emergence of Chinese Soft Power

Christopher Balding, University of California, Irvine

Overview: Despite the growing hard power of China in the world today arising out of a growing economy and increased political power, there has been scant attention paid to the rise of their soft power.

Paper: Post Cold War Strategic Triangular Relations of U.S., China and India

Liou To-hai, National Chengchi University, Taiwan

Overview: Sino-Indo-U.S. triangular relationships in the post-Cold War era since India's 1998 nuclear tests, with specific focus on Indian perceptions of its relations with the U.S. and China as well as its role in the strategic triangle.

Paper: It's Not a McWorld, It's a Golden Dragon Buffet World: The Emergence of Chinese Soft Power

Christopher Balding, University of California, Irvine

Overview: Despite the growing hard power of China in the world today arising out of a growing economy and increased political power, there has been scant attention paid to the rise of their soft power.

The United States and China: Is Military Conflict Inevitable?

Brent Garrett, Jupiter Corporation/DHS/TSA

Overview: Washington and Beijing are currently butressing their military presence in the Pacific region. This paper, utilizing realist and hegemonic theories, deals with how the United States and China will handle this potentially volatile situation.

13-3 COMMUNITY, INTUITIONS, AND CONFLICT

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Chair Mark A. Souva, Florida State University

Paper: Rethinking Security Communities: Nonstate Actors in Security Conflicts

Kristina Manti, Oberlin College

Overview: Explores a concept of security communities operating at both international and domestic levels. Proposes a framework that incorporates nonstate actors as protagonists in security conflicts. Qualitative data from contemporary Latin American conflicts.
Paper Intervention in Government Initiated Ethnic Based Conflict
Jannelle S. Williams, Florida Memorial University
Overview: The nature of ethnic conflict makes it a very distinct and dynamic phenomenon to study because it not only addresses economic deprivation and political repression but also a persistent persists between or among social groups.

Paper Institutionalism in Security Studies: A Critical Examination of a Debate
Pietro Pirani, University of Western Ontario
Overview: I review the literature on institutionalism in security studies, and address the necessity to extend the research from rational choice to historical institutionalism.

Disc. Leanne C. Powner, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Mark A. Souva, Florida State University

14-4 THE SECURITY CHALLENGES OF WMD
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair Suzette R. Grillot, University of Oklahoma
Paper Current Western Strategies and the Future of Proliferation of WMD Issue
Nurain Ganev, Hildz Technical University
Overview: WMD issue is declared as one of the main threats in the current Western security strategies. Thus this paper mainly concentrates on the following question; how the Western agendas will cope with WMD.

Paper Linchpins of Nonproliferation: Power and Reputation in Regimes
Scott Lieblenstein, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: This paper treats nonproliferation as a complex system to analyze the impact of regime dynamics and the security dilemma. Two models are presented that help to separate consequences arising from power dynamics and reputation.

Paper The Strategic Trade-Off: Civilian Nuclear Energy in Exchange for Effective Weapons Prohibition
J. David Singer, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: In order to break the stalemate on nuclear proliferation, we need to accept every state's sovereign right to pursue such energy for civilian, peaceful purposes while bargaining for enhanced monitoring and inspection.

Disc. Richard W. Chadwick, University of Hawaii

15-3 INTERNAL FACTORS AND CONFLICT
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair Clayton Thyne, University of Iowa
Paper The Instability of Power Sharing
Marc Kilgour, Wilfrid Laurier University
Steven J. Brans, New York University
Overview: Civil wars often end with power-sharing agreements, and corporate mergers often result in arrangements to share control. The objective of this research is to use simple models, based on duels, to investigate whether power-sharing is inherently unstable.

Paper The Recurrence of Ethnic Conflict: Are Democratic Institutions to Blame?
James D. Melton, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: Using a Cox Proportional Hazards Model coupled with case studies of Mozambique, Uganda, and Zimbabwe, this paper finds authoritarian regimes are better at stifling the recurrence of ethnic conflict in the short-run.

Paper A Counterfactual Analysis of the Northern Ireland Conflict
David E. Schmitt, Northeastern University
Overview: Employing counterfactual analysis this paper argues that a sophisticated campaign of civil disobedience in the early phases of the Northern Ireland struggle might have prevented the onset of a sustained low-intensity war.

Paper A Fuzzy Set/Qualitative Comparative Analysis of Revolution and Rebellion
Christopher D. Newman, Elgin Community College
Overview: This paper proposes to use Charles Ragin's Fuzzy Set/Qualitative Comparative Analysis to analyze twenty-five revolutions in terms of Lijphart's and Foran's conditions for revolution.

Disc. Clayton Thyne, University of Iowa

16-3 DOMESTIC POLITICS AND THE USE OF FORCE (Co-sponsored with Presidency and Executive Politics, see 33-13)
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair Jarold Duquette, Central Connecticut State University
Paper America's Ally: Why Did Britain Stay out of Vietnam and Go into Iraq?
Stephen B. Dyson, Wabash College
Overview: In 1965 and 2003, the British Prime Minister was asked to commit troops to an unpopular war. Harold Wilson refused, and Tony Blair agreed. I show that the personality of the Prime Ministers is the key variable accounting for these different outcomes.
Paper The Design of Monitoring Institutions in International Cooperation
Hyeran Jo, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: I propose a formal model where states design monitoring institutions by choosing from the following menu of options: no information system, a reporting system, a verification agency or a judicial body.

Paper The Constraining and Constitutive Effects of International Organizations
Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, University of Iowa
Overview: This paper explores the constraining and constitutive effects of IO memberships by comparing the management of contentious issues that arise prior to and after IO formation, and examining the effects of the duration of IO memberships on bargaining.

Paper Fighting Corruption Through the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention
Gaye B. Muderrisoglu, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: The model is a variation on the international coordination dilemma (Morrow 1994), as applied to state collusion via the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention. The paper shows how built in trigger punishment strategies result in cooperation in the first round.

Paper Understanding the Role of Third Parties in Cross-Border Conflict: Lessons from the Danube in Transnational Policy-Making
Stephanie L. Sillay, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: Building on insights drawn from game theoretic models, this paper presents a framework for understanding the incentives that institutions for third-party dispute resolution create for domestic and international actors in transnational policy-making.

Paper Rally Around the UN: Public Opinion and Peacekeeping in Canada
Brian Lai, University of Iowa
Kevin Hansen, University of Iowa
Overview: This paper examines whether contributing troops to UN peacekeeping missions can generate a rally effect. Time series evidence on monthly Canadian ruling party support data from 1960-2003 indicates that ruling parties gain from contributing to the UN.

Paper Windows to War: Negative Opinion and Presidential Use of Force Decisions
Jose D. Villalobos, Texas A&M University
Overview: This study reconsider the impact of public opinion on the presidential use of force to explain why opposition, not support, is the proper predictive measure of the use of force, and why it is generally overshadowed by other determinants.

Paper What Determines Duration of the US Presidential Use of Force?
Atsushi Tago, University of Tokyo
Overview: By using a newly proposed selection model (Boehmke et al. 2006), this study shows domestic constraints do not tie US president’s hand to end use of force early. Rather, operation-level/international factors are found to be related to the duration.

Disc. Carmela Lutmar, Princeton University

17-4 HOW DO INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WORK?
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair Songying Fang, University of Minnesota
Paper Does Experience Matter? Presidential Experience and Foreign Policy Crises
Philip B. Potter, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper's empirical findings indicate that the likelihood of an international crisis involving the United States declines by nearly half as Presidents gain experience in office.

Paper The Unintended Consequences of International Regimes: A Case Study of Environmental Regimes
Jyotika Saksena, University of Indiana, Bloomington
Matthews M. Mary, Tethys Consultants
Overview: The paper looks at the unintended consequences of environmental regimes.

Disc. Songying Fang, University of Minnesota

19-2 CASTING BALLOTS (Co-sponsored with Methodology, see 31-10)
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair Michael P. Bobic, Emmanuel College
Paper Election Day Voter Centers and Voter Turnout
Robert M. Stein, Rice University
Gregory Vonnahme, Rice University
Overview: The popularity of early voting and other forms of convenience voting suggests that many voters prefer the convenience afforded by early voting. These reforms, however, have failed to significantly increase voter turnout.

Disc. Kevin Arceaux, Temple University

19-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ELITES AND MASS PARTISAN CHANGE
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Presenter Candidates' Draft and Partisan Change in Mexico, 2000-2002
Luis Estrada, University of California, San Diego
Overview: Candidates' personalities may be the rule of thumb when individuals vote. Do individuals change parties when their candidates do so? Using the 2000-2002 Mexico Panel Study, I observe the relationship between party ID and candidates' personalities.

Presenter Information, Uncertainty, and Party Identification
Andrew D. Garner, University of Mississippi
Overview: This paper examines the role of issue uncertainty on party identification. Uncertainty conditions the degree to which party identification is endogenous to issue positions and reduces the probability that citizens identify with political parties.
19-202  INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: YOUNG AND OLD VOTERS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE
Room  TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Presenter  Do Older People Vote Differently? A Longitudinal Analysis of Britain and Germany
Achim Goerres, London School of Economics
Overview: Several hypotheses of older people's voting behaviour are tested. Older people can be different from other age groups because they belong to different generations. Socialization at young age is more important than life cycle interests at old age.

21-2  ELECTORAL RULES AND PARTY DISCIPLINE
Room  TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair  Theodore T. Hиндson, Texas State University, San Marcos
Presenter  Politics of Electoral Deception: Do Electoral Systems Matter?
Alex C. Chang, University of Iowa
Overview: In this paper, I use game theory to simulate party-legislator relation. I find that benefit-cost ratio of legislative seats determines the frequency of political deception. A cross-national analysis also proves this finding.

Paper  Party Discipline, Voter Heterogeneity, and the Notion of Representation: The Strange Case of Spain
Jeremy J. Albright, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: This paper explores how multi-level government in Spain has functioned to compensate for substantial distortions created by the country’s electoral system.

Paper  Understanding the Electoral College
Robert M. Alexander, Ohio Northern University
Brittani Knisely, Ohio Northern University
Tiffany Ferry, Ohio Northern University
Adam Gallagher, Ohio Northern University
Steve Kochheiser, Ohio Northern University
Barbara Tate, Ohio Northern University
Tina Loughry, Ohio Northern University
Overview: This essay uses a mail survey of presidential electors from the 2000 and 2004 campaigns in an effort to unmask these elusive gatekeepers to the American presidency.

Disc.  Michael F. Thies, University of California, Los Angeles

22-1  GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS TO PUBLIC POLICY PREFERENCES ACROSS POLICY DOMAINS
Room  TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair  Larry Bartels, Princeton University
Presenter  Issue Salience and Electoral Accountability
Brandice Canes-Wrone, Princeton University
David Brady, Stanford University
Michael Cutrone, Princeton University
Overview: We examine whether the impact of House members' legislative votes on electoral performance depends upon the salience of the legislative votes.

Paper  Issue Ownership and Representation Across Policy Domains
Patrick J. Egan, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: This paper presents a theory and a test of how "issue ownership"—the varying degree to which the public trusts the political parties to handle policy issues—causes the representation of constituency opinion to differ across policy domains.

Paper  Public Opinion, Race, and Public Policy
John Griffin, University of Notre Dame
Brian Newman, Pepperdine University
Overview: We examine racial differences in responsiveness, comparing changes in federal spending across general policy domains with racial groups' preferences. We find that racial minorities exert much more influence on issues they care more about.

22-203  INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: MANIPULATING PUBLIC OPINION
Room  TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Presenter  Influencing Opinion to Agree with Policy: A Strategy for Change
Amy M. Beckius-Johnson, University of South Dakota
Overview: The focus of this paper is to develop a strategy to reshape public opinion regarding unpopular policy. Observations of political behavior from the public will be used as well as modern examples of latent policy recovery.

Presenter  Priming, Personality, and Perceptions of the United Nations
Paul W. Burton, Michigan State University
Overview: This project uses a survey experiment to test the effect of positive and negative stimuli on the public's perceptions of the United Nations. The goal of which is to achieve a better understanding of how public opinion can be manipulated.

22-204  INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ATTITUDES ABOUT HEALTH CARE
Room  TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Presenter  Mass Media and Public Opinion in Canada: The State of Healthcare
Kelly R. Blidook, McGill University
Overview: The issue of healthcare has been dominant in recent Canadian elections and has remained a key issue on the policy agenda beyond elections. This paper aims to expose media framing effects on public perceptions of the actual state of healthcare.

23-10  COMMUNITY DIVERSITY AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
Room  TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair  David E. Campbell, University of Notre Dame
Paper  Residential Income Diversity and Political Participation
David E. Campbell, University of Notre Dame
John Griffin, University of Notre Dame
Overview: This project will examine whether the effects of residential income diversity on the civic engagement and participation of citizens varies across income groups.

Paper  Racial Context, Economic Competition, and Political Participation
Tetsuya Matsubayashi, Texas A&M University
Overview: Using data from Citizen Participation Study merged with 1990 census data, this research addresses three questions: Does racial context have a significant effect on mass participation? How can we modify exiting arguments by taking account of other con

Paper  Race, Racial Environment and Political Participation in American Cities
Daniel Rubenson, University of Montreal
Overview: This paper analyses the effects of racial environment on electoral and nonelectoral political participation in American Cities.
cities, arguing that better measures of diversity are needed and
effects on different racial groups need to be analyzed separately

Disc. Brian Reed, Millikin University

24-7 MEDIA EFFECTS IN THE STATES
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair Sara M. Gabala, Michigan State University
Paper Turning Purple? How Blue Candidates Deal with Red States and Vice Versa
Brian K. Arbour, University of Texas, Austin
Laura Barberena, University of Texas, Austin
Ernest McGowan, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: A paper examining the different images and rhetoric
used by parties and candidates in electoral advertisements.
Special attention given to issues owned by a particular party and
any variability in message these or other factors produce.

Paper The Web of Candidates and Parties: Internet Functionality
in the 2004 Election
Diana T. Cohen, University of Florida
Overview: This paper explores how state parties and Senate
candidates utilized the Web in electoral strategy during the 2004
election, including what purposes the Internet served and what
Web-based tools were found most effective.

Paper Majoritarian Media: Evidence from the American States
Micah D. Weinberg, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: Using the American states as a test case, this study
establishes the conditions under which we should expect the
media to improve the connection between public opinion and
public policy and hence promote democratic policy outcomes.

Disc. Philip D. Habel, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

24-301 POSTER SESSION: MASS MEDIA AND
POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Presenter New Literacy and Political Communication
Room TBA, Board 1, Thur 3:45 pm
Stephen C. Brooks, University of Akron
Overview: This essay considers the study of the new use of
information (new literacy) to understand changes in political
communication for the future. It also recommends how scholars
can use new literacy as a lens to study changing trends in our
field.

Presenter The Da Vinci Code Effect: Leo Strauss, the Neocosmos and the
Paranoid Style
Room TBA, Board 2, Thur 3:45 pm
Nathan D. Abrams, University of Aberdeen
Overview: This paper will analyse the uses to which Leo
Strauss and the neosyncret have been put since September 11,
2001 in order to understand the workings of American political
culture -- and the use and abuses of ideas along the whole
political spectrum.

Presenter Obituaries as Sources of Political Information
Room TBA, Board 3, Thur 3:45 pm
Shannon L. Smither, Westminster College
Overview: 60 years worth of obituaries are analyzed to track
political events as well as individuals' political interests and
affiliations.

Presenter The Story in a Story: The Impact of Picture Sequences in
Newspaper Articles on Candidate Evaluation
Room TBA, Board 4, Thur 3:45 pm
Jurgen Maier, Kaiserslautern University of Technology
Overview: This experimental study used data from two
universities in Germany and the United States and analyzes the
impact of different picture sequences on the evaluation of
politicians.

Presenter Newspapers and the Provision of Political Source Cues
Room TBA, Board 5, Thur 3:45 pm
David Schiweier, Susquehanna University
Overview: My paper supplements existing work on heuristic
reasoning by examining the provision of heuristic source cues in
newspaper stories on politics. I find that the "source cue
environment" in newspapers facilitates successful source cue
based reasoning.

Presenter Television and Voter Turnout
Room TBA, Board 6, Thur 3:45 pm
Matthew A. Gentzkow, University of Chicago
Overview: I use variation across markets in the timing of
Television's introduction to identify its impact on voter turnout.
The estimated effect is significantly negative, accounting for
between a quarter and a half of the decline in turnout since the
1950s.

25-3 EXPLAINING GENDER DIFFERENCES IN
POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair Sherry L. Martin, Cornell University
Paper Are Girls Checking Out? Gender and Political Socialization
in Transitioning Democracies
Suzanne Soule, Center for Civic Education
Jennifer Nairne, Center for Civic Education
Overview: Studies have shown that this gender gap appears
early in the life cycle, as early as adolescence. I will use data
from transitioning democracies to examine gender differences
among adolescents' political attitudes, interest and engagement.

Paper Exploring the Dynamics of the Gender Gap in Efficacy and
Participation
Nadia Khatib, Stony Brook University
Erin C. Cassese, Stony Brook University
Overview: In this study, we employ the 2000-2004 NES panel
study to evaluate the determinants of both efficacy and
participation, as well as the relationship between these critical
constructs, and the consistency of these relationships across
gender groups.

Paper Understanding Gender Differences in Political Interest
Debra A. Horner, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: This research explores the "gender gap" in political
interest by analyzing the differences in how men and women
define political interest--from a taste for politics to a sense of
stake in outcomes.

Paper Gender Differences in Political Knowledge: Distinguishing
Characteristics-Based and Returns-Based Differences
Jay K. Dow, University of Missouri, Columbia
Kenneth Troske, University of Kentucky
Overview: We use the Oaxaca decomposition methodology to
assess whether gender based differences in political knowledge
primarily result from differences in observable attributes or
differences in returns for otherwise equivalent characteristics.

Paper Family Socialization, Gender Differences, and Political
Interest in China
Robert Harmel, Texas A&M University
Wei Shan, Texas A&M University
Overview: Unlike most extant studies of gender differences on
political attitudes in China, which tend to seek explanation from
respondents' own socioeconomic background and status, this
study posits and finds a significant role for family socialization.

Disc. Elizabeth S. Smith, Furman University
Sherry L. Martin, Cornell University

25-102 LECTURE: TEACHING CASE STUDIES
ON WOMEN AND PUBLIC POLICY (Co-
sponsored with Teaching Political Science and
Midwest Women's Caucus, see 48-104 and 49-
107)
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Lecturer Sally J. Kenney, University of Minnesota
Overview: A workshop designed to introduce participants to the
case study method, how to find cases and instructional
materials, and the Center on Women and Public Policy's case
study program
26-6  ASIAN AMERICAN POLITICS

Room  TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair  Himanee Gupta-Carlson, University of Hawaii
Paper  In Pursuit of Inclusion: Citizenship Acquisition Among Asian Immigrants
Janelle Wong, University of Southern California
Adrian Pantoja, Arizona State University
Overview: This paper examines the naturalization of Asian immigrants in the US by analyzing the standard socio-demographic determinants as well as a plethora of political, religious, and transnational factors largely ignored in past studies.

Paper  Divided Loyalties and the Problem of Asian-American Party Acquisition
Shyam K. Sriram, Georgia State University
Overview: This paper attempts to solve the puzzle of why socio-economic factors do little to predict party identification among Asian-Americans.

Paper  Politics of Signage and Space: Claims-Making in the Case of Little India
Moon-Young Choi, University of California, Irvine
Overview: This case study of “Little India” examines factors influencing the claims-making process toward “ethnic space.” I study the specific political dimensions of linking race/ethnicity to space in terms of how such spaces are demarcated and recognized.

Paper  Ideology and Party Identification of Asian-Americans in Houston
P. See Lim, Texas A&M University
Overview: This paper examines the ideology and party identification of Asian-Americans in Houston. This is a very interesting group to study because their higher socioeconomic status is not translated into voting turnout.

Disc.  Jason P. Casellas, University of Texas, Austin

27-5  FIVE SITES FOR FEMINIST POLITICS: WORK, HOME, ETHICS, CYBORGS, AND CINEMA (Co-sponsored with Gender and Politics, see 25-16)

Room  TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair  John S. Nelson, University of Iowa
Paper  Should Feminists Be Cyborgs?
Joan M. Blauwkamp, University of Nebraska, Kearney
Nicole R. Krassas, Eastern Connecticut State University
Overview: Building on Donna Haraway's cyborg manifesto, we analyze cyborg exemplars from science fiction to assess the potential of cyborgs to challenge sexist dualisms along with the logics and practices of domination that spring from them.

Paper  Can Homo Economicus Come Home Again? Households as Sites of Resistance
Alexandra M. Kogl, University of Northern Iowa
Overview: The ideal abstract worker of liberal economic discourse relies on a hegemonic construction of masculinity yet constructs an ideal of personhood that is unattractive for men and women alike. Can households serve as sites of resistance to this ideal?

Elizabeth Markovits, Saint Louis University
Overview: This paper critiques deliberative theory's emphasis on sincerity in discourse, as well as Aristotle's notion of ethos, arguing that attention to the presumed moral interior of speakers actually harms the quality of discourse.

Paper  From Femme Fatale to Femmes Focales? Feminist Protagonists in Film Noir
John S. Nelson, University of Iowa
Overview: Hollywood has returned lately to film noir, but with a difference: it no longer restricts women to deadly females, deceitful spider women, and passive victims. Women protagonists are remaking the genre, especially its takes on gender and politics.

27-20  STATE AND SOCIETY IN MODERN THOUGHT

Room  TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair  Edward F. McClenenn, Syracuse University
Paper  The Emergence of the Modern State from Medieval Disorder
Daniel M. Paltzer, Lawrence University
Overview: Examining the unexpected difference between medieval theory and the political reality and the development of the social contract theories in conjunction with the growth of state power.

Paper  The State of Nature and the Formation of the “Good” State in Politics
G. Patrick Lynch, Liberty Fund
Overview: Both traditional and formal political theorists have long relied on constructing a starting point or “state of nature” as the basis for building their vision of the “good” state.

Paper  Rational Society
Edward F. McClenenn, Syracuse University
Overview: New rational choice foundations for political theory and its use to defend both an expansive set of constitutional rights, and a principle of justice that tolerates only those inequalities that serve the mutual interests of participants.

Paper  Rethinking the State as a Technology of Domination
Xavier I. Marquez, University of Notre Dame
Overview: I present and defend a view of the state as a technology of domination. This view draws on, but is in some significant respects different from, the view of the state that is dominant in political science today, namely, the Weberian view.

Disc.  Evan P. Riley, University of Pittsburgh
Greg Sadler, Ball State University

28-4  DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY: THEORY AND PRACTICE

Room  TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair  Stephen P. Chilton, University of Minnesota, Duluth
Paper  Of Radical Democrats and Great Republics: Agnes Heller’s Responsibilities and Possibilities
Timothy Dale, University of Notre Dame
Overview: This paper considers Iris Young's call for expanded inclusion in the processes of deliberative democracy. The paper examines Young's approach to inclusion, assessing both its promise and the possible limits of inclusion for her democratic ideal.

Paper  Egalitarian Theory as Policymaking Framework
Isaiah L. O'Rear, University of Georgia
Overview: I argue that egalitarian theory should provide a framework for policymaking. It should emphasize responsiveness to public conceptions of justice and provide methods for formulating just policy using the limited information available to policymakers.

Paper  Habermas and American Electoral Campaigns: Deliberative Responsibilities and Possibilities
Johnny Goldfinger, Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis
Michael R. James, Bucknell University
Overview: Habermas's understanding of deliberative democracy is used to provide a critique of the electoral process in America.
We examine current campaign practices, the role of the media, and the behavior of the electorate.

**Paper**  
The Evolution of Ideal Speech in the Thought of Jurgen Habermas  
**Author:** David V. Schwab, Indiana University, Bloomington  
**Overview:** This paper examines the evolution of the ideal speech situation in Habermas' thought. It is argued that as Habermas' concerns have changed, ideal speech has evolved from a pure sociological construct to one displaying transcendental elements.

**Disc.**  
Charles T. Rubin, Duquesne University  
Stephen P. Chilton, University of Minnesota, Duluth

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**29-5**  
**DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY**  
**Room:** TBA, Thur 3:45 pm  
**Chair:** Robert Mayer, Loyola University, Chicago  
**Paper**  
American Political Polarization as Disagreement Failure  
**Author:** Phil Neisser, SUNY, Potsdam  
**Overview:** Key moments in American political history are defined as "disagreement failures," leading to the conclusion that deliberative democracy requires both the celebration of disagreement and the crossing of multiple borders through dialogue.

**Paper**  
Alternative Theories of Rationality in Deliberative Democracy  
**Author:** Zsuzsanna Chappell, London School of Economics  
**Overview:** Deliberative democracy is founded on the underspecified notion of communicative rationality. I demonstrate that strategic rationality is a more realistic underlying assumption on which to develop democratic theory.

**Paper**  
Deliberation: From Immediate to Mediated Communication  
**Author:** Molly A. Patterson, Aquinas College  
**Overview:** This paper explores the relationship between face-to-face communication and mediated deliberation in Habermas' work. How, and how well, Habermas manages this transition has implications for how we conceive of and institutionalize deliberation.

**Paper**  
The Individual Benefits of Deliberative Democracy - An Experiment  
**Author:** Edmond D. Hally, University of Iowa  
**Overview:** This paper tests whether or not the individual-level benefits typically associated with theories of deliberative democracy are plausible in an experimental setting.

**Disc.**  
Robert Mayer, Loyola University, Chicago  
William A. Gorton, Alma College

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**29-9**  
**MARGINALITY AND PERSPECTIVE IN POLITICAL THOUGHT**  
**Room:** TBA, Thur 3:45 pm  
**Chair:** Iris M. Young, University of Chicago  
**Paper**  
Theorizing from the Margins with Situated Thinkers  
**Author:** Eleanor B. Fleming, Vanderbilt University  
**Overview:** Scholars doing problem-based inquiry cannot answer completely their questions, if they overlook people most affected by those political problems. Scholars should listen to situated theorists to engage their ideas and their political praxis.

**Paper**  
Representing the Borderlands  
**Author:** Yvonne A. Castelum, Harvard University  
**Overview:** Borderlands represent political space in transition. They articulate a significant perspective for theorizing about justice in an interdependent world bound by transnational labor mobility and migration.

**Paper**  
Liberalism and Civic Assimilation: A New Look at Minority Nations  
**Author:** Troy A. Kozma, Wilfrid Laurier University  
**Overview:** Why do minority nationals resist membership in liberal states? I argue that liberalism demands their civic assimilation. I propose a new social contract between majority and minority - a Federation of Peoples - modeled upon Rawls' Society of Peoples.

**Paper**  
Theorizing Lived Experience: Existence, Suffering and the Normative Cycle  
**Author:** Giunia Gatta, University of Minnesota/The Ohio State University  
**Overview:** Suffering is a powerful political reality, which largely falls beyond the scope of contemporary political science. In this paper I draw a phenomenology of suffering and theorize its implication for political thought and political action.

**Disc.**  
Brooke A. Ackerly, Vanderbilt University  
Iris M. Young, University of Chicago

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**29-203**  
**INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PERSONHOOD AND THE SOVEREIGN STATE**  
**Room:** TBA, Thur 3:45 pm  
**Presenter**  
State Sovereignty and the Idea of a Universal Person  
**Author:** Margaret Jenkins, University of Toronto  
**Overview:** This paper examines the idea of a universal person in theoretical approaches to international justice and offers a conceptualization of the individual and the state that specifies the scope of human rights and the conditions for state sovereignty.

**29-204**  
**INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE COSMOPOLITAN SUBJECT**  
**Room:** TBA, Thur 3:45 pm  
**Presenter**  
The Cosmopolitan Subject: Cosmopolitanism as Responsibility to the Self  
**Author:** Jennie S. Han, University of Chicago  
**Overview:** I argue cosmopolitanism is best conceptualized not as a set of principles, but as a form of moral subjectivity. The then is to articulate the cosmopolitan consciousness and conscience as processes of thinking and making judgments about the world.

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**30-5**  
**FORMAL THEORIES OF COMPARATIVE INSTITUTIONS**  
**Room:** TBA, Thur 3:45 pm  
**Chair:** Seok-ju Cho, Yale University  
**Paper**  
Models of Government Formation Process in Semi-Presidential Systems  
**Author:** Shin-Goo Kang, University of Rochester  
**Overview:** This paper presents two models of government formation process in Semi-Presidential systems, in which the selection of formateur is endogenously determined by the president who has the power to choose a formateur among parties.

**Paper**  
Logrolling in Intergovernmental Negotiations  
**Author:** Frank Arndt, Universität Mannheim  
**Overview:** I investigate the impact of political exchange during the Amsterdam Intergovernmental Conference 1996-97. An agent-based simulation is applied to model preference aggregation under unanimity rule with a special focus on logrolling processes.

**Paper**  
Evolution of Party Systems Inside the Electoral Cycle  
**Author:** Sorin-Gabriel M. Sebe, Bucharest University  
**Overview:** Using basic concepts as volatility, polarisation, fractionalization in a multilevel structure, we treat the dynamics of the party system evolution inside the electoral cycle. The case of the present Romanian electoral cycle is used as an illustration.

**Disc.**  
Seok-ju Cho, Yale University

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**30-18**  
**FORMAL THEORIES OF POLITICAL PARTIES**  
**Room:** TBA, Thur 3:45 pm  
**Chair:** Sean Guilmard, Northwestern University  
**Paper**  
Identity, Partisanship and Party Government  
**Author:** Elizabeth M. Penn, Harvard University  
**Overview:** We examine the implications of identity within a model of legislative policymaking. Applying our theory to the U.S. House of Representatives, we provide an alternative view
Groseclose, Levitt, and Snyder's (APSR, 1999) statistical model across time for adjusting the ADA and other interest groups rating scores of amendment periods. Estimate models of responsiveness for the pre- and post-U.S. Senate. Using data from the 51st-76th Congresses, we amendment on changes in patterns of policy responsiveness in which most individuals participate. To overcome the apathy and ignorance that limits the degree to which voting behavior.

Paper: Where You Sit is Where You Stand: Using GIS to Measure the Influence of Seating Proximity on Legislative Voting Seth E. Masket, University of Denver
Overview: This paper utilizes legislative ideal points and GIS software to determine the impact of seating arrangements on legislative voting in the California Assembly. Seating assignments are shown to be highly determinative of future voting behavior.

Paper: Scoring the Senate: Parties, Scorecards, and Voting in the U.S. Senate
Jason M. Roberts, University of Minnesota
Lauren Cohen Bell, Randolph Macon College
Overview: In this paper, we seek to understand how senators negotiate the conflict between parties and interest groups on votes that groups choose to score.

Paper: Re-adjusting Interest Group Ratings for Cross Chamber and Time Comparability
Jeffrey B. Lewis, University of California, Los Angeles
Timothy J. Groseclose, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: We present several improvements and extensions to Groseclose, Levitt, and Snyder's (APSR, 1999) statistical model for adjusting the ADA and other interest groups rating scores of Members of Congress so that those scores can be compared across time.

Paper: Progressive Ambition and the Cartel Agenda Model
Gregory Robinson, Michigan State University
Overview: I test a prediction from cartel agenda theory, that progressively ambitious House members adjust their roll call behavior to accommodate the statewide Senate constituency they hope to win on final passage votes but not on votes on special rules.

Disc. Valenitno Larcinese, The London School of Economics and Political Science

Paper: Bosom Buddies: Are Voters and Their Representatives a Match Made in Heaven?
Suzanne M. Gold, Michigan State University
Overview: Much research has examined how well congressional representatives match up with their districts. Using a comprehensive data set, I show that representatives and their districts do fit together in terms of party, ideology, and issue positions.

Disc. Michael J. Ensley, Indiana University, Bloomington

35-301 POSTER SESSION: REPRESENTATION, ELECTIONS, AND THE U.S. CONGRESS
Presenter: U.S. House District Constituency Size and the Impact on Representation
Room: TBA, Board 7, Thurs 3:45 pm
Brian P. Frederick, Northern Illinois University
Overview: The average number of constituents each member of the U.S. House now serves has soared to over 600,000. This paper attempts to develop a series of empirical measures to estimate the impact of district population size on legislative representation.

Presenter: Strategic Moderation, Shirking, and Participation in the U.S. Senate
Room: TBA, Board 8, Thurs 3:45 pm
Jennifer A. Cooper, Emory University
Overview: Do legislators change their behavior over the course of a term? Extant literature supports the idea that strategic moderation and shirking play a role in legislators’ roll-call voting behavior. This paper extends the theory to non-voting behavior.

Presenter: Congressional Approval and Electoral Connection: A Dynamic Model
Room: TBA, Board 9, Thurs 3:45 pm
Gizen Arikan, Stony Brook University
Overview: The paper addresses the problem of endogeneity in the analysis of congressional elections. Congressional approval and vote intention are modeled simultaneously to capture the dynamic relationship between the vote and evaluations of Congress.

Presenter: Historical Mandate Elections, 1866-2004
Room: TBA, Board 10, Thurs 3:45 pm
James E. Monogan, III, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: After mandate elections, members of Congress adjust their voting patterns temporarily. Using historical data, I determine whether these reactions come from globally rational members of Congress or from boundedly rational members.

Disc. William Kubik, Hanover College
Brian Sala, University of California, Davis

36-19 EXPLAINING PERCEPTIONS OF JUDICIAL LEGITIMACY
Presenter: The Impact that Race and Gender Diversity on the Bench Has on Litigants
Nancy Scherer, The Ohio State University
Brett Curry, The Ohio State University
Overview: Using an experimental approach, we address the question: does racial and gender diversity on the federal bench increase institutional legitimacy of the justice system.

Paper: The Impact that Race and Gender Diversity on the Bench Has on Litigants
Nancy Scherer, The Ohio State University
Brett Curry, The Ohio State University
Overview: After a redistricting, House members might face a constituency which is more liberal or more conservative than before. We investigate whether this change prompts a corresponding change in behavior.

Paper: Tyranny of the Minority: Subconstituency Politics Theory of Representation
Benjamin G. Bishin, University of Miami
Overview: This paper develops a theory of representation that holds that candidates appeal to groups rather than to individuals to overcome the apathy and ignorance that limits the degree to which most individuals participate.

Paper: Do Politicians Do What Voters Want? A Natural Experiment
Jeffrey Lazarus, Georgia State University
Richard Engstrom, Georgia State University
Overview: After a redistricting, House members might face a constituency which is more liberal or more conservative than before. We investigate whether this change prompts a corresponding change in behavior.

Paper: Candidates, Campaigns, and Tides: A Look at Three Time Periods
Eric M. McGhee, University of Oregon
John Sides, George Washington University
Overview: We explore the national and district-level components in voting for the U.S. House, using all three NES panels to explore the effect of modern campaigning on these correlates of change.
Discussion of these issues will be the focal point of this roundtable.

39-3 **HOUSING PRICES AND LOCAL HOUSING POLICY**

**Room** TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

**Chair** TBA

**Paper** Revitalizing Neighborhoods

Marilyn Dantico, Arizona State University

Alvin Mushkatel, Arizona State University

Overall: This paper looks at housing quality and other data to assess effects of comprehensive neighborhood initiatives in Phoenix, AZ.

**Paper** Homeowner and Neighborhood Association Influences on Housing Prices

Charles Barrilleaux, Florida State University

Tom Carey, Florida State University

Daniel Scheller, Florida State University

Overview: We estimate the effects of neighborhood characteristics, including governance provisions in neighborhood and homeowner association charters, on housing prices in a hedonic model.

**Paper** The Bonus of Affordable Housing: Analyzing California’s Housing Density Bonus Law

Jeffrey B. McLaughlin, University of California, Riverside

Max Neiman, University of California, Riverside

Overall: Our hypothesis is that administrative weaknesses in California state law have allowed localities to selectively implement development policies that stress tax revenue streams over policies that benefit housing for low to moderate income residents.

**Disc.** TBA

40-2 **AGENDA SETTING AND POLICY: CELEBRITIES, ENTREPRENEURS AND ORGANIZATIONS**

**Room** TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

**Chair** Jeffrey S. Worsham, West Virginia University

**Paper** What Has Jerry Lewis Wrought? An Analysis of the Role of Celebrity in Agenda Setting

Trudy Steuer, University of Alabama

Fred W. Blue, West Virginia University

Overall: This paper aims to analyze the role of celebrity in agenda setting. Building on the theoretical model of Kingdon (1995), we propose to examine the role of celebrities in putting two conditions, autism and Alzheimer’s, on the public agenda.

**Paper** Balancing Morality and Economy: The Case of State

Human Cloning Policies

Bonnie Stable, George Mason University

Jennifer B. Davis, University of Colorado

Overall: This paper investigates the question of which forces within individual states contribute most significantly to getting human cloning on the legislative agenda and shaping any subsequent policies.

**Paper** Federal-State Political Institutions and the NEA’s Policy Entrepreneurship

Gordon Beck, Florida International University

Overall: The political institution of the federal-state partnership in government support for the arts had developed to such an extent in the 1990s that it could provide crucial institutional support and set the backdrop for the NEA’s policy entrepreneurship.

**Paper** The Dynamics of Education Policy Agenda Setting: The Case of School Choice

Myung H. Jin, Florida State University

Overall: In the case of school choice, Kingdon’s three streams may have been necessary, but probably was not sufficient for the reform to reach the agenda. There had to be a pre-existing institutional capacity that underpinned the efforts of reformers.

**Paper** An Application of Punctuated Equilibrium Theory

Nikki Ha-Kwan Chan, University of Hong Kong

Overall: TBA

**Disc.** Jeffrey S. Worsham, West Virginia University
### 40-18 UNDERSTANDING POLICY INNOVATIONS

**Room**: TBA, Thur 3:45 pm  
**Chair**: Andrew Karch, University of Texas, Austin  
**Paper**: What Drives Diffusion? Non-Incremental Patterns of Policy Diffusion in America  
**Overview**: This paper draws upon research in agenda setting to explain non-incremental patterns of policy diffusion. It models policy adoption as a function of the number of state legislative institutions and the density of interest groups within states.

**Paper**: Regulatory Discretion and Policy Innovation: Improving Policy Implementation Through Flexible Approaches  
**Overview**: This paper presents a new model of the relationship between public opinion, salience, and public policy. The model is tested by the use of panel- and time-series regression on 8 policy issues from 1980-2003.

**Disc.**: Thom Yantek, Kent State University  
Andrew Karch, University of Texas, Austin

### 41-1 SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY

**Room**: TBA, Thur 3:45 pm  
**Chair**: Nicole Kazee, Yale University  
**Paper**: Social Trailblazing or Abdication of Responsibility: A Comparative Analysis of Social Devolution in Chile and in the United States  
**Overview**: This paper demonstrates that discretion, which embraces the goal to improve policy implementation through formal procedure and rule-specific innovation, offers a way to more effective achievement of substantive policy and regulatory goals.

**Paper**: Macro Policy in the United States (1789-2002)  
**Overview**: We measure legislative production over the entire history of the U.S. Congress, finding that institutional reform, societal change, and preference distributions are the most important determinants of policy production.

**Disc.**: TBA

### 42-10 INTERESTS, INSTITUTIONS, AND MONETARY POLICY (Co-Sponsored with International Political Economy, see 12-21)

**Room**: TBA, Thur 3:45 pm  
**Chair**: Christopher R. Way, Cornell University  
**Paper**: Political Business Cycle and Asset Construction  
**Overview**: A re-examination of the monetary political business cycle using new housing construction starts as a proxy for monetary policy.

**Overview**: How do the President and the Congress affect the policy choices of the Federal Reserve System? The paper relies on vintage data and the Taylor rule to estimate the influence of elected officials on Federal responses to output and inflation shocks.

**Paper**: Exit, Promotion, or Loyalty? Comparative Evidence on Central Bankers' Duration in Office  
**Overview**: Examines the effects of central bankers' career backgrounds, partisan governments, and economic conditions on the duration of central bankers' tenure in office using event history analysis of comparative data.

**Disc.**: TBA

### 43-5 RESPONSIVENESS ACROSS SECTORS: ROOTS, STRATEGIES, AND MEASURES

**Room**: TBA, Thur 3:45 pm  
**Chair**: Kaifeng Yang, Florida State University  
**Paper**: Exploring Networks of Responsiveness Across Stages of Collaboration  
**Overview**: This paper will present data from an action research program that facilitates collaboration between a City of Los Angeles agency and four neighborhood councils. It will explore changing network relations, perceptions and responsiveness of the agency.

**Paper**: Stakeholder Orientation in Community Foundations' Use of Web Technologies  
**Overview**: We outline a framework for building assurances and enforcement mechanisms into consensus-based agreements produced by stakeholder partnerships. We then use the framework to examine implementation of the Sacramento Water Forum Agreement of 2000.
Disc. Matthew Dull, University of Wisconsin-Madison

43-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: FARMING IT OUT: SUBCONTRACTING PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Presenter Is State-Centered Public Administration Dead in the United States?
Uday C. Desai, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Keith Snavely, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Overview: The state is receding and the private sector expanding into former public space. Market-like, private good exchanges are supplanting citizen-state, public good exchanges. Such access will be examined along with ramifications of not doing so.

Chair Robert Mickey, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Paper The Myth of the Christian Right: Analysis of Group Members and Political Participation
Matthew K. DeSantis, University of Florida
Overview: The following paper challenges the traditional beliefs that followers of the Christian Right are highly active political participants. Data analysis shows low levels of group membership and political participation amongst evangelical Protestants.

Paper The Political Participation of the Religious Right: Trends and Consequences
Patrick R. Miller, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: This paper examines trends in the political participation of Christian Conservatives and their attitudes towards government. The implications of the growth of the religious right for the quality of liberal democracy are considered.

Paper The Political Implications of Elite Framing of Premillennial Eschatology
Paula N. Booke, University of Chicago
Overview: This paper examines the relationship in elite discourse between premillennial theology and anti-globalization, anti-government regulation, anti-secularization and pro-Israel policies.

Paper Apples and Oranges: Methodological Issues in Determining the Population of the Christian Right
Matthew K. DeSantis, University of Florida
Marija Anna Bekafiago, University of Georgia
Overview: The paper addresses methodological issues when measuring the Christian Right population in individual level surveys. The paper demonstrates previous methodological shortcomings and highlights new advances, which will enable more precise measurement.

Paper Saving Hearts, Influencing Politics: Evangelizing for Political Change
Andra Gillespie, Emory University
Overview: Using ethnographic data collected before and during evangelical crusades in Connecticut and Washington, DC in 2001 and 2005, this paper shows how local organizers channel their social and political concerns into helping plan evangelistic crusades.

Disc. Laura R. Olson, Clemson University
Geoffrey C. Layman, University of Maryland

50-1 PLATONIC POLITICS

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair Matthew J. Franck, Radford University
Paper The Myth of the Christian Right: Analysis of Group Members and Political Participation
Matthew K. DeSantis, University of Florida
Overview: The following paper challenges the traditional beliefs that followers of the Christian Right are highly active political participants. Data analysis shows low levels of group membership and political participation amongst evangelical Protestants.

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Disc. Laura R. Olson, Clemson University
Geoffrey C. Layman, University of Maryland
return to political questions is not a return to traditional piety but to the "Ideas" as cause and source of stability in the cosmos.

**Paper**
**The Logical Structure of Plato's Laws**
Elizabeth A. L’Arrivee, University of Notre Dame
Overview: Some commentators argue that the Laws does not have a clear organization. However, the Laws is answering a lucid question according to a logical structure, and the proposals set forth must be understood as corresponding to this structure.

**Disc.**
Marlene K. Sokolon, Concordia University
Bryan Benson, Western Governors University

**51-2 SOME CONSEQUENCES OF SAME-SEX MARRIAGE**
**Room**
TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
**Chair**
Ellen Andersen, Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis
**Paper**
Whither Culture War? Gay Marriage and the 2004 Elections
Elvin T. Lim, University of Tulsa
Overview: This paper examines media and elite discussions of gay marriage in the one month before Election Day 2004.

**Paper**
Lesbians, Marriage and Political Participation Post Goodridge
Jennifer Raymond, University of Massachusetts, Boston
Overview: In Goodridge v. Department of Public Health, the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled that there was no valid reason for the state of Massachusetts to prohibit same-sex couple from receiving marriage licenses.

**Paper**
The Electoral Capture of Gay and Lesbian Americans
Charles A. Smith, University of Miami
Overview: The wide-spread popular support for the anti-gay amendments in the 2004 election suggests that Democrats will marginalize gay and lesbian interests in order to avoid electoral losses.

**Paper**
Voting on Marriage: Demographic Influences on the Initiative to Ban Gay Marriage in the Michigan Constitution
Laurel Sprague, Wayne State University
Overview: This paper examines support for Michigan's initiative to ban gay marriage by looking at voting patterns by income, race, education, presidential votes, and the number of same-sex households in selected southeastern Michigan cities.

**Disc.**
Ellen Andersen, Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis
Jason Pierceson, University of Illinois, Springfield

**57-1 GENDERING PUBLIC AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP (Co-sponsored with Gender and Politics, see 25-20)**
**Room**
TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
**Chair**
Mary E. Guy, Florida State University
**Paper**
The Gendered Dimensions of Executive Office
Farida Jalalzai, University of Missouri, St. Louis
Overview: This paper analyzes gender in relation to executive office worldwide. Specifically, it investigates the nature of executive power and how open governments are to the representation of women as presidents and prime ministers.

**Paper**
Rethinking Public and Political Leadership with Gender in Mind
Georgia Duerst-Lahti, Beloit College
Overview: Political Science tends to divide leadership between the 'political' of elected officials-most often the president-and the 'public' leadership of administrators. Generally neither takes gender into account.

**Paper**
Women, Leadership, and the State: A Critical Assessment
Eileen McDonagh, Northeastern University
Overview: This paper analyzes the impact of state construction upon women's access to national leadership positions.

**Paper**
Images of Legislative Leadership: Where are the Women?
Cindy Simon Rosenthal, University of Oklahoma
Overview: Have women transformed the images associated with legislative leadership? This paper contrasts the popular portrayal of women leaders and scholarly understandings of congressional leadership.

**Disc.**
Mary E. Guy, Florida State University
Overview: This paper examines the democratic role of the French Senate—an institution constitutionally designated to represent the French people that is, however, paradoxically unfamiliar to and disliked by the very citizens it was established to serve.

Paper: The French Senate: A Representative Institution Foreign to Its Own People
Andrea L. Johnson, Macalester College
Overview: This paper examines the democratic role of the French Senate—an institution constitutionally designated to represent the French people that is, however, paradoxically unfamiliar to and disliked by the very citizens it was established to represent.

Disc. Christopher J. Kam, University of British Columbia

3-3 HISTORICAL INSTITUTIONS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (Co-sponsored with International Political Economy, see 12-15)
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Jonathan K. Hanson, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Paper: Governments Against States: The Logic of Self-Destructive Despotism
Abhishek Chatterjee, University of Virginia
Overview: The paper seeks to propose a framework to conceptualize and explain the relationship between rulers and capital holders over time and across regions. The framework is then used to illuminate the variation in the development of capital markets.

Paper: Genealogy of the State: Peninsular State of War and the Birth of South Korean Developmental State
Jin-Ha Kim, University of Chicago
Overview: What produced the Korean developmental state? The Korean War brought about the modern bureaucracy based upon the model of the South Korean Mass Army. Through the Disciplinary Revolution, it would give birth to the developmental state.

Paper: A License to Loot: Privateering and Property Rights as Private Goods
Christina Gathmann Maneval, Stanford University
Henning Hillmann, Stanford University
Overview: The structure of individuals' opinions about politics is shown to vary between new and established democracies; I argue that this pattern provides significant insight into cross-national differences in the efficacy of democracy as a political system.

Overview: I explore the variance in subcontracting defense to private firms among authoritarian and transitioning regimes in developing countries.

3-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: GLOBALIZED TRADE, INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS, AND LABOR
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Presenter Contesting Globalization: Lessons from the "Fair Trade Coffee" Movement and Beyond
Mark S. Keida, Miami University
Overview: This paper adds to the growing literature on globalization and "labor". Specifically, it looks at the strategies by which labor groups challenge, manage, and contest the corporate-led "flexibilization" of the "workforce."

4-7 THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY IN DEMOCRATIZATION
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Matt Murphy, Reed College

Paper: Political Culture and Democracy: Are Attitudes Conducive to Democracy?
Ronald F. Inglehart, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Christian Welzel, International University, Bremen
Overview: Which mass attitudes (if any) are most conducive to democracy? This paper tests attitudinal variables from the three main schools of political culture, as predictors of six leading measures of democracy, using data from 70 societies.

Paper: Different Types of Veto Players and the Fragmentation of Power
Michael Stöber, University of Darmstadt
Overview: I propose a modified veto player approach to measure the degree of power fragmentation in different political systems at different points of time.

Paper: Whom to Serve and Protect?
Lee D. Walker, University of Kentucky
Richard Waterman, University of Kentucky
Overview: The paper examines the effect that support for the political government and several other political factors have on citizens’ attitudes towards police in three Latin American countries and the United States.

Paper: A Comparative Analysis of Ideological Constraint Using Latent Class Models
Drew A. Linzer, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper adds to the growing literature on globalization and "labor". Specifically, it looks at the strategies by which labor groups challenge, manage, and contest the corporate-led "flexibilization" of the "workforce."

Overview: I explore the variance in subcontracting defense to private firms among authoritarian and transitioning regimes in developing countries.

3-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DEFENSE EXPENDITURES
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Presenter International Transfers, War-Making, and State-Building
Anas Malik, Xavier University
Overview: External debt and covert financing intervene in the warmaking-statebuilding link. Rather than tax effort, developing countries prefer to borrow or manipulate the money stock for revenue-raising.

Presenter Blood for Money: The Subcontracting of Defense in the Developing World
Bozena C. Welborne, University of Colorado, Boulder
Zane Kelly, University of Colorado, Boulder
Overview: I explore the variance in subcontracting defense to private firms among authoritarian and transitioning regimes in developing countries.
Disc. Jack Bielasiak and compare it with Ukrainian and Russian models of transition. I examine Belarus
Overview: This study attempts to use a comparative approach of
paper on the institutional determinants of cabinet stability in Central and Eastern Europe. We argue that the type of political regime (parliamentary, semi-presidential, and presidential) is a central determinant of cabinet survival
Paper Third Party Intervention in Ethnic Rights Negotiations: An European Analysis Anca Turcu, University of Texas, Dallas Overview: The paper examines the role of third party intervention in negotiations between actors who hold disproportional amounts of power. It focuses on minority-majority rights negotiations in the context of EU integration of Eastern and Western countries.
Disc. David R. Foley, Canisius College
4-20 THE THIN LINE BETWEEN CONSOLIDATION AND BREAKDOWN IN NASCENT DEMOCRACIES
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am Chair Paul D. Trampe, George Mason University Paper Democratic Society and Adaptive Management Models: Comparing the Resilience and Collapse of Ten Democratic Systems Amy Lauren Lovecraft, University of Alaska, Fairbanks Sultan Tepe, University of Illinois, Chicago Overview: Drawing on ten cases (Iran, Nicaragua, Iraq, Nigeria, Colombia, Turkey, Israel, Germany, the UK, and the US) we ask to what extent the Gunderson and Holling's resilience theory is useful to explain the adaption and maladaptation of democratic society?
Paper Default Factors of Democratic Transitions in Belarus, Ukraine, and Russia Olga Zagoroulkskaya, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh Overview: This study attempts to use a comparative approach of institutional and behavioral factors that contributed to failures of democracy in some transitional countries. I examine Belarus and compare it with Ukrainian and Russian models of transition.
Disc. Jack Bielasiak, Indiana University, Bloomington
5-6 EU INTEGRATION IN COMPARISON
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am Chair David Ellison, Grinnell College Paper Public Support for European Integration Among New Member States: An Empirical Test of Five Theories Chris Hasselmann, Washington University Overview: This paper tests five competing theories of support for integration previously examined within the EU-15 among the 10 new member states, with the goal of better understanding the kinds of policy demands likely to emanate from the region.
Paper The Role of European Integration in the Scottish Devolution Referenda Seth K. Jolly, Duke University Overview: Taking advantage of Scottish referenda over devolution in 1979 and 1997, I utilize public opinion data to test whether Scots are more likely to support regional parties and greater autonomy because they find independence more feasible in a deeper EU.
Paper European Integration and National Elections Catherine E. Netjes, Free University, Amsterdam Overview: To what extent do attitudes towards the European Union (EU) influence national vote choice-a process referred to as EU issue voting? This analysis examines the extent and conditions under which EU issue voting takes place across time and space.
Paper America Redux, Europe Recast: Issues of Federalism, Constitutionalism, and Sovereignty in the Context of the US and the EU Anna M. Ruska, Old Dominion University Overview: This essay centers around issues of federalism and constitutionalism in the US and EU. By comparing the past US and current EU integration, this paper attempts to assess the future of the EU in the context of the Euro-Atlantic community.
Disc. David Ellison, Grinnell College
5-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CLIENTALISM AS POLITICAL STRATEGY
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am Presenter Clientalism as Political Strategy: a Formal Theory Leonardo A. Gatica-Arreola, University of Guadalajara Overview: This paper proposes a formal model to explain the use of clientelism and its relationship with political competition, social cleavages, poverty and inequality.
5-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: COURTS IN EUROPE
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am Presenter Trusting the ECJ: Integration, the EU, and Decisions Kathleen R. Barrett, Georgia State University Overview: This paper will test possible explanations for the variation of trust in the ECJ arguing that trust in the ECJ is related to trust in European institutions, belief in European integration, and reaction to ECJ decisions.
Presenter Everwatching: Courts as an Accountability Mechanism in a Liberalized Market Dorit Rubinstein, University of California, Berkeley Overview: The role of courts in the newly liberalized telecommunications and electricity sectors in three European countries, the UK, France and Sweden. The paper found a growth in the use and influence of courts, but limited to certain actors and issues.
7-3 EXECUTIVES AND THEIR ALLIES: PRESIDENTS AND THEIR CABINETS IN LATIN AMERICA
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am Chair Viviana M. Abreu-Hernandez, Puerto Rico Council on Higher Education Paper Coalition-Based Presidentialism in South America Magna M. Inacio, Federal University of Minas Gerais Overview: The paper analyzes the coalition-based presidentialism in South America (Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Bolivia), the diversity of the strategies of formation of the governments and its consequences on the stability of the multipartisan cabinet
Paper Issue-Salience and Presidential Approval in Latin America Gregg B. Johnson, SUNY, Buffalo Sooh-Rhee Syu, SUNY, Buffalo Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer, University of Mississippi Overview: Systematic studies of presidential approval in Latin America are relatively recent, though given the region's economic and political volatility particularly important. Building upon the voluminous research on presidential approval in the United States.
Paper The Determinants of Finance Minister Stability
Ashley D. Ross, Louisiana State University
Overview: Many scholars have explored the importance of technocrats and specifically ministers of finance on economic reform, however none have addressed the stability of the finance minister office-leaving

Paper Poor Presidents? Governing with Tougher Resource Constraints
Cesar Zucco, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper assesses the impacts of economic reform on the availability of resources to South American presidents, and the impacts of the reduction of the pool of resources on crisis and on the development of new "coalition technologies".

Paper Designing Cabinets: Ministerial Instability in Latin America
Cecilia Martinez-Gallardo, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas
Overview: Cabinet changes in presidential systems receive much attention but little systematic analysis. I develop and test a theory relating cabinet changes to the broader political system using data on ministerial careers in 12 Latin American countries.

Disc. David J. Samuels, University of Minnesota
Patricio D. Navia, New York University

10-11 NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH IN THE POST-COMMUNIST WORLD
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Christian W. Haerpfer, University of Aberdeen
Paper Public Responses to Elite Changes in the Soviet Participatory Arena
Cynthia S. Kaplan, University of California, Santa Barbara
Henry E. Brady, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: Public opinion polls and data on political participation are used to trace how the mass public responded to elite changes (mostly expansions) in the decision-making arena by Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and others in the Soviet Union from 1985 to 1991.

Paper Support for Regime Institutions and Political Actors in Russia and the CIS
Christian W. Haerpfer, University of Aberdeen
Overview: The paper is analysing political support and trust in regime institutions and political actors in eight post-Soviet countries: Russian Federation, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.

Paper The Effects of Censorship in the Ukraine: A Transactional Approach
Charlotte L. Ridge, University of Iowa
Vicki L. Hesli, University of Iowa
Overview: Governmental pressure on the media has been a permanent feature in Ukrainian elections. This paper aims to answer two questions: why does government controlled media seem unpersuasive and how does heavily biased media affect voter preferences?

Paper Believe but Verify? Russian Views and the Market
Nathaniel Wilcox, University of Houston
Andrew Austin, CERGE-EI
Overview: We use surveys and a double auction experiment to study Russian beliefs about how markets works. Subjects become less skeptical about economic theory after seeing the double auction, but reactions of subgroups differ in interesting ways.

Paper Does Historical Legacy Matter? Comparing Political Participation in Advanced and Developing Democracies
Sarah E. Wilson, The Ohio State University
Overview: Does historical political legacy influence current political participation? We find evidence that political legacy has a greater impact on older generations than younger ones, suggesting that the influence of the past dies out as the population ages.

Disc. James L. Gibson, Washington University, St. Louis

11-5 IR AND AFRICA
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Regina M. Baker, University of Oregon
Paper Strategic Ethics: The Global Governance of Justice
Nomvuyo Z. T. Nolutshungu, CUNY Graduate Center
Overview: Transitional justice in Iraq and Burundi appears to reflect a mixture of current norms as well as longstanding liberal political ethics.

Paper Organizational Learning in Explaining Differential State Response To HIV
Nathan A. Paxton, Harvard University
Overview: This paper attempts to explain differential state responses to the HIV/AIDS pandemic as stemming, in part, from varied levels of organizational learning among international actors.

Paper Global Strategies for Poverty Eradication in Sub-Saharan African
Clair Apodaca, Florida International University
Overview: This study examines the effects of global strategies for poverty reduction (debt relief, greater foreign aid, improved access to Western markets and increased FDI) on poverty rates in sub-Saharan Africa.

Paper The Determinants of Finance Minister Stability
Juan Carlos Benitez, CIDE
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Disc. James L. Gibson, Washington University, St. Louis

11-18 THE EFFECTS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Lora Anne Viola, University of Chicago
Paper Intergovernmental Organizations and Member-State Preference Convergence
David H. Bearce, University of Pittsburgh
Stacy Bondanella, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: This paper systematically tests the argument from constructivist IR theory that IGOs shape the preferences of member-states through a socialization process. Our results show a statistically significant, but substantively modest, socialization effect.

Paper Human Rights, IGOs, and NGOs
Rita Duarte, University of Arizona
Overview: Scholars are interested in what impact, if any, IGOs have on participating states. I propose to examine whether states' membership in intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) has an impact on domestic human rights NGOs in Latin America.

Paper Understanding Effectiveness: International Institutions and Protecting Labor Rights
Susan L. Kang, University of Minnesota
Overview: This paper draws on human rights, international institutions, and transnational social movement literatures to understand and evaluate the different ways in the ECHR can help effectively protect labor rights within the global economy.

Paper Compliance and Effectiveness: The Case of the European Court of Human Rights
Andreas von Staden, Princeton University
Overview: The paper addresses the compliance record with the judgments of the European Court of Human Rights, based on a comprehensive analysis, both descriptive and causal, of state responses to adverse judgments across the Court's lifetime.

Disc. Volker Krause, Eastern Michigan University
12-7 INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND DOMESTIC POLITICS
Room: TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair: Clint Peinhardt, University of Texas, Dallas
Paper: Exploring Constrained Bargaining Space in International Institutions
Mark Axelrod, Duke University
Overview: Treaties strengthen domestic groups, which are then able to weaken future provisions. Through efforts to consolidate gains, they have already solved a collective action problem, and later organize to block threatening new treaties.

Michael A. Fisa, University of California, San Diego
Overview: This paper examines how multilateral aid is disbursed at the national level. Targeting multilateral aid to specific domestic interest groups creates constraints on the national government's choices within a domestic distribution game.

Paper: Trade Not Aid or Aid for Trade? Commercial Interests and the Distribution of Foreign Aid
Erik Lundsgaarde, University of Washington
Aseem Prakash, University of Washington
Overview: This paper evaluates how multilateral aid is disbursed at the national level. Targeting multilateral aid to specific domestic interest groups creates constraints on the national government's choices within a domestic distribution game.

Disc. Lucy M. Goodhart, Columbia University

13-6 LEGAL APPROACHES TO U.S. FOREIGN POLICY
Room: TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair: TBA
Paper: Foreign Policy by Commission: Intelligence Reform
Glenn P. Hastedt, James Madison University
Overview: This paper looks at the place of presidential commissions in the foreign policy process by examining their use to improve the performance of the intelligence community both pre and post 9/11.

Paper: E Pluribus Unum: Political Unification and Political Realism
Joseph M. Parent, Columbia University
Overview: Why do states politically unify voluntarily? This paper argues that unification is an extreme balancing behavior prompted by extreme circumstances. I test the argument with a difficult case: the ratification of the U.S. Constitution.

Paper: Crossing the Streams: Plan Colombia and the Manipulation of the Multiple Streams
Kevin R. Watkins, William Paterson University
Overview: Does America's passage of "Plan Colombia" during the Clinton Administration invalidate the utility of John Kingdon's multiple streams model?

Zaryab Iqbal, University of South Carolina
Christopher Zorn, University of South Carolina
Overview: The first large-scale systematic analysis of the political, social, and economic consequences of the 80-plus assassinations of heads of state since the end of the Second World War.

Disc. Sanford R. Silverburg, Catawba College
Jeffrey K. Staton, Florida State University

14-5 DEMOCRACY AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
Room: TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair: Dan Lindley, University of Notre Dame
Paper: Democratic Deception: The Pathology of Domestic Audience Costs
Phillip Y. Lipsky, Harvard University
Yevgeniy Kirpichevsky, Harvard University
Overview: Using a formal model in which public and private outcomes are separable, we demonstrate a potential flaw of domestic audience costs as a mechanism for credible commitment.

Paper: How Does Democratic Institutions Work in Crises?
Kwang-Jin Kim, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: This paper examines how democratic peace theory work in crises. The empirical test based on crisis data reveals that the effect of democratic regime works only in the decision stage in the high level of militarized disputes.

Paper: Lenient or Severe Punishment: The Impacts of Democratic Winners on the Postwar Settlements
Ajin Choi, Yonsei University
Overview: This paper examines the impacts of democratic triumph on the international system by addressing the question of whether democratic states treat the defeated differently compared to how non-democratic states treat them.

Paper: Regime Type and Interstate War Duration: A Competing Risks Analysis
Alex Weisiger, Columbia University
Overview: I present a competing risks analysis of hypotheses from recent and older literature about the effect of regime type on interstate war duration, with the competing risks being settlement and conquest.

Paper: Rivalry and Democratic State Conflict Behavior
Robert Packer, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: This paper explores the impact of strategic rivalry on the disputatious behavior of democratic states.

Disc. Michael T. Koch, Texas A&M University

15-5 INTERVENTION IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT
Room: TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair: Renato Corbetta, University of Alabama, Birmingham
Paper: The Geopolitics of Civil War Intervention
Jacob D. Kathman, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: Whereas prior studies explaining civil war intervention focus narrowly on the dyadic links between intervener and civil war state, I argue that a fuller explanation must also consider the geopolitical contexts in which civil wars occur.

Anoop K. Sarbahic, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper examines spatial interdependence of civil wars and explains why civil wars are spatially clustered. This is done by offering a better conceptualization of a bad neighborhood.

Paper: Intervention for the Connected?
Aimee Tannehill-Lodigiani, University of California, Davis
Overview: An examination of the international network ties of states experiencing intra-state conflict and the effects of these ties on third-party intervention.

Disc. Renato Corbetta, University of Alabama, Birmingham

15-15 TERRORISM, VIOLENCE AND ISLAM
Room: TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair: Walid Phares, Florida Atlantic University
Paper: Beliefs over the Unknown: Understanding the Threat of Terrorism
Matthew C. Harding, University of South Carolina
Overview: This paper examines the impacts of democratic triumph on the international system by addressing the question of whether democratic states treat the defeated differently compared to how non-democratic states treat them.

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Jacob D. Kathman, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: Whereas prior studies explaining civil war intervention focus narrowly on the dyadic links between intervener and civil war state, I argue that a fuller explanation must also consider the geopolitical contexts in which civil wars occur.

Anoop K. Sarbahic, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper examines spatial interdependence of civil wars and explains why civil wars are spatially clustered. This is done by offering a better conceptualization of a bad neighborhood.

Paper: Intervention for the Connected?
Aimee Tannehill-Lodigiani, University of California, Davis
Overview: An examination of the international network ties of states experiencing intra-state conflict and the effects of these ties on third-party intervention.

Disc. Renato Corbetta, University of Alabama, Birmingham

Paper: Beliefs over the Unknown: Understanding the Threat of Terrorism
Matthew C. Harding, University of South Carolina
Overview: This paper examines the impacts of democratic triumph on the international system by addressing the question of whether democratic states treat the defeated differently compared to how non-democratic states treat them.

Paper: How Does Democratic Institutions Work in Crises?
Kwang-Jin Kim, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: This paper examines how democratic peace theory work in crises. The empirical test based on crisis data reveals that the effect of democratic regime works only in the decision stage in the high level of militarized disputes.

Paper: Lenient or Severe Punishment: The Impacts of Democratic Winners on the Postwar Settlements
Ajin Choi, Yonsei University
Overview: This paper examines the impacts of democratic triumph on the international system by addressing the question of whether democratic states treat the defeated differently compared to how non-democratic states treat them.

Paper: Regime Type and Interstate War Duration: A Competing Risks Analysis
Alex Weisiger, Columbia University
Overview: I present a competing risks analysis of hypotheses from recent and older literature about the effect of regime type on interstate war duration, with the competing risks being settlement and conquest.

Paper: Rivalry and Democratic State Conflict Behavior
Robert Packer, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: This paper explores the impact of strategic rivalry on the disputatious behavior of democratic states.

Disc. Michael T. Koch, Texas A&M University

Paper: The Geopolitics of Civil War Intervention
Jacob D. Kathman, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: Whereas prior studies explaining civil war intervention focus narrowly on the dyadic links between intervener and civil war state, I argue that a fuller explanation must also consider the geopolitical contexts in which civil wars occur.

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Matthew C. Harding, University of South Carolina
Overview: This paper examines the impacts of democratic triumph on the international system by addressing the question of whether democratic states treat the defeated differently compared to how non-democratic states treat them.
Overview: Exit polls show a striking increase in Republican voting among rural residents in recent presidential elections. This can be used to explain why Democrats keep differing decisions on what kinds of candidates to nominate for president. In particular, we examine hypotheses regarding the role of partisanship in the vote and candidate portrayals in advertising.

Paper: The Winnowing Effect in Presidential Nomination Campaigns

A. J. Barghtho, University of South Carolina

Overview: We investigate winnowing effect in presidential nomination campaigns via duration analysis. We empirically test our hypotheses using data we have collected for the seven post-reform presidential nomination campaigns (1980-2004).


Laurence Horton, University of Essex

Overview: The Iowa caucuses are a media event. Iowa’s primacy ensures it undue attention. Rather than an opportunity for lesser known candidates to emerge, the caucuses act as a handicap, consuming disproportionate resources with little return.

Paper: Why Do Democrats Keep Nominating Senators (Who Lose)?

Christian A. Farrell, University of Oklahoma

Overview: The structure of party organizations leads to differing decisions on what kinds of candidates to nominate for president. This can be used to explain why Democrats keep nominating unelectable Senators and Republicans nominate more electable governors.

Disc. Larry Butler, Rowan University

22-11 THE INFLUENCE OF PUBLIC OPINION ON POLICYMAKING

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair Patrick Sellers, Davidson College

Paper: The Role of Public Opinion in Presidential Decision Making: The Case of Iranian Hostage Crisis

Cengiz Erisen, SUNY, Stony Brook

Overview: This paper analyzes the role of public opinion in particular crises between Iran and the U.S. The main objective is to evaluate whether the public is really influential in presidential decision-making on foreign issues.

Paper: Tough Choices: Determinants of Senators’ Trade Votes

Craee V. Kramer, Franklin & Marshall College

Adam P. Brinzegar, Duke University

Jennifer L. Merolla, Claremont Graduate University

John H. Aldrich, Duke University

Overview: In this paper, we test the linkages between constituency opinion, party organization, and key trade votes in the Senate from 1988 to 1994 using data from the ANES Senate Election Study. We argue that the influence of different levels of constituency.

Paper: Exploring Changing Preferences for Public Goods in the United States

Sean Nicholson-Crotty, University of Missouri, Columbia

Overview: This paper investigates variation in citizen support for government programs from which they can expect no private benefit and compares that measure to an existing indicator of “mood” regarding levels of U.S. government activity.

Paper: When Made to Choose: Do Senators Follow the President or Public Opinion?

Jose D. Villalobos, Texas A&M University

Overview: I focus on Republican senators who are cross-pressured between public opinion, loyalty to the president, and their own interests. Using fractional polynomial time analyses to measure behavior change, I find that members choose to follow the public.

Disc. Patrick Sellers, Davidson College

22-17 PARTY POLARIZATION (Co-sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 19-19)

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair Brian F. Schaffner, American University

Paper: Do You See What I See? Perceptions of Party Differences and Political Participation

Craig Goodman, Texas Tech University

Gregg Murray, SUNY, Brockport

Overview: This manuscript explores the voting behavior of citizens who do not see differences between the two major parties in the United States. Our results suggest that those who fail to see differences are less likely to vote.

Paper: The Left Shift in American Politics: Affect, Information, and Polarization

Michael MacKuen, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Evan Parker-Stephen, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Overview: Political affect, rooted in personality traits and information channels, shapes people’s beliefs about political parties. Historical data confirm a powerful system of asymmetric attribution biases that yield the Left Shift in American politics.

Paper: Birds of a Political Feather: Assessing Political Segregation in American Counties

Melissa J. Marschall, Rice University

Wendy M. Rahn, University of Minnesota

Overview: Using an additive measure of segregation, Thiel’s H (Fisher et al. 2004; Reardon and Firebaugh 2002), we decompose political segregation levels in select American counties into three components.


Michael H. Murakami, University of California, Berkeley

Overview: I use survey data collected over the last 30 years to examine if increasing party polarization among attentive, strong
partisans is causing changes in either the level of political intolerance or how intolerance is spread across target groups.

Paper **Polarizing President: Partisan Legacy of George W. Bush**

Keiko Ono, University of Oklahoma

Overview: This paper examines the increase in polarization of President Bush’s publics by the publics (2000-2004). Approval and other more affective evaluations of Bush has become much more polarized along the party line since he took office in 2001.

Disc. John A. Clark, Western Michigan University

Brian F. Schaffner, American University

23-8 **CAMPAIGNS AT THE GRASSROOTS: CONTACTING, MOBILIZING, AND CONTRIBUTING**

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair Christopher Kenny, Louisiana State University

Paper **Voting on the Rez: How Parties, Campaigns, Interest Groups, and Non-Profits Increased American Indian Turnout in South Dakota in 2004**

Elizabeth T. Smith, University of South Dakota

Richard Brauneist, University of South Dakota

Overview: Turnout in American Indian counties in South Dakota soared in 2004 due to grassroots campaign organizing techniques by parties and campaigns, and culturally sensitive political education by 501 c (4) and (5) groups and 527 committees.

Paper **Giving Your Money vs. Giving Your Vote in U.S. Federal Elections**

Robert C. Lowry, Iowa State University

Overview: I compare the relative importance of electoral competition and the characteristics of congressional district residents as determinants of the number of donors to different kinds of federal committees, average amounts per donor, and voter turnout.

Paper **Turnout in Congressional Elections: The Role of the NRA**

Christopher Kenny, Louisiana State University

Eric Jenner, Policy and Research Group

Overview: This paper examines the ability of the National Rifle Association (NRA) to stimulate turnout in US House races in 1994, 1996, and 1998. A basic model of congressional turnout is specified that includes endorsements and membership numbers of the NRA.

Paper **The Ground War 2000-2004: Strategic Targeting in Grassroots Campaigns**

Peter W. Wellhouser, Western Michigan University

Costas Panagopoulos, Yale University

Overview: The 2000-2004 elections saw the highest levels of grassroots campaigning in the last half-century. By accounting for strategic contexts we provide a new picture of campaigns’ efforts to mobilize their bases and to compete for swing voters.

Disc. Keena Lipsitz, Queens College, CUNY

24-4 **MEDIA CONSUMPTION HABITS AND POLITICAL PROCESSES**

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair Richard R. Lau, Rutgers University

Paper **Reconsidering “Best Practices” in Media Effect Research**

Richard R. Lau, Rutgers University

Marco R. Steenbergen, University of North Carolina

Samuel W. Winslow, Rutgers University

Overview: Best practice in media research combines contextual measures of the content of the media in a particular location with individual-level survey data on respondents viewing habits, ignoring data nesting.

Paper **Using Media Consumption Typologies to Understand Political Attitudes**

Hyun J. Yun, University of Florida

Lynda L. Kaid, University of Florida

Overview: Using data gathered during the 2004 presidential election at multiple sites throughout the United States, this study develops media consumption typologies to explain different types of information and persuasion effects in the 2004 campaign.

Disc. Stephen E. Bennett, University of Southern Indiana

25-101 **ROUNDTABLE ON MOTHERHOOD AND THE U.S. WOMEN’S MOVEMENT: CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIES**

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair Lynn Kamenitsa, Northern Illinois University

Panelist Maryann Barakso, American University

Denise L. Baer, Strategic Research Concepts and George Washington University

Vicky Lovell, Institute for Women's Policy Research

Lynn Kamenitsa, Northern Illinois University

Overview: From Cindy Sheehan to security moms, motherhood has emerged as a personal identity with political salience in recent years. We examine the dilemma these poses for the women's movement, its possible responses, and the political implications thereof.
Disc. Scott Ainsworth, University of Georgia

33-3 PERSPECTIVES ON THE RHETORICAL PRESIDENCY

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Dickinson Matthew, Middlebury College
Paper Going Public Gone Bad? George Bush's Campaign for Social Security Reform
Amy Carter, Westminster College
Overview: The research explores why Bush's campaign to change Social Security failed, despite relentless public campaigning.

Paper The Non-Rhetorical Presidency
Douglas J. Hocking, Michigan State University
Overview: "The Non-Rhetorical Presidency" examines primary and historical sources on the Ford and Eisenhower presidencies to show the continuing practice and relevance of a counter-model to the precepts and predictions of the original Rhetorical Presidency.

Paper The Politics of Presidential Rhetoric: Public Salience and Public Opinion
B. Dan Wood, Texas A&M University
Sarah R. Kosler, Texas A&M University
Overview: This study examines the president's ability to affect the relative salience of public policy issues and public opinion on those issues. It then explores the interaction of these effects.

Disc. William E. Cunion, Mount Union College

34-6 AGENDA DELEGATION IN PARLIAMENTS

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Rodolfo Espino, Arizona State University
Paper The EP Rapporteurs: Agenda Setters or Coalition Builders?
Hae-Won Jun, Hanyang University
Overview: This paper examines the role of rapporteurs in the EP. I argue that the rapporteurs have constrained but substantial agenda-setting power to be conditional trustees for the MEPs. I test hypotheses to prove this by analyzing their voting behaviour.

Paper Executive-Legislative Relations in Italy: From Decreti to Deleghe
Amie Kropp, University of Florida
Overview: This paper explores the character and broad impact of the internal reforms adopted by the Italian Parliament in 1996-1997. In particular, the decision of the Parliament to delegate increased legislative power to the Executive branch is analyzed.

Paper Testing Theories of Legislative Institutions: Rapporteurs in the EP
Antoine Yoshinaka, University of California, Riverside
Gail McElroy, Trinity College, University of Dublin
Shaun Bowler, University of California, Riverside
Overview: We test distributive, informational, and partisan theories of legislative institutions by examining the appointment of rapporteurs in the European Parliament using quantitative and interview data from the 4th and 5th Parliaments.

Disc. Michael Jensen, Arizona State University

34-16 AGENDA SETTING ACROSS AND WITHIN INSTITUTIONS

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Marc Debus, University of Konstanz
Paper Examining the Determinants of Upper House Assertion
David Fisk, University of California, San Diego
Overview: This paper investigates the circumstances under which upper houses within parliamentary systems use their political authority to obtain their desired policy outcomes (what I refer to as upper house assertion).

William B. Heller, Binghampton University
Overview: This paper examines the extent to which principal-agent relationships counter or offset the advantages of institutional authority. It focuses on how legislatures deal with agents and competitors, in a study of bicameral parliamentary systems.

Paper Coordination Problems in Bicameral Agenda Setting
Roger Larocca, Oakland University
Overview: This research project offers a theoretical and empirical analysis of the surprising coordination problem that exists between the House and the Senate legislative agendas using a new issue-level database of all bills introduced in the 103rd Congress.

Paper The Voter's Dilemma and the Presidential-Parliamentary Debate: A General Electoral Theory of Legislative Conflict and Cooperation
Mona M. Lynne, University of South Carolina, Columbia
Overview: Building on direct versus indirect links between voters and politicians, I develop full general theory of legislative conflict and cooperation that applies across all veto players in all regime types.

Paper Agenda Setting in a Multi-Institutional Environment
Nathan W. Monroe, Michigan State University
Thomas H. Hammond, Michigan State University
Overview: We develop and test a theory of legislative agenda setting that takes account of the preferences of other actors on the legislative system.

Disc. Alan D. Rozzi, University of California, Los Angeles
THE EFFECTS OF REDISTRICTING ON REPRESENTATION

Chair: James B. Cottrill, Santa Clara University
Paper: Evaluating Redistricting Criteria and Potential Effects of Enhanced Competition in California
Iris Hui, University of California, Berkeley
Bruce Cain, University of California, Berkeley
Karim MacDonald, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: The paper examines various definitions of ‘electoral competitiveness’ and explores how to draw potentially competitive districts and the impact on state legislature.

Paper: Incumbent Decision-Making in Response to State Legislative Redistricting
Todd R. Makse, The Ohio State University
Overview: Models of the redistricting process should more explicitly consider incumbents’ perspectives. This paper uses data from state legislative redistricting to fashion information-rich measures of incumbent preferences and consider their applications.

Paper: Substantive Effects of Redistricting
Michael A. Bailey, Georgetown University
Michael McDonald, George Mason University
Overview: We develop theoretical reasons to pay more attention to the ideology and size of states and then use this theory to assess the ideological and partisan effects of redistricting since 1970.

Paper: Using Redistricting as an Instrument to Analyze Voter Choice
Daniel Doherty, Yale University
Overview: Redistricting has been used as an instrument, but only in studying the “personal vote.” If one makes a slight, uncontrovertial adjustment to the basic model of voter decisionmaking, redistricting can be used to evaluate broader Downsiian questions.

Disc. Justin M. Buchler, Case Western Reserve University

35-4 DETERMINANTS OF JUDICIAL DECISION MAKING

Chair: Mark S. Hurwit, Western Michigan University
Paper: Structure and Equilibrium in the United States Supreme Court
Robert Anderson, Stanford University
Alexander M. Tahk, Stanford University
Overview: We model Supreme Court decision-making using the form of “issue-by-issue” opinion voting used by the Court. This model predicts stable outcomes in a multidimensional policy space and has important implications for most modern models of the Court.

Mark J. McKenzie, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: My study tests the neutrality of federal judges in redistricting cases. I find that while judges are not overtly partisan actors in resolving redistricting disputes, their partisanship does play a role in decision-making in more subtle ways.

Paper: Federalist Society Membership and Voting Behavior in the Courts of Appeals
Banks Miller, The Ohio State University
Nancy Scherer, The Ohio State University
Overview: We study the impact of Federalist Society membership on judicial decision-making in several legal issue areas. We focus on the assertion by liberal interest groups that Society members are more conservative than Republican judges who are not members.

Paper: Issue Framing on the United States Supreme Court
Justin Wedeking, University of Minnesota
Overview: I explore how Supreme Court justices frame salient policy issues. Additionally, I explore how issue framing relates to judicial decision making.

Paper: The Effect of Ideology on Supreme Court Judging Over Time
Sean Wilson, Pennsylvania State University
Overview: A time series analysis that, unlike prior works, does not manipulate the voting data into summary percentages before regression is performed, thereby avoiding ecological inference and micronumerosity. Findings are interesting.

Disc. Pamela C. Corley, Vanderbilt University

38-5 USING SURVEY DATA AT THE STATE LEVEL

Chair: Colin L. Provost, Nuffield College, Oxford University
Paper: Using Survey Data to Analyze the Impact of Anti-Abortion Legislation
Michael J. New, University of Alabama
Overview: This paper will use survey data to analyze various types of state level anti-abortion legislation. Special attention will be paid to laws that are intended to influence the behavior of minors such as parental involvement laws.

Paper: Legislative Term Limits: To Know Them is Not to Love Them
Carol S. Weisert, Florida State University
Overview: Survey results from lobbyists, party chairs and the public in Florida concerning their past and current views of legislative term limits. Those with the most experience with term limits are most likely to disapprove of them.

Disc. Sarah Morehouse, University of Connecticut

39-4 POLITICAL ECONOMY VIEWS ON SERVICE DELIVERY AND POLICY CHOICE

Chair: Allen B. Bierly, University of Northern Iowa
Paper: A Tiered Approach to Analyzing Urban Services
Joseph G. Frank, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: A dynamic four-tiered model of urban public service delivery and residential segregation, this analysis is based on Tiebout, but offers that individual choices are constrained severely by socio-economic and political forces.

Paper: The Political and Administrative Market for Service Contracting
Robert M. Stein, Rice University
Stephanie S. Post, Rice University
Overview: Our paper explores how the competitive markets for elected officials and administrators operate together to promote service contracting and other administrative modes of services provision.

Paper: Local Governance, Institutional Collective Action, and Local Service Delivery
Moon-Gi Jeong, University of Texas, San Antonio
Overview: Local service delivery through contracting-out has gained great attention over the last two decades. Proponents of service delivery through contracting-out pushed efficiency gains as underlying rationales of government contracting

Paper: Types of Localized Market Failure and Government Response: An Analysis
Jill L. Tao, University of Oklahoma
Overview: Government regulation is generally accepted as a necessary response to failures of the market (Downs 1967). Even those who argue that government intervention is not necessary (or is indeed, detrimental) to remedy market failures

Disc. Jered B. Carr, Wayne State University
**Presenter Evaluating Collaborative Initiative Response to Natural Disasters**

TBA, Fri 8:30 am

**Chair Barry G. Rabe, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor**

**Paper Collaborative Governance and Adoption of Clean Lighting Technology**

Seong-gin Moon, University of Colorado, Denver

Peter deLeon, University of Colorado, Denver

Overview: This paper adopts a neo-institutional perspective to explain corporate voluntary adoption of energy efficient lighting technology through EPA's Green Lights Program.

**Paper Beyond Penalties: Characterizing State Environmental Policy Design**

Chris J. Konki, University of Washington

Overview: I examine and develop a classification scheme for the structure of state environmental regulatory policy design. This project adds to other methodological efforts to characterize variation in state policy.

**Paper Above and Beyond: State Regulation of Animal Feeding Operations**

Mahaley D. Allen, California State University, Chico

Overview: Some states, authorized by the EPA to regulate the discharge of water pollutants, impose additional regulations on factory farms. I examine determinants of states' adoptions of stringent regulations on pollution caused by modern agriculture.

**Disc. Warren S. Eller, Texas A&M University**

Barry G. Rabe, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

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**Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am**

**40-9 INNOVATIVE APPROACHES TO STUDYING ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY**

**Presenter Understanding Religious Views in Policy Making**

TBA, Board 2, Fri 8:30 am

Roberto M. Ike, Lincoln University

Overview: This paper uses the advocacy coalition framework (ACF) as a model to analyze the participation of religious groups and views in policy making. It also uses ACF to understand how such participation can fail to achieve desired outcomes.

**Presenter Eudaimonia in Polity: An Analysis of Development and Gender Equality**

TBA, Board 3, Fri 8:30 am

Erik W. Kuller, George Mason University

Overview: Using Aristotelian political and ethical theories to frame an analysis of gendered wellbeing from a world-polity perspective, I develop a paradigm for eudaimonia in polity and support my thesis with statistical analyses of IBRD and UN panel data.

**Presenter Evaluating Collaborative Initiative Response to Natural Disasters**

TBA, Board 4, Fri 8:30 am

Olivia M. McDonald, Regent University

Overview: This paper delineates the variables required to maximize the effective use of multiple organizations as they respond to natural disasters.

**Presenter On the Rupture and Reconstruction of Social Network of the Jobless in China**

TBA, Board 5, Fri 8:30 am

Zaijian Qian, Nanjing Normal University

Overview: The Chinese people pay much attention to their face and they care a lot to save it in social life. However, this is not always the case for the jobless. In order to find jobs, they have to rely on both formal and informal networks to seek support.

**Presenter Prospective Ethical Dilemmas In Federal Emergency Management Contingencies**

TBA, Board 6, Fri 8:30 am

Jeff Reimers, Yale University

Overview: What ethical dilemmas must be pre-addressed in the crafting of America's post 9-11 federal emergency response protocol regarding biochemical attacks?

**Presenter Land Use Policy and Economic Cost Recovery in Disasters and the Policies of FEMA**

TBA, Board 7, Fri 8:30 am

Allen K. Settle, California Polytechnic State University

Overview: What should be the policies for financial cost recovery and land use in flood area? What is the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) approach when they have taken a virtual "hands-off" policy funding flood control work?

**Presenter Incarceration of Non-Violent Juvenile Offenders: A Baby-Bathwater Metaphor**

TBA, Board 8, Fri 8:30 am

Susan M. Kunkle, Kent State University

Overview: CBA of incarceration of non-violent juvenile offenders.

**Presenter Defining the Problem of Polygamy in America**

TBA, Board 9, Fri 8:30 am

James J. Snyder, Bowling Green State University

Rebecca L. Weis, Bowling Green State University

Overview: Polygamy has been defined in widely differing terms since the 1800’s, and in part as a result polygamy policies have been ineffective. This paper will explore how changes in the problem definition of polygamy affect the policies under consideration.

**Presenter Ohio Economic Development: A Cost-Benefit Analysis**

TBA, Board 10, Fri 8:30 am

William Franko, Kent State University

Overview: The purpose of paper is to offer refinements on previous works studied the relationship between childcare regulations and the supply of childcare centers by testing the joint effects of the stringency of regulation and effectiveness of enforcements.

**43-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: INTEREST GROUPS AND BUREAUCRACY**

**Presenter**

Regulation, Enforcement and Supply of Childcare  
Joohyun Kang, Florida State University

**Room**

TBA, Fri 8:30 am

**Overview**

The practice of local politics has become pure message. A result is incremental change and institutional stalemate.

**Presenter**

The Strategy of Advocacy  
Jill D. Nicholson-Crotty, University of Missouri, Columbia

**Overview**

This study argues that nonprofit participation in politics is a two-stage process best understood through the lens of strategic management theory rather than through traditional interest group approaches.

**44-5 MAKING THE HISTORICAL LEGACIES OF RACISM VISIBLE**

**Room**

TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair

Mark Q. Sawyer, University of California, Los Angeles

**Paper**

Katrina's Political Roots: Race, Class, and Federalism in U.S. Politics  
Paul Frymer, University of California, Santa Cruz  
Dara Z. Strolovitch, University of Minnesota  
Dorian T. Warren, University of Chicago

**Overview**

This paper examines the role of American political institutions in structuring and perpetuating the types of inequities that exacerbated the Katrina disaster.

**Paper**

A Review of the 1965 Immigration Act and Its Political Relevance in 2005  
Christina M. Greer, Columbia University

**Overview**

This preliminary work is an analysis of the 1965 Immigration Act and the important racial and ethnic ramifications that affect the future of black politics.

**Paper**

Making the National Crime Problem: Law, Order, and Black Civil Rights  
Naomi Murakawa, University of Washington

**Overview**

This paper challenges the conventional wisdom that rising crime rates created an electoral incentive to be "tough on crime." National leaders politicized crime in route to opposing black civil rights nearly a decade before crime escalated.

**Paper**

The Shadow of Jim Crow: U.S. Social Policy and the Racial Gap in Education  
Alvin Bernard Tillery, University of Notre Dame

**Overview**

The paper examines the extent to which the racial gap on SAT scores can be linked to racial discrimination in the allotment of funds from New Deal social programs.

**Disc.**

Paul Frymer, University of California, Santa Cruz  
Mark Sawyer, University of California, Los Angeles

**45-1 PRACTICAL POLITICS**

**Room**

TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair

Thomas F. Schaller, University of Maryland, Baltimore County

**Paper**

Community Involvement in Issues: Increasing Dialogue in School Board Issues  
Stephen C. Brooks, University of Akron  
Susan Vogelsang, Summit County School Board Governance Project

**Overview**

The paper describes a program for increasing citizen involvement in education issues by increasing competition in school board elections. It will be of interest to scholars of community organization, political participation and citizen policy-making.

**Paper**

Political Message and Incremental Change in Local Politics  
Thomas C. Lewis, No Affiliation

**Overview**

Other than elementary get-out-the-vote techniques, the practice of local politics has become pure message. A result is incremental change and institutional stalemate.

**Paper**

Turning the Tide: Charging a New Direction After 177 Years  
Sandra L. Frankel, Town of Brighton  
Janet B. Miller

**Overview**

Congressional voting participation is at an all time high of 95%; little attention is given to the remaining 5% non-voting outcomes. This study looks for individual senator characteristics and party situations that may influence Senate non-votes.

**Disc.**

Thomas F. Schaller, University of Maryland, Baltimore County

**47-5 RELIGION, POLITICS, AND THE COURTS**

**Room**

TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair

Shanna L. Pearson-Merkowitz, University of Maryland

**Paper**

Is McCreary a Lemon?: Neutrality and the Lemon Test in McCreary v. ACLU  
Rebecca J. McCumbers, University of Notre Dame

**Overview**

This paper will examine the Supreme Court's 2005 rulings on Ten Commandments displays in the McCreary and Van Orden cases to see if the Court does indeed have a consistent standard for judging Establishment Clause cases.

**Paper**

The Religious Geography of Religious Speech  
John C. Blakeman, University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point

**Overview**

This paper investigates federal court litigation concerning religious expression in the context of the religious population of communities from which such court cases arise.

**Paper**

Contested Sites: Roadside Memorials, 1st Amendment and Popular Debate  
Clay McVearney, Marshall University

**Overview**

Roadside memorials at accident sites are recently popular. Their size, nature, placement and even existence has become contested. This paper examines the language of that polarizing debate.

**Paper**

Citizenship, Religious Beliefs, and Same-Sex Marriage  
Emily R. Gill, Bradley University

**Overview**

This paper will explore whether recognizing same-sex marriage constitutes endorsement of same-sex relationships, and whether support for same-sex marriage is sectarian in nature, just as opposition to it is considered sectarian by some.

**Disc.**

Mary Segers, Rutgers University

**47-14 RELIGION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**

**Room**

TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair

Myunghee Kim, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville

**Paper**

Ukrainian Evangelicals and Russian Jews in Russian Revolutionary Politics  
Sergei I. Zhuk, Ball State University

**Overview**

The spread of the radical evangelical movement in the Ukrainian countryside by the 1880s coincided with the activities of the Jewish revolutionary intellectuals, who tried to exploit the anti-state feelings of persecuted dissenters.

**Paper**

Three Christian Responses to the Plight of the Poor in Brazil  
Raimundo C. Barreto, Princeton Theological Seminary

**Overview**

The decreasing influence of Catholic Base Communities demands a search for new responses to the suffering the poor. I try to contribute to these new explorations
by turning to three responses to the plight of the poor among Brazilian Protestants.

Paper Falun Gong and State Persecution
Weishan Huang, The New School
Overview: This paper examines the results of a six month research will include the study of its continued mobilization, movement strategies, and its relationship with the government of China.

Paper Traditional Religion - A Useful Tool in Policy-Making
Ringo Ringvee, Ministry of Interiors
Overview: The paper examines the use of religion-related issues in the domestic and foreign politics. The examples are taken from Estonia where the conflict between two Orthodox Churches has had impact on the relations between Estonia and Russia.

Disc. Frank P. Le Veness, St. John's University
Peter C. Bisson, Campus College at the University of Regina

48-4 ENGAGING POLITICAL SCIENCE UNDERGRADUATES
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Dina M. Krois, Lansing Community College
Panelist
Paper Political Lives of Women: Teaching with Biographies
Kathleen McGinnis, Trinity (Washington) University
Overview: The biographies of women are useful tools for understanding how political roles, processes, and institutions combine to define political lives. Biography can provide the "voice" of women so often absent from political discourse.

Paper The Politics of Information Literacy: Integrating Information Literacy into the Political Science Curriculum
Patricia J. Campbell, University of West Georgia
Christy R. Stevens, University of West Georgia
Overview: This paper discusses the results of a six month collaboration between a Political Science professor and an instruction librarian that successfully integrated information literacy into Political Science curriculum.

Paper Teaching Research Methods through Community-Based Research
Francis Neely, San Francisco State University
Corey Cook, San Francisco State University
Overview: We discuss the benefits of using an applied research project in political science courses. In 2004 and 2005 undergraduate students conducted exit polls of voters in San Francisco to examine the impact of reform to an Instant-Runoff Voting system.

Paper Engaging Political Science Undergraduates Across Campuses in Research
Mark Sachleben, Miami University
Overview: This paper examines the usefulness of directed undergraduate coding of data to promote critical thinking and writing. It discusses the institutional barriers as well as the benefits to students of such a project.

Disc. Bruce E. Caswell, Rowan University

50-3 NATURE AND JUSTICE IN GREEK POETRY AND PHILOSOPHY
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Dustin Gish, John Cabot University
Panelist
Paper The Iliad: The Origins of Justice in an Epic Poem of War
Marlene K. Sokoloff, Concordia University
Overview: This paper explores the concept of justice in the Iliad. Specifically, it examines the relationship between emotions and just action and whether justice is connected to concepts of harmony and order.

Paper On 'Nature' as a Standard in Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics
Kathryn E. Sensen, Harvard University
Overview: It is widely assumed that Aristotle's moral and 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 Aristotle's Nicom

Paper Poetic Education, Politics, and the Void in Hesiod
Robert A. L'Arrivee, University of Notre Dame
Overview: According to Hesiod, how does poetic education preserve politics from the void? I examine the relation between the ruler and the poet, and how they sustain human communities in spite of the ever-present threat of the void and political anarchy.

Disc. Elliot M. Bartky, Indiana-Purdue University, Ft. Wayne
Ann Ward, University of Regina

51-101 ROUNDTABLE: WHAT LGBT POLITICS AND PUBLIC POLICY SCHOLARS CAN LEARN FROM ONE ANOTHER
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Kenneth Sherrill, Hunter College of CUNY
Panelist
Paper On 'Nature' as a Standard in Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics
Kathryn E. Sensen, Harvard University
Overview: In recent years a significant body of work has emerged on the role of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender issues in U.S. politics. How can mainstream public policy studies and policy analysis inform and improve gay political science research?
Overview: This paper explores the impact of Green parties on environmental and energy policies. Performance-based, rather than command-and-control environmental policies prevail. These policies facilitate achievement of simultaneous constraints shapes the ways in which politicians deal with financial regulations by comparing the financial reform experiences in Argentina and Thailand in the 1990s.

Paper **Do Greens Make a Difference? Their Impact on European Energy Policies**
Francis McGowan, University of Sussex
Overview: This paper explores the impact of Green parties on policies in western Europe. We look at two cases where Green parties may have been influential - phasing out nuclear power policies in western Europe.

Paper **Turning Wittfogel on His Head: China's Emerging Hydraulic Society**
Andrew C. Mertha, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: In this paper, I analyze the growing political participation in China today, specifically with regard to its hydropower policy making and project implementation. Drawing from two cases in Sichuan and three from Yunnan.

Paper **Can China’s Emerging Renewable Energy Goal Be Achievable?**
Andreas Scholz, University of Florida
Overview: This paper examines China's emerging renewable energy goal and the challenges it faces in achieving it.

Paper **Environmental Policies in China: A Case Study**
Wen Chen, University of Chicago
Overview: This paper analyzes China's environmental policies and their implementation, focusing on a specific case study.

Paper **China's Green Party and its Impact on Environmental Policies**
Jiaxin Li, Beijing International Studies University
Overview: This paper examines the role of China's Green Party in shaping environmental policies.

Paper **The Impact of Green Parties on Environmental Policies in Western Europe**
Marc-André Pasquier, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne
Overview: This paper explores the influence of Green parties on environmental policies in Western Europe.

Disc. **Comparing the Impact of Greens on Environmental Policies in Western Europe and China**
Karl Kaltenthaler, University of Akron

**1-1 BIOLOGY AND GENETICS AS THE FUTURE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE INQUIRY**
Room: TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair: Andrea Bonnicksen, Northern Illinois University
Paper: **Genetic Configurations of Political Phenomena: New Theories, New Methods**
Ira H. Carmen, University of Illinois
Overview: I present a new theory -- sociogenomics -- to replace behavioralism and rational choice as the salient paradigm of political science inquiry. The paradigm is based on the relationship of DNA to the attitudes and behaviors of political actors.

Paper: **Genetics and Politics**
John R. Hibbing, University of Nebraska, Lincoln
John R. Alford, Rice University
Overview: In this paper, we review the empirical evidence, biological mechanisms, and rationale for the relevance of genetics to sociopolitical attitudes and behaviors.

Paper: **The Genetic Basis of Voter Behavior**
James H. Fowler, University of California, Davis
Overview: I match voter registration records from Los Angeles County to a volunteer adult twin registry of same sex monozygotic and dizygotic twins to show that genetics plays a significant role in determining who votes.

Paper: **Public Opinion and Biofeedback: The Interaction of Emotion and Ambivalence**
Mitchel N. Herian, University of Nebraska, Lincoln
Overview: Using Galvanic Skin Response indices and self-reported emotional reactions toward three politicians. It was found that it was possible to accurately predict emotional self-reports in one of three cases.

Disc. **Genetics and Politics**
Roger Masters, Dartmouth College

**2-3 ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY**
Room: TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair: Brian J. Gerber, West Virginia University
Paper: **Norway, Sweden, and Finland's Radical Natural Resource and Energy Policies**
Frank T. Manheim, George Mason University
Overview: Norway, Sweden, and Finland are international leaders in environmental and energy policies. Performance-based, rather than command-and-control environmental policies prevail. These policies facilitate achievement of simultaneous breakthroughs.

Paper: **Energy Politics and Climate Change**
John R. Hibbing, University of Nebraska, Lincoln
John R. Alford, Rice University
Overview: This paper explores the influence of Green parties on environmental policies in Western Europe.

Paper: **Do Greens Make a Difference? Their Impact on European Energy Policies**
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**3-15 FINANCIAL CRISES COMPARED: ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA**
Room: TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair: Seung-Whan Choi, University of Illinois, Chicago
Paper: **The Impact of Economic Reforms on Corporate Governance**
Nancy E. Brune, Princeton University
Overview: This paper explores the impact of neo-liberal economic reforms (i.e. privatization) on governance in emerging economies and the institutions that mediate these effects.

Paper: **Political Institutions and Financial Market Regulation: Argentina and Thailand in the 1990's**
Wongi Choe, University of Oklahoma
Overview: This paper examines how party institutional constraints shapes the ways in which politicians deal with financial regulations by comparing the financial reform experiences in Argentina and Thailand in the 1990s.

Paper: **The Link Between Domestic Political Institutions and Asian Financial Crises**
Jung In Jo, Lee University
Overview: In this paper, I attempt to answer several puzzling questions on economic crises focusing on political institutions. Is the timing of crises related to political institutions? For instance, are some regime types or party systems prone to crisis?

Paper: **Power Distribution and the Resolution of Financial Crises**
Gabriela Nava-Campos, Northwestern University
Overview: The paper examines how power distribution affects the resolution and costs of financial crises. It shows that while politics with more dispersed power distributions take longer to resolve these problems, they also do so at a lower cost to society.

Paper: **The Paradox of Liberalization: State, Market and Banks in Mexico**
Irina E. Sandoval-Ballesteros, Institute for Social Research, UNAM
Overview: Through an analysis of the banking sector in Mexico, this paper argues that the economic reforms of the 1980s and 1990s implied a reorientation, not a reduction, of the role of the state and a reinvigoration, not erosion, of interest group politics.

Disc. **Globalization, Room to Maneuver Constraints and Vote Choice**
Timothy T. Hellwig, University of Houston
Overview: Paper argues that voters respond to globalization by reducing the weight assigned to economic considerations and, to compensate, by increasing the weight assigned to non-economic issues. Analyses of British and French data support the argument.

**3-19 DANGEROUS LIAISONS: ELECTION MANAGEMENT BODIES AND POLITICAL PARTIES**
Room: TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair: Beatriz Magaloni, Stanford University
Paper: **Ideological Divides Among Magistrates in an Appeals Court: An Inspection of Mexico's Election Tribunal**
Eric Magar, ITAM, Mexico City
Overview: This paper analyzes the results from the 2005 Bundestag election from the perspective of differences between East and West Germans in their vote choice.

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Disc. **Comparing the Impact of Greens on Environmental Policies in Western Europe and China**
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**3-30 IDEOLOGICAL DIVIDES AMONG MAGISTRATES IN AN APPEALS COURT: AN INSPECTION OF MEXICO'S ELECTION TRIBUNAL**
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Disc. **Comparing the Impact of Greens on Environmental Policies in Western Europe and China**
Karl Kaltenthaler, University of Akron
Overview: Although two organs with separate powers - the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) and the Federal Electoral Tribunal (TRIFE) – oversee Mexican elections, analysts have been paying much more attention to the first than the second. While IFE has author...

Paper: *Election Management Bodies as Market Regulators: Alternative Models of Campaign Finance Oversight*

*Alejandro Poire, Harvard University*

Overview: This paper evaluates the role played by Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) and other agencies entrusted with enforcing political finance regulation.

Paper: *Voting to Manage Elections: A Comparative Examination of Federal Election Institutes in Brazil and Mexico*

*Guillermo Rosas, Washington University, St. Louis*

Overview: Recent scholarship has investigated the political consequences of alternative electoral management bodies. Institutional similarities and differences between Mexico’s Instituto Federal Electoral (IFE) and Brazil’s Tribunal Federal Electoral.

Paper: *Productive Partisanship: How Ideological Conflict Creates Strong Public Institutions*

*John M. Ackerman, FLACSO, Mexico*

Overview: This paper looks to demonstrate the limits of theories about the impact of veto players and divided government on policy making.

Disc. *Todd Eisenstadt, American University*

3-22 UNDERSTANDING DEMOCRATIZATION’S BACKSLIDERS

Room: TBA, Fri 10:30 am

Chair: Kathleen R. Barrett, Georgia State University

Paper: *Elite Fragmentation and Institutional Change: Costa Rica’s Troubled Model*

*Ludovic Feoli, Tulane University*

Overview: Despite its reputation for consolidated democracy and successful human development, over the past few years Costa Rica has been declining in numerous international rankings of governance and competitiveness. This decline stems from the country’s

Paper: *The Philippine Democracy After Marcos: Problems of Democratic Consolidation*

*Akm K. Islam, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*

Overview: Why the Philippines, like many other third wave democracies, face tremendous difficulty consolidating their newly established democracy? My research tries to address this question.

Paper: *Explaining People’s Evaluation of Democracy in Latin America*

*Clemente Quinones, Vanderbilt University*  
*Abby Cordova-Guillen, Vanderbilt University*

Overview: The purpose of this paper is to explain people’s evaluation of democracy in Latin America. We use a cross-sectional, cross country analysis, which includes Mexico, Central America, Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, and the Dominican Republic.

Paper: *Arab Constitutions: Seeds for Democracy*

*Timothy J. Schorn, University of South Dakota*

Overview: Arab constitutions contain the seeds necessary to develop democratic governments. They also contain the ability to thwart the transition to democracy.

Paper: *Security Conditions and Civil-Military Relations in South Korea and the Philippines*

*Jongseok Woo, University of Texas, Austin*  
*Gretchen G. Casper, Pennsylvania State University*

Overview: This research examines how international/internal security threat conditions affect the military’s domestic political role in South Korea and the Philippines.
Paper Regional Minority Nationalist Attitudes Towards European Integration
Anna M. Olsson, American University
Overview: This paper seeks to clarify the relationship between support for European integration and linguistic and/or politized minority nationalism at the regional level, thus trying to find patterns of well-needed citizen support for the European project.

Paper Euroskeptic Voting in European and National Elections
Robert Pahre, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; Elizabeth Radziszewski, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: We compare voters' choice of (non-)governing parties and Euroskeptic/pro-EU parties across national elections and European Parliament elections. Voters make strategic choices in both settings that differ across (non-)majoritarian national polities.

Disc. Barbara S. Kinsey, University of Central Florida

5-19 THE IMPACT OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN EUROPE
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair M. Shawn Reichert, University of Central Florida
Paper When Institutions Change, and How those Changes Change Members: Examining the Impact of EU Accession on Investor Risk in Western Europe
Julia Gray, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: TBA

Paper Reforming Federalism: The Politics of Institutional Change in Germany
Gunter M. Hega, Western Michigan University
Overview: This paper assesses the work of the German "Federalism Commission" and its attempt to reform institutional arrangements that have become widely regarded as at least partially responsible for the German "Reformstau" or "reform gridlock" in the 1990s.

Paper Endogenizing Institutions
Zeki Sarigil, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: When, why and how do institutions change? This question is a primary issue on recent institutionalist literature. By analyzing institutional changes in civil-military relations in Turkey, this study tries to provide some answers to this question.

Disc. Olga A. Avdeyeva, Purdue University

7-4 FROM INTEREST GROUPS TO STREET MOBS: NEOLIBERALISM AND NON-STATE ACTORS IN LATIN AMERICA
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair James C. Franklin, Ohio Wesleyan University
Paper The Discourse of Citizen Participation in International Organizations
Guillermo Cantor, University of Maryland, College Park
Overview: The article examines the sources and implications of the concepts of civil society participation and democracy that are explicitly and implicitly contained in the Inter American Development Bank's "Strategy for Promoting Citizen participation".

Paper The Role of Non-State Actors in the Peruvian Process of Neoliberal Economic Reform
Alba Hesselroth, University of Southern California
Overview: This paper analyzes the role of non-state actors - mainly the media, the academia, and think tanks - as promoters of market-oriented policy ideas, and whether their influence on the wider public facilitated economic policy change in Peru.

Paper Civil Society and Poverty-Reduction Policy: Argentina in the 1990s
Romina Miorelli, London School of Economics and Political Science
Overview: The paper explores the government's discourse on civil society in poverty reduction policy of the 1990's Argentina. Multilateral banks influenced the discourse, but domestic political decisions and persistent local views were crucial.

Paper Street Democracy and Neoliberalism in Latin America
Petros Vamvakas, Emmanuel College
Overview: It is my contention that the neoliberal models that were implemented in Latin America attacked and weakened the state in favor of markets within the polity, but failed to understand that in developing societies

Paper Cooperation and Conflict Between Firms and Communities
Jose Vargas-Hernandez, Instituto tecnologico de ed. Guzman
Overview: The aim of this paper is to analyze relationships of cooperation and conflict between a mining company and the involved communities, New Social Movements and the three levels of government.

Disc. Sybil D. Rhodes, Western Michigan University
Gina Yannitell Reinhardt, Texas A&M University

8-5 VOTING BEHAVIOR IN SOUTH KOREA AND TAIWAN
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair Gang Guo, University of Mississippi
Paper Retrospective Economic Voting in Taiwan
Eun Jung Choe, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: This paper is an attempt to examine whether and how democratic consolidation has changed voting behavior in new democracies.

Paper Democratization and Changing Voting Behavior in Korea
Byong-Kuun Jhee, University of Missouri, Columbia
Geiqun Shin, University of South Carolina, Columbia
Overview: This paper is an attempt to examine whether and how democratic consolidation has changed voting behavior in new democracies.

Chia-hung Tsai, National Chengchi University
Overview: A conditional logit model is developed to predict voting choice in a multi-party system. Individual's party images and ranking of party performance in the Legislative Yuan are significant predictors, controlling for parties' issue positions.

Paper Ideology and Region in the Korean Election: A Model for the Korean Voter
Jaehyok Shin, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: The paper aims to explore the political impact of ideological cleavage on the regional party system in Korea, constructing a new logistic regression model that explains the voter's decision in the 2002 presidential election.

Paper Temporary Fluctuation or Transformation-Random Parameter Logit Model of the 2004 General Election in Korea
Wonja Kang, Florida State University
Overview: With random parameter logit model, this paper analyzes the 2004 general election in Korea in terms of party system.

Disc. Gang Guo, University of Mississippi
Pierre F. Landry, Yale University

9-101 ROUNDTABLE: POLITICS OF HIV/AIDS
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Panelist Two Roads Diverged: Facing the HIV/AIDS Crisis in Kenya and Tanzania
Meg W. Kelley-Listermann, Georgia Perimeter College
Jose A. da Cruz, Armstrong Atlantic State University
Overview: As HIV/AIDS rages across Africa, two countries have taken alternate paths to face the crisis. Kenya and Tanzania have both identified the human and economic "costs" of the disease, but the institutional responses reflect the governmental differences.

Panelist Social Rights in South Africa: The Difference Between AIDS and Land Reform
Jennifer Yvette Terrell, The New School for Social Research
Overview: Social rights are defined through constitutional challenges. I compare the success of two social movements that
have launched constitutional challenges and argue that success relates to the type of remediation sought by the movement.

Panelist
The Politics of HIV/AIDS and Implications for Democracy in Kenya
Henry K. Wambui, Central Missouri State University
Overview: The paper examines relations between HIV/AIDS activism and democratic consolidation in Kenya. Mobilization against the pandemic is seen as instrumental for democratic consolidation due to popular political participation in policy formulation.

10-6 THE CONTINUING EVOLUTION OF POST-COMMUNIST DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair Lada K. Dunbar, University of Michigan, Dearborn
Paper Partial Veto Points: Bicameralism in the Czech Republic
Andrew Roberts, Northwestern University
Overview: This paper examines relations between HIV/AIDS and other East Central European countries, fail to deal with its communist past immediately following the transition? We propose an institutional explanation based on gate-keeping mechanisms through which such houses can exercise influence by looking at the Czech Senate.

Paper Explaining Late Lustrations in Slovakia: Limited Choices and Limiting Coalitions
Jana W. Kunicova, California Institute of Technology
Monika Nalepa, Rice University
Overview: Why did Slovakia, in contrast to the Czech Republic and other East Central European countries, fail to deal with its communist past immediately following the transition? We examine the mechanisms through which such houses can exercise influence by looking at the Czech Senate.

Paper Cabinet Duration in Central and Eastern Europe
Jill N. Wittrock, University of Iowa
Overview: This article provides a systematic comparative analysis of coalition behavior in Central and Eastern Europe.

Paper Survival of the Fittest? Cabinet Duration in Post-Communist Europe
Zeynep Somer, University of California, Davis
Overview: This paper questions what affects cabinet durations in ten post-Communist states by using duration models. It is found that institutional arrangements and economic performance are influential for the survival rates of post-Communist governments.

Paper Romania after Communism: Political, Electoral and Institutional Gambles
Madalina C. Hanes, Louisiana State University
Overview: I argue that Romania maintained a stable democratic regime despite its faulty institutional design. Changes could be made to address problems like power struggles between the Presidency, the Legislative and the Executive.

Disc. Erik S. Herron, University of Kansas

10-16 THE EMERGENCE AND ACTIVITY OF COMMUNIST AND POST-COMMUNIST INTEREST GROUPS
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair Dinissa S. Duvanova, The Ohio State University
Paper Understanding Interest Group Activity in the Emergent Democracies of Eastern Europe
Ronald J. Hrebenar, University of Utah
Clive S. Thomas, University of Alaska Southeast
Overview: This paper develops a theoretical framework for understanding the development and characteristics of interest groups and the broader category of “interest” system in the former Communist countries of Eastern Europe.

Paper Interest Groups in Russia’s Political and Economic Transformation
Lynn D. Nelson, Virginia Commonwealth University
Irina Y. Kuzes, Virginia Commonwealth University
Overview: The radical transformation of Russia’s political and economic life since 1991 reflects the influence of divergent interests. This paper examines the evolving strategies of key interest groups through time and their implications for the future.

Paper Faith and Post-Communism: State, Law and Religious Competition in Transition
Ani Sarkissian, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper questions the role of religion in the post-Communist world. It examines both religious regulations and the political activities of religious groups to understand how law, tradition, and competition affect democracy in the region.

Disc. Frank P. Le Veness, St. John’s University

10-301 POSTER SESSION: POLITICS OF COMMUNIST AND FORMER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES
Room TBA, Board 3, Fri 10:30 am
Chair The Iraqi Communist Party and the Challenge of Pragmatism
Darya D. Dastoor, Western Michigan University
Overview: This paper examines ICP’s political history and its ideological changes. It also examines the trends that contributed to the shifts in the party’s political path from an anti-colonialist, independent political organization that earned it the support of the left and right (loosely defined) during the twentieth century.

Paper Construction of the ‘National-Popular’: Communism and the Founding of Democracy in Kerala
Room TBA, Board 2, Fri 10:30 am
Nissim Mannathukkaren, Queen’s University
Overview: While communism has generally been associated with authoritarianism this paper will look at a rare example of transition to democracy brought about by the communist movement in the Indian state of Kerala.

Paper Electoral Institutions and Ethnic Conflict in Austria-Hungary, 1867-1914
Room TBA, Board 4, Fri 10:30 am
Philip J. Howe, Adrian College
Overview: This paper tests competing theories of democratic institutions in ethnically divided societies by examining parliamentary elections, legislative behavior, nationalism and the expansion of the suffrage in Austria-Hungary between 1867 and 1914.

11-16 SOVEREIGNTY, SUPRANATIONALISM AND TRANSNATIONALISM
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair Christopher Balding, University of California, Irvine
Paper Constituting States as Members: Diplomacy and the Origins of Sovereign Equality
Lora Anne Viola, University of Chicago
Overview: Through an analysis of the fifteenth-seventeenth century origins of diplomacy, this paper argues that diplomatic practices act as the regulative devices controlling the acquisition and distribution of sovereignty in the international system.

Paper The Fragmentation of Sovereignty: Globalization and the Persistence of States
Neil A. Englehart, Bowling Green State University
Overview: Arguments that the state is in decline assume that states must be fully sovereign. I argue that sovereignty is fragmenting, with states stronger due to globalization, but less able to fully control policy.

Paper Towards Labor Transnationalism: The Reorientation of Global Labor
Jonathan C. Rothermel, Temple University
Overview: "Solidarity Forever" is a common slogan heard in the realm of labor internationalism, but does rhetoric match reality? This paper puts forth a useful typology of labor internationalism and its evolution towards labor transnationalism.
Paper Administration of Global Government: The Challenge of Transnational Rulemaking and Regulation
Jonathan Koppell, Yale University
Overview: This paper examines the unique administrative challenges associated with governance of novel institutions charged with regulating all types of transnational activities, from trade to crime to communications. Specifically, the process of rule making.

Paper The Defiant Ally: The Case of the EU’s Support to the ICC
Lucrecia Garcia-Ijommi, University of Notre Dame
Overview: Using process tracing I show that EU’s support for the ICC constitutes the first example of a unanimously supported and unconditionally originated international policy by the EU. Expert committees are the intervening variables at different stages.

Disc. Hans Schattle, Roger Williams University

12-11 FDI, INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, AND FIRM BEHAVIOR

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair John Freeman, University of Minnesota

Paper Bilateral Investment Treaties and Foreign Direct Investment: A Network Approach
John S. Alhquist, University of Washington
Michael D. Ward, University of Washington
Overview: Do Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs) influence direct investment flows between countries? We deploy a new class of statistical models of networks to answer this question and examine the stability of this relationship over time.

Paper The Institutional Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment Patterns: Evidence from the OECD
Marshall W. Garland, Texas Tech University
Overview: My paper examines the role domestic political institutions have in affecting multinational’s foreign investment decisions across OECD countries. I find candidate-centered electoral systems increase incoming foreign investment flows.

Paper Security Shocks and Risk-Sharing Networks
Matthew C. Harding, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Alexander Marcus, Harvard University
Overview: We explore what kinds of firms are especially vulnerable to a volatility shock generated by an un-anticipated terrorist attack. We also analyze how different types of cross-national risk-sharing networks affect the resulting volatility.

Paper Institutions for Investment: Domestic Politics and the Sources of Cross-National Variation in FDI Restrictions
Sonal S. Pandya, Harvard University
Overview: This paper analyzes cross-national variation in FDI restrictions. It builds on a model of FDI’s income effects to examine how political institutions mediate the translation of preferences. Empirical tests utilize original data on FDI restrictions.

Paper The International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes
Clint Peinhardt, University of Texas, Dallas
Todd Allee, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: We introduce a new database on arbitration cases to ICSID, little-known international organization that is at least in part responsible for the growth of bilateral investment treaties.

Disc. B. Peter Rosendorff, University of Southern California

13-1 THE DOMESTIC POLITICS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair Christian Davenport, University of Maryland, College Park

Paper International Enforcement of Democracy Clauses
Daniela Donno, Yale University
Overview: The article proposes a theory of democracy clause enforcement that explains the location, timing and tools used to respond to violations of democratic standards. It is tested using an original dataset of EU involvement in post-communist countries.

Susan L. Kang, University of Minnesota
Sarah C. Walker, University of Minnesota
Overview: Though the US opposes the use of forced labor for its trading partners, there has been an substantive empirical increase in the use prison labor by states for private enterprises.

Paper Do As Thy Neighbor? - A Spatial Econometric Analysis of Human Rights
Julie Lantrip, University of North Texas
J. Michael Greig, University of North Texas
Steven C. Poc, University of North Texas
Overview: Using spatial data analysis, we apply the diffusion processes identified in the international conflict literature to the diffusion of human rights through neighborhood effects, economic and political alliances, and transnational advocacy networks.

Paper Threat Perception and Human Rights Abuse
Denese A. McArthur, Binghamton University
Zulema Blair, Medger Evers College, CUNY
Overview: This paper investigates the effects of domestic and international crises on states’ levels of respect for civil rights and liberties, and personal integrity rights.

Disc. Christian Davenport, University of Maryland, College Park
Carmela Lutman, Princeton University

14-10 EUROPEAN SECURITY

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair Carol Atkinson, The Ohio State University

Paper Expanding the Neighborhood Watch: Eastern Perspectives on NATO Enlargement
Suzette R. Grillot, University of Oklahoma
Rebecca J. Cruise, University of Oklahoma
Valerie J. D’Ermian, University of Oklahoma
Overview: This study explores the implications of NATO expansion from an eastern perspective.

David R. Forest, Illinois State University
Overview: How will Finland react given its traditional role of neutrality to the new European defense initiatives? The movement towards common security and defense policies will help to redefine the roles of the individual member states and the EU as a whole.

Paper Post-Soviet Central Asia as a Geo-strategic Hinterland of the Eurasia: US’ and Russian Interests and Contradiction in the Region
Bek-Myra Tokotegin, Bosphorus University
Overview: The relocation of Central Asia from the periphery to the center of the United States' strategic interest at the end of 2001 fundamentally altered the region's geopolitical landscape.

Paper Strategy in Europe: Does Grand Strategy Even Exist?
Craig B. Greathouse, University of Arkansas, Monticello
Overview: Examines the development of grand strategy in the common European security framework. Using a six point framework the major actors in the security debate are compared with their convergence to or divergence from a common security structure.

Disc. Andrew C. Richter, University of Windsor

14-301 POSTER SESSION: INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Presenter External Military Intervention in Civil Wars: A Quantitative Study of the Initiation and Escalation of Third-Party State Interventions
Room TBA, Board 5, Fri 10:30 am
Jordan M. Miller, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: The paper addresses two topics concerning external military intervention: the question of why a third-party state militarily intervenes in a civil war; and given an intervention,
the decision of the intervening state to change its level of support.

**Presenter:** Extended Deterrence and Taiwan’s Public Opinion

**Room:** TBA, Board 6, Fri 10:30 am

**Jung-Ming Chang, National Chung Cheng University**

**Overview:** The author finds that Taiwanese have a weak sense of extended deterrence, but they are willing to choose independence than to remain status quo across the Taiwan Strait when they attacked by China.

**Presenter:** The Art of War: Machiavelli in Iraq

**Room:** TBA, Board 7, Fri 10:30 am

**Vassilios Damiras, Dominican University**

**Diana C. Felix, Dominican University**

**Overview:** This paper is mostly about the United States foreign policy in Iraq. It deals with Niccolo Machiavelli's The Prince and as to how the United States has so far followed some of his guidelines towards invading and conquering Iraq. Moreover, how the Bush administration should follow some of his procedures in order to bring democracy to the Middle East.

15-14 **TERRORISM**

**Room:** TBA, Fri 10:30 am

**Chair:** David E. Schmitt, Northeastern University

**Paper:** The Impact of Heterogeneous Motivations within Terrorist Organizations

**David A. Siegel, Stanford University**

**Jacob N. Shapiro, Stanford University**

**Overview:** We model the interaction of terrorist bosses with a heterogeneous population of middlemen in order to explore how the varied motivations of middlemen affect the efficacy of both terrorist organizations and state strategies to combat them.

**Paper:** The Strategy Choice and Institutions’ Design for the War Against Terrorism

**Konstantin Yanovsky, Institute for the Economy in Transition**

**Ilia Zakotivevsky, MAOF Research Center (Israel)**

**Overview:** The report considers the causes of the terrorist activities; the democratic politicians’ incentives of opportunist behavior and generals’ propensity fight for peace. The policy of compromises appears be inefficient means to prevent terror.

**Paper:** Getting It Right: Understanding Effective Counter-Terrorism Strategies

**William J. Josger, Georgetown University**

**Overview:** Are some counter-terrorism strategies more effective against particular types of terrorism? Can we draw some conclusions about effective policies by examining other governments’ experiences, in particular those of the UK, Spain, France, and Italy?

**Disc.** David E. Schmitt, Northeastern University

17-12 **THE UNITED NATIONS TODAY**

**Room:** TBA, Fri 10:30 am

**Chair:** Jonathan R. Strand, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

**Paper:** Idealist Institution, Realist World: UNSC Decisions and National Interests

**Annika M. Hinze, University of Illinois, Chicago**

**Overview:** This study shows how national interests affect decision-making by the P-5 on the UN Security Council. In two case studies, speeches of decision-makers of the P-5 are analyzed to prove that national interests do affect decision-making on the UNSC.

**Paper:** The Security Council Responses to a Changing International Environment

**Mark Sachleben, Miami University**

**Overview:** This paper discusses the development of a database used to ascertain the response of the UN Security Council to different types of threats to international security. The paper treats the Council as a collective of states, instead of a single entity.

**Paper:** The Unseen Power of the Professional Cultures inside the UN Organizations

**Maciej J. Bartkowski, Bard College**

**Overview:** This paper considers major policy developments in selected UN organizations during the last decade and shows how professional cultures determined the implementation and eventual outcomes of institutional changes.

**Paper:** The U.N. as Dystopia: The Critique from Inside and Outside

**Dennis C. Hickey, Edinboro University of Pennsylvania**

**Overview:** This paper will examine the crescendo of criticism directed against the U.N. in the U.S., with specific reference to the domestic origins and motivation of this criticism and the credibility (or lack thereof) of its primary arguments.

**Disc.** Michael B. Hawes, Georgetown University

17-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE:**

**TRANSENTATIONAL DEMOCRACY**

**Room:** TBA, Fri 10:30 am

**Presenter:** Thomas D. Zweifel, Columbia University

**Johannes van de Ven, University of Louvain**

**Overview:** A roundtable on the emerging field of 'transnational democracy.' How can we measure transnational democracy? How can we achieve it?

18-8 **TRUST AND EFFICACY**

**Room:** TBA, Fri 10:30 am

**Chair:** Luke Keele, The Ohio State University

**Paper:** Priming, Performance, and the Dynamics of Political Trust

**Marc Hetherington, Vanderbilt University**

**Thomas J. Rudolph, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign**

**Overview:** This paper examines the impact of the public’s national importance judgments on political trust over time. We argue that such judgments should have both conditional and unconditional effects on public trust in government.

**Paper:** Trust, Efficacy, and A Sense of Community

**Mary R. Anderson, University of Memphis**

**Overview:** What are the antecedents of efficacy and trust? This paper explores one possibility by examining the relationship between trust, efficacy, and a sense of community.

**Paper:** Electoral (Il)legitimacy, Political Attitudes and Participation

**Stephanie C. McLean, University of Pittsburgh**

**Overview:** This paper uses experimental data on American electoral attitudes to study the effects of “shocks” to government legitimacy. I analyze attitudes about the electoral system, and the effects of electoral problems on political efficacy and behavior.

**Paper:** Measuring Political Efficacy with Positive Overtones: A Survey Experiment

**Thomas J. Scott, West Virginia University**

**Harold D. Clarke, University of Texas, Dallas**

**Allan Kornberg, Duke University**

**Overview:** A report of an experiment from the Political Support in Canada study. Using a split-sample, pre-post design, we find different response patterns among individuals asked the standard political efficacy battery rephrased with positive language.

**Paper:** Racial Trust and African Americans’ Perceptions About Representation

**Shayla Cunnally, University of Connecticut**

**Overview:** African Americans have lower levels of political trust than other racial groups. This paper examines to what extent the race of political actors affects African Americans' political trust.

**Disc.** Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

19-3 **CLASS VOTING**

**Room:** TBA, Fri 10:30 am

**Chair:** Stacy G. Ulbig, Missouri State University

**Paper:** Economy and Turnout: Different Classes at U.S. Presidential Elections

**Usoon Kwon, Western Michigan University**

**Overview:** The responsiveness of the lower class turnout to the macro economic conditions is different from the non-lower class. The non-lower class was demobilized at greater degree than the lower class when macro economic conditions were poor.
Overview: How do youths reconcile political information from home politics and neighborhood politics on youth political participation in presidential elections over the period 1952-2004.

Paper: The 2004 Presidential Election From A Spatial Perspective
Ian Sue Wing, Boston University
Joan Walker, Boston University
Overview: We explore the geographic polarization of the U.S. electorate by estimating the spatial variation in the correlates of voting returns in the 2004 presidential election, and find spatially complex patterns within population sub-groups.

Disc. Jon K. Dalager, Georgetown College

19-5 CONTEXT AND TURNOUT
Room: TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair: Richard N. Engstrom, Georgia State University
Paper: Political Culture, Cross-Pressures and Non-Voting
Peter Achterberg, Erasmus University, Rotterdam
Overview: This paper investigates how changes in the political culture of western countries give rise to increasing cross-pressures at the individual level, relative to cross-national and in-time differences in turnout.

Paper: Residential Effects on Vote Choice in the 2000 Presidential Election
Jonghoon Eun, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: This paper addresses the question whether and how residential factors affect individual vote decision in the 2000 presidential election. For the empirical analysis, I rely on the Generalized Hierarchical Linear Model and use multilevel data.

Paper: Micro and Macro Explanations of Cross-National Voter Turnout
Gregory Love, University of California, Davis
Ryan Carlin, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: We propose a multilevel model of cross-national voter turnout. Democratic institutionalization and electoral systems affect the expository leverage of SES and mobilization theories. We merge CSES data with classic and new institutional factors.

Paper: Youth Political Participation: Home Politics vs. Neighborhood Politics
Juliana L. Sandell, Pennsylvania State University
Overview: How do youths reconcile political information from two bases of social experience: the home and the neighborhood? Using the NELS merged with ROAD, I examine the differential effects of home politics and neighborhood politics on youth vote turnout.

Disc. Martin Johnson, University of California, Riverside
Kimberly L. Nalder, California State University, Sacramento

21-3 HOW ELECTORAL RULES SHAPE REPRESENTATION AND RESPONSIVENESS
Room: TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair: Richard E. Matland, University of Houston
Paper: Party Systems and Substantive Representation: Static and Dynamic
G. Bingham Powell, University of Rochester
HeeMin Kim, Florida State University
Richard C. Fording, University of Kentucky
Overview: How party system features such as polarization and number of parties, as well as election rules, shape static and dynamic connections between the median voter, legislatures and governments after elections in industrialized societies over 50 years.

Paper: Nominating Women Candidates: Political Parties and Strategic Choice in British Elections
Daniel Pemstein, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
William T. Bernhard, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: We develop a strategic model of candidate placement in SMD elections. Parties often have incentives to place women in marginally unsafe districts. We assess our theory on British general election data with an estimator derived from our formal model.

Paper: Institutional Design and the Responsiveness of Representative Government
Elisabeth R. Gerber, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Justin Phillips, Columbia University
Caroline Tolbert, Kent State University
Overview: We develop and test a theory of institutional responsiveness that allows us to understand the capacity of local governments to respond to changing preferences for public policies.

Paper: Electoral Systems and Policy Sophistication
Salomon E. Orellana, Michigan State University
Overview: In this paper I explore whether ideological diversity helps legislatures cope with the massive complexity involved in policy-making, and whether two-party systems tend to produce more reactionary policy-making than multi-party systems.

Disc. Richard E. Matland, University of Houston

22-102 ROUNDTABLE: IS THERE A "CULTURE WAR" IN THE AMERICAN PUBLIC? (Co-sponsored with Politics and Religion, see 47-101)
Room: TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair: Geoffrey C. Layman, University of Maryland
Panelist: Allan Abramowitz, Emory University
Edward Carmines, Indiana University, Bloomington
Morris P. Fiorina, Stanford University
James L. Guth, Furman University
Clyde Wilcox, Georgetown University
Overview: TBA

22-206 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PUBLIC OPINION AND TAX POLICY
Room: TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Presenter: Taxation and Presidential Approval: Separate Effects from Tax Burden and Tax Structure Turbulence?
Jan Vermeir, Vrije Universiteit Brussel
Benny Geys, Vrije Universiteit Brussel
Overview: We test the hypothesis that both the level of tax burden and the change in tax structure affect the US president’s popularity. We find a negative impact of tax burden, deficit as well as changes in tax structure, but only for Republican presidents.

24-5 THE MEDIA AS ECONOMIC INPUT AND OUTPUT
Room: TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair: Garrett Ryan Assay, University of California, Irvine
Paper: Profiting off the Poor? The Story of Welfare Privatization in the States
Michelle D. Brophy-Baermann, University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point
Andrew J. Bloeser, University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point
Mark Wrighton, University of New Hampshire
Overview: We look at the debate over welfare provision in state capitals to understand how PRWORA made welfare privatization an option for states. We analyze legislative testimony and press coverage of welfare in 4 states in the years leading up to PRWORA.
Examining the factors structuring Anglo and Latino attitudes, County Social Survey, we attempt to add to this literature, Paper The Impact of Differentiation on African American Racial Differences in the Correlates of Political Interest Multiculturalism and Integrationism. Supremacy alongside conscious endorsements of heterogenous sample displays unconscious traces of White from a content analysis of Black Liberation sources. A racially Paper Representing Non-Citizens? Analyses of the 1996 Welfare Reform Act and the 1998 Noncitizen Benefit Clarification and Other Technical Amendments Act. Overview: This paper examines the representation of non-citizens' interests in the US Congress by using the 1996 Welfare Reform Act and the subsequent 1998 Noncitizen Benefit Clarification and Other Technical Amendments Act as case studies.

Paper Does GOP Identity Among Vietnamese and Cuban Parents Differ from Children? Steven N. Tran, University of Houston Overview: Immigrants who immigrate to the US to escape Communist oppression are more likely to support the Republican Party. But are Republican affiliations, particularly among Vietnamese and Cuban immigrants socialized onto their American born Children?

Disc. Matthew A. Barreto, University of Washington

26-16 IMMIGRATION ATTITUDES AND INCORPORATION Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am Chair Deborah J. Schildkraut, Tufts University Paper The Impact of Differentiation on African American Attitudes Toward Immigration Tatishe M. Nteta, University of California, Berkeley Overview: Using the 1992-2000 pooled Los Angeles County Social Survey, I test the impact of the following eight determinants of African American attitudes toward immigration: context, contact, threat, sociotropic assessments, racial attitudes, self-interest, Paper Comparing Anglo and Latino Attitudes Toward English as the Official Language of the United States Adrian D. Pantoja, Arizona State University Sarah Allen Gershon, Arizona State University Overview: Using pooled data from the 1997-1998 Los Angeles County Social Survey, we attempt to add to this literature, examining the factors structuring Anglo and Latino attitudes towards English as the official language.


Paper Does GOP Identity Among Vietnamese and Cuban Parents Differ from Children? Steven N. Tran, University of Houston Overview: Immigrants who immigrate to the US to escape Communist oppression are more likely to support the Republican Party. But are Republican affiliations, particularly among Vietnamese and Cuban immigrants socialized onto their American born Children?

Disc. Matthew A. Barreto, University of Washington

26-17 RACIALIZED ATTITUDES Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am Chair David C. Wilson, The Gallup Organization Paper Recognizing White Privilege: How it Affects Opinion on Racial Policies Tehama M. Lopez, University of Chicago Overview: This paper explores the conditions under which white Americans will express that being white systematically benefits them. It furthermore examines the role of recognizing this privilege in support of policies of racial equality.

Paper Competing Racial Norms? Content Analysis and Experimental Evidence Thomas C. Craemer, University of Connecticut Overview: An multidimensional norms taxonomy is derived from a content analysis of Black Liberation sources. A racially heterogenous sample displays unconscious traces of White Supremacy alongside conscious endorsemtes of Multiculturalism and Integrationism.

Paper Racial Differences in the Correlates of Political Interest Ray Block, Jr., Middle Tennessee State University Overview: This paper explores the demographic and attitudinal explanations of political interest to demonstrate that Blacks and Whites differ in what motivates them to follow politics.

Paper Too Close for Comfort: Race, Media, and Hurricane Katrina Ismail K. White, University of Texas, Austin Tasha S. Philpot, University of Texas, Austin Overview: We examine the extent to which the media's presentation of Blacks espousing various ideologically and racially based assessments of the government's response to Hurricane Katrina altered views of the issue, race relations, and politics in general.

Disc. Maurice Mangum, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville

27-8 POLITICAL THEOLOGY Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am Chair Paul E. Kirkland, Kenyon College Paper The Political Theology of Prerogative Clement Fatovic, Florida International University Overview: This paper uses Carl Schmitt's insight that "all significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts" to develop a normative critique of the theological dimensions of prerogative in liberal political thought.

Paper Cabbage Heads and Catholics: Hegel on Religion, Revolution and the Terror Loren C. Goldman, University of Chicago Overview: This paper seeks to reconcile the apparently shifting accounts of the French Revolution in Hegel's Phenomenology and Philosophy of History.

Paper Hegel on Politics and Religion in the Bhagavad-Gita Louis Hunt, Michigan State University Overview: This paper examines the interrelation between liberal constitutionalism and liberal religious traditions through a reading of Hegel's interpretation of Hindu political thought in the Bhagavad-Gita.

Paper Moral Progressivism – A Solution to the Problem of Political Extremes? Jessica H. Johnson, University of Cincinnati Overview: This paper explores moral progressivism, a modified version of the “Social Gospel” of the early twentieth century, as an active yet moderate alternative to the dominant, polar-extreme ideologies of religious conservatism and technocratic secularism.

Disc. Paul E. Kirkland, Kenyon College Christopher A. Colmo, Dominican University

27-26 THE POLITICS OF VIRTUE Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am Chair Wynne W. Moskop, Saint Louis University Paper Augustine and Locke on the Church David P. Ramsey, Baylor University Overview: Both Augustine and Locke were concerned with questions of education and its relation to civil society, but they developed vastly different educational regimens, each a part of their political project.

Paper Augustine, Lincoln, and the Politics of Charity Joseph A. Harder, No Affiliation Overview: This paper draws on my doctoral dissertation on Abraham Lincoln, and my research on Saint Augustine. My argument is that Lincoln, especially in his last writings and in the Second Inaugural address, develops an Augustinian politics of charity.

Paper Putnam, Tocqueville, and the Vocation of the Democratic Moralist Brian Danoff, Miami University Overview: This paper critically examines Robert Putnam’s use of what Tocqueville calls the “doctrine of self-interest properly understood.” The paper also explores the nature and the significance of Tocqueville’s own ambivalence about the “doctrine.”
Evil Luxury & Virtuous Beauty: Ethical Consumption in Republicanism
Jim S. Josefson, Bridgewater College
Marcel P. Anderson, Bridgewater College
Justin A. Knight, Bridgewater College
Overview: In this paper, we explore an under-appreciated theme in republican thought, the importance of restrained but aesthetic consumption to the health of republican societies.
Disc. Wynne W. Moskop, Saint Louis University
Daniel A. Silver, University of Chicago
29-10 INTERPRETATION AND POLITICAL VOICE
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair Nicholas Dungey, California State University, Northridge
Paper Fusing Horizons: Gadamerian Reflections on the Hermeneutical Strategies of Quentin Skinner and Leo Strauss
Ian A.M. Ward, Princeton University
Overview: In this paper I offer a critical comparison of the hermeneutical strategies and approaches to the history of political thought championed by Leo Strauss and Quentin Skinner.
Paper Machiavelli's Pharmacy
Martyn de Bruyn, St. John Fisher College
Overview: This paper examines the role of magical potions in Machiavelli's literary works. The author will explore the link between myth, death and writing through a Derridian analysis of Machiavelli's plays.
Paper Principles as Expressions of Political Commitment
James E. Roper, Michigan State University
Overview: Values are vague. Principles are more precise. Values are logically incomparable, whereas principles, expressed in sentences, relate inferentially to other principles. Therefore, principles are better suited to express political commitments.
Disc. Stephen P. Chilton, University of Minnesota, Duluth
John R. Harris, University of Colorado, Boulder
29-208 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LIBERTARIAN THOUGHT
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Presenter An Egalitarian Improvement to Michael Otsuka's Left-Libertarian Project
Eric S. Roark, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: This paper defends a version of left-libertarianism that suitably respects both the strong self-ownership of persons and the egalitarian "distribution" of world resources.
Presenter Libertarianism and the Dichotomy Between Positive and Negative Rights
Edwin E. Etzioni, University of Alberta
Overview: With the kind of deep cultural diversity that exists in modern societies, issues of rights are becoming hot topics. In this paper, I examine a libertarian approach to rights, and argue that its dichotomy between positive and negative rights fails.
30-8 FORMAL THEORIES OF ELECTIONS: CANDIDATE LOCATIONS
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair Justin Fox, Yale University
Paper A Network Explanation of Correlations in Voting Behavior
Betsy Sinclair, California Institute of Technology
Overview: This paper examines the relationship between the structure of voters' social connections and the informational content in their candidate choice.
Paper The "Minimum-Sum Point" as a Solution Concept in Spatial Voting
Tse-min Lin, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: This paper explores the geometric and behavioral properties of the minimum-sum point, i.e., the point at which total distances from all voter ideal points are minimized, as a solution concept in the theory of spatial voting.
Paper Equilibrium in a Two Dimensional Model with Voting and Location Decisions
Allen B. Brierly, University of Northern Iowa
Overview: Can entrants enter? And when contestations occur, is the resulting equilibrium symmetric? This study describes multiple equilibrium, including symmetric Nash equilibria for local public goods markets.
Paper Citizen Candidates Under Uncertainty
Jon X. Eguna, California Institute of Technology
Overview: This paper presents a citizen candidate model of representative democracy with uncertainty.
Disc. Justin Fox, Yale University
30-20 FORMAL THEORIES OF THE U.S. SENATE: FILIBUSTERS AND NOMINATIONS (Co-sponsored with Legislative Politics: Institutions, see 34-23)
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair Henry A. Kim, University of California, San Diego
Paper Cronyism? Explaining Opaque Nominees to Positions of Influence
Andrea Mattezi, California Institute of Technology
Matias Laryczower, California Institute of Technology
Overview: We model political appointments to non-elective positions such as Supreme Court judges. Uncertainty on the appointee's decision-making environment and disagreement between the Senate and the President may explain the nomination of cronies.
Paper Minority Rights in Majoritarian Institutions
Kevin A. Roust, Duke University
Overview: Many legislatures choose their own rules of operation, often providing important powers to minorities and other small groups. A model with endogenous rules finds that most legislators benefit when the minority has influence.
Paper Filibustering and Reputation in the U.S. Senate
Fang-Yi Chiou, Academia Sinica
Overview: This paper constructs a reputation game with incomplete information to analyze legislative obstruction and policy decisions in the U.S. Senate. The main finding is that the
likelihood of a filibuster is a function of the time left in a Congress.

**Disc. David Epstein, Columbia University**

### 32-6 INTEREST GROUP NETWORKS AND REPRESENTATION

**Room** TBA, Fri 10:30 am  
**Chair** David Paul, The Ohio State University, Newark  
**Paper** NGO Research Program: A Collective Action Perspective  
**Erica J. Johnson, University of Washington**  
Aseem Prakash, University of Washington  
Overview: Nonprofit, nongovernmental organizations, considered critical indicators of functioning democracy, are undertheorized. This paper draws from political science, sociology, and public management to develop a more general approach to collective action.

**Paper** One Person, One Lobbyist? American Public Constituencies and Organized Representation  
**Matthew J. Grossmann, University of California, Berkeley**  
Overview: Using new data on 1,710 interest organizations in Washington and 140 of the constituencies that they represent, I analyze which types of public factions are better represented by organized advocates in Congress and the administration.

**Paper** The Structure of Interest Group Issue Networks in DC  
**Suzanne M. Robbins, George Mason University**  
Overview: This project expands upon what we know about interest group networks using theories from the public policy literature.

**Paper** Standing Out in the Crowd: How Interest Groups Forge Unique Identities  
**Michael T. Henney, University of Florida**  
Overview: I present a dynamic model in which interest groups identify themselves with a particular policy community and then differentiate themselves in multiple dimensions from other groups in that community.

**Disc. David M. Paul, The Ohio State University, Newark**

### 33-4 PRESIDENTIAL IMAGE-MAKING STRATEGIES

**Room** TBA, Fri 10:30 am  
**Chair** Jennifer J. Hora, Roanoke College  
**Paper** War of Words: Tracking Changes in Presidential Speech Drafts  
**Ken Collier, Stephen F. Austin State University**  
Overview: This paper uses the quantitative analysis of changes to presidential speech drafts to provide insights into the institutional conflicts within the modern White House.

**Paper** Whom Does the President Speak To and Why Does It Matter?  
**Sara M. Gubala, Michigan State University**  
Overview: The public presidency literature has looked at why speeches matter but has not examined where speeches are given and to whom the speeches are given to. This paper examines this gap by examining where presidents give speeches and to whom they talk to.

**Paper** Determining Successful Strategies of Presidential Leadership of Opinion  
**Brandon Rottinghaus, University of Idaho**  
Overview: In this article, we take a particular subset of opinion "leadership" (issues that are unpopular before the president speaks but popular afterwards) and examine conditions under which the president might be influencing these trends.

**Paper** The Entertainer-In-Chief: The First Lady as Presidential Image-Maker  
**Tabitha A. Warters, Francis Marion University**  
Overview: This paper examines the soft media outreach by Laura Bush. It looks at the need by the White House to reach out to the viewers of these outlets and the effect the First Lady's appearances have had on presidential leadership.

**Disc. Elvin T. Lim, University of Tulsa**  
Jennifer J. Hora, Roanoke College
WHIPPING

Paper Partisan vs. Institutional Leadership in the U.S. Congress
Matthew N. Green, Catholic University of America
Overview: This paper proposes and tests changing explanations for the effects of Whip membership on member behavior.

Paper Party Power and the Expansion of the House Whip Networks
Scott R. Meinke, Bucknell University
Overview: This paper examines the institutionalization of the whip system in the Congress and its effects on intra-party cohesion and party voting. Using data from 1870-2004, I test the whips' ability to signal party preferences and induce compliance.

Paper Party Leadership and Floor Amendments in the U.S. Senate
Timothy Werner, Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: Increases in Minority Leader tenure lead to the greater strategic use of floor amendments as policymaking tools. In this project, I examine when and why party leaders exercise such leadership.

Paper From Rules to Norms: The Role of Speaker's Precedents in amendment on significant legislation in the U.S. Senate. Increases in greater strategic use of floor amendments as policymaking tools.

Overview: Increases in Minority Leader tenure lead to the greater strategic use of floor amendments as policymaking tools. In this project, I examine when and why party leaders exercise such leadership.

Paper Explaining Publication Areas of Federal Trial and Appellate Court Judges
Susan W. Johnson, University of North Carolina, Greensboro
Ronald Stidham, Appalachian State University
Kenneth Manning, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth
Robert A. Carp, University of Houston
Overview: This study seeks to address the question of what causes lower court judges to publish decisions in particular areas of case law.

Paper Small Group Theory and the U.S. Courts of Appeals
Wendy Martinke, Binghamton University
Overview: The collegial nature of decision-making on appellate courts is typically considered only to the extent that collegial context offers opportunities for strategic behavior. Small group theory suggests a different (i.e., psychological) approach.

Paper Senior Judges' Decision-Making in the U.S. Courts of Appeals
Robert C. Bryant, San Jose State University
Sean Farhang, University of California, Berkeley

IMPLEMENTING THE "LAYER CAKE"

Paper Devolution in Practice: A Conceptual Framework
Lindsey A. Powell, University of Texas, Brownsville
Overview: This paper presents a conceptual framework of devolution in practice: A Conceptual Framework.

Paper State Adjustments to Congressional Lawmaking: Adapting to Stifling Federalism
Elizabeth A. O'Shaughnessy, University of Illinois, Chicago
Overview: Lately lawmaking in Congress is dominated by the majority party, and passage of federal preemptions continues. In reaction, states must act to prevent their own policy innovations from being stifled, indicating a new emergent pattern of federalism.

Paper Devolution in Practice: A Conceptual Framework
Alison Gash, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: This paper presents a conceptual framework of devolution in practice: A Conceptual Framework.

Paper Tandem-Institutions Transforming the Locus of Federal Oversight
Edward A. Miller, Brown University
Overview: This article argues that rather than isolating the judiciary and placing it in a competitive relationship with other institutions, federal oversight typically involves active support, or at least acquiescence, from multiple branches of government.

Joanna Mosser, Yale University
Overview: This paper argues for a risk-based approach to the problem of institutional choice under federalism and explores how spatially rooted incentives and challenges shape intergovernmental policy management.

Paper Politics, Intergovernmental Relations, Knowledge Use and Katrina
Adrian S. Petrescu, University of Texas, Brownsville
Overview: Using organizational portfolio theory, I verify if congruence between structure of an organization and its type of task it addresses may lower the likelihood of enacting and implementing imperfect policies and processes. I test on the Katrina disaster.
INTEGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS
Presenters:

Paper: Changing Matching Grants to Lump Sums, Danish Local Government Evidence
Thomas Fallesen, Aarhus University, Denmark
Overview: Central to fiscal federalism is the idea that matching grants stimulate local spending more than lump-sum subsidies. The paper questions the conventional wisdom with empirical evidence from a change of grant regime in Danish local governments.

GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGNS
Presenters:

Paper: The Election of U.S. Governors from 1977 to 2002
John A. Hamman, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Overview: Using data from a original survey of Minnesota public school principals, I examine the connection between leadership and No Child Left Behind. I consider the prospect of aligning NCLB's assessments and incentives with effective leadership.

EFFECTIVENESS AND EQUITY IN URBAN EDUCATION SYSTEMS
Presenters:

Paper: Mayors Improving Student Achievement: Evidence from a National Achievement Database
Kenneth K. Wong, Brown University
Overview: Using a database of 104 cities and school districts, covering 40 states and over 70,000 schools, we find that in the time period 1999-2003, mayoral appointed school boards are positively related to elementary school student achievement.

Paper: The Fight For School Equity in Chicago's Latino Neighborhoods
Melissa R. Michelson, California State University, East Bay
Overview: Latino community struggles for school equity in Chicago's Little Village and Pilsen neighborhoods.

LOCAL ECONOMIC POLICY
Presenters:

Paper: Business Property Tax Incentives in Indiana
Dagney G. Faulk, Indiana University, Southeast
Overview: This paper analyzes the types and level of property tax abatement granted by local governments in Indiana over a 20 year period and reasons for the increase in abatement levels over time.

Ennroo Lee, Florida State University
Overview: This paper is to examine new institutionalism to the study of local economic development policy. This paper proposes diverse roles of local government and provides the strength of political factors (public opinion and interest groups) in economic policy.

Paper: Effects of Globalization on Large U.S. Metropolitan Areas
Ardeshir Anjomani, University of Texas, Arlington
Overview: Examining literature on globalization and income inequality and integrating the two fields, findings of the impact of globalization on income distribution, race and underclass poverty as well as non-English speaking immigrants is presented.

MEASURES OF MUNICIPAL FISCAL HEALTH: LINKING PRIMARY AND SECONDARY DATA
Steven C. Deller, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: We evaluate the extent to which primary measures of municipal fiscal stress are associated with secondary measures frequently identified in the literature.

Above Politics: Bureaucracy and Credible Commitment
Andrew B. Whitford, University of Georgia
Gary J. Miller, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: We offer six vignettes on how agencies can become “above politics” – separated from political control – and how that separation has produced economic benefits for the United States over the last century.

Strategic Public Management and Performance: A Contingency Approach
Holly T. Goeldel, University of Kansas
Kenneth J. Meier, Texas A&M University
Laurence J. O'Toole, University of Georgia

Facilitative Leadership: A Study of Federal Agency Supervisors
Victoria M. McCarthy, University of Oklahoma
Overview: Leadership within public organizations continues to be of concern for organizational effectiveness. This paper discusses the role of leadership at the supervisor level in federal agencies.

Understanding the Motivational Structure Leading to High Performance of Federal Employees
Sungjoo Choi, University of Georgia
Overview: This study examines the impact of effective leadership on organizational performance and work motivation of federal employees. It analyzes the 2002 Federal Human Capital Survey by using structural equation model and confirmatory factor analysis.

MASSIVE RESISTANCE AND THE FIGHT FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS IN VIRGINIA
Presenters:

Paper: The School-Closing Crisis of 1958-59: The Battle to Integrate Norfolk Schools
Jeff L. Littlejohn, Sam Houston State University
Overview: This paper examines Norfolk's school-closing crisis of 1958-59, which pitted Mayor W. F. Duckworth, local segregationists, and Governor J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. against local African American families, the NAACP, and the Committee for Public Schools.
Paper The Defenders: Virginia's Neo-Bourbons And Massive Resistance
Tom Cox, San Houston State University
Overview: The paper examines the role that the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties played in the Massive Resistance movement in Norfolk, Virginia.

Paper Massive Resistance In Print: The Battle for the News in Norfolk, Virginia
Gwen Pharr, Norfolk State University
Overview: This paper compares and contrasts the presentation of Massive Resistance in Norfolk's local newspapers: the Ledger-Dispatch, the Virginian-Pilot, and the Journal and Guide.

Paper The Ecumenical Moment: Religious Support for Integrated Schools in Norfolk
Charles Ford, Norfolk State University
Overview: This paper assesses the crucial roles of religious leaders of various denominations in ending de jure segregation in Norfolk, Virginia.

Disc. Davis Yvonne Frear, Sam Houston State University
Marvin P. King, University of Mississippi

46-4 TECHNOLOGY AND POLITICAL MOBILIZATION

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am

Chair Barbara A. Strassberg, Aurora University

Paper Regimes of Intra-Party Communication: A Study of Socio-Ontological Flux
Christopher J. Poole, University of Otago, New Zealand
Overview: My research studies activists' prosecution of accountability claims. I advance the concept of socio-ontological flux to explain how the use of the internet can create a new regime of communication which negates leaders' monopoly of resources.

Paper Weeds in the Cracks of the Sidewalk: Human Agency and the Rutgers Tent State University Movement
Timothy E. Durant, University of Oregon
Overview: This is a real-time study of a social movement argues that human agency is crucial to the mounting of successful collective action, highlighting specific instances (in areas such as ideology and tactics) where agency was the driver.

Paper Political Attribution: Individualism and Collectivism
Kwang-Hi Yoon, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: This paper tests the hypothesis that citizens in collectivist countries are more likely to attribute their personal grievances to government than citizens in individualistic countries and this relationship is moderated by symbolic politics.

Disc. Barbara A. Strassberg, Aurora University

47-301 POSTER SESSION: POLITICS AND RELIGION

Presenter What Has Washington To Do With Jerusalem?
Room TBA, Board 10, Fri 10:30 am
Jason T. Larson, Syracuse University
Overview: This paper examines the relationship between American politics and Christianity by drawing parallels and connections to the history of the early Christian movement in the context of the Roman Empire.

Presenter Gender Difference and Equality: Conformity or Individualism?
Room TBA, Board 11, Fri 10:30 am
Debra Daniels, University of Minnesota
Overview: This paper considers the differing visions while highlighting the nature of the debate over gender and equality in the evangelical community. The purpose is to develop a sketch of the emerging vision and the scope of this understanding of equality.

Presenter TBA
Room TBA, Board 12, Fri 10:30 am
Erika R. Seeler, Duke University
Overview: TBA

48-102 ROUNDTABLE: TEACHING BUDGETING AND FINANCE WITH CASE STUDIES, SIMULATIONS AND EXERCISES

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair Harvey J. Tucker, Texas A&M University
Panelist Kurt Thurmaier, Iowa State University
Rebecca Hendrick, University of Illinois, Chicago
Alfred Tat-Kei Ho, Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis
Overview: This roundtable will discuss how case studies, simulations and exercises are used in courses on government budgeting and finance.

49-102 ROUNDTABLE: WOMEN SHOULD ASK: NEGOTIATION IN THE ACADEMIC WORKPLACE

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Panelist Georgia Duerst-Lahti, Beloit College
Susan Welch, Pennsylvania State University
Nancy McGlen, Niagara University
Kay Lehman Schlozman, Boston College
Kristi Andersen, Syracuse University
Lynn Maurer, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville
Overview: This panel will provide a discussion of gender dynamics in negotiations. Members of the roundtable include current and former department chairs and deans. Panelists will reflect on their experiences and provide advice about negotiating skillfully and effectively.

51-5 PUBLIC OPINION AND LGBT POLICIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair Jami Kathleen Taylor, North Carolina State University
Panelist Jennifer Crowe, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: This roundtable will discuss how case studies, simulations and exercises are used in courses on government budgeting and finance.

Panelist Attitudes Towards GLBT Issues in Arkansas: Libertarian, But Not Libertine
Jay Barth, Hendrix College
Janine Parry, University of Arkansas
Overview: A year after three in four Arkansans voters endorsed a state constitutional amendment barring state recognition of same-sex marriages, the 2005 Arkansas Poll presents the opportunity for deeper insights into the attitudes of Arkansans on a variety of GLBT- Issues.

Panelist How Opinions about Gay, Lesbian, and Homosexuality Shape Support for Gay Rights
Paul R. Brewer, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Overview: This paper tests whether or not GLBTQ issues evolved along lines similar to the evolution of American attitudes on other issues.

Panelist GLBTQ Issues: Evolution or Creative Design?
Peter W. Brusoe, American University
Overview: This paper tests whether or not GLBTQ issues evolved along lines similar to the evolution of American attitudes on other issues.

Panelist Young Adult's Perceptions of Gay Rights by Gender, Party, and Religion
Heide Hlawaty, Metropolitan College of New York
James D. Decker, Macon State College
Overview: Evaluation of young adults' attitudes in 2 middle Georgia institutions of their perceived homosexuality rights. Significant differences were found by gender and partisan membership. Religious affiliation did not produce as many significant differences

Disc. Kenneth Sherrill, Hunter College
Barry L. Tadlock, Ohio University

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SOCIAL ACTIVISM AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Room: TBA, Fri 10:30 am

Chair: James R. Simmons, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh

Paper: Ecumenical Organizing and Social Justice in Suburbia
Hugh Bartling, DePaul University
Overview: This paper focuses on the various ways in which groups with significant religious components are leveraging social networks to address problems of sustainability and social justice in suburban communities. By looking at particular cases of activism

Christian W. Erickson, Roosevelt University
Overview: 1968 heralded the apex of a transnational University based revolt, represented by the rise of New Left student and counter-cultural youth movements throughout the capitalist-bloc of nation-states. In this paper I will explore what these University-centered revolts had in common and how their temporal coordination represented a truly transnational movement which resonated throughout the world.

Paper: Political Disengagement on Campus
James R. Simmons, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh
Overview: This paper will examine trends in political engagement for both the student body and faculty on contemporary U.S. campuses. It will report on attitudes and involvement at American universities

Paper: Gay Marriage in Massachusetts: The Evolution of an Issue
John C. Berg, Suffolk University
Overview: The past, present, and future of the gay marriage issue in Massachusetts, from the court decision in 2003 to the possible popular vote on a constitutional amendment in 2008, including the development of public opinion on the issue.

Paper: Pateman’s Participatory Democratic Theory and Preference Formation Reconsidered
Karl E. Johnson, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: Drawing on Lindlbom’s 1981 address to the APSA, and several disciplinary perspectives, this paper reexamines Pateman’s (1970) subsidiary hypothesis in order to speculate about what and how employee-citizens may come to learn about "economic reality."

Disc: James R. Simmons, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh
Paper Constituency Service, Parliamentary Dissent, and the roll-call votes in the European Parliament during the 1990s. We test the argument using incentives to preserve nation-state prerogatives and provide benefits to national constituents. We examine changing levels of participation within political parties and members. This strengthens parties in systems where institutions allow them to identify, reward, and punish partisan voters, and offers efficiency advantages over constituency service.

Overview: This paper will test whether perceptions of the economy are important in a least likely scenario in which economic security is low.

Panelist Determinants of Lobbying Strategies on Economic Issues: An Empirical Analysis of Brazil and India

Vineeta Yadav, Yale University

Overview: Lobbies affect the information asymmetry between parties and members. This strengthens parties in systems where institutions allow them to identify, reward, and punish members; and weakens them otherwise. I use survey data on lobbies from Brazil & India.
Overview: This paper argues that the main obstacle to ensuring their survival. At critical junctures, regimes face crises that should lead to their demise, but they survive due to subsystem changes they make to ensure their survival.

Paper: Measuring Procedural Democracy and Rights in the Middle East

Diversifying Strategies of Legitimation: Regime Survival in the Middle East

Caroleen Marji, New York University

Overview: I explore the strategies authoritarian regimes employ to ensure their survival. At critical junctures, regimes face crises that should lead to their demise, but they survive due to subsystem changes they make to ensure their survival.

Paper: Measuring Procedural Democracy and Rights in the Middle East

Emile Sahliyeh, University of North Texas
Todd Spinks, University of North Texas

Overview: This measurement model will improve our ability to identify patterns of distribution of power and respect and violation of rights in the Middle East and put this discussion on a more empirically accountable footing.

Paper: Democracy, Accountability, and Islamist Political Parties

Hootan Shambayati, Bilkent University

Overview: This paper argues that the main obstacle to democratization in the Middle East is the weakness of institutions that can hold parliaments and elected institutions accountable while accommodating Islamist or other "radical" political parties.

Paper: TBA

Kevin E. Grisham, University of California, Riverside

Overview: TBA

Disc. Assem M. Dandashly, University of Oklahoma

Overview: This paper examines the factors that increase citizens' likelihood of supporting extremist ideology and parties on the left and right. We examine (1) ideological positioning, (2) protest feelings, and (3) demographic characteristics.

Paper: TBA

Kevin E. Grisham, University of California, Riverside

Overview: TBA

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Overview: In this paper, we investigate the factors that increase citizens' likelihood of supporting extremist ideology and parties on the left and right. We examine (1) ideological positioning, (2) protest feelings, and (3) demographic characteristics.

Paper: Expanding the Ambit of East Asian Democracies

East Asian Democratization and the Political Business Cycle

Wen-Chia Shen, Michigan State University

Overview: This paper investigates the election-policy link in two East Asian countries, South Korea and Taiwan. I test whether countries' time-varying degrees of democracy affect the way in which economic policy is chosen as elections approach.

Paper: The Military's Political Restraint: Model and Evidence from South Korea and Taiwan

Fiona Yap, University of Kansas

Overview: The paper develops a game-theory model to predict the military's restraint and tests the model using qualitative and quantitative evidence from South Korea and Taiwan from the 1960s to 2000.

Disc. Kevin J. Fandl, George Mason University

Overview: I examine advance voting in the 2004 Canadian election. Advance voters differ from normal voters, and some parties do better than others in advance voting. But, advance voting success does not predict victory and likely does not change outcomes.
Paper Toward Resolving the Measurement Problem in QCA: An Exploration of Fuzzy Mathematics
Terry D. Clark, Creighton University
Jennifer M. Larson, Creighton University
Overview: The use of fuzzy mathematics in comparative politics has been confined to qualitative comparative analysis (QCA). We consider mathematical approaches that might overcome measurement problems associated with the use of fuzzy mathematics in QCA.

Paper Domestic Institutions, Imperial Accommodation, and Britain’s Settler Colonies
Jill N. Wittrock, University of Iowa
Terry D. Clark, Creighton University
Overview: In recent years, there has been a growing interest in the domestic political consequences of “Europeanization.” Although there has been a small but increasing body of work on the effects of this process on political party development in the West

Paper Testing Ideology Against Neorealism in Hitler’s Drive to the East
Alex T. Schulman, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: I examine the test of the claims of neo-realism that Hitler’s foreign policy decisions were rational, and then present a counter-argument - that ideology trumped rationality.

Paper Balancing by not Bandwagoning
Mark E. Schaefer, Marietta College
Overview: States tend to concern themselves with overt balancing, but French and German history show another form of balancing, balancing by not bandwagoning. This holds lesson-drawing merit for the US and its lack of usual partners prior to the Iraq War.

Paper Domestic Institutions, Imperial Accommodation, and Britain’s Settler Colonies
Chad Rector, George Washington University
Overview: The emergence on a new idea - that liberalism constituted a threat to the European monarchies - has more power in explaining the peace of the Congress of Vienna system than distribution of power or institutional landscape

Paper What is Next? Taking the Next Step in the Field of Communism and Post-Communist Studies
Irina S. Khmelko, Georgia Southern University
Overview: This paper outlines some of the major discussions in the field of Communist and Post-Communist studies. It offers one of the possible approaches to answering the question of where the scholars of ECE can take the research next.

Paper Dangerous Rebels? Role of Violent Non-State Actors in Great Power Decline
Olga Bogatyrenko, University of California, Davis
Overview: The paper relies on organizational and IR literatures to discuss the extent to which great powers are vulnerable to violent non-state actors. Hypotheses are tested qualitatively via a comparative case study of Imperial Russia and Great Britain.

Paper The Congress of Vienna System - Power, Identity and New Ideas
Fabrice Paracuellos, University of California, Irvine
Overview: The paper examines presidential administrations from Harry Truman to George H. W. Bush to assess whether the variation in the political orientation of leadership contributes to divergence in foreign policy goals and outcomes.

Paper Regime on Transparency
B. Peter Rosendorff, University of Southern California
James R. Vreeland, Yale University
Overview: Policymakers provide credible announcements of intended inflation and unemployment rates in democracies; data establishes that transparency is correlated with regime type, even after controlling for level of development and country-specific effects.

Paper Institutional Structures and Monetary Instruments
Dominick E. Wright, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: The structure of a governmental institution constrains the choice of monetary instruments, while inducing preferences over macroeconomic outcomes. An analysis of fixity and inflation conditioned on institutional structure explores this hypothesis.

Paper Depositing Credit: Capital Account Liberalization, Dollarization, and Government Creditibility
Kelly P. Wurtz, University of California, San Diego
Overview: I argue that those governments that combine credibility in their respect for property rights, but lack credibility in macroeconomic policy, can strategically allow foreign currency deposits to commit to stable macroeconomic policies.
Paper Does Military Rule Mean Lost Wars?  
Authoritarian preferences remain levels to opponents.  We then relax the assumption that conflict and examine how nations can credibly signal resolve in two ways.  First we assume that resolve is fixed throughout a military occupation, regime changes, and the links between them.

Peter and Andrew Singer, University of Notre Dame

13-5 THE IMPACT OF REGIME TYPE ON REGIME CHANGE  
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm  
Chair Allan C. Stam, Dartmouth College  
Paper Signaling, Resolve, and the Duration of Interstate Wars  
Jonathan E. Beroth, University of Colorado  
Randall J. Blimes, University of Colorado  
Overview: We examine how resolve affects the duration of wars in two ways. First we assume that resolve is fixed throughout a conflict and examine how nations can credibly signal resolve levels to opponents. We then relax the assumption that preferences remain

Peter Does Military Rule Mean Lost Wars? Authoritarian Subtypes and War Outcomes  
Ozlem Elgun, Emory University  
Overview: This paper examines the effect of authoritarian regime type on conflict outcome, and argues that although military regimes are more likely to initiate militarized interstate disputes, they are less likely to win these conflicts.

Peter and Investigating Needs the NGOs? The Research on the Development of NGOs in China  
Chun-yuan Wang, Duke University  
Yan-qi Chang, National Chang-Cheng University  
Jun-qi Hsieh, Florida State University  
Overview: This paper is interesting in the subject that since China is an authoritarian government, why does she need NGOs to deal with the international cooperation or interaction. The development of the NGOs in China will be examined in the paper.

Peter Politics, Threats, and War: A Test of a New Measure of Political Regime Type  
Wayne A. Thornton, Harvard University  
Overview: This paper presents a new methodology for characterizing political regime types, and applies it to analyze how the institutional structure of governments shapes their behavior regarding threats and war.

Disc. Zaryab Iqbal, University of South Carolina

14-6 TERRORISM: SUICIDE BOMBING  
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm  
Chair Christian W. Erickson, Roosevelt University  
Paper Landscapes of Violence: A Comparative Study of Insurgency in the Northern Caucasus  
Jason M. Lyall, Princeton University  
Overview: This paper examines the determinants of insurgent strategies in Russia’s Northern Caucasus by combining Geographic Information Systems (GIS), a district-level natural experiment, and a new dataset of insurgent attacks (including suicide terrorism) for the 1999-2005 period.

Peter An Examination of the Relationship of CBI and Public Corruption  
James Thomas Fetter, University of Notre Dame  
Overview: In this paper, I explain the variation of CBI across countries as a function of public corruption. Because public corruption reduces political and economic transparency, CBI is expected to vary inversely with public corruption.

Paper Money Independence and Trade Relations in Flexible Exchange Rate Regimes  
Vera E. Troeger, University of Exeter  
Overview: This paper argues that the level of monetary flexibility a government enjoys does not only depend on the implemented monetary institutions but also on the economic relationships, especially trading relations with relevant key currency areas.

Disc. David Andrew Singer, University of Notre Dame

Paper Female Suicide Bombers: Case Study of the Chechen “Black Widows”  
Irina Bazaria, University of Cincinnati  
Overview: This research paper reviews theories of female suicide bombers, focuses on their characteristics, analyzes their personal motives, makes assessments of tactics and strategies behind using female suicide bombers.

Paper From Burkas to Bombers: An Analysis of Women Martyrs as Suicide Bombers  
Laura V. Fontaine, University of Colorado, Boulder  
Hugh R. Kardell, University of Colorado, Boulder  
Overview: Suicide terrorism has recently become a widely used tactic and a significant strategic threat to the international community. To date, the motivations and factors to explain why women are becoming martyrs have not been fully explored or understood.

Paper What Drives Terrorism: Analyzing the Factors That Influence Suicide Bombing  
Tyson Chatagnier, Texas A&M University  
Overview: This paper looks at several potential influences on decisions by Palestinian terrorist groups to launch suicide bombings against Israel. It attempts to ascertain by statistical analysis which factors make suicide bombings more or less likely.

Disc. Skyler J. Cranmer, University of California, Davis

15-301 POSTER SESSION: CONFLICT PROCESSES  
Presenter When Will States Negotiate? Pain and Strategy in International Conflict  
Room TBA, Board 1, Fri 1:45 pm  
Belinda L. Bragg, Texas A&M University  
Overview: This paper addresses the question of why some crises between states are resolved through negotiation while others result in continued conflict. The theoretical model is tested using both experimental and empirical analysis.

Presenter Third-Party Intervention in Ethnic Conflicts  
Room TBA, Board 2, Fri 1:45 pm  
Ada Hyso, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee  
Overview: This study aims to examine how ethnic composition, affinity and discrimination, as well as power relations affect third party interventions in an ethnic conflict.

Presenter Beyond Diplomacy: Conflict Management in the Network Society  
Room TBA, Board 3, Fri 1:45 pm  
Daniel Wehrenfennig, University of California, Irvine  
Overview: This paper will explore the actual practice of communication in conflict management and contemplate the changes in the diffusion of power, networking and communication in the "network society" to evaluate the challenges and opportunities.

Presenter The Explanatory Value of Political Psychology in International Relations  
Room TBA, Board 4, Fri 1:45 pm  
Cengiz Erisen, SUNY, Stony Brook University  
Overview: This paper examines the inferences of political psychology in international relations. The main goal is to study the propositions of political psychology in understanding the international conflicts.

17-301 POSTER SESSION: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND ORGANIZATION  
Presenter Canada-US Cooperation on the Great Lakes after 9/11  
Room TBA, Board 5, Fri 1:45 pm  
Edna R. Keeble, Saint Mary's University  
Roy Keeble, Independent Researcher  
Overview: This paper is about the level of Canada-US cooperation in the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway system after 9/11. In this case, we see a seamless integration of security measures into existing arrangements while not jeopardizing maritime trade.
Paper Left Out in the Cold? The Effect of Dispersed Minority Residential Mobility and Racial Differences in Political Exercise explores turnout patterns across time for both Latinos Congress from CA, FL, NY and TX on voter turnout. The Overview: This paper presents an organizational study of the emerging Shanghai Cooperation Organization. The SCO provides a new chapter to the post-communist study of the Eastern and Southern regions of the former Soviet empire.

18-101 AUTHORS MEET CRITICS: HUCKFELDT, JOHNSON, AND SPRAGUE’S POLITICAL DISAGREEMENT

Room TBA, Board 6, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair Jennifer Jerit, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Panelist Robert Huckfeldt, University of California, Davis
Paul E. Johnson, University of Kansas
James H. Kuklinski, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
James N. Druckman, Northwestern University
Michael X. Deli Carpini, University of Pennsylvania
James L. Gibson, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: This panel will discuss Huckfeldt, Johnson, and Sprague's Political Disagreement: The Survival of Diverse Opinions within Communication Networks.

18-205 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: A LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO EU CONFLICT PREVENTION POLICIES

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Presenter From Text to Reality: A Linguistic Approach to EU Conflict Prevention Policies
Simone Raudino, UNDESA
Overview: This paper aims to demonstrate how important the tenets of social linguistics are in the study and comprehension of all political phenomena, including the setting up of a European conflict prevention policy.

19-11 RACE AND TURNOUT

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair David L. Leal, University of Texas, Austin
Paper Racial Diversity and Barriers to Participation
Rodney E. Hero, University of Notre Dame
Caroline Tolbert, Kent State University
Bridge Litton, Kent State University
Overview: This paper analyzes the relationship between racial diversity and barriers to participation.

Paper Left Out in the Cold? The Effect of Dispersed Minority Populations on Turnout
Ernest McGowen, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: This paper will examine the effects of minority populations on voter turnout, focusing on populations that are left out of majority districts.

Paper The Temporal Effect of the First Latino Congressmen on Voter Turnout
Francisco I. Pedraza, University of Washington
Overview: An analysis of the impact of the first Latinos in Congress from CA, FL, NY and TX on voter turnout. The exercise explores turnout patterns across time for both Latinos and non-Latinos in congressional districts represented by both Latinos.

Paper Residential Mobility and Racial Differences in Political Mobilization
Richard Ramirez, University of Southern California
Overview: Tests whether validated registered voters who move more often (frequency of residential movement) in the previous five years are less likely to report being contacted by a candidate, political party, or organization

Disc. Matthew A. Barreto, University of Washington

20-6 THE DYNAMICS OF VOTER TURNOUT (Co-Sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 19-18)

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair Peter W. Vliethouwer, Western Michigan University
Paper The Impact of Radio Advertisements on Voter Turnout
Costas Panagopoulos, Yale University
Donald Green, Yale University
Overview: This study reports the findings of a randomized field experiment to test the effect of radio advertisements on voter turnout in mayoral elections taking place across the United States during fall 2005.

Paper The 2004 Youth Vote: A Retrospective
Zachary F. Cook, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Overview: The significance of the 2004 "youth vote" is analyzed using election returns, media analysis, and exploratory interviews with youth advocates, party officials and Bush/Kerry campaign officials.

Paper Uncovering the Hidden Effects of Issues
Aaron Dusso, George Washington University
Ryan L. Schoen, George Washington University
Overview: This paper explores how voters respond to issues in congressional elections between 1976 and 2000 and extends recent research on issue voting. We expect the presence of salient issues to increase turnout and also affect the choice of one party over another.

Paper Morality Politics, Direct Democracy, and Turnout
John A. Grummel, West Virginia State University
Overview: This research examines whether ballot measures concerning moral issues (in general) as well as comparing individual types of moral issues, have an impact on voter turnout.

Paper Economic Voting in the 2004 Presidential Election
Chin-Yin Wei, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: This paper centers on the relationship between voters' perception of economic conditions and their voting behavior in the 2004 presidential election in the United States.

Disc. Jeremy M. Teigen, Ramapo College

21-4 IMPACT OF ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair G. Bingham Powell, University of Rochester
Paper Are Proportional Systems More Representative Than Majoritarian Systems?
Rumeel S. Mahmood, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: This analysis extends the number of countries and sources of data which Powell used to conclude that majoritarian systems are less congruent to the median voter than proportional systems, finding the relationship is weak.

Paper Measuring Geographic Representative Strength
Eser Sekercioğlu, Stony Brook University
Gizen Arikan, Stony Brook University
Ali Cakoglu, Sabanci University
Overview: We propose a method to compare how well electoral systems translate votes into seats. Treating legislatures as euclidian spaces we compare two or more parliaments in terms of how well geographic distribution of votes is represented in the legislature.

Paper Institutions, Heterogeneity, and Fragmentation in Executive Elections
Mark F. Jones, Rice University
Greg Vonnahme, Rice University
Overview: We evaluate the effect of ethnic/racial heterogeneity and two key political institutions on the extent of fragmentation in executive elections. We employ evidence from two distinct populations (presidential democracies and U.S. cities).

Paper Stability Results from the Nature of Collective Decisions
Melvin J. Hinich, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: An investigation of "division of the question" amendments reveals a problem with the assumption that institutions cause stability. An alternative argument is simply that the nature of collective decisions themselves lead groups to avoid cycles.
Overview: This paper employs a cross-national Q-survey to examine the role of socioeconomic status in public opinion. We show that most socioeconomic groups respond similarly to cues to policymakers, similar to the political context and, as a result, send similar stimuli. We address a question: How does the political ideology reflected in national constitutions shape citizens' welfare policy preference and opinion certainty?

Cindy D. Kam, University of California, Davis
John T. Scott, University of California, Davis
Overview: Our paper argues that different social welfare programs activate different principles of distributive justice.

Paper: Worlds of Welfare and Discourses on Welfare
Bedriye A. Kolemen, University of Georgia
Overview: This paper uses cross-national Q-survey data to examine the differences in public discourse on the welfare state in Sweden, Germany and the USA.

Disc.: Martin Gilens, Princeton University

22-13 REPRESENTATION AND POLICY RESPONSIVENESS
Room: TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair: Jonathan Winburn, Western Kentucky University
Paper: Representatives as Environmental Trustees for Their Constituents
Lauren E. Benson, Purdue University
Overview: This study examines the agent/principle relationship regarding environmental issues in order to assess whether public opinion drives legislators' votes in office.

Paper: Income and Political Liberalism: a Macro Approach
Christopher R. Ellis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Joseph Ura, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: We explore the ways in which socioeconomic status affects dynamic citizen response to political or economic stimuli. We show that most socioeconomic groups respond similarly to the political context and, as a result, send similar cues to policymakers.

Paper: Catholics and Congress: Measuring Ideological Congruence from 1948 to 2002
Patrick J. Flavin, University of Notre Dame
Michael J. Keane, University of Notre Dame
Overview: Do Catholic politicians mirror the ideological preferences of Catholic citizens over time? Using NOMINATE scores and NES data, we examine opinion change and ideological congruence among Catholic legislators and Catholic citizens from 1948 to 2002.

Paper: Dynamic Representation in an Institutional Context
Christopher J. Lewis, Florida State University
Dona-Gene Mitchell, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: A democracy is ultimately evaluated by its ability to translate public opinion into policy. We provide a nuanced view of the public opinion-policy linkage by focusing on the political mechanisms that influence government responsiveness.

Paper: The Adoption of Gender Identity Inclusive Laws in the American States
Jami Kathleen Taylor, North Carolina State University
Overview: This paper uses NOMINATE scores and NES data to examine the adoption of public opinion-policy linkage by focusing on the passage of transgender inclusive employment and hate crimes legislation in the American states.
posed to become the dominant force fostering political participation.

**Paper**

**Tilting Conservative: Religion and Political Participation in America**

Henry E. Brady, University of California, Berkeley
Sidney Verba, Harvard University
Kay Lehman Schlozman, Boston College

Overview: Religious involvement affects politics by shaping people's fundamental beliefs about issues such as gay rights and by mobilizing people to political action. Using "tilt analysis" we show how these factors can work together or against one another.

**Paper**

**Political Participation of Muslim Americans**

Guliz Dinc, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Ozge Kemalhoglu, Princeton University

Overview: This paper aims to determine the factors that affect the type and level of political participation of Muslim Americans by applying the resource and mobilization models using survey data from 2001 and 2004 administered by Zogby International.

**Paper**

**A Study of the Political Behavior and Attitudes of Black Urban Pastors**

Alexis B. Sherman, Georgetown University

Overview: Few scholars have examined the political behavior and attitudes of Black urban pastors. This paper will examine how and why they participate politically, specifically focusing on informal modes that go beyond the realm of electoral politics.

Disc. Gregory A. Petrov, University of Nebraska, Omaha

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**24-14 THE WEB OF THE MEDIA: INTERNET EFFECTS AND POLITICAL PROCESSES**

**Room** TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

**Chair** Girish J. Gulati, Bentley College

**Paper**

**Understanding Society Through Online Communities: Posting Boards and Massive Multi-Player Online Role Playing Games (MMORPGs)**

Jessica L. Beyer, University of Washington

Overview: In this paper I examine the IGN posting board system and World of Warcraft (a MMORPG with around two million players), and argue that over time posting boards and MMORPGs develop into intricate social systems that create and reiterate themselves.

**Paper**

**Netting Information: New Media and Political Knowledge**

William T. Horner, University of Missouri, Columbia

Overview: This study is an examination of the informational value of several different forms of media, including television, radio, newspapers, magazines, and the Internet across several presidential and off-year federal election cycles.

**Paper**

**Did 2004 Online News Do a Better Job of Informing Young Voters than 2000?**

Karon R. Speckman, Truman State University

Overview: This study compares 2000 and 2004 online election coverage of Yahoo News and MSNBC to determine whether news focused on youth issues; youths as voting unit; or youths as sources.

**Paper**

**The Effect of the Internet on Political Knowledge**

Shinya Wakao, University of Texas, Austin

Overview: I investigate the relationship between political knowledge and the Internet usage with Simultaneous Equations Model. I find that those who have high political knowledge use the Internet as a political information resource.

Disc. Girish J. Gulati, Bentley College

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**25-10 WOMEN ON THE BENCH: JUDGING AND BEING JUDGED (Co-sponsored with Judicial Politics, see 36-20)**

**Room** TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

**Chair** Judith A. Baer, Texas A&M University

**Paper**

**Judging Gender: Press Coverage of Male and Female Supreme Court Justices**

Margaret M. Young, Albion College

Overview: The author uses content and textual analysis of articles about Supreme Court Justices to identify differences in the coverage of male and female judges. These are detectable—although not always obvious and sometimes surprising.

**Paper**

**Federal Appellate Courts, the FMLA, and Judicial Gender**

Elaine Martin, Eastern Michigan University
Barry Pyle, Eastern Michigan University

Overview: We examine U.S. appellate cases on the FMLA to build an integrated decision-making model controlling for two sets of variables — personal attributes of judges, including gender, and political environment — utilizing logit analysis.

**Paper**

**Revisiting Gender Effects in the U.S. Courts of Appeals**

Susan Haire, University of Georgia
Laura Meyer, University of Georgia

Overview: Using a dataset of 2880 cases decided with published opinion by the U.S. Courts of Appeals between 1997 and 2002, we test for direct effects of gender on judicial decision-making in criminal, civil rights/liberties, and economic/labor decisions.

**Paper**

**Descriptive Representation and the Supreme Court**

Margaret S. Williams, James Madison University
Mary Outwater, University of Oklahoma

Overview: Using a survey of the American public conducted after the announcement of O'Connor's retirement, we explore the extent to which O'Connor raised a gender consciousness among women.

**Paper**

**Gender and the U.S. Supreme Court: The Emergence of a Feminine Perspective?**

Katherine F. Scheurer, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Overview: This paper empirically examines the influence of gender on the voting behavior of the U.S. Supreme Court. This research also explores whether or not a feminine perspective emerges in the behavior of the court of last resort.

Disc. Jilda M. Aliotta, University of Hartford
Judith A. Baer, Texas A&M University

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**26-12 RACE, ETHNICITY AND POLITICAL TRUST**

**Room** TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

**Chair** Sarah Allen Gershon, Arizona State University

**Paper**

**Government Trust and the African American Electorate**

Maurice Mangum, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville

Overview: Several scholars allude to the low levels of trust in government displayed by African Americans. Moreover, many accounts present evidence that suggests that African Americans are less trusting of government than white Americans.

**Paper**

**Rust Never Sleeps: Latino Political Trust - Evidence from the NES**

James P. Wenzel, University of Texas, Pan American
Robert D. Wrinkle, University of Texas, Pan American
Jerry Polinard, University of Texas, Pan American

Overview: Using pooled data from the 1990-2004 National Election Studies we test alternative models of the formation and maintenance of trust in government among Latino-Americans. Among the effects tested is the "corrosive effect" of acculturation on trust.

**Paper**

**What's Trust Got to Do with It? Examining Trust Levels of African-Americans**

Michele Gilbert, Kent State University
Ronald E. Mathews, Jr., Kent State University

Overview: As the debris of Hurricane Katrina is being swept away, social life continues to be characterized by racial discrimination and stratification. This paper examines how trust levels affect the public policy process.
Overview: This paper looks at the history of the term "public community" and how it has evolved in political participation patterns of African Americans. It also examines the applicability of traditional social capital theory to racial and ethnic minority groups in the United States.

Disc. Katherine Tate, University of California, Irvine

26-13 DIVERSITY AND PUBLIC POLICY

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair Jesse P. Mendez, Oklahoma State University
Paper TBA

Paper Competing Explanations for Minority Enrollments in Higher Education
Daniel P. Hawes, Texas A&M University
Alisa Hicklin, Texas A&M University

Overview: This paper will draw on theories of representation, economics, political control, bureaucratic politics, and political culture to test a number of competing explanations for varying levels of minority student enrollments in higher education.

Paper The Effect of Early Experiences on Delayed Kindergarten Entry
Stacey L. Buckshaw University of Akron

Overview: This study examines child and family characteristics and early child care experiences that determine how early a child enters kindergarten. Policy implications related to early childhood education are discussed.

Paper Race, Medicine and Social Justice: The Case of BiDil
Sara R. Jordan, Texas A&M University

Overview: Using the case study of BiDil for the targeted treatment of heart-failure among African-Americans, we assess competing models of social justice to probe the benefits and problems of race-conscious medical practice.

Disc. Terry S. Weiner, Union College

27-7 RECONSIDERING ARENDT

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair Charles J. Helm, Western Illinois University
Paper The Structure of Public Space
Jonas Brodin, California College of the Arts

Overview: This paper looks at the history of the term "public space" and how the concept of both the metaphorical and literal use of the term has evolved.

Paper Discouraging on Method in the Space of Appearances
Laura D. Ephraim, Northwestern University

Overview: Arendt's critique of the political "event" of science holds promise for democratic theory beyond post-positivist critiques of method. This paper asks whether method itself could be viewed as a political event, by engaging Descartes' Discourse.

Paper Sovereignty and Democracy: Critique and Reconstruction
Ian R. Zuckerman, Columbia University

Overview: This paper traces the roots of democratic theory's disenchantment with sovereignty in the work of Hannah Arendt.

Paper Virtue and Virtuosity: The Political Status of the Family in the Thought of Aristotle and Arendt
Benjamin T. Lundgren, Michigan State University

Overview: Aristotle and Arendt understand the political role of the family as key to determining how citizens come to understand freedom, virtue, and justice. Each emphasizes different aspects of this dynamic, yet their final conclusions are not so far apart.

Disc. Charles J. Helm, Western Illinois University
Emily C. Nacol, University of Chicago
chapter in Foucault's intellectual odyssey, one surrounded by controversy.

**Paper**

**Reading Foucault and the Iranian Revolution**  
Mahnaz Yousefzadeh, New York University  
Overview: This paper will look at various readings, misreading, connections and disconnections that run throughout Afary and Anderson's Foucault and the Iranian Revolution, which contains the correspondences, and the authors commentary on these texts.

**Disc.**  
Saoud El Mawla, Earlham College  
Kevin B. Anderson, Purdue University  
Janet Afary, Purdue University

### 29-3 CONFLICT, WAR, AND DEMOCRACY

**Room**  
TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

**Chair**  
James R. Muir, University of Winnipeg

**Paper**  
Rumination of Wars: Thinking About Through War Literature  
Wayne S. LeCheminant, Loyola Marymount University  
Overview: This paper presents a discussion about the ways in which war is thought about, discussed and framed in war literature.

**Paper**  
Just War Theory and the International Community: A 21st Century Standard?  
Steven P. Millies, University of South Carolina, Aiken  
Overview: This paper explores the questions asked by historic just war theory and seeks to discern how international institutions such as the United Nations or the Organization of American States serve to answer them today.

**Paper**  
Democracy and Disengagement: Israel's Debate over the Gaza Withdrawal  
Steven V. Mazie, Bard High School Early College  
Overview: I analyze an extraordinary public debate over the nature of democracy that erupted in the wake of Israel's decision to withdraw from the Gaza Strip in August 2005.

**Paper**  
Not Out of Sight But Out of Mind: The Hidden Hazards of Open Secrets  
Thomas C. Ellington, Wesleyan College  
Overview: Official secrecy presents significant problems for accountability, legitimacy and trust. Even if information is publicly available, treating it as if it were secret tends for foreclose public debate and create an unjustifiable aura of mystery.

**Paper**  
Individuals, Collective Agents, and Freedom from Poverty as a Human Right  
Jennifer C. Rubenstein, Princeton University  
Overview: Recent research suggests that it is more expensive to save lives in war-zones than in more peaceful contexts. Under what conditions are agents justified in sacrificing cost-effectiveness in order to aid victims of intentional, violent, harm?

**Disc.**  
Troy A. Kozma, Wilfrid Laurier University  
Gerald Doppelt, University of California, San Diego

### 30-9 FORMAL THEORIES OF ALTRUISM AND FAIRNESS

**Room**  
TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

**Chair**  
Scott E. Page, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

**Paper**  
Functional Unpleasantness: The Evolutionary Logic of a Righteous Resentment  
William B. Heller, Binghamton University  
Katrin K. Sieberg, Binghamton University  
Overview: Observed results of divide-the-dollar ultimatum games, where participants turn down profitable but "unfair" divisions, do not jibe with accepted assumptions of rationality.

**Paper**  
Why We Care About Others: Deriving Social Utility Function  
Oleg Smirnov, University of Miami  
Overview: According to the concept of a social utility function, an individual receives positive utility from payoffs to others. I create a formal evolutionary model, in which a formula for social utility function is not assumed but found endogenously.

**Paper**  
Altruism and Voting  
Chris Dawes, University of California, Davis  
Overview: This paper tests the link between utilitarian preferences and voting. We find that utilitarian preferences do significantly explain voting. We fail to find evidence of a significant positive relationship between Rawlsian preferences and turnout.

**Disc.**  
Scott E. Page, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

### 31-4 ADVANCED MODELS OF VOTING (Co-sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 19-20)

**Room**  
TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

**Chair**  
TBA

**Paper**  
Detecting Attempted Election Theft  
Walter R. Mebane, Cornell University  
Overview: I consider statistical methods to detect election fraud using, alternately, precinct level data and ballot image data with information about the machine on which each ballot was cast. I illustrate the methods using data from recent America elections.

**Paper**  
Regression Discontinuity in the Context of Voter Mobilization  
David Nickerson, University of Notre Dame  
Overview: TBA

**Paper**  
Explaining (in)Complete Preference Rankings versus Explaining Stated Party Choice: The Role of Expectations  
Susumu Shikano, University of Mannheim  
Paul Thurner, University of Mannheim  
Michael Herrmann, University of Mannheim  
Overview: We identify incongruities between stated party preference and stated vote choice and show that they are significantly induced by expectations. We apply so-called exploded logit models for the explanation of (in)complete preference rankings.

**Paper**  
Analysis of Voteshares Across Party Systems  
James Honaker, University of California, Los Angeles  
Overview: Three problems complicate the analysis of voteshares; the same parties do not contest elections 1) across districts, 2) across time, or 3) across countries. Adding a model of the policy space to estimate substitution effects presents a solution.

**Disc.**  
Jonathan Wand, Stanford University

### 32-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PARTIES AND THE WELFARE STATE

**Room**  
TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

**Presenter**  
Globalization, Party Positions, and the Welfare State  
Hans Noel, Washington University, St. Louis  
Overview: I outline the mechanism by which activists and party leaders will over time push party ideal points to reflect the interests of abundant factor coalitions or scarce factors of production in advanced industrial countries.

### 32-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: INTELLECTUALS, IDEAS, AND PARTIES IN AMERICAN POLITICS

**Room**  
TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

**Presenter**  
The Coalition Merchants: How Ideologues Shape Parties in American Politics  
Chad Haddad, Princeton University  
Overview: This paper argues that ideologies are central in shaping party coalitions. I compare ideological measures of political thinkers and of legislators and show that intellectuals often organize issues into a political dimension before parties do.
**PRESIDENTIAL MANAGEMENT OF THE BUREAUCRACY**

**Room** TBA, Fri 1:45 pm  
**Chair** Karen M. Hult, Virginia Polytechnic Institute/State University  
**Paper** Executive Politics and Smoking in Federal Buildings  
Daniel M. Cook, University of California, San Francisco  
Lisa A. Bero, University of California, San Francisco  
Overview: The tobacco document archive provides unique insight into the development of an executive order, which in this case included interagency politics and considerable input from interest groups.

**Paper** Presidential Transitions: The Shaping and Reshaping of the Federal Regulatory Agenda  
Anne M. Joseph, University of California, Berkeley  
Overview: This paper examines how changes in presidential administrations shift regulatory agendas of agencies, engaging debates concerning which institutions hold the most power over administrative agencies.

**Paper** Implementing EMS in the Bureaucracy: The Case of Executive Order 13148  
Justin A. Tucker, University of Kansas  
Overview: This paper investigates the adoption and implementation of environmental management systems in the bureaucracy as mandated by Executive Order 13148. Convergence on one EMS type is discussed in context of organizational and external pressure.

**Disc.** Constantine J. Spiliotes, Saint Anselm College

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**AGENDA CHANGE ACROSS TIME**

**Room** TBA, Fri 1:45 pm  
**Chair** Scott Ainsworth, University of Georgia  
**Paper** Matters of Life and Death: The Durability of Discretionary Programs in the Post-War Era  
William G. Howell, Harvard University  
Christopher Berry, University of Chicago  
Barry Burden, Harvard University  
Overview: Using a comprehensive dataset of federal discretionary programs, this paper tests a simple theory that identifies the conditions under which a sitting Congress is most likely to kill a program that its members have inherited from prior Congresses.

**Paper** Agenda Change and Party Polarization in the U.S. Senate, 1976-2003  
Frances E. Lee, University of Maryland  
Overview: Has a changing policy agenda contributed to the dramatic rise in partisanship in Congress? A new measure of substantive agenda content is used to model the effect of agenda change on congressional polarization.

**Paper** Legislative Rhetoric and Policy Agendas  
Burt L. Monroe, Michigan State University  
Kevin Quinn, Harvard University  
Michael Colaresi, Michigan State University  
Dragomir Radev, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor  
Steven Abney, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor  
Michael Crespin, Michigan State University  
Jacob Balazer, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor  
Overview: We extend the analysis of American policy agendas (Baubergtner and Jones) through the development and application of a new method (dynamic latent Dirichlet allocation) and new (massive) data on Congressional rhetoric.

**Disc.** Glen S. Krutz, University of Oklahoma

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**EXAMINING PARTISANSHIP IN LEGISLATURES**

**Room** TBA, Fri 1:45 pm  
**Chair** Richard L. Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor  
**Paper** Institutional and Environmental Influences on Legislative Outcomes  
Jennifer H. Clark, Indiana University, Bloomington  
Overview: Using legislative bill histories from the U.S. Congress as well as state legislative chambers, this research investigates the institutional and environmental factors that shape who wins and who loses in legislatures.

**Paper** Testing for the Effect of Party in the Senate: the Jeffords' Switch  
Cary R. Cowington, University of Iowa  
Overview: I use Senator Jeffords' party switch in 2001 to construct a natural experiment that tests for the effects of party institutional control on the legislative process and outcomes.

**Paper** Explaining Parliamentary Dimensionality through Institutions  
Martin Hansen, Aarhus University, Denmark  
Overview: The dimensionality of the parliaments of Denmark, Norway and Ireland from 1945-2005 are estimated using a Bayesian approach for ideal point estimation. The level of dimensionality is explained by the influences of the parliamentary institutions.

**Paper** Predicting Individual Party Switchers in the US Congress  
Dylan Rickards, Louisiana State University  
Overview: I argue we should be able to predict when members of Congress are going to switch parties by looking at the potential motivations for the switch. Measures of electoral risk, ideology and advancement potential are all used to predict this behavior.

**Paper** Agenda Setting, Clout and Logrolls in the U.S. House  
Henry A. Kim, University of California, San Diego  
Overview: Congressional parties primarily seek to facilitate bargaining among their members. Majority party advantage lies in greater opportunities for deal-making among its members relative to the minority provided by the institutions of the US House.

**Disc.** Matthew N. Green, Catholic University of America

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**LEGISLATIVE RESPONSIVENESS IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE**

**Room** TBA, Fri 1:45 pm  
**Chair** Brad T. Gomez, University of South Carolina  
**Paper** Competition, Representation and Subconstituencies  
Benjamin G. Bishin, University of Miami  
Overview: Research shows that increased competition does not enhance legislative responsiveness. This paper examines whether competition enhances responsiveness to subconstituencies within the district or state.

**Paper** Read My Lips: Senatorial Promises and Performance  
Kristin L. Campbell, McKendree College  
Overview: This paper will examine the promises made by 27 successful Senate candidates across three elections (1998, 2000, and 2002) in an effort to understand the conditions under which candidates are likely to attempt to fulfill their campaign promises.

**Paper** Campaign Promises and Environmental Policy Choices in the US Senate  
Evan J. Ringquist, Indiana University, Bloomington  
Milena Neshkova, Indiana University, Bloomington  
Overview: This paper examines the relationship between the campaign promises of U.S. Senators and their post election policy choices, and whether campaign promises provide unique information to prospective voters in Senate elections.

**Paper** Electoral Signals and Strategic Legislative Voting in Multi-Level System  
JeongHun Han, University of Rochester  
Overview: The paper presents a theoretical model of representatives strategic voting behavior under a multi-level party system in response to electoral signals.
Paper: Campaign Ad Images as Signals About Legislative Voting Behavior
Tracy Sulkin, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Nathaniel Swiger, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: We explore whether the images used in winning congressional candidates' campaign ads serve as a useful heuristic to citizens interested in how a legislator will vote on a particular set of issues in Congress.
Disc. Jeffrey D. Grynvaski, University of Chicago

36-17 CONGRESS, COURTS, AND THE SEPARATION OF POWERS
Room: TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair: Shannon I. Smithey, Westminster College
Paper: Separation of Powers Revisited: Congressional-Court Interaction
Michael A. Bailey, Georgetown University
Forrest Maltzman, George Washington University
Overview: Using a newly developed measure of Court-Congressional preferences, we explore the question of whether Congress is able to constrain the behavior of the Court.

Paper: Jurisdiction Stripping: Structure and Congressional Control of the Courts
Dawn M. Chutkow, Cornell University
Overview: In a challenge to positive political theory models, findings from this study reveal that common institutional concerns, particularly federal court caseloads, influence congressional removals of court jurisdiction, but ideology does not.

Paper: Supreme Court and Congress: Another Look
Roman Ivanchenko, The Ohio State University
Overview: This paper argues that the interaction between Congress and the Supreme Court in constitutional cases can be better understood by considering non-ideological preferences and the impact of the Court on congressional choices.

Paper: Attacks on Judges and the Search for Judicial Legitimacy
Amy Steigerwalt, University of New Orleans
Overview: This paper examines how public and congressional attacks on the judiciary affect interbranch relations and judicial independence.
Disc. Kirk A. Randazzo, University of Kentucky

36-18 THE DIFFUSION OF PRECEDENT
Room: TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair: William L. Gillespie, Kennesaw State University
Paper: Spatial Dependence and the Diffusion of Precedent
Scott Comparato, Southern Illinois University
Overview: Little is known about the diffusion of precedent throughout the judicial hierarchy. This is not to suggest that researchers have ignored the relationship between the various courts in the American judicial system.

Daniel London, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: How can we explain the fact that the Supreme Court is largely sitting on the sidelines while courts in many other advanced democracies are increasingly engaged in a global dialogue in the course of their judicial decision-making?

Paper: Is there Consistency in Constitutional Comparativism?
Kaitlyn L. Sill, Louisiana State University
Stephen Routh, California State University, Stanislaus
Overview: This paper evaluates the consistency with which the Supreme Court employs constitutional comparativism in its decisions by looking at which countries and international organizations the Court references, across what issues, and how from 1995 to 2003.

Paper: Policy in the Courts: Applying PET to Judicial Decisions
Amanda L. Wilsker, Georgia State University
Tammy E. Wilsker, Georgia State University
Overview: Given the ability of the judicial branch to create and modify policy, this paper examines the possibility of merging hypotheses from a public policy making theory (PET) with the convergence theory, already extended to judicial decision making.
Disc. Sara C. Benesh, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
John Szmer, University of Missouri, Kansas City

37-5 JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS AND JUDICIAL SUPREMACY
Room: TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair: Kevin M. Wagner, Florida Atlantic University
Paper: The Filibuster, Median Senator and Countermajortarian Difficulty
John O. McGinnis, Northwestern University
Michael B. Rappaport, University of San Diego
Overview: This essay explores the effects of the judicial filibuster, arguing that it will result in more moderate judges and will mitigate the countermajoritarian difficulty. It also explores the implications of the filibuster for stealth nominees.

Paper: Legislating From the Bench: A Typology and Defense of A Maligned Concept
Bruce G. Peabody, Fairleigh Dickinson University
Overview: This project challenges and refutes one of the unexamined precepts governing federal judicial appointments, the view that a preeminent selection criterion for nominees should be their abhorrence of the practice of "legislating from the bench."

Paper: Secrets, Lies, and Constitutional Politics
Terril L. Peretti, Santa Clara University
Overview: Graber suggests that we examine how courts enhance or thwart democracy. Unfortunately, we find today considerable deceit in constitutional politics, particularly in the judicial selection process.

Paper: Judicial Supremacy
Kenneth Ward, Texas State University
Overview: In considering judicial supremacy, we treat disagreement as an illness to be cured rather than managed. We do not consider how well political institutions minimize the impact that fights about the Constitution have on our broader political life.

Disc. Scott E. Lemieux, Hunter College, CUNY

39-7 ELECTORAL IMPACT ON LAND USE AND DEVELOPMENT
Room: TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair: Roy McClendon, Jr., Georgia Military College
Paper: All Politics is Local: An Evaluation of Wal-Mart's Use of the Referendum
Susan L. Shaler, University of California, San Diego
Overview: I survey current and former Wal-Mart executives and analyze case studies to evaluate corporate political strategies, including use of referenda. Political scientists gain new insights into the firm as a political actor in the democratic process.

Paper: Local Conservation: Downshifting the Growth Machine
Tara Blanc, Arizona State University
Barbara C. McCabe, Arizona State University
Overview: Growth machine theories cannot explain conservation measures' success in local elections. We propose and test a theory of local conservation that considers local conditions, state constraints and the ballot measures' characteristics.
Disc. Lana Stein, University of Missouri, St. Louis
relations.
reputation, policymaking and presidential-congressional
party "factions" within the Democratic Party from 1890 to 1914.
Overview: This paper offers a systematic analysis of national intra-
Era.
establishing direct and graduated taxes during the Progressive
paper examines the role that state governments played in
have often led the way with innovative policy reforms. This
Paper Is Cost-Benefit Analysis Neutral?
obudsmen, inspectors general, and mediators that are
prevalent political phenomenon, explores the nature of
bureaucratic injustice, and examines such institutions as
remedy injustices.
Paper Is Cost-Benefit Analysis Neutral?
Overview: This paper reviews the Office of Management and
Budget's positions in rulemaking reviews to evaluate whether
cost-benefit analysis leads to neutrality toward regulations. It
asks whether OMB consistently sought to weaken regulation.
Paper State Government Administrative Responsiveness to
Federal Performance Evaluation
Lael R. Keiser, University of Missouri, Columbia
Donald Gooch, University of Missouri, Columbia
Peter Mueser, University of Missouri, Columbia
Deanna Sharpe, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: Using data from the Workforce Investment Act, we
explore whether federal evaluation criteria causes street level
workers to alter policy decisions in ways that are inconsistent with policy goals.
Disc. Ethan M. Bernick, University of North Texas

44-7
NEW RESEARCH ON THE POPULIST AND PROGRESSIVE ERA
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair Ruth O'Brien, CUNY Graduate Center
Paper Prelude to Populism: Third Party Voting Behavior in the
Nineteenth Century
Samuel J. DeCanio, The Ohio State University
Corwin D. Smidt, The Ohio State University
Overview: Using individual-level data from the 1870's, we
examine who voted for agrarian third parties. We find these
voters lacked ethnic or religious identification with a major
party, were employed in non-agrarian jobs, and owned
considerable wealth.
Paper The Agrarian Reform Faction and the Democratic Party, 1893-1914
Daniel DiSalvo, University of Virginia
Overview: This paper offers a systematic analysis national intra-party "factions" within the Democratic Party from 1890 to 1914. It explains how factions shaped the Democratic Party's reputation, policymaking and presidential-congressional relations.
Ajay K. Mehrotra, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: Throughout American history, state governments have often led the way with innovative policy reforms. This paper examines the role that state governments played in establishing direct and graduated taxes during the Progressive Era.
Disc. Ruth O'Brien, CUNY Graduate Center

47-10
CATHOLIC POLITICAL THOUGHT AND ACTION
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair Mary Segers, Rutgers University
Paper Catholic NGOs: Impact of the 1995 Referendum on Divorce in Ireland
Matthew T. Bradley, Indiana University, Kokomo
Karl Besel, Indiana University, Kokomo
Overview: Examines patterns of change in Ireland that led to the 1995 Referendum on Divorce, and how the referendum is indicative of the changing role of the Catholic Church. The article addresses some implications for public policy in Ireland.
Peter C. Bisson, Campus College at the University of Regina
Overview: The Jesuits, a large Catholic religious order, have become systematically committed to justice and social transformation. This has made them in some sense political, by transposing traditional Christian religious practices into social forms.
Paper Thomism and Liberalism in Twentieth-Century Catholic Ethics
Elizabeth Agnew Cochran, University of Notre Dame
Overview: An assessment of twentieth-century Catholic attempts to draw together the Thomistic natural law tradition with the tradition of political liberalism. Particular focus on the work of Michael Novak, Paul Weithman, and John Rawls.
Disc. Ted G. Jelen, DePaul University

47-205
INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: RELIGION AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Presenter Are All Civic Engagement Groups Created Equally?
Caroline M. Nordlund, Brown University
Overview: This paper examines the role that multi-racial churches play in influencing congregant political behavior.

47-206
INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: BUDDHISM AND POLITICS
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Presenter Social Science Approaches to Buddhism in Sri Lanka and Their Alternatives
John F. Mensing, University of Peradeniya
Overview: Indigenous conceptions of religion and politics in country-region.
Presenter Neither Lokiya nor Lokutta: Notes Towards a Politics of Theravada Buddhist Monks
Thomas A. Borchert, University of Chicago
Overview: This paper is an exploration of the political options open to Theravada Buddhist monks of Southeast Asia. Although these monks are constrained legally and religiously from overt political actions, in fact they are deeply political.

48-2
NEW TECHNOLOGY AND NEW TOOLS FOR THE CLASSROOM
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair S. Suzan J. Harkness, University of the District of Columbia
Paper Podcasting: Emerging Media and Its Utility for Teaching and Learning
S. Suzan J. Harkness, University of the District of Columbia
Overview: This paper assesses podcasting and its utility in academia. The paper will discuss many of the current uses in higher education as well as briefly discuss the ease of utilizing emerging media to enhance teaching and students learning opportunities.
Paper Moving the Political Science Curriculum Online: Impressions of a Case Study
Jeffrey Sadow, Louisiana State University, Shreveport
Overview: Examines issues involved in offering a political science degree online; of instruction, course subject matter, and of characteristics of students involved.
Paper **Active Learning with Technology**

Lynn D. Nelson, Virginia Commonwealth University

Overview: In this presentation I illustrate approaches for using technology to facilitate active learning, from live online message board interaction to online audio enhancement and technology enabled collaborative learning exercises.

Disc. Scott R. Furlong, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay

51-102 **ROUNDTABLE: LGBT AND RACIAL/ETHNIC POLITICS: WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM EACH OTHER?**

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Panelist **LGBT and Racial/Ethnic Politics: What Can We Learn From Each Other?**

Cathy J. Cohen, University of Chicago

Dorian T. Warren, University of Chicago

Dara Z. Strolovitch, University of Minnesota

Ruth N. Brown, University of Illinois

Jeff Edwards, Roosevelt University

Overview: What can students of LGBT politics learn from students of Racial and Ethnic politics? What can students of Racial and Ethnic Politics learn from students of LGBT politics? This roundtable will discuss and offer insights into these questions.

57-2 **GENDER AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP: WOMEN’S ISSUE AGENDAS AND POLICY OUTCOMES (Co-sponsored with Gender and Politics, see 25-17)**

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Chair Celeste Montoya Kirk, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

Paper **Leaders or Followers? Regional Women’s Policy Agencies in Spain and Poland**

Meg E. Rincker, Washington University, St. Louis

Candice Ortbals, Pepperdine University

Overview: This paper extends the literature on national-level women's agencies, examining whether women's agencies at the sub-national level promote women's representation, in Spain and Poland.

Paper **Work and Family: Women’s Issue or Issue?**

Heidi M. Berggren, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth

Overview: This paper asks if women's efforts at the state level to expand on the popular Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 have begun to help redefine work-family as an issue directly relevant to both women's and men's lives.

Paper **Women’s Movements Under Democratic Transitions**

Petra Hejnova, Syracuse University

Overview: This paper comparatively examines when and under what conditions women mobilize in democratizing countries. Drawing on social movement theory, it considers the role of leadership, political opportunities, issue framing and available resources.

Paper **Defining the Women’s Issue Agenda**

Kimberly B. Cowell-Meyers, American University

Overview: What does the women's movement in America stand for today? This study examines the contemporary agenda of prominent women's organizations and tests the influence of women's organizations on public policy in the US states.

Disc. Celeste Montoya Kirk, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
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<th>Room</th>
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<th>Title</th>
<th>Panelist</th>
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<tr>
<td>TBA, Fri 3:45 pm</td>
<td>1-103</td>
<td>ROUNDTABLE: PUBLISHING IN POLITICAL SCIENCE</td>
<td>John G. Geer, <em>Journal of Politics</em></td>
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<td>Jim Johnson, <em>Perspectives on Politics</em></td>
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<td>Andrew Polsky, <em>Polity</em></td>
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<td>Marianne C. Stewart, <em>American Journal of Political Science</em></td>
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<td>Overview: Editors of the Discipline's major, general interest journals discuss editorial policies and practices, as well as strategies for successful submission.</td>
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<tr>
<td>TBA, Fri 3:45 pm</td>
<td>2-8</td>
<td>TO VOTE OR NOT -- INSTITUTIONS, MOBILIZATION AND EDUCATION</td>
<td>Christopher H. Achen, <em>Princeton University</em></td>
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<td>Paper: Comparing Multi-level Voter Participating Using Ecological Data Soren R. Thomsen, Aarhus University, Denmark</td>
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<td>Overview: The paper presents a comparative study of multi-level voter participation in several industrialized countries using ecological data on voter returns and census statistics.</td>
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<td>TBA, Fri 3:45 pm</td>
<td>3-12</td>
<td>TOWARDS INCLUSIVE CITIZENSHIP IN THE MIDDLE EAST</td>
<td>Mohamed A. Berween, <em>Texas A&amp;M International University</em></td>
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<td>Paper: The Political Economy of Women's Support for Fundamentalist Islam Lisa Blaydes, <em>University of California, Los Angeles</em></td>
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<td>Overview: Why do women in Muslim countries support Islamic political movements that promote gender-based inequalities?</td>
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<td>Cross-national survey analysis reveals economic motivations for the political preferences of Muslim women, an understudied group.</td>
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<td>Overview: Why did the two union confederations that dominated Turkish state-labor relations in the 1960s and 1970s pursued divergent political strategies. The importance of these differences for Turkish politics and recent events in the US is considered.</td>
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<td>Paper: State and Activation of the Religious Cleavage in Turkey and Indonesia Yusaf Sarfati, <em>The Ohio State University</em></td>
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<td>Overview: We examine how the religious cleavage has been activated in post-1980 Turkey and post-1990 Indonesia by tracing the cultural, educational, and legal policy changes implemented by secular state elites in Turkey (1983-1991) and in Indonesia (1990-1997).</td>
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<td>Paper: Battles Over Belonging: Citizenship in Egypt Pamela Stumpo, <em>University of Washington</em></td>
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<td>Overview: Using Egypt as my main case, my paper focuses on the battles that have raged over whether children of mixed marriages and dual nationals should gain full citizenship rights.</td>
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<td>Paper: Micro-Foundations of Civil Wars Scott Straus, <em>University of Wisconsin, Madison</em></td>
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|        |            |                                                                       | Overview: The paper examines participation in genocide and specifically participation in the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. The
principal evidence for the paper comes from an original survey of more than 200 Rwandan perpetrators.

**Paper**
The Determinants of Insurgent Appeals in Civil War
Jeremy M. Weinstein, Stanford University
Macartan Humphreys, Columbia University

**Overview:** Drawing on a dataset of randomly sampled ex-combatants and civilians from Sierra Leone, this paper tests hypotheses from the literature on collective action and explores the consequences of recruitment strategies for retention and effectiveness.

**Paper**
Civil-Military Relations and Vulnerability to Civil War
Naunihal Singh, University of Notre Dame

**Overview:** This paper develops and tests a theory linking the history of civil-military relations in a country to the likelihood and duration of a civil war in that country.

**Paper**
Governance Performance of Rebel Groups after Their Military Victory
Kazuhiro Obayashi, George Washington University

**Overview:** I conduct a quantitative analysis to test a hypothesis that unitary form (U-form) rebel groups govern a country more effectively than multidivisional form (M-form) rebel groups after their military victory in civil war.

**Paper**
Learning from Adversity: Ethnic Ties and Ethnic Domination
Ravi Bhavnani, Michigan State University

**Overview:** This paper specifies a novel framework to explore how rival ethnic groups in one country learn from threats to ethnic kin in a neighboring country and from threats made by nominal rivals at home.

**Disc.** Scott E. Page, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

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**4-103 ROUNDTABLE: THE ELUSIVE BALLOT BOX: "DEMOCRATIC FILTERS", 1776-2004 - A ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION**

**Room** TBA, Fri 3:45 pm

**Chair** Carolina Curvale, New York University

**Panelist**
- Laura Flamand, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte
- Leone Niglia, University of Aberdeen
- Jonathan B. Slapin, University of Notre Dame
- Josephine E. Squires, Fort Hays State University
- Amy Lauren Lovecraft, University of Alaska, Fairbanks

**Overview:** Under what conditions do Islamic movements in Western Europe emerge? A neglected research topic within the social movement literature is: under what conditions can we expect a given type of movement to emerge?

**Paper**
Islamic Mobilization in Western Europe
Kathryn Lawall, University of Notre Dame

**Overview:** Under what conditions do Islamic movements in Western Europe emerge? A neglected research topic within the social movement literature is: under what conditions can we expect a given type of movement to emerge?

**Paper**
Muslim Minorities in France: Integration, Islam, and Secularism
Eren Tatari, Indiana University, Bloomington

**Overview:** This paper analyses the four theories to explain state accommodation of Muslim minorities in Europe, and proposes a fifth dimension to account for the Islamic variable.

**Disc.** Claus Hofhansel, Rhode Island College

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**5-10 IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION IN EUROPE**

**Room** TBA, Fri 3:45 pm

**Chair** Gary Freeman, University of Texas, Austin

**Panelist**
- Peter Doescherl, Loras College
- Jennifer Fitzgerald, Binghamton University
- Sunny Kaniyathu, New York University
- Anjali Thomas, New York University

**Overview:** Limitations of Functionalist Theories of Integration in Germany

**Paper**
Socialization Effects and Immigrants' Political Integration in Germany
Peter Doescherl, Loras College

**Overview:** This paper examines the role of socialization effects on the political integration of immigrants in Germany.

**Paper**
Social Ties and Attitudes Toward Immigration in France and Britain
Jennifer Fitzgerald, University of Colorado, Boulder

**Overview:** Exploring views on immigration in Britain and France, I argue that there is an explicitly social aspect to citizens' attitudes. I find that the shape and size of individuals' social networks influence their views on immigration.

**Paper**
Religion, Contention, and the State: A Comparative Look at Islamic Mobilization in Western Europe
Kathryn Lawall, University of Notre Dame

**Overview:** This paper re-reads the vicissitudes of the making of Europe's Constitutional Treaty from the vantage point of the multi-regional political tradition that characterizes the making of constitutions in Europe.

**Paper**
Constitutional Bargaining in the European Union: Examining Power and Explaining Outcomes at Europe's Intergovernmental Conferences
Jonathan B. Slapin, University of California, Los Angeles

**Overview:** This paper re-reads the vicissitudes of the making of Europe's Constitutional Treaty from the vantage point of the multi-regional political tradition that characterizes the making of constitutions in Europe.

**Paper**
Self-Identity in Elite and Populist Perspectives on a European Constitution
Josephine E. Squires, Fort Hays State University

**Overview:** This paper re-reads the vicissitudes of the making of Europe's Constitutional Treaty from the vantage point of the multi-regional political tradition that characterizes the making of constitutions in Europe.

**Disc.** Martyn de Bruyn, St. John Fisher College

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**4-12 LA BUSQUEDA DEMOCRATICA: ASSESSING PROGRESS IN THE AMERICAS**

**Room** TBA, Fri 3:45 pm

**Chair** TBA

**Paper**
External Actors and Democratic Transitions: The Case of Guyana
David H. Carwell, Eastern Illinois University

**Overview:** What strategies can facilitate democratic transitions when an external actor is in a position to exert a "veto" over political decisions made by internal political actors?

**Paper**
Alignment, Dealignment, Volatility and Authoritarian Legacies in South America
Simone R. Bohm, University of Chicago

**Overview:** Some aspects of the authoritarian regimes of the 1960s and 1970s survived their formal demise and still play an important role in contemporary party politics in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay. This paper analyzes the key elements of this heritage.

**Paper**
A Theory of Leadership Dynamics in Authoritarian Regimes
Milan Svob, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

**Overview:** We study the determinants of tenure of leaders in authoritarian regimes.

**Paper**
The New Role of Subnational Governments in the Federal Policy Process: The Case of Democratic Mexico
Laura Flamand, El Colegio de la Frontera Norte

**Overview:** We explore the institutional channels subnational governments have used to further their interests nationally and influence federal policies, thus, revealing the reasons underlying why some governments are more active in this respect than others.

**Paper**
Selective Oversight: Controlling the Bureaucracy in New Democracies
Alejandra Río-Cazares, University of California, San Diego

**Overview:** Sustainable democracies need legislators able to enforce bureaucratic accountability. I propose a model of strategic interaction between legislators and bureaucrats that uses resource constraints and policy preferences. I test data from Mexico.

**Disc.** Amy Lauren Lovecraft, University of Alaska, Fairbanks

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PARTIES AND PARTY DISCIPLINE
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Mark Pickup, University of Oxford
Paper Infantilizing Parliament: Governing from the Centre Reconsidered
Andrew C. Banfield, University of Calgary
Anthony M. Sayers, University of Calgary
Overview: The problem of governance in Canada is not the concentration of power in the hands of the executive. Rather, the problem in legislative dialogue is undercut which leads to an ‘infantilization’ of the parliamentary system.

Determinants of Ministerial Appointment in Canada 1867-2005
Matthew Kerby, Trinity College, Dublin
Overview: An event history model is used to examine the causes of first time appointment to the Canadian federal cabinet.

Party Discipline and the Democratic Deficit
Eric M. McGhee, University of Oregon
Vincent G. Moscardelli, University of Massachusetts
Overview: We examine the 2002 rebellion against Chrétien from the perspective of the U.S. Congress, where party discipline is low. This exercise highlights some underappreciated similarities between the two institutions.

Uniquely Canadian? Canada’s Parties and Party System in Comparative Perspective
Renan Levine, University of Toronto
Jim Farney, University of Toronto
Overview: Why are there so many parties in Canada? We suggest that Canada’s party system can be explained by differing appeals to voters and varying motivations to run for federal office.

LEGISLATIVE POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Frances E. Lee, University of Maryland
Paper Majority Dominance or Power-Sharing? Scheduling Rules in the Argentine Legislature
Natalia Ferretti, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: We focus on the institutions and procedures that determine the scheduling of bills in a legislature and specifically consider over the legislative agenda in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies.

Legislative Incentives to Join A Backbench Rebellion to Alter the Congressional Rules of Order: An Experimental Analysis
Roseanna Michelle Heath, Texas A&M University
Overview: This paper, using an experimental methodology, presents and tests a spatial model for the process of altering the rules of order including the intuition behind the actions of party leadership, rebel backbenchers, and median legislators.

How Bicameral Politics Influence Lawmaking: Pension Reform in Brazil
Taeo Hiroi, University of Texas, El Paso
Overview: This paper analyzes the impact of bicameral politics on pension reform in Brazil.

Partisanship and Legislative Behavior in the Argentine Senate
Hirokazu Kikuchi, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: When do legislators vote against their party lines under the closed-list PR system? To answer this question, I analyzed the legislative behavior of the senators in Argentina using data on roll-call votes between 1983 and 2005.

New Legislative Politics in Mexico?
Sergio C. Wals Aparicio, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: After Mexico's transition to democracy, why have legislators not amended the constitution to pursue long-term careers in Congress? My paper examines legislators' preferences about consecutive-terms reelection.

INFORML ROUNDTABLE: CIVIL MILITARY RELATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Presenter Political Culture and Military Behavior in 20th Century Latin America
Riccardo Forte, Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana
Overview: Analysis of the military behavior in Latin America from the perspective of the history of political culture, stressing the importance of domestic factors over international influence in determining coups d'etat in the region during the 20th century.

INFORML ROUNDTABLE: REPRESSION AND POLICY IN CUBA
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Presenter Linking Political Violence and Repressive Policies in Cuba 1930-59
Dominic M. Beggs, Lamar University
Overview: Political violence results because repression by a state has conflicting effects; violence by the state has a deterrent effect, but also reduces the state's legitimacy and in so doing may ignite a grievance-based insurgency.

CONTENTS IN ASIAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Wenran Jiang, University of Alberta
Paper The Sino-Japanese Rivalry: Conflicting Identities and Interests
Ronald G. Cirillo, University of Hawaii, Manoa
Overview: The chief concern of this paper is to provide an analysis as to how the mutually-reinforcing phenomena of conflicting identities and conflicting interests have caused and are serving to exacerbate the current tensions between China and Japan.

Paper Is China Actively Supporting the Creation of an Asian Security Community?
Jin H. Pak, United States Military Academy at West Point
Christopher Ustler, United States Military Academy at West Point
Overview: This paper will apply concepts found in scholarly literature regarding security communities and apply it to the changing security dynamics in Asia to determine if an Asian security community is actually developing.

Paper Containing Nuclear Proliferation and Dilemmas of International Non-Proliferation Regimes, A Comparative Study of South Asia and the Middle East
Anil Pillai, University of Cincinnati
Overview: Why are non-proliferation agencies like the IAEA selective in their non-proliferation efforts? Why are some countries like Iran and Iraq subject to much international pressure, while other countries like India and Pakistan face fewer constraints.

Paper Democratization of the PRC and Military Conflict in the Taiwan Strait
Mario Esteban, Autonomous University of Madrid
Overview: Paper argues that the eventual democratization of Mainland China would not resolve the conflict between Beijing and Taipei. Moreover, political liberalization in the PRC would increase the risk of a military conflict in the Taiwan Strait.

Paper International Regimes and Perceptions of Equity: China After WTO Accession
Cecily M. Hurst, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: This paper is a case study of WTO accession related reforms in China and their social impact, examining the conflict
of domestic and international paradigms that occurs when international legal structures are superimposed on the developing world.

Disc. Wenran Jiang, University of Alberta

9-1 CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Adeolu A. Durotoye, University of Ibadan
Paper Groups Dynamics During the Rwandan Genocide
Lee Ann Fuji, George Washington University
Overview: The paper explains why participation of ordinary people in the Rwandan genocide took place in large groups and how group dynamics helped to sustain the violence over time.

Paper The Security Dilemma and Conflict in Côte d’Ivoire
Matthew Kirvin, Michigan State University
Overview: In October of 2002 Côte d’Ivoire fell into a state of near civil war and the situation remains tenuous. The study analyzes the conflict in Côte d’Ivoire through the theoretical framework of the security dilemma.

Paper Great Power Apathy and Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo
Mike Hampson, University of California, Irvine
Christopher Balding, University of California, Irvine
Overview: International relations theory often takes a very rigid view of the world. There is a tendency by some to explain the world with one theory, and to stick dogmatically to that theory.

Paper Linking Demilitarization and Democratization in Post-Conflict Congo
Osita G. Afoaku, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: This paper examines the origins and motivations of armed groups stationed in the Democratic Republic of Congo with the primary aim of assessing their impact on democratic transition in the country. It concludes with suggestions for sustainable peace.

Disc. TBA

10-4 PARTY INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Michael L. Ardovino, St. Mary’s College of Maryland
Paper The Nature and Sources of Party Divisions in 13 Post-Communist Democracies
Robert Rohrschneider, Indiana University, Bloomington
Stephen Whitefield, Oxford University
Overview: The literature on transitions does not provide a model to evaluate how closely party systems approximate the ideal of democratic consolidation. We develop such a model and examine party divisions among 87 parties in 13 post-communist countries.

Paper Of Time and Partisan Stability Revisited: The Post-Communist Puzzle
Ted Brader, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Joshua Tucker, Princeton University
Overview: We find broad support for the contemporary relevance of classic hypotheses about party identification using CSES data from 40 countries, yet not all receive unequivocal support. We explore why patterns in post-communist countries don’t always fit.

Paper Party Discipline and Legislative Party Institutionalization in Poland
Natalie A. Kisner, Denison University
Overview: Using a combination of surveys of parliamentarians and roll call vote data, I examine the extent to which legislative parties in Poland exhibit attitudes and patterns of behavior indicative of legislative party institutionalization.

Paper Transitioning by Vote: Volatility, Coalitions, and Party Formation
Anthony S. Marcum, University of Maryland
Melissa J. Buchler, Purdue University
Overview: We demonstrate that coalition parties lose electoral support as fast as or faster than non-coalition parties do. We explain this by adapting the pre-election coalition literature to include voting behavior theories of post-communist Europe.

Disc. Geoffrey A. Evans, Oxford University

11-20 THE PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Christopher R. Way, Cornell University
Paper Germ Proliferation: A Quantitative Analysis of the Spread of Biological Weapons
Christopher R. Way, Cornell University
Maria N. Zaitseva, Cornell University
Overview: This paper uses quantitative analysis to test hypotheses about the proliferation of biological weapons programs.

Paper Between Iraq and a Hard Place: UN Arms Inspections and the Politics of Security Council Resolution 1441
Michael Lipson, Concordia University
Overview: This paper develops a theoretical account of how the UN Monitoring, Verification, and Inspections Commission (UNMOVIC), and its Executive Chairman Hans Blix, managed the conflicting external pressures on the organization.

Paper The Strategic Effects of Ballistic Missile Defense in South Asia
Paul Kapur, Stanford University
Overview: This paper examines the impact that the acquisition of ballistic missile defense capabilities by India and Pakistan would have on the international security environment in South Asia.

Paper Rehearsing Armageddon: Multilateral CBNRE Preparedness TOPOFFs 2 and 3, and Black Dawn
Christian W. Erickson, Roosevelt University
Bethany A. Barratt, Roosevelt University
Overview: This paper examines CBNRE (chemical, biological, nuclear, radiological, and explosive) preparedness exercises involving the United States and allied states (especially Canada, UK, NATO and EU).

Paper Prestige or Isolation? A Social Network Analysis of Nuclear Proliferation
Alexander H. Montgomery, Stanford University
Overview: This paper uses social network analysis to generate and test hypotheses on the effects of a state’s social environment on its propensity to seek and acquire nuclear weapons.

Disc. Neerada Jacob, American University

12-6 FINANCIAL CRISIS

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Michelle S. Lorenzini, Saint Louis University
Jamus J. Lim, University of California, Santa Cruz
Overview: This paper seeks to address the channels and factors that underlie post-financial crisis redistributive policy by developing a theoretical model of special interest lobbying and bilateral bargaining that is subsequently tested against the data.

Paper International and Domestic Sources of Financial Reforms
Sawa Omori, University of Tokyo
Overview: This paper explores how the IMF’s impact on financial reforms in developing countries is conditioned by political institutions employing duration analysis. Results show the IMF’s impact depends upon the number of veto players.

Paper Lending a Hand: Politics of Bailouts Under Market and Domestic Pressure
Ivan Savic, Columbia University
Overview: Current discussion of Financial Crises ignores a crucial aspect of the politics of intervention. This paper tries to correct this gap by examining the bailout negotiation process in the context of speculative and domestic political pressure.

Paper Examining the Impact of Conflict on International Energy Markets
Sean M. Bolks, Rice University
Overview: Tightening of the supply-demand energy balance has increased price volatility on commodity exchanges. This study
assesses the impact of conflict on pricing associated with crude oil markets using a GARCH model during the period between 1975-2005.

Paper: Political Institutions and Foreign Direct Investment in Developing Countries: Does Policy Stability Mean More to Investors than Democracy or Property Rights?

Tyson Roberts, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: Democracy, property rights, and credible commitment (via veto players) to stable, FDI-friendly policies all have a positive effect on foreign direct investment (FDI). The policy stability finding has the largest magnitude and is most robust.

Disc: Michael G. Hall, University of Northern Iowa

12-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ECONOMIC OPENNESS AND ADMINISTRATIVE ADJUSTMENT
Room: TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Presenter: Subjecting Government Procurement to International Competition: U.S. States
Dong-hun Kim, University of Iowa
Overview: This paper investigates discriminatory government procurement as an NTB. I explore, in particular, the sources that would affect the propensity of a U.S. state government to join the GPA that prohibits discriminatory practices.

Paper: Is Democracy a Magnet for Terrorism? Understanding a Complex Relationship

Jarold Duquette, Central Connecticut State University
Overview: This paper tests a formal model that examines how IOs may facilitate coalition-building by providing information to the domestic audiences of potential allies.

Disc: J. Michael Greig, University of North Texas

14-7 DEMOCRACY AND TERRORISM
Room: TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair: Jarold Duquette, Central Connecticut State University
Paper: Examining the Decision to Consult Security Institutions

Terrence L. Chapman, Emory University
Overview: This paper tests a formal model that examines how IOs may facilitate coalition-building by providing information to the domestic audiences of potential allies.

Paper: The International Court of Justice, Legal Systems, and the Rule of Law

Emilia J. Powell, Florida State University
Overview: Why do some states recognize the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice while others do not? I develop an institutionalist theory linking a state’s domestic legal institutions to its preference for membership in the ICJ.

Paper: Openness and Administrative Politics: Examining the Decision to Consult Security Institutions

Krisztina B. Erhart, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: Using a time-series method, I argue that the proliferation of terrorist groups in democracies can be explained by inter-group dynamics, with terrorist groups of various ideologies competing with one another for limited agenda space.

Disc: Dong-hun Kim, University of Iowa

15-8 SEPARATISM AND CONFLICT
Room: TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair: Krista Weigand, Georgia Southern University
Paper: Separatism in Former Communist Countries: Chechnya and Crimea

Irina S. Khmelko, Georgia Southern University
Overview: The fall of the Communist regime was followed by a number of conflicts between national states and their sub-national territories that provided major challenges for new governments and the process of democratic institution building in the region.

Paper: Economic Indicators and Ethnonational Violence: The Case for Secessionist and Non-Secessionist Groups

Terrence L. Chapman, Emory University
Overview: Federalism has been shown to both calm and hinder our ability to clearly identify the link between democracy and terrorism.

Paper: Economic Indicators and Ethnonational Violence: The Case for Secessionist and Non-Secessionist Groups

Mariya Y. Omelicheva, Purdue University
Overview: Increased participation in international organizations may facilitate coalition-building by providing information to the domestic audiences of potential allies.

Disc: Terrence L. Chapman, Emory University
IDENTITY AND FOREIGN POLICY

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Bryan E. Brophy-Baermann, Lawrence University
Paper Rhetorical Evil and American Foreign Policy
David Brunbaum, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: Rhetorical evil has proven to be a powerful and effective means for leaders to justify foreign projects to their citizens and neighbors. Still, evil has troubling theoretical and practical implications at home and abroad—especially for the US.

Paper Does Identity Matter? Turkey and Europe in the 21st Century
Yucel Bozdağlıoglu, Adnan Menderes University
Overview: This paper analyzes the relationship between Turkey and the European Union in terms of identity using the core assumptions of the constructivist approach in international relations.

Paper Japanese Antimilitarism: Effective, Irrelevant, or Counterproductive?
Takahiki Nishi, University of Chicago
Overview: The debate on antimilitarist norms in Japanese security policy has focused on whether they have prevented Japan from acquiring military capabilities. In fact, the norms have been counterproductive when their advocates overreach.

Disc. William D. Anderson, Western Illinois University

MULTILATERAL BARGAINING IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Jana von Stein, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Paper Proposal Making During International Multilateral Agreement Negotiations
Nicole M. Simonelli, New York University
Overview: This paper examines how the first proposal is made in the bargaining process and the effect that this has on the extent of cooperation obtained from the final agreement.

Paper Sign Then Ratify: Negotiating under Threshold Constraints
Sylvie N. Thoron, Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton
Overview: In an international agreement the different parties take into account the rule of the ratification phase while they are negotiating. We show how the thresholds can modify the result of the ratification (i.e. the Kyoto protocol).

Paper Two-level Games and Two-level Bargaining: Negotiating the Uruguay Round Agreement on Agriculture
Carsten Daugaard, University of Copenhagen, Denmark
Overview: The Uruguay Round Agreement on Agriculture consisted of an operational and an ideational level. It is analyzed why the European Community successfully influenced the former level and why US interests prevailed at the latter.

Paper Design Purpose: Institutional Creation and Design as Bargained Outcomes
Katharine M. Flores, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: Institutional creation and design; international bargaining; two-stage process; European Development Fund

Disc. Jana von Stein, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

EMOTION AND COGNITION

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Thomas J. Scotto, West Virginia University
Paper A Vicious Cycle? Threat and Information Search
Shana K. Gadarian, Princeton University
Overview: I designed an experiment where subjects will watch TV news about terrorism. After the treatment, subjects can learn more about the treatment stories.

Paper Semantic versus Somatic Responses to Emotion Items in Political Surveys
Mary-Kate Lizotte, SUNY, Stony Brook
Charles S. Taber, SUNY, Stony Brook
Overview: Political scientists often ask people to report emotional reactions to past events, using semantic prompts. In line with social psychology research, we believe that semantic recall items may be misleading as measures of the emotions experienced.

Disc. Deborah J. Schildkraut, Tufts University

CIVIC EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY FROM A CROSS-NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Michael Jensen, Arizona State University
Paper Civic Education and Democracy from a Cross-National Perspective
Rodolfo Espino, Arizona State University
Michael Jensen, Arizona State University
Overview: We use surveys on civic education and democracy across 28 industrialized countries to identify those aspects of context and curriculum that can explain differing levels of political participation.

Disc. David Redlawsk, University of Iowa
Andrew Civitini, University of Iowa
Karen Emmerson, University of Iowa
Overview: The Uruguay Round Agreement on Agriculture

Paper The Primacy of Political Affect: The Influence of Affective Priming on Candidate and Issue Evaluations
Charles S. Taber, SUNY, Stony Brook
Christopher Weber, Stony Brook University
Overview: To disentangle the effects of emotion from cognition, we use an affective priming procedure to determine whether one's immediate affective response influences candidate evaluations.

Paper Voters, Emotions, and Memory
David Redlawsk, University of Iowa
Andrew Civitini, University of Iowa
Karen Emmerson, University of Iowa
Overview: We employ dynamic process-tracing to assess the impact of emotion on memory about candidates and the role of memory in candidate evaluation. This research has implications for the study of campaigns, political communication, and voting.

Paper The Primacy of Political Affect: The Influence of Affective Priming on Candidate and Issue Evaluations
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19-301 POSTER SESSION: VOTING BEHAVIOR
Presenter: Vote Fragmentation in Presidential Primaries and 3rd Party Support
Room: TBA, Board 1, Fri 3:45 pm
Eser Sekercioglu, Stony Brook University
Overview: TBA
Presenter: When Function Follows Form: How Ballot Design Affects Voting Choice
Room: TBA, Board 2, Fri 3:45 pm
Michael P. Bobe, Emmanuel College
Overview: This paper presents findings from an experiment in which two different ballots were used in a mock election. Results showed even small differences produced large effects.
Presenter: Vote Choice Change and the Durability of Changed Vote Choice
Room: TBA, Board 3, Fri 3:45 pm
Seoyoony H. Choi, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: This article examines the cause of the voters’ vote choice change which leads to realignment in American presidential election and its durability in terms of party policy and its attitude toward issues.
Presenter: Negative Campaign Advertising Revisited: The Effects on Voting Behavior
Room: TBA, Board 4, Fri 3:45 pm
Matthew L. Bergbower, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Overview: Negative campaign advertising effects on political behavior is an underdeveloped phenomenon. Using data on campaign strategies and NES data, my research seeks to understand the individual effects of negative campaign advertising.
Presenter: Are Native Americans Democrats? Analyzing Native American Democratic Party Loyalty
Room: TBA, Board 5, Fri 3:45 pm
Rachel E. Becker, Bemidji State University
Overview: While nearly two-thirds of Native Americans call themselves Democrats, 28% of those Democratic identifiers consider themselves conservative. I analyzed this apparent paradox behind the party identification of some Native Americans.

20-4 MONEY AND ELECTIONS
Room: TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair: Peter L. Francia, East Carolina University
Paper: Prospecting for Political Gold: Predicting the Spatial Distribution of Campaign Contributions
James G. Gimpel, University of Maryland
Wendy K. Tam Cho, Northwestern University
Overview: This paper examines the geographic distribution of campaign contributions, and estimates the spatial distribution of future contribution amounts from the distribution of past contribution amounts.
Paper: Creating a Culture of Political Giving
Dave Willet, Shippensburg University
Overview: Using pooled NES data, the individual contribution decision will be modeled to examine the effects of state campaign finance laws since the early 1980’s. Specifically, the effects of contribution limits and public financing regimes will be gauged.
Paper: Does Campaign Money Signal Candidate Quality?
Riccardo Puglisi, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Andrea Prat, London School of Economics
James M. Snyder, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Overview: We match an effectiveness measure for legislators in North Carolina Legislature with data on campaign contributions. Can voters learn about the effectiveness of a candidate as a legislator by looking at amount and pattern of contributions received?

21-301 POSTER SESSION: REPRESENTATION AND ELECTORAL SYSTEMS
Presenter: Wedge Issue Politics: The Effects of Divisive Issues on Representation
Room: TBA, Board 6, Fri 3:45 pm
Kathryn E. Bowman, The Ohio State University
Overview: This project examines whether wedge issues such as stem cell research and gay marriage influence the manner in which a member of Congress represents his or her district.
Presenter: Counter-Initiatives: Spatial Theory and Evidence
Room: TBA, Board 7, Fri 3:45 pm
David A. S. Hugh-Jones, Essex University
Overview: In some initiative elections, a counter-initiative overrules the original initiative if it gets more votes. My model shows that with sophisticated voters, counter-initiatives bring outcomes toward the median voter. I test against a cues-based theory.

22-3 RACE, GENDER, RELIGION AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY (Co-sponsored with Foreign Policy, see 16-8)
Room: TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair: Benjamin I. Page, Northwestern University
Paper: Christian Fundamentalism and Foreign Policy Attitudes in the United States
David C. Barker, University of Pittsburgh
Jon Hurwitz, University of Pittsburgh
Traci L. Nelson, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: This paper examines how religious doctrine and behavior may influence attitudes toward U.S. foreign policy -- attitudes that have become increasingly important predictors of partisanship and voting behavior.
Paper: The Effect of Sexuality on Foreign Policy Attitudes
Jamie P. Chandler, CUNY Graduate Center
Overview: Using pooled data from the 1988 to 2002 General Social Survey, this research finds, when controlling for background factors and value orientations, sexuality influences foreign policy attitudes.
Paper: Micro-Level Foreign Aid Attitudes of the U.S. Mass Public: A Role for Race
Amanda L. Cooper, University of Kentucky
Overview: I compare the ability of typical indicators of general foreign policy attitudes and the ability of commonly held domestic welfare attitudes to explain variation in micro-level public opinion regarding government spending on foreign assistance.
Paper: Religious Influences on Foreign Policy Attitudes
James L. Guth, Furman University
Overview: This paper examines the influence of religious affiliations, beliefs and behaviors on public attitudes toward American foreign policy.
Overview: This paper examines the implications of voter turnout for democratic representation through a comparative analysis of the impact of turnout on the position of the median voter.

Disc. Richard Sobel, Harvard University

22-5 OPINIONS ABOUT TERRORISM AND THE WAR ON TERROR
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Michael Wolf, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne

Paper The Politics of Fear: Personal Concern and Perception of Public Concern about Terrorist Attacks
Donald P. Haider-Markel, University of Kansas
Mark R. Joslyn, University of Kansas
Allan Cigler, University of Kansas

Overview: We explore the partisan dimensions of anxiety about terrorism. Using several national surveys, our findings indicate a strong partisan dimension, especially in the immediate aftermath of 9-11 and in the weeks prior to Iraq War.

Paper The War on Terror in the Context of US Foreign Policy Moods and Interests
Jack Holmes, Hope College
Kurt Pyle, Hope College

Overview: The Mood/Interest Theory of U.S. Foreign Policy provides a useful framework for the analysis of the War on Terror in historical context. The Eisenhower administration seems a more relevant comparison than the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

Paper Fear Factor: The Impact of Terrorism on Public Opinion in the US, UK and Israel
William J. Josberger, Georgetown University

Overview: Impact of terrorism in the U.S., UK and Israel on public opinions from 1979–2004. Does terrorism have a debilitating impact on a country’s morale or do attacks rally the public? Do the characteristics of an attack lead to differential impacts?

Paper Media 'Framing' in the 'War on Terror' and Support for Civil Liberties
Linda M. Merola, Georgetown University

Overview: This project examines media framing of the ‘War on Terror,’ identifying frames frequently employed and investigating the effects of exposure to such frames upon Americans’ support for civil liberties through the use of survey-experimentation.

Paper Modeling Responses to Terrorism: British Public Opinion and 7/7
Paul J. Tran, University of Texas, Dallas
Harold D. Clarke, University of Texas, Dallas

Overview: British public opinion data are used to investigate models of public opinion about responses to terrorist attacks. Model selection and encompassing tests are used to compare rival morality, benefits-costs, and general heuristic models.

Disc. Gary C. Jacobson, University of California, San Diego

23-1 VOTER TURNOUT, POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, AND REPRESENTATION
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Paul S. Martin, University of Virginia

Paper Exclusion Through Abstention? Voter Turnout and Democratic Representation
Rachel K. Cremona, Flagler College

Overview: This paper examines the implications of voter turnout for democratic representation through a comparative analysis of the impact of turnout on the position of the median voter.

Disc. Kimberly Gross, George Washington University
27-9  NATURAL, POLITICAL, AND UNIVERSAL RIGHTS
Room  TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair  Leonard R. Sorenson, Assumption College
Paper  Rejection of Rights: Looking to the Democratic State’s Reason for Acting
Sonu Bedi, Yale University
Overview: In this essay, I seek to purge political theory of the traditional location of rights.
Paper  Universal Human Rights: The Philosophical and Historical Roots
Charles J. Helm, Western Illinois University
Overview: Can claims of entitlement to a universal human right be legitimized in terms of reason and nature and not just at the level of an historical tale of the development of institutions and the public acceptance of covenants since WWII?
Paper  The Independence of the Declaration and the Constitution?
James R. Zink, University of California, Davis
Overview: I trace the conflicting interpretations and corresponding uses of the Declaration and Constitution through several key political debates leading up to the Civil War.
Paper  Natural Rights and the Constitution
Paul R. DeHart, Lee University
Overview: The Constitution may presuppose any of the following about natural rights: (1) There are no natural rights; (2) there are natural rights, and these are rights enjoyed in the Hobbesian state of nature that are prior to natural law; (3) there are natural rights, and these are derived from natural duties prescribed by the natural law.
Disc.  Leonard R. Sorenson, Assumption College
David L. Williams, University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point

27-12 NEW PROBLEMS, NEW PARADIGMS?
Room  TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair  Peter Stone, Stanford University
Paper  Area Studies, Case Studies, and History Versus Theoretical Social Science
Fred Eidlin, University of Guelph
Overview: Develops a framework for integration of the generalizing spirit of science with the concern for the uniqueness of case studies, history and area studies.
Paper  Strategy, Structure and Subversion
Richard W. Goldin, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: I argue that constructivist thought inadequately analyzes the processes through which identity is constructed. I develop an alternative model I call "empirical constructivism" in which identity functions as a dialectic of strategy and structure.
Paper  Conceptual Analysis in Political Science: A Hermeneutic Critique of Qualitative Methodology
Asaf Kedar, University of California, Berkeley
Mark Bevir, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: The paper launches a hermeneutic critique of qualitative conceptual analysis in view of its naturalist ontological and epistemological assumptions. The critique will be followed by the adumbration of a hermeneutic model for conceptual inquiry.
Paper  A Public Philosophy for Skeptics
Steven J. Wulf, Lawrence University
Overview: America’s debates about slavery and gay marriage demonstrate that a philosophically skeptical form of political discourse derived from British conservatism is more compelling than Rawls and Walzer’s conceptions of social criticism.
Disc.  Peter Stone, Stanford University
Leonard Williams, Manchester College

28-9  LAW, SOVEREIGNTY, AND NATIONALITY
Room  TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair  James Glass, University of Maryland
Rupa G. Thadhani, Virginia Commonwealth University
Paper  Ideology in Foucault's Critique of Sovereignty
Marcelo I. Hoffman, University of Denver
Overview: Throughout the 1970s, Michel Foucault developed a critique of the theory of sovereignty. We explore the various underpinnings of this critique, especially its curious reliance on the notion of ideology.
Paper  Knowing Nationalism: The Epistemology of National Identity
John M. French, University of Illinois, Chicago
Overview: Most studies of nationalism explain it at the level of populations. I provide an epistemological explanation of nationalism focused on individuals.
Disc.  Jeremiah John, University of Notre Dame

28-19 THE MORAL FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN POLITICS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY
Room  TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair  Brad J. Reno, College of the Holy Cross
Paper  Classical and Christian Ideals: John Adams and the Virtue of Magnanimity
John C. Evans, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: In this paper, I analyse how John Adams’ political thought synthesizes classical and Judeo-Christian ideals of virtue through his conception of the virtue of magnanimity understood as emulation.
Paper  Locke and the Protection of Property: A Moral Perspective
Brad J. Reno, College of the Holy Cross
Overview: Private property has a direct relationship to self-interest. Properly understood, it can serve as a useful tool in bringing about broad, long term, and mutual self-interest. However, when poorly managed, it can have the opposite effect.
Paper  Liberalism and the Color Line: Hume’s Concern, Madison’s Frivolity
Daniel P. Klinghard, College of the Holy Cross
Overview: This essay considers the implications of Madison’s omission of color in light of Hume's concern with it.
Paper  Locke’s Appeal to Heaven and Jefferson’s Impeachment Power
Jeremy D. Bailey, Duquesne University
Overview: A reconsideration of the contemporary impeachment debate in light of Jefferson's interpretation of Locke's philosophy.

29-4 ANCIENT THOUGHT AND CONTEMPORARY ISSUES
Room  TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair  Nicholas Dungey, California State University, Northridge
Paper  The Relation Between Education and Political Justice in Isocrates
James R. Muir, University of Winnipeg
Overview: Isocrates is classified as a democrat, conservative, and aristocrat. If we treat Isocrates’ educational and political thought as a unified whole, then it seems that Isocrates valued competitive political discourse and debate between various ideologic
Paper  Against Imagined and Reimagined Republics: Machiavelli’s Reversal of Cicero
Alexander S. Duff, University of Notre Dame
Overview: Machiavelli and Cicero have justly been regarded as members of a long tradition of republican political thought. This paper seeks to reevaluate this understanding and to distinguish Machiavelli’s use of Cicero from that of the civic humanists.

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Overview: I analyze strategic voting incentives in a 'Checks and Athens' democratic culture. Understanding Aristophanes and the role of laughter as a part of Athenian democratic culture.

Paper Plato's Phaedo and the Limits of Philosophy
Lucas B. Allen, Michigan State University
Overview: This paper examines Plato's presentation of the limits of rationality and philosophy as presented in the Phaedo in light of the dramatic portrayal of Socrates' last day and death.

Paper What Makes Democracy So Special?
Brian A. Rockwood, University of Connecticut
Overview: This presentation asks the question "What makes Democracy so Special?" and analyses the responses that various modern interpretations of the doctrine would give. Ultimately, all of these responses are found to be lacking.

Disc. Elizabeth Markovits, Saint Louis University

30-10 FORMAL THEORIES OF FEDERALISM
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair John B. Londregan, Princeton University
Paper Valuing Exit Options
Jenna Bednar, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: This paper explores the contribution of a state's potential to secede on the overall robustness of the union.

Paper Partisan Politics and the Structure and Stability of Federalism, Indian Style
Sunita A. Parikh, Washington University, St. Louis
Barry R. Weingast, Stanford University
Overview: We develop a formal model of the party system and federal structure in India to explain the structure and stability of centralized federalism in the era of Congress dominance from independence to the late 1980s.

Paper Provincial Protectionism
Konstantin Sonin, New Economic School/CEFIR
Overview: In a federal state with weak political institutions, constituent units might protect their enterprises from enforcement of federal taxes. Effectiveness of such protection depends on the ability of local politicians to extract rents from enterprises.

Paper Feasibility of the Popular Legitimacy of a Federal Constitution in a Representative Democracy
Olga Shvetsova, Binghamton University
Kevin Roust, Duke University
Overview: Starting with the premise that institutions have biased distributive consequences and that distributive coalitions of federal members can successfully challenge the constitutional status-quo.

Disc. John B. Londregan, Princeton University
Hartmut Lenz, University of Essex

30-21 STRATEGIC VOTING
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Ken Shotts, Stanford University
Paper Strategic Voting in Multi-Office Elections: Policy Balancing, Directional Voting, and Other Varieties
Michael Peress, Carnegie Mellon University
Overview: I analyze strategic voting incentives in a 'Checks and Balances' system of government. In particular, I consider policy-balancing and directional voting. I find little support for policy-balancing and solid support for directional voting.

Paper Strategic Challengers and the Incumbency Advantage
Insun Kang, University of Rochester
Overview: I develop a dynamic model of infinitely repeated elections that incorporates asymmetric information and strategic campaigning by challengers and find "simple" equilibrium.

Paper Analysis of a Formal Model of Strategic Voting
Allen B. Brierly, University of Northern Iowa
Overview: A strategic vote is generally considered a vote for a second-best alternative that has a greater chance of winning than a preferred alternative. In this study, rates of strategic voting and misrepresentation of preferences are estimated.

Disc. Ken Shotts, Stanford University
Paper Congressional Conference Committees and Policy Outcomes
Ryan J. Vander Wielen, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: I explore the possibility that the ideological composition of conference delegations may contribute to policy outcomes that diverge from the preferences of chambers. I derive a series of propositions from a formal model and empirically test them.
Disc. James S. Battista, University of North Texas

35-6 MONEY AND ELECTIONS
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Tracy Sulkin, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Paper Campaign Finance Reform: What Does It Take to Motivate Congress?
Jon K. Dalager, Georgetown College
Overview: An analysis of the Congress’ motivations in enacting the Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act of 2000. Was it simply a response to uncomfortable public pressure as a means to quell dissatisfaction, or was it the consequence of a real reform movement.
Paper Paving for the New Party Fundraising Expectations in the U.S. House
Bruce A. Larson, Gettysburg College
Eric S. Heberlig, University of North Carolina, Charlotte
Overview: This paper examines how U.S. House members pay for the new congressional party fundraising expectations and the effect of these new expectations on members’ fundraising from “outside” sources—e.g., political action committees.
Paper Corporate Sponsorship: Senate Bill Sponsorship Activity and Corporate PAC Contributions
Brian Sala, University of California, Davis
Overview: TBA
Paper Public Financing, Legislative Professionalism, and Competition in Wisconsin, Arizona, and Maine State Legislative Races
Michael G. Bath, Concordia College
Michael Miller, Minnesota State University, Mankato
Overview: We hypothesize that levels of professionalism in state legislatures influence the efficacy of public finance reforms. While public financing does increase electoral competitiveness, evidence for a connection to legislative professionalism is mixed.
Paper Kid Gloves: An Analysis of Recent F.E.C. Enforcement Actions
Todd R. Lochner, Lewis & Clark College
Rhett Tatum, Lewis & Clark College
Overview: This paper provides an empirical examination of recent Federal Election Commission enforcement actions. We study the F.E.C.’s new enforcement strategy, the Administrative Fines Program, to determine whether it reduces the problem of overt deterrence.
Disc. Sean M. Theriault, University of Texas, Austin

36-11 MODELING AND MEASUREMENT ISSUES IN JUDICIAL POLITICS
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Christopher Zorn, University of South Carolina
Paper Reconsidering Debates over Plea Bargaining, Court Delay, and Prison Populations with Agent-Based and System Dynamics Simulations
Michael C. Gizzi, Mesa State College
William R. Wilkerson, College at Oneonta, SUNY
Richard L. Vail, Mesa State College
Overview: Research on plea bargaining in trial courts is re-evaluated through creation of agent-based and system-dynamics models. Using simulations, it is possible to examine plea bargaining from different perspectives.
Paper Measuring the Ideological Placement of Supreme Court Policy Outputs
Tonja Jacobi, Northwestern University
Vanessa A. Baird, University of Colorado, Boulder
Overview: This paper develops a methodology for assessing the ideological placement of Supreme Court cases that uses Martin and Quinn’s scores for justices’ ideological preferences to dictate each case’s placement in the ideological spectrum.

36-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: DECISION MAKING ON SPECIALIZED COURTS
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Presenter Modelling Decision Making on the United States Tax Court
Chad M. King, University of Texas, Dallas
Overview: This research addresses decision-making on the United States Tax Court in tax deficiency cases. Using “Rare Events” logit analysis, I demonstrate that both judge characteristics and case factors affect decision-making in these cases.
Presenter The Rule of Law: What Is It? Can We Measure It? Do We Have It?
Lydia B. Tiede, University of California, San Diego
Overview: An underlying assumption of the rule of law is the fair and non-arbitrary application of the law by impartial judges. I will examine whether American bankruptcy judges apply bankruptcy laws similarly to individuals facing similar circumstances.

36-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: IMPACT OF COURT DECISIONS
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Presenter An Even Hollower Hope?: Mature v. Emergent Judicial Policy-Making
Joshua M. Dunn, University of Colorado, Colorado Springs
Overview: In the HOLLOW HOPE, Gerald Rosenberg argues that courts can make successful public policy if a parsimonious set of conditions is met. This paper argues that several important desegregation cases following Milliken v. Bradley met these conditions.
Presenter The Supreme Court as Political Economist: Antitrust and the Economy
Scott E. Graves, Georgia State University
Overview: I analyze the impact of US Supreme Court antitrust decisions on the conduct and makeup of the aggregate domestic economy over the latter half of the 20th century. I find that the goals of the Court for antitrust policy appear to have shifted.

37-6 PERSPECTIVES ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COURTS AND OTHER BRANCHES
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Vincent J. Strickler, DePauw University
Presenter Legal Constitutionalism Defended
Ian G. Cram, Leeds University
Paper The Origins of an Independent Judiciary: A Study in Early American Constitutional Development, 1606-1787
Scott D. Gerber, Ohio Northern University
Overview: My paper examines when and why the judiciaries in the original thirteen states became independent. The goal of my project is to shed light on the federal model by exploring the experiences of the original states.
considered a variety of contextual factors ignored by traditional models. The federal CDBG program will serve as a case study.

**40-3 CRIMINAL JUSTICE POLICIES IN THE STATES**

**Room** TBA, Fri 3:45 pm

**Chair** Richard C. Fording, University of Kentucky

**Paper** State Prison Gang Policies: A Comparative Analysis

Erin L. Bumgarner, Randolph Macon College

Overview: This paper addresses the puzzle of why tax and expenditure limits, balanced budget rules, and other restraints committed.

**Paper** Going Soft on Crime? The Politics of Criminal Reentry Policies in the States

Garrick l. Percival, University of Minnesota, Duluth

Overview: This paper examines whether the get tough approach to crime at the federal level of government, in fact masks significant variation in how state governments approach the crime problem. An examination of states' criminal reentry policies is examined.

**Paper** Restoring Voter Rights in the States: The Beginning of Policy Change?

Kathleen Hale, Kent State University

Ramona McNeal, University of Illinois, Springfield

Mary Schmeida, The Cleveland Clinic Foundation

Overview: This paper argues that analyzing the nature and role of the media in maintaining punitive correctional policy at a time when the crime rate has been declining. Q-methodology is used to study print, audio and video news personnel in a medium-sized midwestern city.

**Paper** Deterrence Reconsidered: A Theoretical and Empirical Case Against the Death Penalty

Ari Kohen, James Madison University

Seth K. Jolly, Duke University

Overview: The debate about whether or not the death penalty detors potential murderers has a long and contentious past.

**Disc.** Kenneth E. Fernandez, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Richard C. Fording, University of Kentucky

**39-301 POSTER SESSION: URBAN AND LOCAL POLITICS**

**Presenter** Interstates and Cities: Assessing the Impact of the Interstate on Modern Urban Environments

Room TBA, Board 8, Fri 3:45 pm

Zachary A. Callen, University of Chicago

Overview: Despite its size, little analytic attention focuses directly on the Interstate. This analysis aims to use geographic analysis to better understand the impact of the interstate on urban spaces.

**Presenter** The Price on Local Governance-Do the Municipal Reforms Lead to Better Efficiency?

Room TBA, Board 9, Fri 3:45 pm

Kaifeng Yang, Florida State University

Junyi Hsieh, Florida State University

Overview: Various municipal reforms as being efficient different from the politics that lead a state to adopt a coverage program?

**Presenter** A Re-examination of the Distributive Politics Model

Room TBA, Board 10, Fri 3:45 pm

Howard A. Stern, West Virginia University

Overview: This study offers an expanded distributed politics model that utilizes a more comprehensive approach that considers a variety of contextual factors ignored by traditional models. The federal CDBG program will serve as a case study.
Paper A County Level Analysis of the Political Geography of Federal Spending
Barry S. Rundquist, University of Illinois, Chicago
Greg Holyk, University of Illinois, Chicago
Overview: This paper addresses the effects of political party and economic status on the distribution of federal programmatic expenditures among U.S. counties from 1983 to 2002.

Paper A Shift in Taxation to Income From Labor: Time for a Comprehensive Paradigm
Mark D. Kimball, University of Washington
Overview: The income tax burden has shifted surreptitiously to those who provide labor for income as legal, political and economic paradigms compete. A need exists for multidisciplinary study and analysis of competing paradigms and inequitable consequences.

Paper Budgetary Legislation in Unified and Divided Government
Carletta F. Taylor, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: This paper presents an empirical study of the impacts of unified and divided government in the budgetary environment at the national level.

Disc. Michael J. New, University of Alabama
Justin H. Phillips, Columbia University

42-4 CREDIBILITY, CONSTRAINT, CHANGE, AND DEVELOPMENT
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair William R. Clark, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Paper Judicial Independence and Economic Outcomes
Thomson W. McFarland, University of Colorado
Overview: Recent work on the role of formal judicial independence in shaping economic outcomes neglects to consider effects of an actively independent judiciary. I present a formal model of how actors react to an active judiciary and test this model.

Rob Salmond, University of California, Los Angeles/University of Michigan
Overview: This paper shows, theoretically and empirically, that the size of a country’s economy conditions the extent to which government spending affects growth. The negative effect of increased government size on growth is stronger as country size rises.

Paper The Politics of Technological Change: Politics and the Sources of Growth
Joel W. Simmons, University of Michigan
Overview: I explore the politics of technological change, an issue that Gets to the heart of economic growth but receives little attention from political scientists. I address the issue here and provide further insight into the politics of development.

Paper Political Institutions and Incentives Toward Economic Policy Efficiency
Jonathan K. Hanson, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: In this paper, the nature of the economic policymaking incentives generated by governmental forms and electoral systems are described using two dimensions: scope and efficiency. Predictions are tested with a dataset covering 80 countries.

Disc. William R. Clark, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

43-205 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LOCAL GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Presenter Does Voluntary Turnover Matter in the Public Sector?
Yongbeom Hur, University of Kentucky
Overview: With the ICMA Comparative Performance Project data, the relationship between turnover and police performance will be explored by using regression and cluster analysis. The results might help us set up proper human resource management policy.

Presenter Local Budget Stress: Financing Homeland Security AND Natural Disaster Needs
Susan A. MacManus, University of South Florida
Kiki Caruson, University of South Florida
Overview: Survey of Florida city/county finance officers measures the relative impact of homeland security and natural disaster needs on local operating and capital budgets, identifies under-funded elements and gauges adequacy of federal/state grant programs.

43-206 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN OF AGENCIES
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Presenter Independent Commissions as Instruments of Public Policy
Jennifer A. Steen, Boston College
Overview: A preliminary survey of independent commissions organized at the federal level in the United States, this paper offers a typology of commissions, hypotheses about their causes and consequences, and preliminary findings from notable cases.

44-102 ROUNDTABLE: HARTZ LIBERAL TRADITION AT 50
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Paul Frymer, University of California, Santa Cruz
Panelist Hawley Fogg-Davis, Temple University
Carol Horton, Erikson Institute
Ira Katznelson, Columbia University
Robert Meister, University of California, Santa Cruz
Mark Sawyer, University of California, Los Angeles
Charles Williams, The Ohio State University
Overview: This roundtable will reflect on the importance and continuing influence of this book.

46-5 POLITICAL CULTURE AND STATE
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Jeremy B. Straughn, Purdue University
Barry Eidlin, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: This case study of a key Teamsters local examines a major transformation of the U.S. working class in the 20th century, whereby the worker upsurge of the 1930s led to the consolidation of conservative "business unionism" in the postwar period.

Paper How Static is Political Culture: A Comparative Study of Political Culture
Magen Knuth, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: This paper will investigate the stability of political culture during and following a crisis in three post-Soviet States and the United States. The expected pattern is one of flexibility of political culture during the initial period after a crisis.

Paper Labor in the Neoliberal Era: A Historical Perspective on Turkey
Peride Blind, Georgetown University
Overview: Labor unions all around the world are changing their strategies to adapt to the new requirements of the global economy. In the face of increasing unemployment and decreasing rates of unionization, unions offer a variety of services to their members.

Paper A Unidirectional Theory of Culture and Institutions
Andrea E. Jones-Rooy, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: I explain dissimilar behavior under identical institutional constraints as a unidirectional theory of cultural-to-institutional evolution. I apply this theory to the divergent development trajectories of China and post-Socialist Europe.
Paper  
**Policy Networks and Diffusion: How Small Worlds Reduce Systemic Performance**  
David M. Lazer, Harvard University  
Allan Friedman, Harvard University  
Overview: This paper presents a simulation model of policy diffusion. It finds that the more effective the network is at diffusing information, the more rapidly is diversity squeezed out of the system, and the lower the long run performance of the system.

Paper  
**The Evolution of Policy Networks for Delivering Local Services**  
Manoj Shrestha, Florida State University  
Richard C. Feiock, Florida State University  
Overview: We test network based explanations for the emergence and evolution of intelocal service agreements to explain how local actors pursuit of individual interests constrained by transaction costs produces a macro-level regional governance structure.

Paper  
**Organizational Behavior and Links Creation: Understanding the Dynamics of Policy Networks**  
Alfredo R. Berardo, Florida State University  
John T. Scholz, Florida State University  
Overview: The paper seeks to understand how network links are formed by organizations in 22 estuaries of the U.S.

Disc.  
Gary J. Miller, Washington University, St. Louis  
Andrew B. Whitford, University of Georgia
Saturday, April 22 – 8:30 am – 10:15 am

3-10 ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND PARTY CHANGE IN TURKEY

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Ali Carkoglu, Sabanci University
Paper Tracing the Contours of the Turkish Ideological Space
Ali Carkoglu, Sabanci University
Melvin J. Hinich, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: This paper aims at diagnosing the contours of spatial ideological map in Turkey with the help of two surveys conducted prior to the November 2002 election.

Paper The Expansion of Islamic Capital and the Moderation of the Islamist Movement In Turkey
Seda Demiralp, American University
Overview: Islamic business networks rapidly developed after Turkey's transition to open economy in the 1980s and constituted a threat to the secularist elites. Yet, ironically, the rise of the Islamic bourgeoisie led to the moderation of the Islamist movement.

Paper The Eclipse of the Left and the Rise of the Right
Ersin Kalaycioglu, Isik University
Overview: This paper aims at diagnosing change in ideological space and its impact on parties' electoral fortunes in the context of Turkish politics.

Paper Non-Electoral Sources of Party System Change: Perspectives on The Turkish Case
Sabri Sayari, Sabanci University
Overview: The analysis of change in party systems has traditionally focused heavily on the role of electoral outcomes in shaping important features of party systems such as the number of relevant parties, ideological polarization and distance between parties.

Disc. Sultan Tepes, University of Illinois, Chicago

3-11 THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL PARTY SYSTEMS

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Markus Kreuzer, Villanova University
Paper Nationalization of Post-War German Party Politics
Markus Kreuzer, Villanova University
Konstantin Gunchev, Villanova University
Overview: The paper analyzes various elite strategies (e.g. institutional engineering, party licensing, party switching, electoral alliances) that contributed to the rapid coordination of state and federal level party systems in postwar Germany.

Paper Volatility and Party Nationalization
Scott Morgenstern, Duke University
Stephen M. Swindle, Lee University
Overview: This paper analyzes the interaction between volatility at sub-national elections (e.g. state or districts of national elections) and national patterns to explore the link between voter alignment and the nationalization of party systems.

Paper Institutions and Party Development in Developing Democracies
Allen Hicken, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Heather Stoll, University of California, Santa Barbara
Overview: This paper focuses on party systems nationalization, especially in developing democracies.

Disc. Eric Magar, ITAM, Mexico City

4-13 CHINA'S PATH TO DEMOCRACY: A LONG MARCH OR A DEAD END?

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Eric Zussman, University of California, Los Angeles
Paper Classing Ethnicity: Strategies of Mass Mobilization in the Transition to Democracy
David D. Yang, Princeton University
Overview: This paper seeks to bring attention to the "class" component of many types of political transitions conventionally understood as driven by ethnic, nationalist mobilization.

Paper Law of Assembly in China
Kam C. Wong, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh
Overview: This paper is a comparative study of laws of assembly between the People’s Republic of China (PRC) vs. the Republic of China (Taiwan) (ROC).

Disc. Fiona Yap, University of Kansas

4-19 WHEN SUNSHINE IS THE BEST DISINFECTANT: CORRUPTION, TRANSPARENCY, AND DEMOCRATIZATION

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Gretchen G. Casper, Pennsylvania State University
Paper Analyzing the Dark Side of Social Capital: Organized Crime in Russia
Leah E. Gilbert, Georgetown University
Overview: This paper aims to conduct a comprehensive empirical study of the ways in which social capital is present and facilitates the undemocratic ends of organized crime groups in Russia.

Paper Institutions and Democratization: Corruption and The Rule of Law
Mihaela Ristei, Western Michigan University
Overview: The paper examines the relationship between formal institutions (i.e. courts) and informal institutions (i.e. corruption) during the democratization process. It argues that corruption shapes the ways courts work and undermines the rule of law.

Paper Corruption, Institutions, and Health Care in Central and Eastern Europe
Dagmar Radin, University of North Texas
Overview: In this study I analyze how corruption and institutions have been determining factors in the performance of the health care sector in the Central and Eastern Europe pre- and post-transition period.

Paper (Dis)Respect for Civil Liberties in Post-Communist Countries
Svend-Erik Skanning, University of Aarhus, Denmark
Overview: The paper uncovers structural factors explaining the respect for civil liberties in 28 postcommunist countries.

Paper Reflections on Meritocracy
Wei Wang, University of Alberta
Overview: The model that one deserves what one gets on the basis of one's own merit has often been criticized. The research here is to explore its plausibility and scope by examining Norman Daniels' criterion of merit in terms of justice.

Disc. Andrea E. Jones-Rooy, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

4-25 CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRATIZATION: EXAMINING THE (POTENTIAL) OBSTACLES AT HOME AND ABROAD

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Jennifer M. Cyr, Florida International University
Paper Does Culture Matter? Examining the Impact of Cultural and Rationalist Variables on Support for Democracy in Latin American Countries
Rezwan Hussain Hussain, Florida International University
Overview: The study analyses the impact of various cultural and rationalist variables on support for different aspects of democracy in selected Latin American countries, using data from the World Values Survey.

Paper Foreign Policy Influences in the Southern Cone Democratic Transitions
Charles Gleek, Florida International University
Overview: Investigate the role that the foreign policies of the United States, the Soviet Union, and other countries played in the process of democratic transitions in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay.
Paper Culture and Democracy: State, Nationalism, and Democratization in Japan
Takehiko Kojima, Florida International University
Overview: The paper addresses the question why democracy put down roots in Japan by examining a process through which culturally heterogeneous communities are integrated into a political community through state making, nation-building, and democratization.

Paper The European Union and Democratization in Turkey, Poland, and Spain
Engin I. Erdem, Florida International University
Overview: This paper examines the question that whether, how, and under what conditions prospective European Community/Union membership has played role, if any, for the democratization processes of Turkey, Poland, and Spain?

Disc. Jennifer M. Cyr, Florida International University

5-11 INSTITUTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES IN EUROPE
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Leone Nigla, University of Aberdeen
Paper Old Europe's New Constitutionalism
Kirk Buckman, Catholic University of America
Overview: This paper considers current parliamentary proposals on constitutional reform in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy and Belgium from historical institutional and social choice perspectives.

Paper Citizenship in Federal Polities: Comparing Austria, Germany and Switzerland
Claus Hohansel, Rhode Island College
Overview: In Austria, Germany, and Switzerland subnational authorities have the responsibility to implement national citizenship laws. This paper analyzes the extent to which efforts to harmonize naturalization criteria and procedures have succeeded.

Paper Ally or Adversary? Ideological and Institutional Determinants of Oversight
Christine S. Lipsmeyer, University of Missouri
Heather N. Pierce, University of Missouri
Overview: This paper examines the institutional constraints that determine whether coalition governments use legislative or executive level oversight mechanisms to monitor ideologically divergent ministers in policy-making activities.

Disc. Gaya B. Ruffer, DePaul University

7-7 PARTY SYSTEMS: INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND CHANGE
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Marisa A. Kellam, Institute for Quantitative Social Science
Paper Party System Transformation: Conceptualizing the Venezuelan Case
Jana Morgan Kelly, University of Tennessee
Overview: This paper develops a conceptualization party system transformation and then employs the concept in an analysis of the radical change in the Venezuelan party system from the consolidation of the country's 2.5-party system in 1973 through the present.

Paper After the Conflicts Emergence of Party Systems in El Salvador and Guatemala
Andalébí España Nájera, University of Notre Dame
Overview: To explain the party systems of new democracies, we must include in our explanation of party systems "regime transitions", including an understanding of the actors involved, their balance of power and the strategies pursued.

Paper Living Without Daddy: The Transformation of the PRI's Party Structure
Frederic K. Cady, University of Miami
Overview: I examine how the PRI in Mexico has reformed its party structure after losing national power. My argument is that those who obtained leadership positions within the party have used the party structure as a vehicle to advance their career interests.

Paper The Inexistent Party System in Guatemala: Implications for Democracy
Omar Sanchez, Iowa State University
Overview: This essay will gauge the degree of institutionalization of the Guatemalan party system.

Disc. Erika Moreno, University of Iowa
Carlos Pereira, Michigan State University

7-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PARTICIPATION AND PUBLIC OPINION IN LATIN AMERICA
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Presenter Socio-Political Participation of Mexican Citizens
Taeun Min, University of Iowa
Overview: This paper examines how Mexican citizens' socio-political participation relates to socioeconomic factors and democratic attitudes. This paper also explores how much their participation behavior has been changed as the country has been democratized.

Presenter Media Effects on Public Opinion and Political Action in Military-Ruled Brazil
Elizabeth A. Stein, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: In this paper I test traditional U.S.-based models of media effects on public opinion in the context of military-ruled Brazil.

7-204 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: AN ETHICAL U.S.-LATIN AMERICAN POLICY
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Presenter Toward an Ethical US-Latin American Policy in the Third Millennium
Peter M. Sanchez, Loyola University, Chicago
Megan A. Sollar, Loyola University, Chicago
Overview: In this article we examine US-Latin American relations, concluding that now is the time for the United States to formulate an ethical foreign policy toward the region.

8-9 NORTHEAST ASIAN FOREIGN POLICY
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Won K. Paik, Central Michigan University
Paper Democratization and Reconciliation: A Case of South Korea and Japan
Yanguo Ku, George Washington University
Overview: The deeper institutionalization of democratic values in South Korea has accelerated South Korea’s communication with Japan at governmental and nongovernmental levels, thereby contributing to their efforts at bilateral reconciliation with Japan.

Paper South Korea’s Balancing Act: How to keep the U.S. and North Korea Happy
Susan Suh, Georgetown University
Overview: Since the last nuclear crisis, Seoul’s perception of the North Korean threat has changed. No longer seen as a traditional military threat, ROK fear that DPRK will be most destabilizing if it has nothing to lose.

Paper Political-Bureaucratic Struggles Over Japanese Aid Policy
Mary M. McCarthy, Loyola University, Chicago
Overview: This research examines Japanese foreign aid policy towards China as the product of Japanese political-bureaucratic relations and electoral politics.

Paper When the Cold War Broke on the Korean Peninsula: Sunshine on US Policy
Colin A. Moore, University of California, Irvine
Overview: South Korean President Kim Dae Jung's Sunshine Policy finally supplanted the Cold War structure as the primary influence upon U.S. North Korean policy following the realization of the June 2000 inter-Korean summit.
Paper  
**South Korean Public Opinion on Foreign Policy**  
David G. Tully, Northwestern University  
**Overview:** This paper examines how South Koreans think and feel about three major themes using multivariate analysis of new data: cooperation and trust of allies, economic fairness and trade, and security and regional stability.  
**Disc.** Won K. Paik, Central Michigan University  

**10-7 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT CHANGE IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**  
**Room** TBA, Sat 8:30 am  
**Chair** Matthew Hoddie, Texas A&M University  
**Paper** China's Local State Diversity and Its Effect on Private Sector Development  
Yayoi Kato, University of Southern California  
**Overview:** The paper examined the regional diversity of local governments' roles and influences on China's private sector development through the document analysis of provincial party publications and the survey data analysis of private enterprises.  
**Paper** Fiscal Crisis, Political Crisis?—Financing Local Government in China  
Wu Zhang, Cornell University  
**Overview:** Based on more than 2 years of fieldwork in Hunan, this paper explains why towns and villages in central China have been facing a fiscal crisis since 1994 and why the tax-fee reform has deepened this crisis.  
**Paper** From Symbiotic Clientelism to Principled Clientelism  
Xiaoli Tian, University of Chicago  
**Overview:** This research revisits the political patronage and clientelist networks in the development of Chinese private enterprises. New game rules represented by principled clientelism has been developed between local officials and some entrepreneurs.  
**Paper** Central Signaling and Local Reform in China  
Haifeng Huang, Duke University  
**Overview:** Why could China's local governments from time to time break through Beijing's policy restrictions, when the country's political system is highly centralized? Put simply, there is a signaling game going on, in which social expectations matter.  
**Paper** Experimenting with Democracy in the Chinese Nomenklatura System  
Gang Guo, University of Mississippi  
**Overview:** This paper analyzes the recent central and local experiments of reforming the personnel control of local government leaders in China, which are extremely limited and tightly controlled yet introduce some elements of downward accountability.  
**Paper** Re-evaluating Market-Preserving Federalism: Soft Budget Constraints of Local Governments in China  
Lynette Ong, Australian National University  
**Overview:** Soft budget constraints of China's local governments offer a lesson that without the effective mechanisms that exist in functioning democracies to act as checks-and-balances, fiscal decentralization could create unbridled power detrimental to growth.  
**Disc.** Matthew Hoddie, Texas A&M University  

**10-14 FORMER SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA IN THE SPOTLIGHT**  
**Room** TBA, Sat 8:30 am  
**Chair** Thomas J. Wood, IFES, Washington, D.C.  
**Paper** Central Asia: Geopolitical Prisoners?  
Larisa Yun, University of Oklahoma  
**Overview:** The present paper examines the foreign policy of Central Asia from the perspective of political geography. It argues that the direction of Central Asian foreign policy is largely determined by its landlockedness and the nature of its neighborhood.  

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predictions concerning legal trade to make inferences about smuggling.

Paper: When and Why Change the Rules? Global Telecom Reform in Recent Years
Kirsten Rodine Hardy, Brown University
Overview: This paper asks when and why over 129 countries enacted liberal telecom reform in recent years. Using a Weibull multivariate hazard model, this chapter analyzes the timing of reform in 184 countries from 1975-2001.

Paper: The Global Battle Over the Multi-Fiber Agreement
Anastasia Xenias, Columbia University
Overview: The end of the Multi-Fiber Agreement in January 2005 which regulated the world textile and apparel trade through a multilateral system of quotas, produced one of the toughest and broadest trade policy battles in recent history, which still rages on.

Disc. Alexandra G. Guisinger, University of Notre Dame

12-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: GLOBAL TRADE
Room: TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Presenter: Preferential Trade Agreements: Legalism and Trade
Candace Miller, University of Arizona
Overview: The use of preferential trade agreements often fails to account for institutional differences between agreements, instead treating them as dichotomous variables. This paper attempts to explain one of the aspects of institutional difference, legalism.

Presenter: The U.S. as a Global Consumer: Providing a Global Public Good?
Tina F. Mueller, University of Nebraska, Lincoln
Dan B. Braaten, University of Nebraska, Lincoln
Overview: This paper offers an alternative approach to the balance of payments debate by analyzing the US trade deficit within a global public goods framework. This broadens the debate and begs for a more international approach on behalf of US policymakers.

13-8 THE MIDDLE EAST AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS
Room: TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair: Nehemia Geva, Texas A&M University
Paper: Pakistan’s Conflict Behavior and Implications for Democratic Peace Theory
Hassan Bashir, Texas A&M University
Overview: Kargil conflict between Pakistan and India is perhaps the only known anomaly to the Democratic Peace theory. This chapter analyzes the timing of conflict behavior since independence and its implications for the Democratic Peace argument.

Paper: Satellite TV and Radio Transmission in Democracy Promotion: The Case of Iran
Soleiman Kiasatpour, Western Kentucky University
Ian C. Nash, Western Kentucky University
Overview: This paper surveys the role and effects of satellite TV and radio programming in democracy promotion in the case of Iran. Both US and private party broadcasts are analyzed to evaluate these effects on democracy promotion in general.

Paper: Identity and Arab Public Opinion on Foreign Relations
Russell E. Lucas, University of Oklahoma
Peter A. Furia, Wake Forest University
Overview: Using survey data from seven different Arab societies we test the relationships between attitudes towards non-Arab countries and attitudes on Palestine and Iraq, various competing identity frames, and demographic characteristics.

Paper: The Role of Islam in International Politics: New Potentials
Mohammad A. Tabaar, Georgetown University
Overview: Many IR scholars believe that Islamic fundamentalism is on the rise. While this has been true in the past it may not necessarily be the case in the future. There are new trends in the Islamic world that support a limited role for religion in politics.

Disc. Nehemia Geva, Texas A&M University
Ribhi I. Salti, Roosevelt University
several other variables believed to be relevant to democratization.

Paper Cheaters Never Win? Assessing the Connection Between Election Quality and Political Protest
Ronald A. Francisco, University of Kansas
Erik S. Herron, University of Kansas
Overview: We assess the connection between elections and protest using data from the European Protest and Coercion Data, additional data from Latin America, Burma and Korea as well as election data.

Disc. Denese A. McArthur, Binghamton University
Ravi Bhavnani, Michigan State University

15-16 VIOLENCE AND POLITICAL STABILITY
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Susan Hannah Allen, Texas Tech University
Paper Timing is Everything
Susan Hannah Allen, Texas Tech University
Overview: What factors influence the timing of intervention? Following Gilligan and Stedman (2003), I explore how casualties, alliances, economic and political conditions, and ethnic makeup affect intervention decisions by IOs, regional actors, and states.

Paper Political Conflicts in the Shadow of Violence
G. Jiyun Kim, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: I develop a theory of political conflict in the shadow of violence in light of various domestic and international crisis situations. This theory is concerned with the nature (violent/non-violent) and the timing of political stabilization processes.

Jana Chapman, Columbia University
Overview: This paper analyzes the linkages between foreign policy decision making and public opinion by examining two case studies of ethnic conflict: Rwanda and Sudan.

Paper Humanitarianism, Democracy, and Americans' Support for Militant Anti-Terrorism Measures
Dukhong Kim, Northwestern University
Overview: What drives Americans to support militant anti-terrorism measures? This paper attempts to draw attention to a potential problem of the proposition that the public is rational by looking at the sources of citizens' support for anti-terrorism measures.

Disc. Nathalie J. Frensley, University of Texas, Austin

18-5 THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CAMPAIGN EFFECTS
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Chris Karpowitz, Princeton University
Paper Uncovering the Causal Mechanism: How Campaign Matter and Why
David A. Peterson, Texas A&M University
Overview: This paper determines the psychological mechanism behind campaign effects. I compare the changes in the content and strength of attitudes to determine which is responsible for the observed dynamics in support for presidential candidates.

Jana Chapman, Columbia University
Overview: This paper analyzes the linkages between foreign policy decision making and public opinion by examining two case studies of ethnic conflict: Rwanda and Sudan.

Paper Humanitarianism, Democracy, and Americans' Support for Militant Anti-Terrorism Measures
Dukhong Kim, Northwestern University
Overview: What drives Americans to support militant anti-terrorism measures? This paper attempts to draw attention to a potential problem of the proposition that the public is rational by looking at the sources of citizens' support for anti-terrorism measures.

Disc. Nathalie J. Frensley, University of Texas, Austin

16-5 PUBLIC OPINION, THE MEDIA, AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Kevin R. Watkins, William Paterson University
Paper Following The Leader: The Impact of the Mass Media on American Foreign Policy in Somalia, Rwanda, and Daniel P. Fitzsimmons, University of Calgary
Overview: American policy makers have more autonomy in foreign policy decision-making than is frequently perceived by scholars supporting the notion that mass media organizations possess extensive agenda-setting power, commonly known as the “CNN effect.”

Paper Public Opinion, Domestic Institutions, and Evolving Norms of Democratic Intervention
Andrew Z. Katz, Denison University
Overview: I propose a paper that contributes to democratic peace theory by incorporating insights from the study of public opinion and foreign policy to case studies of democratic wars of choice.

Paper Experience You Can Count On: Candidate Record and Source Credibility
Brian K. Arbour, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: I hypothesize that record develops source credibility for candidates, reducing voters’ uncertainty over the candidate’s true positions and intentions. I conduct an experiment, holding the message constant, but varying the record of the candidate.

Paper Balancing Ambition Among Decision Makers
Christopher W. Larimer, University of Nebraska, Lincoln
Kevin B. Smith, University of Nebraska, Lincoln
Overview: We use laboratory experiments to test how people react to ambitious decision-makers. We test the hypothesis that people will support decision-makers perceived to be less ambitious to balance decision-makers perceived to be more ambitious.

Paper Partisan Incongruities in Presidential Voting
Sunshine Hillygus, Harvard University
Todd Shields, University of Arkansas
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.

Paper Political Posters: (How) Do They Affect Individual Electoral Behavior?
Dela Dumitrescu, The Ohio State University
Overview: This paper focuses on the effects of political posters on individual electoral behavior. I hypothesize that these effects are underpinned by mechanisms of attitude accessibility and mere exposure and test this model in a laboratory setting.

Disc. Jennifer Volak, University of Colorado, Boulder
John M. Sides, George Washington University

18-6 HOW CITIZENS MAKE SENSE OF THE POLITICAL WORLD
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Doris A. Graber, University of Illinois, Chicago
Paper The Price of Constraint? Comparing Verification Threat and Counter-Framing
Brendan Nyhan, Duke University
Overview: Using data from a national survey experiment, I test the power of verification threat and counter-framing in shaping citizen issue preferences about four controversial policy proposals.
Arthur Lupia, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Gisela Sin, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Adam S. Levine, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Jesse O. Menning, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: "Homer Gets a Tax Cut" concludes that support for Bush’s tax is entirely attributable to simple ignorance. Our analysis reveals different results.

Paper Motivated Political Reasoning in a Functional Perspective
Santer Yener, Stony Brook University
Charles S. Taber, Stony Brook University
Overview: In this study, we examine whether self-interest-based or value-based arguments are more likely to lead to disconfirmation bias and attitude polarization, and specify the processes by which attitude functions affect motivated political reasoning.

Paper Toward an Improved Theory of Preference Reversal Under Diverse Scenarios
Greg M. Shaw, Illinois Wesleyan University
Mike Dancs, Illinois Wesleyan University
Overview: This research examines contexts that widely elicit intransitive individual preference rankings. This paper presents the problem, elaborates contexts in which it occurs, critiques the dominant explanation, and offers an alternative explanation.

Paper Evaluating Dramatic Political Events in the Formative Years
M. Kent Jennings, University of California, Santa Barbara
Laura Stoker, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: This paper utilizes long-term panel data to assess how people evaluate and react to two critical events—the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal—that occurred during their formative years.

Disc. Eileen Braman, Indiana University, Bloomington
Lynn M. Sanders, University of Virginia

18-301 POSTER SESSION: POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY

Presenter Politicians as Primes
Room TBA, Board 1, Sat 8:30 am
Sara H. Konrath, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Norbert Schwarz, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: Does exposure to politicians influence how ambiguous descriptions of people are later evaluated? Our research confirms that it does: sometimes positively, sometimes negatively, and sometimes depending on raters’ political affiliations

Presenter Does More Information Lead to a Different Vote Choice
Room TBA, Board 2, Sat 8:30 am
Drew Seib, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Overview: An important question in American politics is how does information affect the way a person votes. This paper seeks to answer the question will a person change his/her vote choice given an increase level of information.

Presenter The FAE and Tort Awards: Do Greedy Lawyers Outshine Procedural Justice?
Room TBA, Board 3, Sat 8:30 am
David Doherty, University of Colorado, Boulder
Overview: The research explores the causes of the perception that tort litigation is "out of control" from a psychological perspective. It also speaks to the broader question of how people form impressions of institutions and institutional outcomes.

Presenter Economic Individualism, Social Individualism, and Political Participation
Room TBA, Board 4, Sat 8:30 am
Shih-Yi Chou, University of Nebraska, Lincoln
Overview: This proposal paper shows economic individualists are likely to participate in politics whereas social individualists are unlikely to do the same thing. The relationship between individualism and participation is explored in this proposal paper.
22-15 **PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL (Co-sponsored with Presidency and Executive Politics, see 33-14)**

**Room** TBA, Sat 8:30 am  
**Chair** Gregory E. McAvoy, University of North Carolina, Greensboro

**Paper** The Role of the Media on Early Assessments of Presidential Performance: An Informational Approach to Presidential Honeymoons  
Laura K. Frey, University of California, Santa Barbara

Overview: This project specifies a model that reflects micro level processes to explain the surge and decline in approval. This project relies on nightly news coverage to test the effect of the media and its impact on presidential approval ratings.

**Paper** Polarized Opinion in the States: Partisan Differences in Approval Ratings of Governors, Senators, and George W. Bush  
Gary C. Jacobson, University of California, San Diego

Overview: A new set of multiple, state-level surveys is used to examine the sources of variation across states and offices in the magnitude of partisan differences in the job approval ratings of the president, each of the senators, and the governor.

R. Christopher Rodgers, University of Texas, Dallas

Overview: The paper assesses rival presidential approval specifications and compares political economic models using monthly data for 1978-2005. Time series analyses emphasize heterogeneity across gender, class, education, and age while highlighting Bush II.

**Paper** Presidential Persona and Presidential Approval: The "Untold" Story  
Mark A. Roeder, University of Cincinnati

Overview: This study examines how perception of presidential persona, including affective and cognitive components, explains presidential approval. I link micro and macro-level findings by comparing change in approval with change in perception of persona.

**Paper** Policy-Related Sources of Presidential Approval: Why Do Voters Disagree?  
Merrill Shanks, University of California, Berkeley  
Douglas Strand, Public Policy Institute of California  
Edward Carmines, Indiana University, Bloomington  
Henry Brady, University of California, Berkeley

Overview: This paper extends the authors' previous research on the role of policy-related conflicts and other factors in voters' choices for President by carrying out the same types of analyses for voters' evaluations of the President's "performance" in office.

Disc. Robert S. Erikson, Columbia University

22-16 **INFLUENCES ON PARTISANSHIP AND IDEOLOGY (Co-sponsored with Political Psychology, see 18-15)**

**Room** TBA, Sat 8:30 am  
**Chair** John M. Bruce, University of Mississippi

**Paper** Expertise, Motivation, and the Dimensional Structure of Ideology  
Christopher M. Federico, University of Minnesota

Overview: Using the 2000 NES and 2004 NES, I demonstrate that ideology is more likely to be structured in bipolar left-right terms among citizens who possess both political expertise and a motivation to use it for evaluative purposes.

**Paper** The Elements of Public Opinion  
Paul Goren, Arizona State University

Overview: I use data from the 1990-1996 NES surveys to analyze how partisan and ideological identities shape the core political values of equal opportunity, limited government, traditional family values, and moral tolerance.

23-6 **GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS AND VOTER TURNOUT**

**Room** TBA, Sat 8:30 am  
**Chair** Suzanne Mettler, Syracuse University

**Paper** Political Participation Among American Military Veterans  
Mark Nicol, Saginaw Valley State University

Overview: This examination of veterans' political participation demonstrates a relationship between veteran status and voting. Further examination suggests the difference is not attributable to military service, but to other demographic characteristics.

**Paper** Does Welfare Policy Affect Aggregate Voter Turnout Rate?  
Han Soo Lee, Texas A&M University

Overview: This study examines whether and how welfare policy affects aggregate voter turnout rate in the United States. The test results of this study show that level of welfare policy positively affects aggregate voter turnout.

**Paper** How Policy Receipt Affects Voter Turnout: Results of the Maxwell Poll  
Suzanne Mettler, Syracuse University  
Jeffrey M. Stonecash, Syracuse University

Overview: Little is known about how government social programs influence beneficiaries' political participation. We use the Maxwell Poll of 2004 and 2005 to assess such relationships, examining the influence of several programs on voter turnout.

Disc. Melissa K. Comber, Allegheny College

24-10 **MEDIA EFFECTS AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**

**Room** TBA, Sat 8:30 am  
**Chair** Danny Hayes, University of Texas, Austin

**Paper** Post-Debate Coverage: The Influence of the Media on Candidate Evaluations  
Kim Fridkin, Arizona State University  
Patrick J. Kenney, Arizona State University  
Sara Allen Gershon, Arizona State University  
Gina Sergiades-Woodall, Arizona State University

Overview: We examined the impact of media coverage of the 3rd presidential debate on candidate evaluations, and found that the debate led viewers to become more favorable towards John Kerry, while media coverage increased favorability towards President Bush.

**Paper** The Media and the Discovery of the Battleground State  
Darshan J. Goix, University of California, Berkeley

Overview: Presidential campaigns have long prioritized a handful of states in their electoral strategies. So what explains the emergence of the "battleground state" in contemporary political discourse and what effect has that new political category carried?
Paper One Size Does Not Fit All-Political Sophistication and Campaign Advertising
David M. Greenwald, University of California, Davis
Overview: I examine the mediating effects of political sophistication on campaign advertising. In moderate information campaigns such as Senate races, highly sophisticated voters are more responsive to campaign effects than less sophisticated voters.

Paper Soft News Coverage of Presidential Debates
Jason Reifler, Loyola University, Chicago
Christina DeVoe, Loyola University, Chicago
Overview: We examine the quantity and content of soft news programs’ coverage of the 2004 Presidential debates.

Disc. Lara M. Brown, California State University, Channel Island
Staci L. Rhine, Wittenberg University

25-8 INSTITUTIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN CANDIDATES IN THE STATES
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Kira Sanbonmatsu, The Ohio State University
Paper Gender and Electability in Professionalized Institutions
Sarah A. Fulton, University of California, Davis
Overview: Using time-series data, I evaluate why women are now more successful at getting elected to professionalized institutions.

Paper The Gendered Effects of State Legislative Redistricting
Helen A. Erler, Kenyon College
Overview: This paper examines the impact of state legislative redistricting on the electoral fortunes of female incumbents.

Paper State Primary Elections and Institutional Incentives for Women Candidates to Run for Office
Nathan Mitchell, Texas Tech University
Overview: By examining newly collected state legislative primary elections data from 1990-2004 this paper explores the effects of institutional variation on the recruitment of women candidates.

Paper The Effect of Gender on Legislative Campaign Committee Expenditures
Lyndsey R. Young, The Ohio State University
Overview: This paper analyzes the impact of gender on Legislative Campaign Committees (LCC) expenditures, using data from the 2000 New York and Illinois state legislative elections.

Disc. Brigid Harrison, Montclair State University
Kira Sanbonmatsu, The Ohio State University

26-301 POSTER SESSION: RACE, CLASS AND ETHNICITY
Presenter Rethinking the Problem of Race: Kenneth Clark and the Dilemma of Power
Room TBA, Board 5, Sat 8:30 am
Damon Freeman, University of Pennsylvania
Overview: Kenneth Clark's “dilemma of power” concept shaped his approach to the problem of race during the 20th century, not a sole concern with racial integration or black nationalism as his supporters and detractors have argued.

Presenter Whitewashing America: Ideological Domination and the Question of Race
Room TBA, Board 6, Sat 8:30 am
Sean Parson, University of Oregon
Overview: The development of liberalism during the 20th century in the United States posited economic solutions to the problem of racism, resulting in cultural homogeneity.

Presenter Black Political Reformers in the Pre-Civil War North
Room TBA, Board 7, Sat 8:30 am
Germaine Etienne, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Overview: This paper departs from current literature that treats moral reform as a conservative force in American history by focusing on the political nature of African American reform activity.

Presenter Gender, Negotiation, and the El Salvador Conflict: Claims and Outcomes
Room TBA, Board 8, Sat 8:30 am
Sarah Taylor, New School for Social Research
Overview: A comparative study of the United States, Mexico, and New Zealand in their quests to wrestle with the issues of race and ethnicity in their respective national censuses.

Presenter The Threat of Racial Considerations: Gender, Race, and Affirmative Action
Room TBA, Board 9, Sat 8:30 am
David C. Wilson, The Gallup Organization
Overview: An analysis of experimental data from a national survey shows that the public favors affirmative action for women over racial minorities because of racial considerations rather than self-interests, racial conservatism or principled objections.

27-10 THE USE AND ABUSE OF RELIGION FOR POLITICAL LIFE
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Lee Ward, Campion College at the University of Regina
Paper The Theological-Political Problem in Rousseau's Emile
Lorna M. Dawson, Lynchburg College
Overview: This paper seeks to articulate the theological-political teaching presented by the Savoyard Vicar in Rousseau's Emile, and to assess the role of that teaching in Emile's own education.

Paper David Hume, Adam Smith, and the Politics of Natural Religion
Ryan P. Hanley, Marquette University
Overview: The political and economic systems of Hume and Smith are often assumed to rest on the same foundation. But attention to their opposing treatments of natural religion and the argument from design reveal the distance that separates their systems.

Paper How to Talk About Religion: Lessons From Franklin's Autobiography
Peter McNamara, Utah State University
Overview: Benjamin Franklin wrote his Autobiography to provide a model for American citizens and statesmen. Religion is one aspect of life that the Autobiography deals with extensively.

Paper Theology Preceding Theory: Roger Williams as American Political Theorist
Kurt A. Richardson, McMaster University
Overview: Roger Williams' arguments for liberty of conscience were grounded in theology. The continuing role of religion in American political thought warrants consideration of the vital connection between theology and theory.

Disc. Lee Ward, Campion College at the University of Regina
Benjamin T. Lundgren, Michigan State University

27-21 LIBERATION AND DOMINATION
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair James Chalmers, Wayne State University
Paper Freedom and Power
Eric MacGillvray, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: This paper outlines a typology of theories of freedom and power, identifies the conceptual and normative issues around which the typology is organized, and argues that theories of freedom always serve to expose and to disguise certain kinds of power.

Paper Rousseau, Mill, and the Problem of Voluntary Slavery
Frank Lovett, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: Discusses the historical debate on voluntary slavery, so as to clarify the problem of how much we should respect the choices of those who would consensually submit to domination.

Paper Tocqueville on Liberty and Human Dignity
Melvin L. Schut, University of Chicago
Overview: My aim is to explore the understanding of human freedom that can be found in the writings of Tocqueville. Although he professed attachment to freedom, Tocqueville...
Overview: This paper will examine the specific problems that each thinker surmounted to provide a concise definition.

Overview: Tocqueville perceives between freedom from being ruled and work for or against the liberty of citizens, exploring the tension Tocqueville perceives between freedom from being ruled and the liberty available to citizens through self-government.

Overview: Tocqueville's portrait of the American psyche can be broken down into two parts, Cartesian rationality and Pascalian anxiety. The tensions created by the interplay of the two motivate Americans to maintain political freedom.

Overview: Hume makes a case for liberalism without having recourse to metaphysical arguments. In his History of England he reaches liberal conclusions by way of an experimental or historical method.

Overview: This paper translates Hume's conception of the person into his own systematic treatment or thinking about liberty, rather than as an isolated thinker.

Overview: Two mafias prey on productive firms in a repeated game. This paper examines centralized and decentralized electoral competition in a model of redistributive politics with local public goods. In equilibrium, decentralization is more efficient due, not to spillovers, but the targetability of resources.

Overview: We present a model of learning and policy choice across governments and over time. A key feature of our model is the presence of informational externalities that affect each policy-maker's choices.

Overview: Constitutional democracy, with its pluralist politics—its multiple competing political actors—will be analyzed as in light of Machiavelli's teaching about republics. Dahl, Sklar, Rorty and Harvey Mansfield will be the theorists examined.

Overview: This paper explores a framework for assessing the civic adequacy of his conception of the person in the American jury system.

Overview: This paper explores the implications of certain types of citizen advisory panels for theories of representative democracy.

Overview: Agents such as citizen representatives and opinion polls confound Pitkin's regulative ideal of responsiveness. If "the represented" is not "somehow logically prior" to its representation, must mass democracy shade into "fascist" manipulation?

Overview: Citizen representative bodies are increasingly common in practice but almost untheorized within democratic theory.

Overview: This paper explores a framework for assessing American citizen representation by looking at the implicit theory of citizen representation that can be isolated by analyzing the American jury system.

Overview: This paper explores the implications of certain types of citizen advisory panels for theories of representative democracy.

Overview: An exploration of the ways free political institutions work for or against the liberty of citizens, exploring the tension Tocqueville perceives between freedom from being ruled and the liberty available to citizens through self-government.

Overview: This paper translates Hume's conception of the person into his own systematic treatment or thinking about liberty, rather than as an isolated thinker.

Overview: Two mafias prey on productive firms in a repeated game. This paper examines centralized and decentralized electoral competition in a model of redistributive politics with local public goods. In equilibrium, decentralization is more efficient due, not to spillovers, but the targetability of resources.

Overview: This paper explores the implications of certain types of citizen advisory panels for theories of representative democracy.

Overview: This paper explores the implications of certain types of citizen advisory panels for theories of representative democracy.
Paper Negative-Sum Games, Anonymity and Interaction
Daniel Rubenson, University of Montreal
Richard Walker, London School of Economics
Overview: Social capital theory holds that the topology of interpersonal relationships—as distinct from anonymous, market-based transactions—can affect societal productivity, broadly defined.

Disc. Skyler J. Cranmer, University of California, Davis
Krishna Ladha, University of Mississippi

31-6 THE STATE OF SURVEY METHODOLOGY
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Jon A. Krosnick, Stanford University
Paper The Distinguishing Characteristics Of Frequent Survey Participants
Jon A. Krosnick, Stanford University
Overview: Using data from a national survey of 9,000 respondents, we find that many personality and lifestyle factors predict frequent participation in surveys, but each one only weakly. This is reassuring about political survey sample composition.

Paper vb: Analyze Vote Behavior
Joan Serra, University of Chicago
Overview: This paper introduces vb, a package to analyze vote behavior. This package, designed for the R computing environment, computes the impact of the different factors that affect the choice of voters from among two or more parties and abstention.

Paper Alternatives to Conventional Practices for Ordinal, Categorical Response Variables
Bradford Jones, University of Arizona
Chad Westerland, University of Arizona
Overview: This paper notes that conventional modeling strategies for ordinal categorical response variables in social sciences frequently believe properties and assumptions of standard cumulative link models like the proportional odds model.

Paper Dynamic Conditional Correlations in Political Science
Matthew J. Lebo, Stony Brook University
Janet M. Box-Steppensmeier, The Ohio State University
Overview: DCC models estimate dynamic relationships over time. We explain the method and show that the impact of ICS components vary considerably over time as predictors of presidential approval. An example using IR data is also presented.

Disc. John W. Patty, Harvard University

32-8 INTEREST GROUPS, MONEY, AND ELECTIONS
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Amy M. McKay, Duke University/Loyola University
Paper Non-Connected vs Ideological PACs: Candidate Choice and Contribution Timing
Dorie Apollonio, University of California, San Francisco
Raymond J. La Raja, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Overview: Using a new method to distinguish business interests from ideological groups, we find that although ideological groups prefer outside candidates, they make late contributions. These findings have important implications for electoral competitiveness.

Paper Broadcast Industry PACs' Influence on Congressional Behavior: A Quantitative Study of the Relationship Between Campaign Contributions and Roll Call Votes
Jason Barlow, Randolph Macon College
Overview: This study examines the relationship between members of Congress' voting behaviors on legislation concerning broadcasting and broadcast industry political action committees' (PAC) contributions to congressional campaigns.

Paper An Examination of Ethnic Political Action Committee Strategies, 1998-2004
David M. Paul, The Ohio State University, Newark
Overview: Using FEC data from 1998 to 2004, this project analyzes the contribution strategies used by ethnic political action committees (PACs).

Paper Deceived by Emotion?: House Members' Votes on the USA Patriot Act
Daniel R. Bowles
University of New Hampshire
Overview: We develop a salience-based spatial model that reflects comprehensive vulnerability management, political responsiveness, political negotiation, and intergovernmental conflict. This paper examines 2,400 presidential decisions between 1953 and 2005.

Paper Wither the Soft Money? The Effect of BCRA on Contribution Patterns
Stacy B. Gordon, University of Nevada, Reno
Christopher McGill, University of Nevada, Reno
Overview: We compare soft money contributions to political parties prior to the passage of the BCRA to contributions given to 527s, post-BRCA.

Paper Voter's Information, Electoral Competition and the Power of Interest Groups in the US
Tim C. Wegenast, University Pompeu Fabra
Overview: The paper analyzes the effect of electoral competition and voters' level of information on the influence of interest groups within the political arena of the United States.

Disc. Allan J. Cigler, University of Kansas

33-6 PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSIVENESS TO NATURAL DISASTERS
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Daniel M. Cook, University of California, San Francisco
Paper Vulnerability and Responsiveness in U.S. Disaster Policy
R. Steven Daniels, California State University, Bakersfield
Overview: Executive decision-making on disaster policy reflects comprehensive vulnerability management, political responsiveness, political negotiation, and intergovernmental conflict. This paper examines 2,400 presidential decisions between 1953 and 2005.

Paper Hurricane Katrina as a Focusing Event: Public Policy Observations
Frank T. Manheim, George Mason University
Overview: The results from Hurricane Katrina offer a window into an array of issues. These range from Executive Branch appointments, to social questions such as the linkage between New Orleans' special character and poverty.

Disc. Anna Marie Schuh, Roosevelt University

34-10 POLICY MAKING IN CONGRESS
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair George Serra, Bridgewater State College
Paper The Timing and Structuring of Abortion-Related Proposals in the U.S. House
Scott Ainsworth, University of Georgia
Thad Hall, University of Utah
Overview: We examine how abortion politics has evolved over time within the U.S. Congress, evaluating sponsorship, entrepreneurial efforts, and committee turf concerns.

Paper Welfare Politics 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 Deceived by Emotion?: House Members' Votes on the USA Patriot Act
Daniel R. Bowles, Randolph Macon College
Overview: This paper reveals some of the key relationships that affect member voting on the USA Patriot Act in the House of Representatives in 2001 by examining general influences on members' voting behaviors.

Disc. Joseph N. Patten, Monmouth University

34-19 THE EFFECTS OF PARTY POLARIZATION
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Jon R. Bond, Texas A&M University
Paper The Sources of Bipartisan Politics in Parliamentary Democracies
Thomas Braeuninger, University of Konstanz
Marc Debus, University of Konstanz
Overview: We develop a salience-based spatial model that relates electoral, institutional and policy sources to the likelihood that a bill is sponsored by government and opposition actors in parliamentary democracies.
Presenter Factors Affecting Interest Group Contributions in State legislative goals of the organization and the means by which Coalition on legislative politics. In particular, I look at the members of Congress that future ideological drift will not be strong but not perfect. Primary challenges might send a signal to Overview: Ideological congruence between the votes of Disc. Patrick Fisher

Instances of legislation passed that are not "significant." Moreover, the overview tests a broader definition of "conflict" in traditional models of legislative gridlock. Moreover, the research focuses on the opposite side of the gridlock coin or instances of legislation passed that are not "significant."

Primary Challenges

Overview: This article examines party polarization in Congress. Although both redistricting and the political segregation of voters have polarized the parties, the biggest cause has its roots within the institutions and procedures of Congress.

Paper Comity and Productivity: An Alternative Analysis of Gridlock

Scott D. Schraufnagel, University of Central Florida
Lawrence C. Dodd, University of Florida

Overview: The research tests a broader definition of "conflict" in traditional models of legislative gridlock. Moreover, the research focuses on the opposite side of the gridlock coin or instances of legislation passed that are not "significant."

Disc. Patrick Fisher, Seton Hall University

35-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CHALLENGERS AND PRIMARIES

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Presenter The Ideological Dynamics of Primary Elections in One-Party Districts

Hahrie Han, Wellesley College
Jeremy Pope, Brigham Young University

Overview: How do primary elections affect candidate ideology in one-party districts? This paper draws on a newly assembled dataset of primary election data to empirically examine the ideological dynamics of congressional primaries in the South from 1954-70.

Presenter Reinforcing Partisan Representation: The Prospect of Primary Challenges

Tyler C. Johnson, Texas A&M University

Overview: Ideological congruence between the votes of members of Congress and the opinions of district co-partisans is strong but not perfect. Primary challenges might send a signal to members of Congress that future ideological drift will not be tolerated.

35-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: INTEREST GROUPS AND ELECTIONS

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Presenter Influence of the Christian Coalition in Congress

Shirley Anne Warshaw, Gettysburg College
Kathryn H. Brun, Gettysburg College

Overview: This paper examines the influence of the Christian Coalition on legislative politics. In particular, I look at the legislative goals of the organization and the means by which they achieve them.

Presenter Factors Affecting Interest Group Contributions in State Legislative Elections

Robert E. Hogan, Louisiana State University
Keith E. Hamm, Rice University
Rhonda L. Wrenski, Louisiana State University

Overview: A number of studies over the years have examined the contribution strategies of interest groups active in congressional elections (e.g., Grenzke 1989, Grier and Munger 1993, Hall and Wayman 1990).

36-5 ASSESSING THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN COURTS AND PUBLIC OPINION

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Eric N. Waltenburg, Purdue University
Paper From the Rehnquist to the Roberts Court: Representing Public Opinion

Thomas R. Marshall, University of Texas, Arlington

Overview: Whether U.S. Supreme Court decisions represent American public opinion depends on which justices sit on the Court, what issues the Court hears, and what decision-making norms the Court applies.

Paper Courting Public Opinion: Supreme Court Impact on Public Opinion Reconsidered

Kevin Scott, Texas Tech University
Kyle Saunders, Colorado State University

Overview: Using survey data collected before and after the Supreme Court's Ten Commandments decisions, we reevaluate models of Supreme Court impact on public opinion.

Paper After the Supreme Word: The Impact of Van Orden v. Perry and McCreary v. ACLU on Public Opinion

Michael A. Unger, University of Texas, Austin

Overview: This paper explores the impact of Van Orden v. Perry and McCreary v. ACLU on attitudes toward public displays of the Ten Commandments. I analyze original panel survey data and find understanding the cases increases the probability of attitude change.

Paper Courts and Media Coverage of Homosexuality

Joseph D. Ura, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Overview: I assess the impact of relevant Supreme Court and state court actions, as well as other events and policy changes, on media coverage of homosexual content using Box-Tiao (1975) intervention analysis.

Disc. Jeff A. Yates, University of Georgia

36-15 DETERMINANTS AND IMPLICATIONS OF APPELLATE REVIEW

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Steve Van Winkle, University of Wyoming
Paper Decision Making on the Courts of Appeals: Do Judges Have the Knowledge Assumed by Advocates of Strategic Models?

Jennifer L. Barnes, University of South Carolina
Donald R. Songer, University of South Carolina

Overview: An analysis of US Courts of Appeals decision making explores whether US Courts of Appeals judges can predict the likelihood of review by the US Supreme Court.

Paper A Principal-Agent Model of En Banc Review

Thomas R. Marshall, University of Texas, Arlington

Overview: The paper documents the Supreme Court's dismissals of writs of certiorari as improvidently granted from 1954 to 2005, and examines how often the DIGged issue returns to the Court, and the impact of DIGs on the Rule of Four.
Paper Networks of Local Governments: Examining Community Conferences as Mechanisms for Achieving Interlocal Cooperation
Kelly M. LeRoux, Wayne State University
Overview: This study examines community conferences, a type of voluntary association of local governments, to determine the effectiveness of these organizations in brokering service sharing arrangements among cities. Network analysis is used to model patterns
Disc. Annette Steinacker, Claremont Graduate University
Room 39-10

Paper Role of Culture and Beliefs in Local Policy
Elaine B. Sharp, University of Kansas

Paper Local Civic Culture: A Comparison of Elite and Citizen Attitudes
Laura A. Reese, Michigan State University
Davia Cox, Michigan State University
Raymond A. Rosenfeld, Eastern Michigan University
Overview: The paper explores local civic culture: Is there one culture across policy arenas? Is there a unified perspective on civic culture? Do cities with demographic and ethnic diversity have a single culture?

Paper Policy Congruence Between Citizens and City Councilors
Tom W. Rice, University of Iowa
Matthew Potoski, Iowa State University
Evan Herrnstadt, University of Iowa
Overview: We use a new data set to examine concurrently the policy priorities of citizens and city councilors across five service areas in 40 Iowa communities.
Disc. Elaine B. Sharp, University of Kansas
Room 40-7

Paper Health Care Policy for the Graying
Colleen M. Grogan, University of Chicago
Overview: Intergenerational equity in US social welfare policy is examined by studying whether the elderly consume a disproportionate amount of political attention, and whether political discourse tends to be more responsive to the demands of elders.

Paper Medicare Drug Laws: States Advancing Prescription Care
Mary Schmeida, The Cleveland Clinic Foundation
Kathleen Hale, Kent State University
Ramona McNeal, University of Illinois, Springfield
Overview: State prescription drug legislation has been motivated by changes in federal Medicare requirements, and a patchwork of state laws exist. We explore why some states enact the requirements, whereas others advance a host of other measures

Paper The Challenges and Opportunities of Assisted Living in America: State Policy Responses
Julie Walters, Oakland University
Overview: This research examines state responses to the challenges/opportunities of assisted living by mapping and assessing patterns of adoption of a number of regulatory provisions that reflect categories integral to quality care.

Paper Understanding the Recent Growth in Medicare Hospice Spending, 1991-2001
Chester A. Robinson, Tennessee State University
Thomas Hoyer, Health Policy Consultant
Overview: Hospice emphasizes palliative versus curative care. Medicare policies have shaped the delivery of hospice care. Medicare spending increased 88% from 1991 to 2001. This explosive growth is examined and its future policy implications.
Disc. Gerard W. Boychuk, University of Waterloo
Room 40-8

Paper Information, Competition and Parents in Education Policy Evaluation
Evan Herrnstadt
University of Iowa
Overview: This paper investigates the impact of traditional religion, unconventional subcultures, two kinds of economic security, and economic and environmental distress on local development choices in a sample of 84+ large US cities.

Paper The Effect of New Public Management in Education
Simone Calmaer Andersen, Aarhus University, Denmark
Overview: This paper assesses the effect of NPM on educational achievement. Existing evidence is weak and shows no effect, but a new survey coupled to detailed data on more than 40,000 students indicates that NPM increases the effect of social background.

Paper The Influence of Evaluations of Personal and Collective Experiences: Considering Parents' Evaluations of their Children's Schools
Christine H. Roch, Georgia State University
Amanda Wilsker, Georgia State University
Overview: We explore the relationship between parents' perceptions of their children's schools and their perceptions of the quality of schools in general. We also consider the influence of these two types of perceptions on parents' behavior.
Disc. Paul Manna, College of William and Mary
Room 42-301

Paper Poster Session: Economic Policy
Presenter Polities of Policy
Room TBA, Board 10, Sat 8:30 am
John D. Culver, Texas State University
Overview: I will explain the influence party ideology, economic policy, and electoral politics have on President Bush's public policy formulation process by studying his tax-cut policy.

Paper Economic Impacts of Defense Spending: Why There Are Winners and Losers in the Gunbelt
Brent M. Eastwood, West Virginia University
Overview: Some researchers claim the impact of the "Creative Class" can make or break economic development (Florida 2002). To what extent do population migrations to the Gunbelt (defense industrial capacity) mirror that of the Creative Class?

Paper The Protestant Ethic's Newest Frontier: Expanding Microcredit Worldwide
Ole D. Rasmussen, University of Copenhagen
Overview: Against the view that microfinance is mostly a financial instrument, it is argued that microfinance's quick expansion is due to it's success in exporting and implementing specific protestant-capitalist norms with clear financial benefits.
43-7 DECISION MAKING IN BUREAUCRACIES
(Co-sponsored with Midwest Public Administration Caucus, see 56-3)

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Lawrence S. Rothenberg, University of Rochester
Paper A Dynamic Model of NLRB Commissioner Preferences
Eric D. Hurst, Georgia State University
David C. Nixon, Georgia State University
Coles Taratoot, Georgia State University
Overview: This model the stability of NLRB Commissioners' ideal points over time, using Markov Chain Monte Carlo methods and a Bayesian model of ideal point estimation.

Paper The Role of Information Among Policy Elites
Mark Perry, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: Questions exist regarding the use of information in the policy process. This study utilizes network text analysis to determine what kinds of cognitive maps are evident in the written rationale of the FCC commissioners in broadcast ownership policy.

Paper Assessing Specialization: The Role of Policy Domain and Decision-Making
Stephen A. Sargent, Texas A&M University
Overview: This study will research whether there are observable differences between decision-makers with multi and single-policy domains. The results will contribute information to the bureaucracy literature on how specialization affects decision-making.

Paper Constructing Dynamic Measures of Bureaucratic Discretion in the States
Junseok Kim, Gyeonggi Research Institute
Overview: 1. Introduction; 2. Literature review on bureaucratic discretion; 3. Examining empirical measures of bureaucratic discretion in previous studies; 4. Constructing the measures of bureaucratic discretion; 5. Empirical Testings; 6. Conclusion
Disc. Anthony Bertelli, University of Georgia

44-8 RACE, LABOR, AND CITIZENSHIP

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Dorian T. Warren, University of Chicago
Carlos Figueroa, New School for Social Research
Overview: Paper reconsiders the extra-constitutional US citizenship that took shape with the passage of the Jones Act (1917) and explores the Act in light of the larger historical context of American immigration and nationality discourse in the 1900-1920's.

Paper Making the Historical Legacies of American Racism Visible
Paul Frymer, University of California, Santa Cruz
Mark Sawyer, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: TBA

Paper Race, the Degeneration of the CIO, and the Shaping of American Politics
Michael Goldfield, Wayne State University
Overview: Focuses on race, CIO, and American politics.

Paper Hotspots in a Cold War: The NAACP, Labor, and the Law-Politics Distinction
Sophia Z. Lee, Yale University
Overview: "Hotspots" uses the NAACP's postwar constitutional litigation in front of the National Labor Relations Board to question the boundary traditionally drawn between law and politics and to revise the narrative of postwar civil rights.

Paper The Racial Politics of New Deal Americanism: Black Subordination in the UAW
Charles Williams, The Ohio State University
Overview: Against current views of civic nationalism as a wholly democratizing ideology, this paper explores how the discourse both advanced formal racial equality and opposed more radical challenges to racism in the context of New Deal politics and the UAW.

Disc. Dorian T. Warren, University of Chicago

44-103 MEET THE AUTHOR: RUTH O’BRIEN

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Panelist Eileen McDonagh, Northeastern University
Ruth O’Brien, Graduate School, CUNY
Judith Baer, Texas A&M University
Bradley Macdonald, Colorado State University
Gretchen Ritter, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: This panel will discuss Ruth O'Brien's provocative new book, Bodies in Revolt.

46-6 NEW FINDINGS ON SOCIAL CAPITAL

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Amy Widestrom, Syracuse University
Paper Different Tiers of Social Lives in Politics
Hyun J. Yun, University of Florida
David Hedge, University of Florida
Renee J. Johnson, University of Florida
Overview: The study finds causations between the micro level of individuals' social capital and the macro level of politics, correlations among different tiers of social capital, and combined effects of social capital elements at the macro political life.

Paper Accidents, Claiming, and Regional Subcultures
Jackson Williams, AARP Public Policy Institute
Overview: Social capital theory is applied to state-level variations in safety and personal injury claiming. Data on medical errors in hospitals, auto safety, and claim payments show a pattern corresponding to Elazar's regional political cultures.

Paper Voluntary Association Activity in Quebec and English Canada: Assessing the Combined Effects of Language and Region
Monica Hwang, University of Waterloo
Robert Andersen, McMaster University
Edward G. Grabb, University of Western Ontario
Overview: This study shows that Quebecers have lower levels of voluntary association membership than other Canadians, using 2000 national survey data. This is mainly true of French-speaking Quebecers, not all Quebecers.

Paper Social Capital and Government Performance in American Counties
John R. Tennert, Virginia Tech University
Overview: Focusing on county government in the United States, this study will evaluate a series of hypotheses testing the relationship between social capital (trust, optimism and civic engagement) and government performance.

Disc. Amy Widestrom, Syracuse University

47-9 RELIGION AND POLITICS IN AFRICA

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Frank P. Le Veness, St. John's University
Paper Politics and Faith: Why Religion Matters in Cote d'Ivoire But Not Burkina
John F. McCauley, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: Using original data, this study shows that individuals in Cote d'Ivoire are much more likely than their neighbors in Burkina Faso to identify themselves in religious terms. This is due to the political salience of religion in Cote d'Ivoire.

Paper Under Politics and Religion
Santosh C. Saha, Mount Union College
Overview: "African Sense of National Identity and State Building: Accommodation between Ethnicity and the State", challenging the conventional wisdom that suggests that the ethnic conflict is intractable.

Paper Democratization: African Female Political Behaviors in Islam and Christianity
Virginia P. Beard, Michigan State University
Overview: Are Islam and Christianity driving forces in democratic orientations among African women? This paper asks if adherence to Islam or Christianity, within the context of other factors, helps to explain African women’s political behaviors.

Disc. Michael D. McGinnis, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: This paper argues that Buenos Aires became the first Latin American city to pass civil unions legislation mainly because it helped reaffirm Argentina’s national identity at a time when it was being challenged by its worst economic crisis in history.

Panelist Lawrence v. Texas decision for a broader understanding of sexuality and sexual liberty, exploring in greater depth the double-edged nature of law as an instrument of social change.

Panelist This paper examines the models of sexuality embedded in the activities of World Bank gender staff, hereby exploring the role of the Bank as a sexualized policy agent. Hereby embedded in the logics of the Western state system and the social and political order dominant in the West.

Panelist Instead, it may be embedded in the logics of the Western ethical tradition, but indeed may not be a "pure" normative theory. Instead, it may be embedded in the logics of the Western state system and the social and political order dominant in the West.

Panelist Western just war theory has its roots in the Christian ethical tradition, but indeed may not be a "pure" normative theory. Instead, it may be embedded in the logics of the Western state system and the social and political order dominant in the West.

Panelist Ordinarily and extraordinary foulups, missed opportunities, local heroes and villains, evaluation of the blame game, comparisons with some other disasters. (The author is writing a book on The Politics of Disasters.)

Panelist Ordinary and extraordinary foulups, missed opportunities, local heroes and villains, evaluation of the blame game, comparisons with some other disasters. (The author is writing a book on The Politics of Disasters.)

Panelist After 1200 years of oblivion, Spartacus--the gladiator-general in the Servile War against Rome--became a subject of fairly intense interest. He was now interpreted as an opponent of tyranny, a revolutionary republican, and an abolitionist.
Saturday, April 22 – 10:30 am – 12:15 pm

2-11  INEQUALITY, REVOLUTION AND VALUES – EVIDENCE FROM THE WORLD VALUES SURVEY

Room: TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair: Lawrence Mayer, Texas Tech University
Paper: Support for Revolution in Mass Publics
Karol Kaltenthaler, University of Akron
Ronald Gelleny, Rhodes College
Overview: This paper examines how support for revolution varies across countries and its impact on parties' electoral fortunes in the context of Taiwan and Kenya.

Paper: Explaining Individual-Level Attitudes Toward Income (In)Equality
Stephen Cecconi, Rhodes College
Karol Kaltenthaler, University of Akron
Overview: This study seeks to explain individual-level variation in attitudes toward public policies that shape income (in)equity. The paper develops and tests several distinct explanations for individual-level respondents across five continents.

Paper: Economic Inequality and Nationalism
Frederick Solt, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Overview: Does economic inequality lead to nationalism? More unequal states may appeal to nationalism to preempt demands for redistribution. This paper finds strong support for this hypothesis among the citizens of the advanced industrial democracies.

Paper: Economic Inequality and Attitudes toward Homosexuality in Cross-national Perspective
Robert A. Andersen, McMaster University
Tina Fetner, McMaster University
Overview: This paper uses cross-national data to evaluate the role of economic inequality—both within nations and across nations—and democracy in determining tolerance for homosexuality.

Paper: It's Not the Economy, Stupid! Life Satisfaction and Political Participation
Benjamin Freeman, Texas A&M University
Overview: Using data from the World Values Survey 1, this paper demonstrates how subjective life satisfaction responds to economic inequality and democracy in determining political participation.

Disc.: Timothy T. Hellwig, University of Houston

3-21  COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF DECENTRALIZATION IN INDONESIA

Room: TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair: Nicolaus T. Harjanto, Northern Illinois University
Eunsook Jung, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: This paper will examine how Islamic mass organizations engaged in social welfare provision serve as the basis of political parties and explain how informal webs of social welfare provision affect social policy making of the state.

Paper: Decentralization and Anti-Corruption Efforts: Indonesia and Philippines
Philips J. Vermonte, Northern Illinois University
Overview: This paper explains and analyzes how the NGOs' influence in the framework of decentralization structure, fight corruption in Indonesia and the Philippines.

Paper: Decentralization's Effect on Minorities: The Other Side of Decentralization
Tobias Basuki, Northern Illinois University
Overview: One of decentralization’s main purposes is to provide a better political and cultural freedom for minorities. However in heterogeneous countries, the implementation of decentralization can have adverse effects towards minorities.

Disc.: Dwight Y. King, Northern Illinois University

3-23  CLIENTALISM AND SOCIAL SERVICE Provision

Room: TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair: Maqsood A. Choudary, Delta College
Paper: Reconsidering "Cultural Institutions" in Development: A Case in Rural India
Mary E. Breeding, American University
Overview: This paper addresses the role of political culture, specifically the role of ethnic identity, and institutions in public service delivery using data from a specific example in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, India.

Paper: Political Particularism and Public Service Spending
Joel W. Simmons, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: How do incentives to cultivate a personal vote affect spending on public services, particularly spending on education and health care projects and how do incentives to cultivate a personal vote affect the quality of life of citizens?

Mona M. Lyne, University of South Carolina, Columbia
Royce Carroll, University of California, San Diego
Overview: We present a unified principle-agent framework to explain the political market failures that create incentives for rent-seeking, pork-barreling, and clientelism with applications to contemporary and historical cases of developing democracies.

Paper: A Resource Model of Clientelism: Provincial-level Analysis
Megumi Naoi, University of California, San Diego
Overview: This paper develops a resource-based theory for why politicians engage in one form of clientelistic exchange over others. It tests whether two types of “favoritism” given to provinces in Thailand since 1990—investment privileges and transfers—are co

Paper: Political Feasibility of Poverty Alleviation Programs
Christian Ponce de Leon, University of Chicago
Overview: This paper presents a model of redistributive taxation in democratic regimes where voters decide the size of the budget and its allocation between two social policies: universal assistance programs and targeted poverty alleviation programs.

Disc.: Wonik Kim, Louisiana State University

4-14  DISSENT AND POLITICAL MOBILIZATION IN ASIA

Room: TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair: Mahendra Lawoti, Western Michigan University
Paper: Democracy Without Defenders: Tolerant but Alienated Elite in Nepal
Mahendra Lawoti, Western Michigan University
Overview: The study finds that the Nepali elite were tolerant but alienated from the democratic system. It partly explains the lack of widespread protests initially against the dismissal of the elected government by the King in 2002.
Paper Between Democracy and Authoritarianism: Party Survival in Bangladesh and Pakistan
Haroon K. Ullah, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
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?

Paper Crises and Autocratic Breakdowns in Island Southeast Asia
Thomas B. Pepinsky, Yale University
Overview: Autocrats manage economic crises by placing adjustment costs on groups outside of the regime’s support coalition. Southeast Asian evidence shows that crises unseat autocrats only if they change the expected benefits of supporting the regime.

Paper A Space Odyssey: A Comparative Analysis of Spatial Patterns of Protests
Taehyun Nam, Rhodes College
Overview: This paper considers spatial factors potentially conducive to protests and hypothesizes patterns from them. Testing local Moran's I, this paper examines whether or not there were expected special patterns of protests in South Korea from 1990 to 1992.

Paper Comparing Velocities of Mobilization: Collective Dissent in South Korea
Omur Yilmaz, University of Kansas
Taehyun Nam, Rhodes College
Overview: We use duration modeling to analyze how fast different groups—students, labor, peasants—respond to newly arising issues and governmental coercion by mobilizing protests in the case of South Korea during 1990-1992.

Disc. Martin W. Slann, Macao State College

4-24 WILL DEMOCRACY DELIVER IN EASTERN EUROPE?
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Svend-Erik Skamling, University of Aarhus, Denmark

Paper Determinants of Institutional Change During Transition
Tatiana B. Ruseva, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: The paper undertakes an institutional analysis of the transition-specific determinants and EU-induced factors for institutional change in Bulgaria's environmental sector. It posits that transitional features are overpowersing in this context.

Paper Democracy Promotion and Its Impact on Democratization in Moldova
Ecatereina McDonagh, University of Dublin
Overview: This paper analyses the international dimension of democratic transition in Moldova. Its focus is on democracy promotion efforts used by international organizations in order to encourage domestic political elites to democratise.

Paper Life Cycles of Civil Society and Civic Participation in Kosovo
Kathleen Clausson, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: This report examines the paradox behind the lack of civic participation and deep mistrust in Kosovo and the Western policy in the region that treats the development of civil society as an indicator of progress toward democratic change.

Paper Foreign Military Training Programs and the “Savage Wars of Peace”
Matthew J. Schmidt, Georgetown University
Overview: Explores the phenomenon of foreign military training programs, their history, relation to theories of the state and political development, and U.S. strategic theory in the post-Cold War era.

Paper The International Protectorate: From an Old Formula to a New Utopia
Karim Medjed, HEC Paris
Overview: This paper offers a critical examination of the latest breed of international protectorates, from the Balkans to Iraq, based on findings made in the course of various missions performed in the Balkans and in the Middle East.

Disc. Kevin E. Grisham, University of California, Riverside

5-12 INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS AND DOMESTIC POLICIES IN EUROPE
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Isabella Camyjar, Louisiana State University

Paper Competitiveness and Change: The Politics of Economic Reform in an Integrating Europe
Gregory Baldwin, Georgetown University
Overview: This paper examines the issue of political economic change in the European Union through an analysis of the first five years of the Lisbon Strategy for Growth and Employment in Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom.

Paper Europeanization and Globalization: Are They Alternative or Complementary?
Isa Camyjar, Louisiana State University
Overview: This paper examines the conceptual and empirical relationship between globalization and Europeanization as two macro-structural processes that affect domestic policies in the member states of the EU.

Paper From Ideas to Policies: Reforming the Italian Budget Process
Francesco Stolfi, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: The reforms of the Italian budget institutions in the 1990s were not the response to pressures from Europe. Rather, they were due to domestic factors, namely the interaction of the reform community's ideas with the "right" institutional conditions.

Disc. Andrew Austin, CERGE-EI

5-18 THE CONSEQUENCES OF EU MEMBERSHIP (Co-sponsored with International Political Economy, see 12-16)
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair David Ellison, Grinnell College

Paper Market Correctives, Market Palliatives and European Integration
David Ellison, Grinnell College
Overview: This paper analyzes the impact of EU decision-making on political battles over allocations of SCF funding for the 2007-2013 framework period and their potential to diminish more successful management of the costs of economic adjustment.

Paper Trashing Central Europe: The Political Economy of Waste in EU Enlargement
Robert Prahi, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Zsuzsa Gille, University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign
Overview: Enlargement of the European Union has changed the nature of the polity in which policy is made in Central Europe. Instead of being made inside national boundaries, West Europeans can now influence policy making in their own interests.

Paper Cross-National Policy Networks and the State
Beate Sissenich, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: Claims about NGO influence in transnational networks abound. But do cross-border networks really signify that states have lost their gate-keeping function? And do such networks transcend border effects by linking subnational actors from several countries, or are they rather vehicles for upward linkages from subnational to supranational actors?

Paper The EU and the Baltic Tigers
Steven G. Stoltenberg, U.S. Department of State
Overview: The prospect of EU accession played a decisive role in shaping key policy choices of Baltic elites, as demonstrated by the examples of energy policy and social integration.

Paper Roads, Rivers and Mountains: Transportation Dilemmas for EU Accession Countries in Eastern Europe
Eleanor Zeff, Drake University
Ellen Pirro, Iowa State University
Overview: TBA

Disc. Michael L. Ardovino, St. Mary's College of Maryland
7-8 REGULATION AND REFORM: ECONOMIC POLICYMAKING IN LATIN AMERICA

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Jennifer S. Holmes, University of Texas, Dallas
Paper Foreign Banks in Mexico: New Conquistadors or Agents of Change?
Heiner Schulz, University of Pennsylvania
Overview: This paper examines the effect of FDI on the Mexican banking sector. Results show that foreign entry had a positive but limited impact on sector development. Politically, an external shock was necessary for liberalization of the investment regime.

Paper Income Taxation in Argentina and Brazil: Intersection of Region and Race
Hiram J. Irizarry Osoiro, The Ohio State University
Overview: Argentina historically has had a lower income tax collection than Brazil, even though it has been a wealthier state. I explain this empirical puzzle by specifying the intersection between racial and regional cleavages (vertical and horizontal).

Paper The Politics of Welfare Reform in Mexico
Michelle L. Dion, Georgia Institute of Technology
Overview: This paper offers an empirically informed theoretical framework for understanding how and why banking regulation (the degree of state intervention in the banking system) has changed in Latin America in the past two decades.

Disc. Melanie Manion, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Guillermo Rosas, Washington University, St. Louis
Gregg B. Johnson, SUNY, Buffalo

8-10 CORRUPTION AND INSTITUTIONAL DYSFUNCTION IN CHINA

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Melanie Manion, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Paper Institutions, Corruption, and Anti-corruption Policies: The Case of China
Qiang Yan, University of Missouri, St Louis
Overview: In this paper I will discuss how institutions influence the development of corruption and the making of anti-corruption policies in China.

Paper Analysis of Personal Secretary’s Role in Official Corruption in China
Xia L. Lollar, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater
Anne W. Hamilton, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater
Overview: The paper examines the phenomenon of "secretary corruption" in Chinese government today.

Paper Principal-Agent Problems in China’s State Owned Enterprises
Gary A. Stradiotto, University of California, Davis
Overview: A large number of China’s State Owned Enterprises remain inefficient and uncompetitive in the reform environment. This paper argues this is due to failures in corporate governance, which results from the breakdown of principal-agent relationships.

Disc. Melanie Manion, University of Wisconsin, Madison

9-5 COLONIAL LEGACIES AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS OF AFRICA

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Mike Hampson, University of California, Irvine
Paper The Dilemma of Colonial Boundaries in Contemporary Africa: The Bakassi Peninsula in Nigeria-Cameroon Border Relations
Geoffrey Nwaka, Abia State University
Overview: Many critics complain that the current boundaries of African States make little sense. Preserving them by force creates as many problems as seeking to renegotiate or repudiate them.

Paper Badme: A Pretext for the Ethiopian-Eritrean War
Alemseged Abbay, Frostburg State University
Overview: The paper tries to decipher the root causes for the "border war" between Ethiopia and its former province of Eritrea (1998-2000). This paper argues that Badme, the flashpoint of the conflict, was not even remotely a cause for what has been described.

Paper Weathering the Storm/Reaping the Harvest? Democratic Dividends in Africa
Adelola A. Durotayo, University of Ibadan
Overview: The paper will explore the dilemma of a confused agenda between what African leaders believe will yield democratic dividends to the citizenry and what they have to do as handed to them by the West in the name of economic conditionabilities.

Disc. Paul Clements, Western Michigan University

10-8 ETHNIC IDENTITY AND CONFLICT IN THE COMMUNIST AND POST-COMMUNIST WORLD

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Rokas Oginisik, Wayne State University/University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Mihaela Mihaiescu, University of Minnesota
Overview: This paper analyzes how the adoptions of basic democratic institutions in post-communist Slovakia helped prevent violent ethnic conflict by constraining political parties across the ethnic divide to cooperate, albeit on a minimal consensus agenda.

Paper Lessons Learned? Western Aid for Political Moderation in the Post-Conflict Balkans
Paula M. Pickering, College of William and Mary
Overview: Democracy aid is particularly complex when directed to divided post-conflict areas, like the Balkans, where states’ only ephemeral experience with democracy contributed to violence. Elite interviews explore lessons learned from democracy aid.

Paper The Origins of Territorial Autonomy Arrangements in Multi-ethnic States
Renat Shaykhutdinov, Texas A&M University
Overview: In this paper I explain the formation of territorial autonomy arrangements in multiethnic states. I develop and test a theory that explains the origins of autonomous as a function of the characteristics of ethnic groups, states and mediators.

Paper Ethnic Difference and Survey Cooperation in the People’s Republic of China
Matthew Hoddie, Texas A&M University
Overview: This study identifies contrasts between majority and minority responses to a national survey of China. I find that members of minority communities are less forthcoming during survey interviews than individuals belonging to the Han majority.

Disc. Cynthia S. Kaplan, University of California, Santa Barbara
11-9 NEW THEORIES AND THUS NEW DEBATES

Room: TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair: Duane Adamson, Brigham Young University
Paper: Christianity and International Politics in the Thought of Reinhold Niebuhr and Herbert Butterfield
Pier Domenico Tortola, Boston University
Overview: This paper compares Niebuhr and Butterfield's applications of Christian ideas to the analysis of interstate politics and sheds light on the broader theoretical and epistemological "debate" between realism and the English School.

Paper: Culture in International Relations Theory: Comparative Analysis of Social Theory of International Politics and Clash of Civilizations
Wael J. Haboub, University of Illinois, Chicago
Overview: This study will analyze the core assumptions of both Clash of Civilization Theory articulated by Samuel Huntington and that of Alexander Wendt's Social Theory of International Politics.

Paper: The Utility of Justificatory Analysis in International Relations Research
Travis B. Nelson, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: This paper examines the use of justifications as a part of empirical research in international relations and argues that the promise and pitfalls of justificatory analysis point not only to caution but to both normative and strategic utility.

Paper: Evolutionary Approaches to the Study of International Relations
Tamas Golya, University of Oregon
Overview: This paper seeks to specify in what sense findings of evolutionary psychology can expand and fertilize international relations (=IR) theory, but also how not to do it. It also speaks to the relative relevance of each of the main paradigms in IR.

Paper: Synthetic Theories and the Study of Political Violence
Jonathan Oberst, University of Chicago
Matthias Staigis, University of Chicago
Overview: Endorses theoretical synthesis in IR, but criticizes its advocates for not having attained it. Presents a three-step procedure based on a typology of causal questions and related modes of explanation and applies it to the study of political violence.

Disc. Rashida Hussain, Wright State University

13-9 SIGNALS AND NETWORKS

Room: TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair: Bahar Leventoglu, Stony Brook University
Paper: Modelling Transgovernmental Network Choices with Exponential Random Graph Models
Paul W. Thurner, University of Mannheim
Martin Binder, University of Mannheim
Overview: We investigate the motives for establishing transgovernmental network choices. Focal actors are high officials of the EU member states' ministerial bureaucracy. Exponential Random Graph Models are used for testing our hypotheses.

Paper: Effects of Historical Analogies on Foreign Policy Decision Processes
Nehemia Geva, Texas A&M University
Douglas Kaberski, Texas A&M University
Overview: An experimental test of the proposition that exposure to historical analogies make people less sensitive to the information about the current crisis, thereby increasing support for leaders' advocated foreign policy.

Paper: Preferences, Power, and Policy Choice
Mark A. Souva, Florida State University
Overview: Given a particular type of crisis, what factors most affect how a state responds? I argue that the primary factors affecting foreign policy choice are the similarity of foreign policy preferences and the balance of power in the dyad.

14-9 THE GLOBAL CHALLENGE OF TERRORISM

Room: TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair: Frank La Venna, St. John’s University
Paper: International Terrorism and Trade: A Simultaneous Equation Model
Andrada Irina S. Costoiu, University of Illinois, Chicago
Overview: It is argued that the terrorist attacks reduce the volume of international trade and vice versa. Using a simultaneous equation model, I find compelling evidence that terrorism and international trade determine each other.

Paper: Terrorism as a Narrative Practice
Maarten G. D. Rohthan, Netherlands Defense Academy
Overview: Terrorist messages are analyzed as projecting particular narratives, playing to an audience, using specific techniques, producing specific theatrical effects. This paper searches various terrorist narratives for clues about their prospective success.

Paper: Terrorism in North Africa: Going Global?
Lianne E. Kennedy Boudali, United States Military Academy
Overview: Recent communications from North African terrorist groups indicate greater identification with the trans-national agenda of the "global jihad."

Paper: Terrorism in the Horn of Africa: Where Bin Laden Began
Tsegai Isaac, University of Missouri, Rolla
Overview: Terrorists inspired by Al Qaeda had long established bases in the Horn. They carried out acts of violence against civilians. This paper chronicles terrorism in view of the Horn countries plea for assistance and Western ambivalence to the problem.

Paper: Terrorist Organizations and Sub-National Governmental Relations
Kevin E. Grisham, University of California, Riverside
Overview: An exploration of how to characterize and measure the relationships between subnational government units and terrorist organizations in the modern era.

Disc. Bradley F. Podliska, Texas A&M University
Frank La Venna, St. John’s University

15-9 DOMESTIC POLITICS AND CONFLICT

Room: TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair: Stephen B. Long, Kansas State University
Paper: What Will You Know?: Explaining Within Democracy Variance in Foreign Policy Institutions and Conflict Behavior
Michael P. Colaresi, Michigan State University
Overview: This paper explains important distinctions between democratic governments based on retrospective foreign policy information institutions.

Paper: Political Liberalization and the Threat of Violence
Ursula E. Daxcecker, University of New Orleans
Overview: This paper investigates the causes of violence following political liberalization. Private information on bargaining strength and the ability of the outgoing regime to negotiate its own exit terms are argued to affect the range of possible outcomes.

Paper: An Informational Theory of National Leaders, Domestic Institutions, and International Conflict
Scott Woldof, Emory University
Overview: Prior beliefs over the resolve of national leaders are endogenized to the informational consequences of domestic
Paper **The Politics of International Rivalry**  
Daniel S. Morey, University of Iowa  
Overview: Drawn from a model of domestic politics and rivalries, the central hypothesis of this paper is that only very costly wars will lead to rivalry termination. The cost from war must be extreme to displace domestic factions favoring rivalry continuation.

**Disc.** Stephen B. Long, Kansas State University

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Paper **An Analysis of US Sanctions Against International Drug Trafficking**  
Katy Crossley-Frolick, DePaul University  
Overview: This paper examines the consequences of US policies to maintain military outposts across the globe. Moving beyond traditional dependency arguments, we examine how the presence of US bases may encourage the development of militarized societies.

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Paper **The Substitutability of Security**  
Martin J. Kiør, University of Minnesota  
Overview: Through a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, this project will explain allocation strategies for U.S. military training aid to foreign militaries from the Cold War to the current era after September 11th.

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Paper **The Effectiveness of International Human Rights Agreements**  
Jeffrey K. Staton, Florida State University  
Emilia J. Powell, Florida State University  
Overview: We develop and test theoretical model of treaty adoption and compliance that considers how features of the domestic judicial system influence state choices to adopt and comply with international human rights norms.

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Paper **Ratification of Human Rights Treaties and Regional Politics**  
Heather M. Smith, University of California, San Diego  
Overview: Why do states ratify human rights treaties? States engage in a competitive signaling game with their regional peers to attract foreign aid, particularly during regional political crises. Empirical testing lends tentative support to this assertion.

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Jessica A. Stanton, Columbia University  
Overview: This paper seeks to understand why some governments and rebel groups engage in deliberate attacks on civilians during civil war, while other actors respect the principle of noncombatant immunity, largely complying with international humanitarian law.

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Paper **The Beijing Declaration Ten Years Later: A Global Assessment of Women’s Rights**  
D. Christopher Brooks, St. Olaf College  
Overview: An empirical evaluation of the progress made to implement the 1995 Beijing Declaration’s provisions for the protection of women’s rights globally and regionally.

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Paper **Does Valuing Opinion Diversity Help Predict Political Motivation?**  
Joanne M. Miller, University of Minnesota  
Overview: Current models of political participation are inadequate inasmuch as they do not adequately incorporate motivation. To fill this gap, this paper reports the results of an experiment that tests a general theory of political motivation.

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Paper **Extreme Voices or Good Citizens Local Civic Engagement Reconsidered**  
Christopher F. Karpowitz, Princeton University  
Overview: This paper reconsiders the argument that local public meetings are driven by the interests and perspectives of extremists.

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Paper **Political Bullies: What Factors are Related to Recruitment for Extremist Activities in America?**  
Eugenia K. Guilmartin, Command and General Staff College, US Army  
Overview: What factors are related to recruitment for extremist activities? This paper analyzes responses to a survey of US Army personnel (2001) to advance the profile of a "political bully."

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Paper **World War II: The Role of the United States in the United Nations**  
Disc. Nikolay Marinov, Yale University  
Overview: This paper examines the consequences of US policies to maintain military outposts across the globe. Moving beyond traditional dependency arguments, we examine how the presence of US bases may encourage the development of militarized societies.

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Overview: This study is based upon two experiments where different methods produce different conclusions about the impact of salience in voting.

Paper Negative Voting in Presidential Elections
Jonathan Williamson, Lycoming College
Overview: Using NES data, this paper updates evidence of negative voter support over the last twenty years. The paper also explains negative voting at the micro level; factors leading to negative voting include ideology, partisanship and voter efficacity.

Sung-jin Yoo, Stony Brook University
Overview: What are the effects of ambivalence in electoral choice? Focusing on the electoral choice of ambivalent voters in U.S. Presidential elections since 1980, I attempt to find the effects of attitudinal ambivalence on electoral choice.

Disc. Helmut Norporth, SUNY, Stony Brook

22-8 POLITICAL AWARENESS AND KNOWLEDGE

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Katherine Cramer Walsh, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Paper Explaining Variations in Political Knowledge Gaps
Jason Barabas, Harvard University
Jennifer Jerit, University of Connecticut/Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Overview: Scholars often link knowledge to demographics, but we concentrate on the role of the information environment. Pairing dozens of surveys with media content analyses, we examine the quantity and quality of information affect political knowledge.

Paper Who Provides Stability?: The Rational Public and Model Uncertainty
Gregory E. McAvoy, University of North Carolina, Greensboro
Overview: A longstanding concern among scholars and observers of American politics is whether the public possesses the ability to make reasonable and informed decisions about politics. Page and Shapiro provide reasons to think that in the aggregate public opinion, uncertainty is a key factor.

Paper Political Knowledge and Public Approval: California in the Post-Recall Era
Kimberly L. Nalder, California State University, Sacramento
Overview: Did support for the 2003 CA recall stem from ignorance about state government? Original CA Field Poll data is used to evaluate whether citizen ignorance drives public support for specific state policies and leaders in the post-recall era.

Paper Political Gossip, Friendship Networks, and Attitude Change on Policy Issues: Experimental Evidence
Suzanne Parker, Purdue University
Glenn Parker, Purdue University
Jay McCann, Purdue University
Overview: This study is based upon two experiments where student-interviewers offer their opinions on salient and non-salient political issues individually to a group of their (5) friends in structured interview situations.

22-205 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: FOREIGN OPINIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Presenter Responsive Diplomacy: Measuring Foreign Opinions of the United States
Ryan M. Tuggle, Georgetown University
Overview: Analysis of foreign opinion polling can reveal the probable impact of existing and proposed diplomatic policies. This study applies a multi-nominal logit regression to opinion polling data collected by the Pew Global Attitudes project.

23-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LOCAL DEMOCRACY IN MIDDLE AMERICA

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Presenter Deliberative Democracy and the Study Circles in Carbondale, Illinois
Ana M. Velitchkova, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Overview: A study on the Carbondale, Illinois Study Circles initiative “Carbondale Conversations for Community Action,” which examines how grassroots deliberation centered on local community issues affects political actions and attitudes.

Presenter Lessons in Direct Democracy from a Small City Recall Election
Gregory E. Rathje, Western Michigan University
Overview: In August 2005 the city of Marquette, Michigan recalled four of its seven commissioners. This research explores the political dynamics and policy consequences of the recall, within the framework of direct democracy.

23-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE INTERNET'S INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Presenter Has the Internet Fulfilled its Democratic Potential?
Tina Ebbeng, Calumet College of St. Joseph
Overview: The Internet's effect on American democracy will be measured by Internet or online voting and Internet voter registration.

24-11 THE MEDIA AND MINORITY POLITICS

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Gustavo Cano, University of Nebraska, Omaha

Paper Race and Place: The Impact of News Coverage of Urban and Rural Depictions of Poverty
Mandi L. Bates, University of Kentucky/Texas A&M University, Corpus Christi
Overview: This research investigates attitudes toward welfare and welfare recipients. In particular, it examines how stereotypes of places (understood as urban or rural) and races portrayed in the news media impact judgments of welfare and welfare recipients.

Paper Media Framing of Racial Divides in Public Opinion After Hurricane Katrina
Janet L. Donavan, University of Puget Sound
Overview: Does George W. Bush care about black people? This paper traces the process by which race became a major news frame for understanding the federal government's response to Hurricane Katrina.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Geographic Media Agenda Setting: Spatial Proximity to the US-Mexico Border and Local News Coverage of Immigration Issues</th>
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<tr>
<td>Johanna L. Dunaway, Rice University</td>
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<td>Overview: This paper addresses geographic context and media coverage of political issues. It focuses specifically on immigration, and examines how proximity to the US-Mexico border influences local media attention to this and other border related issues.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Craig F. Frizzell, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview: Symbolic racism theory is tested by examining the racial issue content of television advertisements broadcast during the 2002 congressional elections. Third parties are expected to be more likely to broadcast racial ads than candidates themselves.</td>
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<td>Kimberly Gross, George Washington University</td>
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<td>Overview: This paper presents the results of a content analysis examining the portrayal of racial minorities in television news as well as a series of interviews with reporters and producers designed to explore why the news coverage looks as it does.</td>
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<td>Overview: This paper reports the results of an experimental study of the effects of exposure to the political party broadcasts of the CDU and the SPD parties in the 2005 German national election.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Effects of the TV Debate on Vote Decisions in the 2005 German Election</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jurgen Maier, Kaiserslautern University of Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michaela Maier, University of Koblenz, Laundau</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview: The experimental study tested whether exposure to the television debate between Gerhard Schroder (SPD) and Angela Merkel (CDU) in the 2005 German election resulted in more rational or more personalized voting decisions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sarah Oates, University of Glasgow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Andrew Paul Williams, Virginia Tech University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview: This study examined surveys and focus groups to determine the impact of the terrorism issue on the American and British electorates in the most recent national elections in each country (2004 and 2005, respectively).</td>
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<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>News Coverage of Elections in Sweden and Britain</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jesper Stromback, Mid-Sweden University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adam Shehata, Mid-Sweden University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview: This study compared the episodic and thematic framing of the most recent national elections in Sweden (2002) and Britain (2005), illustrating the presence of structural bias in media coverage.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>COVERING AGENDA SHIFTS OF THE US WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Janet K. Boles, Marquette University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview: The focus is upon the increasing importance of issues of race, class, and diversity as well as international issues. The substantive content and amount of coverage in Ms. Magazine, 1972-2005, of these issues are examined.</td>
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<th>Paper</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jamie P. Pimlott, University of Florida</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kathryn Oates, University of Florida</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview: Conservative women have been a formidable force in the political spectrum for several decades, yet scholars have not dedicated time to their efforts. Instead, “women in politics” research has largely focused on the liberal feminist movement, tracing</td>
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<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Turning Sad into Mad: Grief and the Mobilization of Motherhood</th>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth A. Benison, Indiana University, South Bend</td>
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<tr>
<td>Laura E. Roach, Indiana University, South Bend</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview: A comparative case study of the groups Mamas Against Violence and Mothers Against Drunk Driving that explores the role of grief as a catalyst for political action by mothers from various racial, economic and political backgrounds.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>Representing Women: Women's Organizations, Parties and Policy in Print Media</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sirje Laurel Weldon, Purdue University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maura P. Bahu, Purdue University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview: In this paper we examine women’s organizations’ efforts to influence public discussion on policy issues, specifically in two localities, Chicago and Boston.</td>
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<th>Paper</th>
<th>State Equal Rights Amendments: Evaluating their Effectiveness</th>
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<tr>
<td>Linda Wharton, Richard Stockton College of New Jersey</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview: This paper evaluates the effectiveness of state equal rights amendments in protecting women’s equality, focusing on their application in areas in which federal constitutional protection has been increasingly limited in scope.</td>
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<td>Leanne Doherty, Simmons College</td>
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<td>Overview: This paper discusses the ramifications that athletic interest email surveys could have on the strength of Title IX, the only public policy that protects women's sports, as well as attempt to show that this technique for policy compliance is invalid.</td>
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<td>Overview: Feminists use the concept of &quot;first-class citizenship&quot; to win improvements for military women. While increased opportunities for women in the military is desirable, what kind of lessons in democratic citizenship does the military offer?</td>
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<td>Overview: This paper examines the context in which states and the federal government have considered and adopted breastfeeding legislation. The advantages and limitations of applying an individual rights framework to the issue breastfeeding are explored.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Disc.</th>
<th>25-9 DIVERSE ENDS, DIVERSE MEANS: WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS</th>
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<tr>
<td>Gustavo Cano, University of Nebraska, Omaha</td>
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| Room | TBA, Sat 10:30 am |
| Chair | Lee Ann Banaszak, Pennsylvania State University |

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<th>Paper</th>
<th>24-12 MEDIA EFFECTS AND EUROPEAN NATIONAL ELECTIONS</th>
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<td>Susan G. Mezez, Loyola University, Chicago</td>
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| Disc. | Gwynth L. Williams, Webster University |

209
Paper Voting as a Credible Threat
John B. Londregan, Princeton University
Andrea Vindigni, Princeton University
Overview: Voting and effectiveness in battle both involve an overestimate of one's impact on events. Elections can provide a credible signal of each side's fighting capacity facilitating a bargained conflict resolution short of civil war.
Disc. Catherine C. Langlois, Georgetown University

Paper Terrorist Violence and Intra-Terrorist Competition
Skyler J. Cranmer, University of California, Davis
Overview: A formal model of terrorist violence in perfect and imperfect non-competitive terrorism environments (a terrorist group does not compete with other terrorist groups) as well as perfect and imperfect competition between terrorist groups.

Paper On the Political Economy of Clientelism, Patronage and Inequality
Leonardo A. Gatica-Arreola, University of Guadalajara
Overview: Some theoretical approaches relate clientelism with poverty and inequality. The paper builds a formal model which challenges this idea and which is consistent with the empirical evidence.

Paper Voting as a Credible Threat
John B. Londregan, Princeton University
Andrea Vindigni, Princeton University
Overview: Voting and effectiveness in battle both involve an overestimate of one's impact on events. Elections can provide a credible signal of each side's fighting capacity facilitating a bargained conflict resolution short of civil war.
Disc. Catherine C. Langlois, Georgetown University

Paper Ethical Voting and the Probability of a Pivotal Vote: Experimental Evidence
Sean Galimard, Northwestern University
Timothy Feddersen, Northwestern University
Rebecca Morton, New York University
Overview: We experimentally investigate the self-selection of voters according to other-regarding preferences, as pivot probability declines. We explore the implications of this self-selection for the relative support of equitable distribution in groups.

Paper Shaping the Electorate: Delegating Disenfranchisement
Decisions
Rebecca B. Morton, New York University
Anna Bassi, New York University
Jessica L. Trounstine, Princeton University
Overview: We formally model the interaction between a state legislature and appointed voting officials in felon disfranchisement decisions as a delegation game. We empirically test these predictions about state election laws for the period 1980-2000.

Panelist Edwina Barvosa-Carter, University of California, Santa Barbara
Romand Coles, Duke University
Lisa Disch, University of Minnesota
Peter E. Digeser, University of California, Santa Barbara
Paul Apostolidis, Whitman College
Overview: TBA

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Romand Coles, Duke University
Lisa Disch, University of Minnesota
Peter E. Digeser, University of California, Santa Barbara
Paul Apostolidis, Whitman College
Overview: TBA
Paper Evolving Political Machines: The Christian Right as the New Tammany Hall
Chelsea L. Haring, Michigan State University
Suzanne M. Gold, Michigan State University
Overview: Taking the characteristics of classic political machines and applying them to modern day national interest groups, we argue that political machines are not obsolete. They have been redefined to transcend region and party.
Disc. Bernard Ivan Tamas, Illinois State University

33-7 PRESIDENTIAL STAFF MANAGEMENT
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Lara M. Brown, California State University, Channel Islands
Paper Advancing the President: The Establishment of the Advance Office in the Presidential Branch
Michael J. Burton, Ohio University
Overview: Traces the establishment of the Office of Scheduling and Advance within the EOP, placing this innovation within the context of wider theories of institutional growth and development.

Karen M. Hult, Virginia Polytechnic Institute/State University
MaryAnne Borrelli, Connecticut College
Overview: The paper treats the US Government Manual as an organizational self-portrait of a presidency. Focusing on transparency and gender representation, it compares the White House Office entries over time and with listings from other sources.

Paper The Mechanics of Delegating Authority: Modeling White House Initiative
Terry O. Sullivan, University of North Carolina
Overview: A formal theory of the decision to delegate presidential authority among White House staff compares different forms of authority (e.g., presidential autonomy versus shared authority).

Paper Clashing Ideologies in the Clinton White House
Shirley Anne Warshaw, Gettysburg College
Overview: Throughout the first term of the Clinton presidency, decision making in the White House was often paralyzed by the conflicts between the centrists, primarily from the Democratic Leadership Council, and the liberals.
Disc. Susan L. Roberts, Davidson College
Lara M. Brown, California State University, Channel Islands

34-5 CONGRESS AND AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair John H. Aldrich, Duke University
Paper Congressional Reorganization of the Federal Judiciary from 1875-1891
Craig Goodman, Texas Tech University
Kevin Scott, Texas Tech University
Overview: This paper analyzes congressional decision-making concerning the reorganization of the federal judiciary in the latter part of the 19th century.

Paper Postal Reform in the 1840s: Corruption, Development and Party Power
John Baughman, Bates College
Overview: Postal reform reached a crisis in the 1840s in debates over party corruption and development. Congress faced a common pool resource problem, threatening the franking privilege. Its answer was a first step toward separating postmasters from patronage.

Paper The Politics of Military Service Pensions in the Antebellum U.S. Congress
Charles J. Finochiaro, University at Buffalo, SUNY
Jeffrey A. Jenkins, Northwestern University
Overview: We examine the rise and development of military service pension legislation in the U.S. Congress before the Civil War, focusing on distributive politics and credit claiming activities by MCs.

36-6 THE POLITICS OF JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS (Co-sponsored with Presidency and Executive Politics, see 33-15)
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Amy Stegerwalt, University of New Orleans
Paper A Balancing Approach to Nominating Supreme Court Justices
Christopher D. Martin, Ohio Dominican University
Overview: This inquiry seeks to explain how a president brokers, if not balances his ideology, with respect to the ideology of United States Senators in order to realize confirmation of his nominee(s) to the Supreme Court.

Paper Supreme Court Nomination Politics in Presidential Election Campaigns
Christine L. Nemacheck, College of William & Mary
Overview: I analyze Supreme Court nomination politics as an issue in presidential election campaigns over the 20th Century and explain the conditions under which we should expect this issue to be prominent.

Paper Judicial Quality and the Supreme Court Nominating Process
Andrew O'Geen, Georgia State University
Overview: This paper focuses on the political circumstances surrounding a president's nominee to the Supreme Court and the impact of these circumstances on the quality of justices.

Paper The Electoral Connection in Supreme Court Appointments
Ehud N. Sommer, SUNY, Stony Brook
Overview: I focus on micro-level analyses of the electoral connection in the confirmation process of Supreme Court nominees in the U.S. Senate. Taking the individual congresspersons as units of analysis, I argue that re-election considerations add to our understanding of the confirmation process.
In order to increase their competences and in some cases, as in the
discussion about the reform of their statutes of autonomy in
Overview: Since 2003, many regional parliaments began the
discuss multiple-component policies and describe a variety of
past the simple adoption dichotomy traditionally employed. I
Overview: Advances in state policy adoption have moved us
Paper Approaches to Modeling the Adoption and Modification of
Policies with Multiple Components
Frederick J. Boehmke, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: Advances in state policy adoption have moved us
past the simple adoption dichotomy traditionally employed. I
discuss multiple-component policies and describe a variety of
models for analyzing the adoption and modification of such policies.

36-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: COURTS, CIVIL LIBERTIES, AND NATIONAL SECURITY
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Presenter A Conflict of Interest: National Security Challenges to Civil Liberties in Times of War
Brian R. King, Muskingum College
Nathan A. Strum, Muskingum College
Overview: The project examines challenges faced by the US in balancing civil liberties with national security needs. It analyzes current cases related to the war on terror, including an analysis of the US stance on enemy combatant status and related issues.
Presenter The Courts in Times of Crisis: The Impact of Threat on Civil Liberties
Linda M. Merola, Georgetown University
Overview: This project examines the contours of judicial decision-making in crises of prolonged crisis in a quantitative manner through an investigation of linguistic indicators of threat within judicial decisions and other related texts.

37-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: COMPARATIVE LAW
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Presenter Muslim Marriage Contracts: “I do, if ...”
Samuel D. Angus, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: Interviews with lawyers, those who facilitate marriages and married men who have ties to an American mosque and its members are used to shed light on the drafting and content of Islamic marriage contracts.
Presenter Tendencies in the Reform of the Spanish Regions Statutes
Jose A. Garcia-Rojas, Universidad de La Laguna
Overview: Since 2003, many regional parliaments began the discussion about the reform of their statutes of autonomy in order to increase their competences and in some cases, as in the Basque Country and Catalonia, to get the recognition as nations.

37-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: FEDERALISM AND THE COURTS
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Presenter Trends in Certification of State Law Questions: Active Judicial Federalism
Wendy L. Watson, University of North Texas
Daniel Orion Davis, University of North Texas
McKinzie Craig, University of North Texas
Overview: This paper surveys the various state procedures available for federal courts to certify issues of state law to State Supreme Courts and trends in the federal courts’ use of those procedures.

38-10 POLICY ADOPTION AND IMPLEMENTATION IN THE STATES
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Paul Brace, Rice University
Paper Approaches to Modeling the Adoption and Modification of Policies with Multiple Components
Frederick J. Boehmke, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: Advances in state policy adoption have moved us past the simple adoption dichotomy traditionally employed. I discuss multiple-component policies and describe a variety of models for analyzing the adoption and modification of such policies.

Paper Transactions Costs and Policy Diffusion in the American States
Matthew A. Weinstein, University of Pittsburgh
George A. Krause, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: We both advance and test a contingent transaction cost theory of policy diffusion. This theory is premised on the transaction costs arising from both political institutions and governance structures of “adopting” institutions.

Paper State Policy Diffusion: Do Institutions Matter?
Rachel Fulcher Dawson, Michigan State University
Overview: Using event history analysis, I investigate how a policy diffuses over time and across institutions. I focus on state preschool policy as an innovation potentially claimed and implemented by two primary institutions: education and social services.

Paper One Fate, Two Fate, Red State, Blue State: Well-Being in Divided America
Joseph J. Foy, University of Wisconsin, Waukesha
Sue A. Foy, Boys and Girls Club of Park County
Overview: As mainstream political commentary divides America between red states and blue states, this project seeks to determine whether or not these divisions hold anything more than categorical importance on issues of policy and well-being across the states.

Paper The Courts in Times of Crisis: The Impact of Threat on Civil Liberties
Linda M. Merola, Georgetown University
Overview: This project examines the contours of judicial decision-making in crises of prolonged crisis in a quantitative manner through an investigation of linguistic indicators of threat within judicial decisions and other related texts.

Paper The Impact of the Empowerment Zone Program: An Evaluation Using a Propensity Score Matching Model
Deirdre A. Oakley, Northern Illinois University
Overview: This study examines the socioeconomic outcomes of the federally-funded Empowerment Zones using 1990 and 2000 Census Data.

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Paper Consequences of Tax Increment Financing in the City of Houston
Toshiyuki Yuasa, University of Houston
Robert Thomas, University of Houston
Overview: In this paper we apply quantitative geography to examine the efficiency and equality consequences of tax increment financing in the City of Houston.

Paper Evolving Local Government Purpose through Economic Development
Debra H. Moore, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Andrew J. Theising, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville
Overview: The common use of enterprise zones and tax increment financing bring new actors into the local policy process, increasing the power of private developers and shifting government purpose away from traditional policy roles.

Paper Fact or Fiction? A Race to the Bottom in Welfare and Environmental Policy?
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Mark C. Rom, Georgetown University
Paper Poverty and Capacity in the Post Welfare Reform Era
Suzanne M. Robbins, George Mason University
Holly R. Barcus, MacAuley College
Overview: This paper analyzes individual-level economic capacity post-1997 welfare reform using recently released data from the National Survey of America’s Families.

Paper How Getting a Job and Making Money Can Be Bad for Your Health in the U.S.
Lauren Morris MacLean, Indiana University, Bloomington
Cecile Greenway, Health and Social Services, Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe
Overview: The study examines the potential impacts of future Medicaid reforms for the poor by analyzing what happens when American Indians lose access to Medicaid through short-term
economic gains associated with new employment or tribal gaming dividends.

Paper: The Performance Paradox
Janice Johnson Dias, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Steven Maynard-Moody, University of Kansas
Overview: Using a large national for-profit welfare-to-work job training agency as a case study, we spotlight the ways in which devolution impacts frontline work and decision-making.

Paper: The Marketization Tendency: Which Way for the American Poor?
Moye G. Bongyu, Jackson State University
Overview: The marketization tendency is rendering the poor helpless. The market by nature is not concerned about the poor. The government has the responsibility to rescue those who have been filtered out by the market mechanism.

Paper: Do States Race to the Bottom? Perceptions of State Environmental Regulators
David Konisky, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Overview: I examine the perceptions of state environmental regulators regarding the effects of interstate economic competition on regulatory behavior. Specifically, I analyze data from a recent survey of senior managers in state environmental agencies.

Disc. Kathleen Hale, Kent State University
Mark C. Rom, Georgetown University

40-15 ENVIRONMENTAL AND SCIENCE POLICY
Room: TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair: John A. Hoonbeek, Kent State University
Paper: Behavioral Motivations for Coproducing Municipal Services: Exploring Participation in a Mandatory Recycling Program
Hunter Bacot, Elon University
George Taylor, Elon University
Overview: Using a mandatory recycling program (a coproduced municipal service) to understand participatory behavior, we explore the social and moral motivations associated with participation.

Christopher Weible, Georgia Institute of Technology
Overview: This article uses 84, 91, and 01 surveys of stakeholders in the Lake Tahoe Basin to explain skepticism of scientists. Based on the advocacy coalition framework, it shows that skepticism of scientists is explained primarily by policy core beliefs.

Paper: The Nuclear Option: The Resurrection of Nuclear Energy Policy
Jeffrey S. Worsham, West Virginia University
Katie Stores, West Virginia University
Matt Hips, West Virginia University
Jonathan C. Young, West Virginia University
Overview: This paper examines the rise, demise, and resurrection of nuclear power. Assuming a subsystem vantage, albeit with a twist, it suggests that nuclear power is a creature of presidential and bureaucratic attention to energy issues.

Paper: The Impact of Local Networks on the Wetland Permit Programs in Florida
Soo Hyun Jung, Florida State University
Overview: Through analyzing wetland permits issued by water management districts in Florida, I will answer the question of how networks affect the activities of local government agencies in environmental programs.

John Tennert, Southern Nevada Water Authority
Micheal Schneweis, Southern Nevada Water Authority
Chris Weiss, Southern Nevada Water Authority
Overview: Using survey data from the Las Vegas metropolitan area, this paper will examine citizen perceptions of water quality in their community. The analysis will provide insights into what drives citizen perceptions of the safety of their water supply.

Disc. John A. Hoonbeek, Kent State University

41-102 ROUNDTABLE: ISSUES IN REPRODUCTION AND SEX ED
Room: TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Panelist: Alesha E. Doan, California Polytechnic University
Lasitha K. Gunaratna, University of South Dakota, Vermillion
Deirdre Golash, American University
Overview: TBA

42-5 TRANSITION, CORRUPTION, AND DEVELOPMENT
Room: TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair: John E. Jackson, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Paper: Housing Policy in Transition Economies: Security and Insecurity
Nicholas Horsewood, University of Birmingham
Nia Stoykova, Tufts University
Overview: Homeownership in transition economies provides aspects of risk and insecurity. The investigation looks at how households cope with the financial burden and considers the introduction of an efficient safety net to manage hardship.

Paper: Corruption, Lobbying, and Economic Development
David D. Lassen, University of Copenhagen
Morten Bennedsen, Copenhagen Business School
Sven Feldmann, Northwestern University
Overview: We use firm level survey data to construct a measure of the intensity of lobbying in a cross-section of countries and use this to compare, and explain, the observed pattern of corruption, lobbying, economic development, and institutions.

Paper: Regime Type and Economic Crises: Does Democracy Make a Difference?
Carlos Gervasoni, University of Notre Dame
Leslie Elliott Armijo, Lake Oswego, OR
Overview: Countries that are more politically inclusive are less likely to experience extremely bad economic outcomes because of the incentives facing incumbents. Supporting evidence comes from case studies and a probit TSCS model (166 nations/38 years).

Paper: Globalization and Democracy Using a Simultaneous Equation Approach
John A. Dokes, University of Southern California
Overview: This paper studies the impact of bilateral exports from LDCs to the U.S. using a simultaneous equation set-up.

Paper: Homeownership in Transition Economies: Security and Insecurity
Charles R. Hankla, Georgia State University
John E. Jackson, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: Use firm level survey data to construct a measure of the intensity of lobbying in a cross-section of countries and use this to compare, and explain, the observed pattern of corruption, lobbying, economic development, and institutions.

Disc. Sven Feldmann, Northwestern University

43-2 REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY (Co-sponsored with Race, Class and Ethnicity, see 26-22)
Room: TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair: Kenneth J. Meier, Texas A&M University
Paper: Representative Bureaucracy and Organizational Performance
Christine H. Roch, Georgia State University
Ignacio Navarro, Georgia State University
David Pitts, Georgia State University
Overview: We examine the effects of representative bureaucracy on the types of policy tools that organizations use to achieve their goals. We focus on the effect of representative bureaucracy on policy decisions regarding disciplinary practices in the schools.

Paper: Public/Non-Profit: Partners in the Social Equality Enterprise?
Bethany G. Sneed, Eastern Michigan University
Kelly M. LeRoux, Wayne State University
Overview: This paper focuses on representative bureaucracy in both public and nonprofit agencies.
Overview: This paper seeks to analyze the threat from the nuclear device being targeted against civil aviation.

The paper includes consideration of intangible costs to the implementation of security measures, focusing on the potential for manipulation of public opinion by elected officials. We argue that this reversal was caused by regulatory operations.

Kamel M. Sweet, University of Missouri, Columbia

Overview: This paper seeks to understand the threat from the hijacking of agencies and airplanes. FAA has been "captured" by airline industry interests.

Paper The Threat of Nuclear Attack from Russian Stockpiles Against Civil Aviation
Kathleen M. Sweet, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

Overview: This paper seeks to analyze the threat from the Russian stockpile and consider its subsequent impact on aviation security.

Paper Cost Benefit Analysis of New Security Technologies in US Airports
Julie Raines, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

Overview: This paper seeks to apply cost-benefit analysis to the implementation of new security technologies in domestic commercial airports.

Paper Aviation Security after September 11: Safety Sine Qua Non?
Bassel El-Kasaby, University of Nebraska

Overview: The main goal of this paper is to put into perspective the importance of constitutionally protected civil rights when security issues are in the balance.

44-10 REPRESSION, PREDATION, AND REGULATORY ORIGINS: INTERROGATING THE AMERICAN STATE
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Joseph E. Luders, Yeshiva University

Paper On the American Origins of the Democratic Regulatory State
Samuel J. DeCanio, The Ohio State University

Overview: We examine why agrarians reversed their Jacksonian commitments to laissez faire to support counter-cyclical federal regulatory operations. We argue this reversal was caused by elected officials’ manipulation of public opinion.

Paper Liberalism, Lynching and Constitutional Anarchy: How Federalism Coped with the Southern Question, 1883-1938
Daniel Kato, New School for Social Research

Overview: What kind of political system existed during lynching? Contra the weak state thesis, I will argue that the U.S. chose not to deal with lynching. Using Ernst Fraenkel’s dual state model, I will argue that this period was one of constitutional anarchy.
Paper A Social Versus Moral Context of Political Tolerance: Does Context Matter?
Marie A. Eisenstein, Indiana University, Northwest
Overview: This paper develops a model of political tolerance in its application to abortion and homosexual marriage in the religious community assessing changes in political tolerance depending upon if these issue are framed in a social versus moral context.

Paper Religion, Religiosity and the Moral Divide in Canada
Adrian U. Ang, University of Missouri, Columbia
John R. Petrock, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: Utilizing a regression analysis of data from the Canadian National Election Studies, we establish that there is a divide among voters on moral issues, and religion and religiosity inform their attitudes on these issues.

Paper Partisanship, Core Values, and Opinions about Cultural Issues
Laurie A. Rhodebeck, University of Louisville
Overview: The paper examines the values underlying opinions about gay rights, abortion, school prayer, and gender roles. Cultural issue opinions are treated as discrete constructs that spring from different core values and have different partisan implications.

Disc. J. Matthew Wilson, Southern Methodist University
David E. Campbell, University of Notre Dame

48-3 EVALUATING TEACHING AND REAL WORLD LEARNING
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Tammy A. Sarver, Benedictine University
Paper Predicting Good Experiences in Political Science Internships
Tammy A. Sarver, Benedictine University
Overview: This is a study of students enrolled in Political Science internships at a small liberal arts college. Specifically, this paper assesses what factors make an internship experience a good experience.

Paper Management by Results: Student Evaluation of Faculty Teaching
Laura Langbein, American University
Overview: Results show that faculty who give higher grades get better ratings from student evaluations (SETs), controlling for expected grade and fixed effects for both faculty and courses. Discusses policy and management implications.

Paper Measuring Outcomes of a Political Science Internship Program
Duane D. Milne, West Chester University
Overview: This research is a quantitative assessment of the outcomes achieved in the internship program run by the Department of Political Science at West Chester University (West Chester, PA).

Paper Teaching Public Management in the Public Interest to Undergraduates
Stephen M. King, Campbell University
Overview: Teaching public management to undergraduate students is challenging. This paper examines one such attempt: to explain public management to undergraduate political science students enrolled in an introductory public administration course.

Disc. James M. Carlson, Providence College

50-2 XENOPHON'S POLITICAL THOUGHT (Co-sponsored with Foundations of Political Theory, see 27-28)
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Susan D. Collins, University of Houston
Paper The Socratic Political Education in Xenophon's Memorabilia
Carol L. McNamara, Utah State University
Overview: The chief purpose of this paper is to examine the Socratic political education in Xenophon's Memorabilia, then, how it relates to the whole Socratic education so as to resolve the controversy over Socrates' relationship to practical politics.
Presenter: The Political Representation of the Poor
Room: TBA, Board 6, Sat 10:30 am
Karen L. Jusko, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: How do electoral rules affect the well-being of the poor? I present a formal theoretical model to illustrate how electoral rules affect anti-poverty policy, and test the implications of this model using the Luxembourg Income Study data.

Presenter: Coalition Governments Can Make Policy Changes
Room: TBA, Board 7, Sat 10:30 am
Despina Alexiadou, European University Institute
Overview: I study a new model to illustrate how coalition governments can make innovative policy changes.

Presenter: International Institutions and Coalition-Building
Room: TBA, Board 8, Sat 10:30 am
Terrence L. Chapman, Emory University
Overview: International relations scholars have long been concerned with the determinants of multilateralism and with the effects of international institutions. This paper extends a formal model designed to demonstrate when institutions can provide legitimacy.

Presenter: Military Spending, Investment and Economic Growth
Room: TBA, Board 9, Sat 10:30 am
Muhammet A. Bas, University of Rochester
Overview: I examine the ways to empirically evaluate a theoretical argument about compliance with international agreements. I discuss the conditions under which matching would perform better than Heckman selection models.

Presenter: Political Determinants of Currency Crises Outcomes
Room: TBA, Board 10, Sat 10:30 am
Thomas Sattler, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich
Overview: I use a two-period signaling model with two-sided uncertainty to explain when exchange rate defenses are successful and when they fail. The model's predictions are tested using quantitative data of 124 speculative attacks in OECD countries.

Presenter: We Appreciate Your Support: Information Exchange and Party Networks
Room: TBA, Board 11, Sat 10:30 am
Gregory Koger, University of Montana
Seth Masket, Denver University
Hans Noel, Princeton University/University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: We argue that formal parties are a portion of an extended network of interest groups, media, 527s, and candidates. We measure this network by tracking transfers of names. Using social network methods, we find two distinct and polarized party networks.

Presenter: Choosing Imperfectly Credible Institutions: Fixed Exchange Rates and Independent Central Banks
Room: TBA, Board 12, Sat 10:30 am
Cristina Bodea, Princeton University
Overview: I write a model describing when and why politicians choose independent central banks whose independence is hard to ascertain and fixed exchange rates that markets know can be devalued. I test the model's predictions on data from transition countries.

Presenter: Electoral Cycle in Political Corruption
Room: TBA, Board 13, Sat 10:30 am
Tetsuya Fujiwara, Michigan State University
Overview: The purpose of this study is to demonstrate the existence of an electoral cycle in political corruption. When are political actors most likely to engage in corruption? My study provides a model to answer this question, and empirically tests it.

Presenter: Endogenous Contentious Politics
Room: TBA, Board 14, Sat 10:30 am
Jamus J. Lim, University of California, Santa Cruz
Thorsten Janus, University of California, Santa Cruz
Overview: In this paper, we develop a model of social movement emergence and contentious politics that is not critically dependent on active elite support, but rather on strategic interactions among movement actors at inter- and intra-group level.

Presenter: Taming the Selection Bias: Matching vs. Selection Models
Room: TBA, Board 15, Sat 10:30 am
Hyegan Jo, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: I examine the ways to empirically evaluate a theoretical argument about compliance with international agreements. I discuss the conditions under which matching would perform better than Heckman selection models.

Presenter: Time Constraints and Legislative Agenda Power
Room: TBA, Board 16, Sat 10:30 am
Jesse T. Richman, Vanderbilt University
Overview: I analyze the agenda power opportunities available to political leaders. Holding time available constant, a larger policy space leads to more powerful state legislative leadership.

55-101 ROUNDTABLE: GO (MID)WEST YOUNG MAN: LATINOS IN THE HEARTLAND
Room: TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair: Celeste M. Montoya Kirk, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Panelist: Jorge Chapa, University of Illinois, Bloomington
Benjamin Marquez, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Jonathan C. Benjamin-Alvarado, University of Nebraska, Omaha
Jesse P. Mendez, Oklahoma State University
Brandon G. Valeriano, University of Illinois, Chicago
Overview: TBA

57-4 INFUSING STUDENT LEADERSHIP: MODELS FOR THE CLASSROOM AND CAMPUS
Room: TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair: Heather McDougall, St. Mary's College, University of Notre Dame
Paper: A Political Model of a Leadership Process
Ernst L. Stech, Arizona State University
Overview: Current emphasis is on leadership as process rather than on the leader. A political process where there are constituencies with differing interests can be applied to leadership attempts. The process model can be used as a leadership prescription.

Paper: Infusing Student Leadership: Models for the Classroom and Campus
Amy Herman, Indiana University, Bloomington
Ambrosia Borowski, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: As citizenship and globalization unfold, we struggle to reconcile the role of the university as a civic institution, designed to prepare our students for the challenges of the world at every level. This paper outlines strategies and highlights.

Paper: Women's Intercultural Leadership: A Model for Change in the 21st Century
Joy Evans, Saint Mary's College
Elaine Meyer-Lee, Center for Women's InterCultural Leadership
Bonnie Bazata, Center for Women's InterCultural Leadership
Tracy Robison, Center for Women's InterCultural Leadership
Overview: The Women's Intercultural Leadership Model developed by the Center for Women’s Intercultural Leadership at Saint Mary’s College weaves theory and practice into an effective model for women’s agency.
Disc. Heather McDougall, St. Mary's College, University of Notre Dame
model, showing regime diffusion as a product of social cross-border interaction.

**Paper**  
**The Influence of Public Support on Implementation of Transitional Justice: A Signaling Game Model**  
Byung-Jae Lee, University of Texas, Austin  
Overview: My paper develops an imperfect information game model to explain the role of public support on judicial decision-making on transitional justice measure and empirically test the hypotheses drawn from the model.

**Disc.**  
TBA

**4-15 DEVELOPING CREDIBLE DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES**  
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm  
**Chair**  
Ritas Kiki Edzie, Michigan State University  
**Paper**  
**Challenges to Democratization: Examining the (Potential) Obstacles both at Home and Abroad**  
Jennifer M. Cyr, Florida International University  
Rezwan Hussein, Florida International University  
Overview: TBA

**Paper**  
**Alliance Membership and the Threats to Democracy post-September 11, 2001: Lessons from the Cold War in Southern Europe and Latin America**  
Petros Vamvakas, Emmanuel College  
Overview: The aim of this paper is to challenge these two maxims in international relations and comparative politics as they apply to the post-September 11th international system, by examining similar cases from the Cold War era in Southern Europe and in Latin America.

**Paper**  
**Substitutable Protections: How Socioeconomic Vulnerabilities Condition the Effectiveness of Legal Institutions as Credible Commitment Devices**  
Jeffrey K. Staton, Florida State University  
Christopher M. Reenock, Florida State University  
Overview: In this paper, we develop a theory of credible commitment in which we portray political institutions as substitutes for features of cultural, social or economic life that influence state predation on individual rights.

**Paper**  
**Constitutional Limits, Democracy, and National Human Rights Behavior, 1976-2004**  
C. Neal Tate, Vanderbilt University  
Linda Camp Keith, University of Iowa  
Marina V. Ghulyan, Vanderbilt University  
Overview: Describes and relates the development of formal constitutional provisions establishing political rights, promoting judicial independence and limiting states of emergency over nearly three decades to national patterns of democracy and human rights.

**Paper**  
**Understanding Democratic Citizenship through the Lens of Education Policy: South Korea and the United States**  
Pamela C. Carrievaeu, Black Hills State University  
Hyun-Jin Seo, Sungshin Women's University  
Overview: The meaning of "democratic citizenship" in the United States and South Korea is examined by analyzing education policies from both nations aimed at providing future citizens with the particular skills needed for successful adult citizenship.

**Disc.**  
David D. Yang, Princeton University

**5-13 ISSUES OF EU ENLARGEMENT**  
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm  
**Chair**  
Lynn M. Maurer, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville  
**Paper**  
**The Differential Impact of the EU in Hungary and Czech Republic**  
Isa Camyar, Louisiana State University  
Overview: This study examines the differential impact of the EU on the timing of state reforms in the Central and Eastern European counties and the historical and institutional dynamics mediating it through a comparative study of Hungary and Czech Republic.

**Paper**  
**EU Enlargement: Agenda Setting and Priming in Comparative Perspective**  
Oya Dursun, University of Texas, Austin  
Overview: This paper examines the agenda-setting and priming functions of the British and French media on the EU enlargement by combining a content analysis of The Times, The Guardian, The Mail, Le Monde, Le Figaro, and Lariation and Eurobarometer survey data.

**Paper**  
**European Union - Eastward Expansion**  
Jayalakshmi Gopalani, Marquette University  
Overview: The paper will analyse the impact of the European Union Membership on the 10 new members that joined the Union in 2004. The costs incurred in joining the Union and the benefits that are obtained will be studied in the field of politics and economics.

**Paper**  
**The German Reunification and The Eastern Enlargement Of The EU**  
Tereza Novotna, Boston University  
Overview: The paper examines German reunification and the Eastern enlargement of the EU as two opposite types of political integration that occurred after 1989 in Europe.

**Disc.**  
Lynn M. Maurer, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville

**5-17 THE COMPARATIVE MANIFESTO DATA AND PARTY POSITIONING**  
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm  
**Chair**  
Josephine T. Andrews, University of California, Davis  
**Paper**  
**The Spatial Structure of Party Competition**  
Josephine T. Andrews, University of California, Davis  
Jeannette Money, University of California, Davis  
Overview: We explore the conditions under which the policy positions of vote-maximizing political parties converge to that of the median voter, and under what conditions do they diverge from this position.

**Paper**  
**Party Policy Positions and Party System Fragmentation in the Post-WWII Era**  
Robin E. Best, Binghamton University  
Overview: Party system fragmentation has increased in virtually all Western democracies in the post-WWII era. I utilize data from the Comparative Manifesto Project to explore how changes parties’ policy offerings have contributed to this trend.

**Paper**  
**Majority-Rule Representation and Issue Dimensionality**  
Rachel K. Cremona, Flagler College  
Overview: I explore if and how democracy works in terms of majority rule representation.

**Paper**  
**The International Economy’s Influence on Parties’ Socio-Economic Policies**  
Andrea B. Haupt, University of California, Santa Barbara  
Overview: I evaluate how the international economy influence parties’ socio-economic policy goals.

**Paper**  
**Ideological Space Dimensionality and the Number of Competitors**  
Heather Stoll, University of California, Santa Barbara  
Overview: This paper examines the relationship between the dimensionality of the partisan ideological space in which political competition occurs and the number of equilibrium competitors.

**Disc.**  
Michael D. McDonald, Binghamton University

**6-3 CANADIAN PUBLIC POLICY**  
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm  
**Chair**  
Chris Manfredi, McGill University  
**Paper**  
**Budgetary Roles in Provincial Governments - Computer Content Analysis**  
Andre S. Goscinski, Laval University  
Overview: Wildawsky, in his budgetary process theory, distinguishes between two categories of actors: guardians of the treasury and advocates of program spending. This study verifies this theory by analyzing ministerial speeches from Ontario and Quebec.
Paper The Role of the OAS in the Political Crisis of Venezuela
Brendan F. Burke, Bridgewater State College
Overview: This paper studies the political and administrative leadership of Ontario premiers from 1985 to the present day as they represent Liberal, New Democratic Party, and Progressive Conservative Party interests.

Paper Policy Capacity in Canadian Intergovernmental Relations
Patricia L. O’Reilly, Ryerson University
Gregory J. Inwood, Ryerson University
Carolyn M. Johns, Ryerson University
Overview: Using a comparative analysis based on primary research material, this paper focuses on the factors which inhibit or enhance successful intergovernmental policy capacity in Canada by examining the sectors of trade, environment and health.

Disc. Chris Manfredi, McGill University

7-14 OPPORTUNITIES AND THREATS: THE QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Jose Vargas-Hernandez, Instituto tecnologico de cd. Guzman
Paper Do Plebiscites Foster Democratic Institutions and Accountability?
Patricia D. Navia, New York University
Angelica Duran, New York University
Overview: Effects of recent national referenda and plebiscite in Latin America on democratic accountability. Information asymmetries confuse issues. Politicians with an organized support base benefit from overall low turnout rates.

Paper Political Scandals and the Dynamic of Politics in Latin American Countries
Maria Andrea Castagnola, University of Pittsburgh

Paper The Role of the OAS in the Political Crisis of Venezuela
Jesus Sanchez, Ohio University
Overview: The OAS’s intervention in Venezuela reveals the limited consensus among its members as to how the Democratic Charter should be applied and the capacity of the US to dictate the terms under which the OAS intervention took place.

Paper Civil Society, Protest, and Democracy: The Case of Argentina
Eduardo Frajman, University of Maryland, College Park
Overview: The paper examines the role of civil society and new social movements in the protests that shook Argentina in 2001. Criticizes current theories of civil society and NSM’s for focusing too much on cultural and not enough on economic conflicts.

Paper Interests and Interest Groups and the Consolidation of Latin American Democracy
Clive S. Thomas, University of Alaska Southeast
Overview: Is a viable interest group system essential to the consolidation of Latin American democracy? In answer, this paper presents a framework for understanding the development, current role, and future developments of interest groups in the region.

Paper Decentralization in Costa Rica: The Impact of Reform on Participation and Accountability
Jeffrey Ryan, University of Arkansas
Overview: Decentralization advocates generally claim it will enhance political participation and accountability. I argue that its impact (particularly in the functional and capacity areas) on these democratic elements may be more curvilinear than direct.

Disc. Lucio R. Renno, University of Arizona
Anibal Perez-Linan, University of Pittsburgh

8-11 TRANSNATIONAL FORCES IN ASIAN POLITICS
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Benjamin Read, University of Iowa
Paper The Transnational Politics of the Dalit Movement
Peter J. Smith, Athabasca University
Overview: This paper examines the Dalit (Untouchable) Movement’s recent participation in transnational networks against casteism and corporate globalization particularly at World Social Forum venues in Asia, South America and Europe.

Paper Interpreting a New Ethic of Global Democracy and Human Rights in Burma
Cindy Kleinmeyer, Northern Illinois University
Overview: China’s much-publicized Internet censorship raises questions about the function of national identity in transnational networks and about new technologies and their potential to foster political development and dissent.

Paper Technologies of Dissent: Legislating the Internet In the People’s Republic of China
Jessica Crewe, Harvard University
Overview: China’s much-publicized Internet censorship raises questions about the function of national identity in transnational networks and about new technologies and their potential to foster political development and dissent.

Paper Catholicism vs. Communism, Continued: The Catholic Church in Vietnam
Lan T. Chu, Occidental College
Overview: This paper examines the confrontations and negotiations between the Catholic Church and the communist state in Vietnam.

Disc. Benjamin Read, University of Iowa

10-9 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF REFORM IN POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Julia Gray, University of California, Los Angeles
Paper Are Oligarchs Productive? Theory and Evidence
Yuriy Gorodnichenko, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Yegor Grygorenko, Citigroup Russia
Overview: This paper studies the behavior of oligarchs, politically and economically strong conglomerates in transition and developing countries. We show that oligarchs can improve the performance of the firms they own relative to other firms.

Paper Business Interest Groups in Post-Communist Russia: The Puzzle of Formation
Dinissa S. Duvanova, The Ohio State University
Overview: Formation of business associations in post-communist Russia is the central puzzle of the paper. The paper concentrates on identifying how the process of business interest group formation differs across industries and sectors of Russian economy.

Paper Paralines: Why Some European Countries Prefer, And Manage to Implement, the Flat Tax
Julia Gray, University of California, Los Angeles
Alexander Bатуро, Trinity College, Dublin
Overview: What factors shaped the preferences of ruling parties toward the flat tax, and what made adoption feasible or infeasible Europe? Conditioned on party preference, we evaluate the influence of international and domestic political and economic pressures.
Paper Financial Crises and the Power of Capital in Transition Economies of Eastern Europe
Jana Grittersova, Cornell University
Overview: The principal question this paper investigates is the following: What causes expensive and irrational delays of devaluation resulting in large currency falls that could have been avoided with an earlier devaluation?

Paper Common Economic Space and GUAM: Partners versus Opponents in the CIS
Vitalie I. Diaconn, Monterey Institute of International Studies
Overview: The paper analyzes the problems of regional cooperation among CIS states, in the framework of the Common Economic Space and GUAM. Cooperation might advance the regional integration as well as starting the process of disintegration in the CIS.

Paper The Political Economy of Countering the Resource Curse: The Case of Russia Under Putin
Adnana Vatansever, John's Hopkins University
Overview: This paper examines political struggle in the "resource curse" under President Putin's initiatives to reform the country's tax system - an area of considerable weak of disintegration in the CIS.

Disc. Scott Gehlbach, University of Wisconsin, Madison

10-15 CONVENTIONAL AND UNCONVENTIONAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE FORMER COMMUNIST STATES
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Achim Goerres, London School of Economics

Paper Voting More When It Matters More: Turnout In Post-Communist Countries
Joshua A. Tucker, Princeton University
Alexander Pacek, Texas A&M University
Grigore Pop-Eleches, Princeton University
Overview: This paper examines variation in turnout across 21 post-communist countries from 1990-2004. We find higher turnout in elections where there is a more "at stake", a finding that is surprisingly similar to voter turnout in established democracies.

Paper Protest Potential and Generational Change in Russia
Olena Nikolayenko, University of Toronto
Overview: Protest potential is considered here as an important sign of generational change in post-communist societies. Protest activity is an appropriate focus not only because it represents a remarkable departure from the habitual patterns of political part

Paper The End of the Wave: Regime Consolidation and Protest Decline in Russia
Graeme B. Robertson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: How waves of political protest get started is a subject much studied. How they end is less studied. Using the case of Russia, I show how elite political alliances can explain protest declines in partially liberalized states.

Paper Competing for the Monopoly on Violence in the Former Soviet Empire
Elina Treyger, Harvard University
Overview: This paper uses violent deaths statistics to demonstrate a surprising variation across the ex-Soviet countries, and suggests a legal institutions and culture-based explanation for this variation.

Disc. Ellen P. Carnaghan, Saint Louis University

11-10 PREVENTIVE WAR AND INTERVENTIONS
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Steven P. Millies, University of South Carolina, Aiken

Paper Situating Humanitarian Intervention within International Relations Theory
Lamis Abdel-Aty, McGill University
Overview: The theoretical question of why states engage in humanitarian intervention will be addressed by showcasing the standpoints of the two major schools of IR theory whose contributions have been pertinent to the issue (realism and constructivism).

Paper The Peace Process After Oslo and the Levels of Analysis Framework
Madalina C. Hanes, Louisiana State University
Schvalla Rivera, Indiana State University
Overview: I am using the level of analysis framework to identify the forces that affect the peace process after Oslo at each level. I conclude that the best resolution for the Arab-Israeli conflict must combine all three levels.

Paper Threats to International Peace and Security: Evolution of a Technical Term
Kimberly Hudson, Brown University
Overview: This paper traces the expansion of the meaning of "threats to international peace and security" over time and shows how it has led to a new interventionism that must be severely constrained, but that we should welcome as necessary and good.

Disc. Roger J. Durham, Aquinas College

12-10 EXCHANGE RATE POLICIES
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Steven R. Hall, Ball State University

Paper Democracy and Floating Exchange Rates
Michael G. Hall, University of Northern Iowa
Overview: Why does democracy seem to correlate with floating exchange rates? This paper tests different causal explanations, which focus on the transparency of the regime and political stability.

Paper Beggar Thy Neighbor Redux: The Political Economy of Exchange Rate Manipulation
Michael A. Pisa, University of California, San Diego
Overview: TBA

Paper Currency Regime Choice
Jesse R. Russell, University of California, Santa Barbara
Overview: This paper examines how states choose a currency regime. What domestic characteristics influence the choice to preserve, pool, or subordinate their monetary sovereignty?

Paper Free Riding to Dollar Decline: Changes in Global Dollar Holdings and the Future of Dollar Hegemony
Victor C. Shih, Northwestern University
Overview: In this paper, we test whether small holders of a reserve currency free-ride on large holders when the reserve currency is expected to depreciate. We test this using monthly data on central bank holdings of US treasuries during 2003 and 2004.

Paper Farmers and Financiers: The Political Economy of Exchange Rate Valuation
David A. Steinberg, Northwestern University
Overview: This paper uses panel data to determine which political factors cause variation in exchange rate over/undervaluation. We find that group preferences influence currency levels. Institutions affect the strength of the preference-policy relationship.

Disc. Angela O’Mahony, University of British Columbia

13-10 PUBLIC OPINION AND CONFLICT
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Richard Sobel, Harvard University

Paper Public Support for War and News Coverage of Military Conflicts: Persuasion or Reinforcement?
Scott L. Althea, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Kevin M. Coe, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: This paper presents newly re-discovered trend data that track American popular support for the war effort from Pearl Harbor until the end of the war.

Paper Death and Taxes: Capital-Intensive Militaries and Aggressive Democracies
Jonathan D. Caverley, University of Chicago
Overview: In democracies, development of capital-intensive militaries shifts the costs of war away from the median voter, making conflict more attractive. Thus even when democracy
"works," a state may exhibit pathological behavior such as imperial overstretch.

Paper **Knowing When to Fold: How Military and Civilian Casualties Affect the Decision to End the War**  
Sarah E. Croco, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor  
Overview: Using new data on military and civilian losses I test several hypotheses of the proposed relationships between costs and war termination.

Paper **After the Rally: The Domestic Politics of Fighting and Ending Wars**  
Thomas M. Dolan, The Ohio State University  
Overview: This paper investigates how publics respond to new information about war, and how and when these dynamic responses affect inter-state war bargaining processes.

Paper **How Domestic Factors Affect Conflict Behavior of Democratic Countries**  
Wanfa Zhang, University of Alabama  
Jun Wei, University of Alabama  
Overview: This research is a test of the diversionary theory of war with a brand-new data set and method. Different from most previous works that covers only a limited number of democratic countries, this paper will cover all democratic states so classified.

Disc. Adam J. Berinsky, Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Deva C. Moehler, Cornell University

15-7 **STRATEGIC ANALYSIS OF INTERVENTION**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm  
Chair Marc Kilgour, Wilfrid Laurier University  

Paper **Military Intervention, Rebel Strength, and the Outcome of Civil Conflicts**  
Stephen E. Gent, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill  
Overview: Since interveners want to impact the outcomes of civil conflicts, interventions will be more likely when there is a strong rebel group. Given that government-biased third parties intervene in tougher cases, empirically they appear be less effective.

Paper **Rivalry Processes: An Explanation for the Internationalization of Civil War**  
Kris G. Pence, Indiana Wesleyan University  
Overview: The paper argues rivalry processes provide a strong explanatory framework for explaining the internationalization of civil war as well as providing insight in to the type of assistance offered and the target of aid.

Paper **The Strategic Dynamics of Third-Party Intervention**  
Amy Yuen, Emory University  
Overview: This paper examines the strategic dynamics of intervention in international conflict. Using a formal model that includes three strategic actors, I develop expectations over conflict onset, duration and participation.

Disc. Marc Kilgour, Wilfrid Laurier University

15-17 **TERRITORY AND CONFLICT**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm  
Chair Daniel Morey, University of Iowa  

Paper **Territory and Conflict: Strategic Consolidation of Disputed Territory**  
David B. Carter, University of Rochester  
Overview: I argue that territorial disputes are more likely to end violently relative to other disputes (e.g., trade disputes) because territory itself can be strategically consolidated during the dispute process, which alters the expected outcome.

Paper **The Steps to Interstate War in Africa**  
Brandon G. Valeriano, University of Illinois, Chicago  
Douglas Gibler, University of Kentucky  
Overview: An examination of the steps taken prior to the Ethiopian-Somalian War, the Ugandan-Tanzanian War, and the recent Congo War will be analyzed to determine if the two powers in East Asia is to provide public good to the region rather than zero-sum in nature.

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Thomas M. Dolan, The Ohio State University  
Overview: This paper investigates how publics respond to new information about war, and how and when these dynamic responses affect inter-state war bargaining processes.

Paper **How Domestic Factors Affect Conflict Behavior of Democratic Countries**  
Wanfa Zhang, University of Alabama  
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Overview: This research is a test of the diversionary theory of war with a brand-new data set and method. Different from most previous works that covers only a limited number of democratic countries, this paper will cover all democratic states so classified.

Disc. Adam J. Berinsky, Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Deva C. Moehler, Cornell University

16-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm  
Presenter Getting China Wrong: Denaturalizing the Revisionist-Status-Quo Discourse  
Jing Tao, Cornell University  
Overview: This paper denaturalizes the revisionist-status-quo discourse in analyzing the Sino-US relations and concludes that the strategic interactions between the two powers in East Asia is classified.

Presenter China’s Strategic and Economic Goals in Latin America and Central Asia  
Kathleen M. Appenrodt, University of California, Irvine  
Overview: This paper is a comparative study examining China's foreign policy in both Latin America and Central Asia. It examines the economic and strategic ties China has pursued in both regions.

17-9 **THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm  
Chair Mark Sachleben, Miami University  

Paper **Why Do They Return? Evaluating International Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia’s Contribution to the Reconciliation of Victims**  
Monika A. Nalepa, Rice University  
Overview: I analyze the relationship between transitional justice (indictments, trials and sentences of the ICTY) and reconciliation (operationalized as refugee returns of different ethnic groups at the municipal level in Bosnia and Herzegovina over 12 years).

Paper **The Informalization of Interstate War**  
Tanisha Fazal, Columbia University  
Overview: This paper explores the causes of the decline in the use of formal declarations of war to initiate interstate wars, and in the use of formal peace treaties to conclude interstate wars. The analysis is based on an original data set on war initiation.

Paper **Territorial Dispute MIDs: Costly Signals of Resolve for Other Disputes**  
Krista E. Wiegand, Georgia Southern University  
Overview: This paper addresses the timing of MIDs in territorial disputes. I hypothesize that a challenger state is more likely to initiate a MID when it can achieve bargaining leverage in other disputes.

Paper **Neighborhood Effects and the Generation of International Conflict Hotspots**  
Alex Braithwaite, Pennsylvania State University  
Overview: This paper identifies the causes of conflict hot spots. States in democratic neighborhoods, that are well integrated in the global economy are shown to be significantly less likely to become located in hot spots of international conflict.

Disc. Daniel Morey, University of Iowa
18-11 THE ORIGINS AND EFFECTS OF PARTISAN IDENTIFICATION (Co-sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 19-17)

Room: TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair: Roberta S. Sigel, Rutgers University
Lynn M. Sanders, University of Virginia
Margarita Krochik, University of Virginia
Schickler's 2003 study of partisan identification is too agnostic about the emotional underpinnings of social group identifications. Our experiments show how partisans derive psychological gratification.

Paper: The Relative Role of Affect Among Partisans, Independents, and Misfits
Francis Neely, University of Texas, San Antonio
Overview: I test hypotheses about the nature of partisanship with data from a June 2005 RDD survey of Californians. A question-wording experiment replicates and extends findings from the 1987 ANES pilot, focusing on the role of affect in PID.

Paper: The Policy Basis of Partisan Choice
Christopher R. Ellis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: This paper explores the impact of partisanship-policy preference consistency on the decision to cast a party line vote. The importance of policy consistency varies as a function of both individual characteristics and the macro-political context.

Paper: Partisanship, "Enduring Values" and Vote
Geoffrey A. Evans, Oxford University
Robert A. Andersen, McMaster University
Overview: Are values conditioned by partisanship or vice versa? Multi-wave cross-lagged panel analysis over an electoral cycle demonstrates the reciprocal nature of the relationship thus questioning the extent of the causal role of values in vote choice.

Disc. David A. Peterson, Texas A&M University

19-6 ECONOMIC VOTING MODELS
Room: TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair: Alfred G. Cuzan, University of West Florida
Paper: Memory and Mandates: The Effect Of Time On Voters' Evaluation of Performance
Michael E. Greenberg, Shippensburg University
Gordon S. Bergsten, Dickinson College
Overview: In this paper, we refine our previous work to incorporate and test the effect time has on the memory of political events and thus on voters’ retrospective evaluation of candidates. We test variants of two main classes of “memory decay” functions.

Paper: Does the Lack of Clear Responsibility Hinder Electoral Accountability?
Gyung-Ho Jeong, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: This paper argues that the lack of clarity is not the cause of weak electoral accountability, but the consequence of strong checks and balances among politicians.

Paper: Retrospective Voting and Loss Aversion: An Empirical Analysis
James Lo, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper applies Kahneman and Tversky's loss aversion heuristic to the study of voting behavior in America, arguing that retrospective voters value economic gains and losses differently.

Paper: Economic Crisis and Government Accountability in Latin America
Timothy Nordstrom, University of Mississippi
Harvey Palmer, University of Mississippi
Leslie Schwindt-Bayer, University of Mississippi

Disc. Brad T. Gomez, University of South Carolina

20-7 CAMPAIGN STRATEGY: COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES
Room: TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair: Melanie J. Blumberg, California University of Pennsylvania
Paper: Owning the Issue Agenda: Explaining Party Strategies in British General Election Campaigns
Jane Green, University of Oxford
Sara B. Hobolt, University of Oxford
Overview: This paper refines the issue ownership theory of party competition and applies this new model to explain party strategies in British general elections.

Paper: The Politics of Campaign Professionalization
Jennifer K. Smith, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Overview: Rather than advancing monotonically, as existing research would suggest, the professionalization of election campaigning is conditioned by intra-party political dynamics. I draw on interview research in the UK and Germany to support this hypothesis.

Paper: A Fistful of Euros: Campaign Spending Effects under STV
Kenneth R. Benoit, Trinity College, Dublin
Michael A. Marsh, Trinity College, Dublin
Overview: Our paper examines the effects of candidate spending under the Single-Transferable Vote electoral system, based on evidence from the 2002 Irish general election.

Findings: Clear, positive evidence of spending effects, esp. for challengers.

Paper: The Increasing Role of Advance Poll Voting in Canadian National Elections
Tony L. Hill, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Overview: Non-election day voting is an increasingly important part of the Canadian electoral process. NED voters made the difference in a dozen ridings in 2004. This paper examines the dimensions of this trend and implications for electoral politics.

Paper: Howard's End: Political Marketing in the 2005 British General Election
Patrick K. Basham, Democracy Institute
Overview: Ineffective political marketing resulted more from questionable decision-making on the part of the respective party leaders before the official campaign began than from ill-considered political marketing choices made during the campaign, itself.

Disc. John Mehrtens, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

21-9 VOTING AND ELECTORAL SYSTEMS
Room: TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair: Richard Sinnott, University College, Dublin
Paper: Coasian Voting
Dan Alger, Lawrence University
Overview: I introduce Coasian voting and contrast it to commonly studied voting systems for an environment with money and no income effects. While general theoretical results on voting systems based solely on the voters' ordinal preferences indicate that all
Presenter Survey Questions, Issue Framing, and Public Support for parties.

Overview: Information on preferences and information on approval of candidates in an election, though related, are fundamentally different—one cannot be derived from the other. We propose a way of combining them in a hybrid voting system.

Paper Voting Systems and Strategic Manipulation

Anna Bassi, New York University

Overview: Sincere behavior in Approval voting is compared to Borda count, Hare systems, and Plurality voting in an experimental setting. The treatments vary in the extent that voters know other voters' preference orderings and the use of pre-election polls.

Paper A Model of Electoral Incentives and Voter Coordination

Neal G. Jesse, Bowling Green State University

Overview: A model of electoral systems, their strategic incentives, and voter coordination to change the "naive" result.

Paper Open and Closed: Party Attachment and Sincere Voting in Electoral Context

Andrew J. Drummond, University of California, Irvine

Overview: Comparing small party supporters across 17 advanced democracies, I find that sincere voting increases with partisan attachment, and that this relationship strengthens as the electoral system becomes more open to party competition.

Disc. Richard Sinnott, University College, Dublin

22-301 POSTER SESSION: PUBLIC OPINION

Presenter The Opinion Hard Core: Refining The Spiral of Silence Theoretically

Room TBA, Board 1, Sat 1:45 pm

Scott H. Clarke, Michigan State University

Overview: This paper develops the opinion Spiral of Silence conceptually, characterizing opinion "hard cores" along three dimensions: dogmatic thinking, a strict conformity to one's reference group and the use of alternative communication channels.

Presenter Garnering the Support of Losers: How to Build Support for Local Government

Room TBA, Board 2, Sat 1:45 pm

Jennifer R. Wilking, University of California, Davis

Overview: This paper asks how, given continual conflicts, is support for local government built? I hypothesize outcomes of conflicts lead to short-term support, while perceptions of fair processes lead to long-term, legitimating support.

Presenter What is Your Overall Impression of this Poll?

Room TBA, Board 3, Sat 1:45 pm

Mary G. Currin-Percival, University of California, Riverside

Overview: I find that individual characteristics such as knowledge of polling methodology and party identification are associated with different impressions of polls conducted by different polling outlets such as Gallup, the media and political parties.

Presenter Survey Questions, Issue Framing, and Public Support for School Vouchers

Room TBA, Board 4, Sat 1:45 pm

Misook Gwon, University of Cincinnati

Overview: This study tests several hypotheses about the effects of variation in question wording on public support for school vouchers from 1993 to the present, using the multivariate, analytical technique developed by Lockerbie and Borrelli (1990).

Presenter Meritocracy and Americans' Views on Distributive Justice

Room TBA, Board 5, Sat 1:45 pm

Richard T. Longoria, University of Maryland

Overview: Americans are ambivalent in their views towards meritocracy. They believe that intelligence and hard work should be rewarded, but they also support inherited wealth, seniority pay, and the distribution of educational opportunities through the market.

Glenn W. Richardson, Jr., Kutztown University of Pennsylvania

Overview: This study focuses on feelings of political bias in the news between 1985 and 2005. If perceptions that news organizations are biased in their coverage of public affairs are part of a larger set of attitudes, it may be harder to change this feeling.

Paper: **Memorable Encounters: Ideology, Information Acquisition and Television News**

Joel Turner, Florida State University

Overview: Does perceived media bias impact a viewer's ability to acquire and recall information? Utilizing an experimental design, I will examine whether individuals are better able to acquire and recall information from a consonant or dissonant media source.

Disc. Glenn W. Richardson, Jr., Kutztown University of Pennsylvania

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**24-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: BEING UNCIVIL: THE CHANGING TONE OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION**

Presenter: Mediating Incivility: Contentious Political Discourse in the Television Age

Diana C. Mutz, University of Pennsylvania
Jocelyn Landau, Annenberg School for Communication

Overview: This experimental study incorporates cross-media comparisons of civil and uncivil political discourse (television, radio, and print) in order to investigate how different forms of mediation condition the impact of incivility on political attitudes.

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**24-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: EDITORIALIZING POLITICS: THE ROLE OF ENDORSEMENTS AND EDITORIALS IN POLITICAL OUTCOMES**

Presenter: The Importance of Newspaper Editorials in the Policy Process

Philip D, Habel, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Overview: This study uses both systematic and anecdotal evidence to show that members of Congress take the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal editorials seriously.

Presenter: Ballot Boxing: Comparing the Impact of Endorsements on Ballot Referenda

Shad B. Satterthwaite, University of Oklahoma

Overview: This paper examines the impact of newspaper endorsements of state ballot questions. It compares endorsements from a state's two major newspapers on ballot referenda over several decades and assesses their effects on voting behavior.

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**25-6 THE IMPACT OF FEMALE CANDIDATES: DETERRENCE, ENGAGEMENT, AND OUTCOMES**

Presenter: An MC Like Me: Does Descriptive Representation Effect Contacting Behavior?

Melanie R. Castleberg, Texas Tech University

Overview: This paper examines the effects of descriptive representation on the political participation of women. Specifically, I focus on contacting behavior to determine whether symbolic representation does in fact influence political behavior.

Presentation: Female Candidates, Issues, and Political Proselytizing

Atiya K. Stokes-Brown, Florida State University
Melissa Neal, Florida State University

Overview: This paper examines whether candidate gender and campaign issues influence attempts at political persuasion among women in the electorate.

Presentation: Do Female Candidates Deter Male Voters? The 1998 House Elections

Katherine Gallagher, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Overview: I use propensity scores and matching on district and individual level data for the 1998 House elections to estimate how the presence of a female candidate influences voter turnout of men and women.

Presentation: Party Success and Women Congressional Candidates, 1982-2004

Rosalyn Cooperman, University of Mary Washington

Overview: This project examines whether aggregate vote share received by the Democratic and Republican parties increased or decreased when they ran women candidates in congressional elections from 1982 through 2004.

Disc. Nancy Zingale, University of St. Thomas, Minnesota
Jennifer L. Lawless, Brown University

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**25-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: EUROPEAN UNION INSTITUTIONS AND GENDER EQUALITY**

Presenter: Gender Equality in the Candidate Countries - a Result of Europeanisation

Ingrid Roder, University of Bremen

Overview: In this paper the effectiveness of the pre-accession measures of the EU in the area of gender equality in the Czech Republic and Slovakia are examined. Were the norms of EU-gender equality not only formally, but also substantially implemented?

Presentation: Implementing European Women's Rights Policies: The Role of Transnational Networks

Celeste Montoya Kirk, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

Overview: This paper examines the impact that European initiatives on gender violence have had on the policy practices of Member States.

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**MINORITY CANDIDATES**

Presenter: The Influence of Skin Tone on the Trait Attributions of Black Candidates

Tony E. Carey, Jr., SUNY, Stony Brook

Overview: Using an analysis of variance, the experiment focuses on how voters make trait attributions based on candidates' race and skin tone.


Martin Dupuis, Western Illinois University
Keith Boeckelman, Western Illinois University

Overview: The role that racial issues played in Barack Obama's primary and general election will be outlined, and the factors
Paper **The Effects of Racial Messages in Televised Campaign Advertising: A Multi-Contextual Experimental Study**

Stephen Maynard Caliendo, North Central College

Charlton D. McLwain, New York University

Jillian Maynard Caliendo, Avila University

Overview: This paper presents the results of an experimental design to explore the effect of racial messages on attitudes about political candidates in multiple election contexts.

Paper **Navigating the Identity Terrain: Race, Ethnicity, and the Latino Candidate**

F. Jane Mabe, New York University

Overview: This study focuses on Antonio Villaraigosa—the 1st Latino mayor of Los Angeles since 1872—in order to examine strategies employed by candidates with cross-over appeal in navigating stereotypes and addressing the race as a campaign issue.

Paper **Bridge Over Troubled Waters: Race, Power and the Development of Urban Democracy**

Michael Javen Fortner, Harvard University

Overview: This paper traces the process of cross-racial coalition formation in New York during each mayoral election from 1965 to 1989. It reveals how political institutions and temporal processes interact to produce coalitions or hinder their development.

Disc. Marisa A. Abridge, Texas A&M University


Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Panelist Henry Flores, St. Mary's University

Antonio Gonzalez, William C. Velasquez Institute

Luis Miranda, Miriam Group

Matt Barreto, University of Washington

Overview: TBA

27-27 **POLITICAL PASSIONS**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair Thomas Conte, Maryville College

Paper **Fear and Politics, Ancient and Modern**

Daniel J. Kapust, University of Georgia

Overview: An historical criticism of Corey Robin's "Fear: The History of a Political Idea," developed through a reading of a selection of Greek and Roman texts.

Paper **Nietzsche and the Problem of Guilt**

Roberto Alejandro, University of Massachusetts

Overview: In this paper I attempt to offer a detailed examination of the different versions of guilt that Nietzsche offers in the Genealogy.

Paper **Adventures in Invisibility: Against Political Uses of Shame**

Blaize Miształ, Yale University

Overview: While the repressive nature of the practice of social shaming has been expounded at some length, recently there have been attempts to rehabilitate shame or humiliation as potential salutary correctives on social and political behavior.

Paper **On the Introduction of Boredom**

Daniel A. Silver, University of Chicago

Overview: This paper seeks methods for understanding the meaning and power of the idea of boredom and related concepts in modern political and social thought.

Disc. Jeffrey Church, University of Notre Dame

Thomas Conte, Maryville College

27-23 **THE POLITICS OF CHANCE AND RISK**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair Fred Eidlin, University of Guelph

Paper **From Danger to Risk in Early Modern British Political Thought**

Emily C. Nacol, University of Chicago

Overview: This paper will analyze the linguistic and conceptual relationship between seventeenth-century British political discourse about danger and safety and an eighteenth-century British account of risk as an opportunity for profit.

Paper **Gambling for Certainty**

Mindy J. Feden, John Carroll University

Nicole Rishel, John Carroll University

Overview: In this paper we explore the historical and contemporary uses of the concepts of luck, chance, and uncertainty as the corollaries to inequality predefined on merit, talent, worth or desert.

Paper **Why Lotteries Are Just**

Peter Stone, Stanford University

Overview: Lotteries are just distributive devices, but theorists of justice have done little to explain this fact. A contractor defense, grounded in the work of Thomas Scanlon, can fill this gap.

Paper **Rawls on Stability, Legitimacy and Affirmation**

Edward H. K. Song, University of Virginia

Overview: Critics of Rawls' political liberalism ignore its core worry, the ideal of political legitimacy. I offer an account of Rawlsian legitimacy called 'affirmation' that defends the import of citizens' subjective endorsement of their political regimes.

Disc. Fred Eidlin, University of Guelph

Sharon Vaughan, Morehouse College

28-12 **FREEDOM, PUNISHMENT, AND POWER IN MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair Michael R. James, Bucknell University

Paper **The Missing Judiciary in Locke's Separation of Powers**

Ross J. Corbett, Brown University

Overview: Locke's separation of powers comprises the executive, legislative, and federative, while everyone else's replaces the federative with the judicial. Where is the judicial function in Locke, and why is it not a separate power?

Paper **Reconsidering Locke's Strange Doctrine of Natural Executive Power**

Lee Ward, Campon College at the University of Regina

Overview: Rather than interpreting Locke's political thought in terms of Hobbes' natural rights or Christian natural law, his "strange" doctrine of natural executive power, is best understood as a critical departure from both of these strains of argument.

Paper **Pacifism vs. Helvidius: The Problem of Executive Power**

Benjamin A. Kleinerman, Virginia Military Institute

Overview: Seeks to extend recent work upon the founders' understanding of executive power and upon the constitutional debate between Hamilton and Madison. Paper emphasizes the essential constitutional differences that emerge from this debate.

Paper **Expertise and Accountability**

Dimitri Landa, New York University

Overview: I argue that the election-based account of accountability runs into a fundamental conceptual problem: if legislators are superior judges, how can we judge the choices they make?

Disc. Anthony A. Peacock, Utah State University

Scott C. Pandich, St. Lawrence University

Paper **Rationale of Punishment: Utilitarianism's Most Important Contribution?**

James T. McHugh, Roosevelt University

Overview: The Rationale of Punishment, attributed to Bentham, is a neglected and, arguably, the most important utilitarian text, especially for its real and potential contribution to penalogy and insight into the early development of this school of thought.
Paper | The Despotism of Modern Political Theory: Misunderstanding Freedom  
John Phillips, University of Maryland  
Overview: Benjamin Constant rejects the melding of freedom with obedience and authority. Freedom is meaningless unless it is removed from discussions about the nexus of power and authority and put back where it belongs - independence.  
Disc. | James Wiley, St. Norbert College  

28-5 | USING HISTORICAL AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT TO ILLUMINATE CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN POLITICS  
Overview: Madison and Lincoln do not reject the primacy of thought and national identity in still-unexplored ways.  
Room | TBA, Sat 1:45 pm  
Chair | Vincent J. Strickler, DePauw University  
Paper | America's Cosmopolitan Moment  
Aaron M. Keck, Rutgers University  
Overview: The framing of the U.S. Constitution in 1787 can be understood as a practical realization of the cosmopolitan ideal--an ideal that has shaped the development of American political thought and national identity in still-unexplored ways.  

Paper | Constitutional Cassandra: Vindicating Brutus, the Anti-Federalist  
Vincent J. Strickler, DePauw University  
Overview: The dire predictions of “Brutus” have come largely true. But, Federalists denied their plausibility. Thus, they reveal what both sides of the original constitutional debate believed that the Constitution was not or should not be.  

Paper | Abraham Lincoln and “Practical Equality”  
Jason R. Jividen, Northern Illinois University  
Overview: Lincoln’s thought includes a view of equality that admits inherent limitations on its actualization, yet his rhetoric of equality might be flexible enough to often obscure these limitations.  

Paper | Madison and Lincoln on Majority Rule  
Jeffrey H. Anderson, U.S. Air Force Academy  
Overview: Madison and Lincoln do not reject the primacy of majority rule; however, neither do they embrace majority rule without applying a nuanced understanding that majority rule must be filtered, moderated, checked. This paper explores their thoughts.  
Disc. | Daniel P. Klinghard, College of the Holy Cross  

29-6 | SOCIAL COHESION, OBLIGATION AND RESPONSIBILITY  
Overview: If law presses people beyond the limit of their freedom, the law must be filtered, moderated, checked. This paper explores their thoughts.  
Room | TBA, Sat 1:45 pm  
Chair | Burke Hendrix, Cornell University  
Paper | Beyond the Rule of Law: Do Direct Action Campaigns Maintain the Human Bond?  
Stephen P. Chilton, University of Minnesota, Duluth  
Jamison Tessner, University of Minnesota, Duluth  
Overview: If law presses people beyond the limit of their consciences, they may choose not to obey it. In so doing, they may sever their bonds with non-dissidents, to the detriment of all. Is (or how much is) this a problem for the U.S. peace and justice movement?  

Paper | An Offer We Can’t Refuse? How Residence Can Ground Political Obligation  
John R. Harris, University of Colorado, Boulder  
Overview: Grounding the moral duty to obey the law might best be done by utilizing consent theory, yet determining how one gives her consent has proven difficult. My paper offers a defense of the claim that we consent to obey the law by residing in a state.  

Paper | Who Killed Socrates? The Plausibility of a Blameworthy Collective Agency  
Jeffrey B. White, University of Missouri, Columbia  
Overview: The focus of the following paper is the phenomenon of the collective agent; what constitutes the appearance of a collective agent?  

30-13 | FORMAL THEORIES OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION  
Overview: We develop a general model of lobbying under multiple dimensions and show that, if competing lobbyists specialize in their expertise, then full information revelation is unlikely.  
Room | TBA, Sat 1:45 pm  
Chair | Matias Iaryczower, California Institute of Technology  
Paper | Against Political Obligation  
Thomas M. Hughes, University of California, Santa Barbara  
Overview: This paper advances a skeptical tradition against the concept of political obligation by developing a multiprincipled critique. The analysis draws upon existing critiques found in virtue theory, liberal theory, and anarchism.  
Disc. | Steve Vanderheiden, University of Minnesota, Duluth  
Thomas C. Ellington, Wesleyan College  

Paper | Reliving on the Expertise of Interested Parties  
Sven Feldmann, Northwestern University  
Overview: I examine how the presence of multiple audiences affects the incentives of informational agents to truthfully reveal their private information.  

Paper | Modelling the Tragedy of the Commons with Verbal Sanctions  
David V. Schwab, Indiana University, Bloomington  
Overview: This paper presents a game-theoretic model of how allowing users of a CPR to verbally sanction one another can resolve the tragedy of the commons.  
Disc. | Matias Iaryczower, California Institute of Technology  

31-9 | METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN IPE (Co-sponsored with International Political Economy, see 12-22)  
Room | TBA, Sat 1:45 pm  
Chair | Jake Bowers, Harvard University  
Paper | Instrumental Variables, Weak Instruments and Uncertainty  
Robert W. Walker, Texas A&M University  
Overview: With a specific focus on the quality of instruments and parameter uncertainty, we provide practical tests of relevance and orthogonality for instrumental variables estimators in political research.  

Paper | Modeling Spatial Interdependence in Political Economy with Tax-Competition Examples  
Robert J. Franzese, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor  
Jude C. Hays, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign  
Overview: Theoretical and empirical-modeling issues in globalization and capital taxation, stressing strategic dependence among countries in fiscal policymaking and resultant spatial interdependence (contemporaneous correlation) of capital tax rates in TSCS data.  

Paper | Popular Sovereignty and the Room to Maneuver: A Search for a Causal Chain  
Thomas Sattler, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich  
John Freeman, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities  
Patrick Brandt, University of Texas, Dallas  
Overview: We reanalyze the claim that governments retain substantial room to maneuver despite globalization. Competing arguments about the causal chains connecting popular sovereignty over the economy are tested using new Bayesian, multiple time series methods.  
Disc. | Michael D. Ward, University of Washington  

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32-12 **POLITICAL PARTIES IN ELECTIONS**
Room LaSalle 2, 7th Floor, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Stewart L. French, Saginaw Valley State University
Paper Are U.S. Presidential Nominations Party-Centered or Candidate-Centered?
Marty Cohen, University of California, Los Angeles
David Karol, University of California, Berkeley
John Zaller, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: The party insiders who dominate presidential nominations are long-term players more loyal to party than to individual candidates, and seek to coordinate their support behind the candidate with greatest potential for broad support within the party.

Paper How Well do the Parties Compete in House Elections?
Jonathan S. Krasno, SUNY, Binghamton
Conor M. Dowling, SUNY, Binghamton
Overview: Through an examination of the amount of campaign donations and spending by Democratic and Republican party committees, we assess the parties' strategies to maximize their seat gains in House elections.

Paper State Party Organizations as Campaign Service Providers
Joshua P. Stockley, Nichols State University
Overview: Surveys of 200 legislative candidates and interviews with 50 past and present members of the state party in Oklahoma, Texas, and Louisiana were conducted to determine how candidates perceive party roles during state legislative elections.

Paper Reputation and Electoral Alliances: The Roles of Ideology and Viability
Royce A. Carroll, University of California, San Diego
Overview: I present a model of electoral alliances driven by the pursuit of government access, in addition to seats, whereby factors shaping the electoral importance of governing viability provide incentives for otherwise independent entities to coalesce.

Paper Party Dominance in Africa's Multiparty Elections
Daniel J. Young, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: In this paper I test competing explanations of the pattern of party dominance in African elections, including ethnic voting and electoral authoritarianism. I emphasize the importance of presidential coattails, and find evidence of its importance.

Disc. Casey B. K. Dominguez, University of San Diego

33-103 **AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: ANDREW RUDALEVIGE'S 'THE NEW IMPERIAL PRESIDENCY'**
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Matthew Dickinson, Middlebury College
Panelist Andrew Rudalevige, Dickinson College
Nancy Kassop, SUNY-New Paltz
William Howell, Harvard University
David Adler, Idaho State University
Overview: Author Meets Critics: Andrew Rudalevige's 'The New Imperial Presidency'

34-11 **THE APPROPRIATIONS PROCESS IN CONGRESS**
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Russell D. Renka, Southeast Missouri State University
Paper Omnibus Appropriations: Creatures of Gridlock, Dereliction, or Design?
Stonegardener Grindlife, Georgetown University
Overview: Are omnibus appropriations bills simply the result of a distracted, gridlocked, or even lazy legislative branch or do they serve a very specific purpose in congressional electoral strategies?

Paper US Senate Majority Leaders and Distributive Politics
Andrea C. Hatcher, University of the South, Sewanee
Overview: Is being Leader advantageous in distributive politics? This paper makes use of archival data to trace the role of US Senate Majority Leaders in securing pork for their state.

Paper Institutional Change and the Congressional Appropriations Process
Jason A. MacDonald, Kent State University
Overview: This paper examines innovations in the congressional appropriations process that shifted some control over policy decisions made by Congress from authorizing committees to appropriations committees. What explains these institutional changes?

Disc. Diana Evans, Trinity College

34-301 **POSTER SESSION: LEGISLATIVE INSTITUTIONS POSTER**

35-8 **A NEW LOOK AT INCUMBENCY EFFECTS**
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair George Serra, Bridgewater State College
Paper Incumbency, Risk, and the Gender Gap
Kristin Kanthak, University of Arizona
Barbara Norrander, University of Arizona
Katrina Running, University of Arizona
Overview: We posit that differing attitudes toward risk between men and women may help explain variations in the gender gap. Because women are more risk-averse than men, they are more likely to vote for incumbents. We provide evidence from the 2004 elections.

Paper The Impact of Incumbency on Political Participation
Jean-Francois Godbout, Northwestern University
Overview: The paper focuses on measuring the dynamic relationship between incumbency and turnout in congressional districts. The results show that incumbency puts a downward pressure on turnout and that this effect increases with tenure length.

Paper Appearance Effects on Legislative Careers
Margaret Ann Curran, Northern Illinois University
James N. Schubert, Northern Illinois University
Overview: In previous research (Schubert and Curran 2002), we considered the possibility that stereotypes, with respect to facial appearance and social identity, influence political factors that affect the course and longevity of political careers.

Paper The Electoral Consequences of Pork: A Multilevel Analysis
Andrew H. Sidman, Stony Brook University
Maxwell H. Max, Stony Brook University
Overview: We have two methodological critiques of previous research on the effects of congressional pork on electoral outcomes. Seeking to alleviate these problems, we use a multilevel model to estimate the true effect of pork on congressional elections.
Paper | Incumbency Advantage in German and British Elections: A Quasi-Experimental Approach  
Holger L. Kern, Cornell University  
Overview: Our paper presents causal estimates for the incumbency advantage in British and German federal elections.  
Disc. Kenneth Bickers, University of Colorado

36-7 | STATE COURTS  
Room | TBA, Sat 1:45 pm  
Chair | Christopher D. Martin, Ohio Dominican University  
Paper | Judicial Diversity: The Interaction of Access and Consensus  
Brent D. Boyea, University of Texas, Arlington  
Overview: Evaluating state judicial institutional arrangements and the behavior of judges, the distribution of judge attributes is found to strongly affect consensus. Consensus is considerably greater in elected courts with less diversity.  
Paper | This Paper Will Test a Model of Turnover on State Courts of Last Resort Between 1975 and 2005  
James C. Brent, San Jose State University  
Overview: Much scholarly research has been devoted to explaining why judges retire. Building upon research regarding the United States Congress, the existing literature suggests several reasons why judges might voluntarily depart the federal bench.

36-8 | CROSS-NATIONAL STUDIES OF COURTS  
Room | TBA, Sat 1:45 pm  
Chair | Sunita A. Parikh, Washington University, St. Louis  
Paper | Political Stability, Cleavage Structures and Judicial Independence  
Nick Jorgensen, College of William and Mary  
Overview: This paper tests a model of judicial independence that links court autonomy to the inclusiveness or exclusiveness of political regimes, state intervention in the economy, and political stability.

Paper | Gavel's Gambling Against Guns: Judicial Negation in Authoritarian  
Rodello C. Manacsa, Vanderbilt University  
Overview: When do courts develop the daring to rule against the state in authoritarian regimes? This paper provides an empirical assessment of why and when judicialities "gamble" to rule against the government during periods of authoritarianism.

Paper | Opinion Writing in the U.S. Supreme Court and the High Court of Australia  
Kirk A. Randazzo, University of Kentucky  
Lee R. Remington, University of Kentucky  
Reginald S. Sheehan, Michigan State University  
Overview: This paper explores the influences - legal, political and strategic - of opinion writing in both the U.S. Supreme Court and the High Court of Australia.

Paper | Nuking the Nuclear Option: A Comparative Analysis of Judicial Selection  
Rebecca Wood, Michigan State University  
Overview: What would our system look like without "Advice and Consent"? By examining constitutional prescriptions, legal requirements and the operation of these selection systems, we can get an idea what our system would look like without the nuclear option.

36-16 | FORMAL MODELS OF LAW AND JUDICIAL POLITICS (Co-sponsored with Formal Modeling, see 30-23)  
Room | TBA, Sat 1:45 pm  
Chair | Jeffrey R. Lax, Columbia University  
Paper | Law Creation by a Team of Judges  
Charles M. Cameron, Princeton University/New York University  
Lewis Kornhauser, New York University  
Overview: We study the creation of law by a team of judges operating within a judicial hierarchy. The particular focus is the role of hierarchy and litigant control of appeals decisions in the creation of new legal rules.

Paper | Legal Doctrine and Political Control  
Tonja Jacobi, Northwestern University  
Overview: A game-theoretic model is developed that identifies the conditions under which popular majorities will support judicial independence (and the judicial countermajoritarian function of courts) against legislative attack.

Paper | A Costly-Signaling Theory of "Hard Look" Judicial Review  
Matthew C. Stephenson, Harvard Law School  
Overview: This paper develops a costly-signaling model of "hard look" judicial review, in which the quality of the government's explanation for its decision conveys useful information to uninformed courts because of the cost of producing a high-quality record.

37-7 | PUBLIC AND ELITE ATTITUDES TOWARD CIVIL LIBERTIES  
Room | TBA, Sat 1:45 pm  
Chair | Richard Braunstein, University of South Dakota  
Paper | Cognitive Heuristics and the Evaluation of Fourth Amendment Questions  
Jeffery W. Green, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale  
Overview: When presented with an opportunity to evaluate the propriety of police conduct in hypothetical scenarios involving rights under the Fourth Amendment what cognitive heuristics do individuals employ to construct their reactions to these situations?

Paper | Popular Rights Claiming Before there was Civil Rights Law: 1939-41  
George I. Lovell, University of Washington  
Overview: This paper examines connections between federal civil rights administration and ordinary citizen's ideas about law and rights by analyzing 800 letters sent to the President and Justice Department between 1939 and 1941.
Paper: Challenging Others or Censoring the Self? Attitudes of Censorship and Academic Freedom among University Faculty
Chapman B. Rackaway, Fort Hays State University
Michael V. Suchoparek, Fort Hays State University
Mitchell Hall, Fort Hays State University
Ethan Harder, Fort Hays State University
Mark Colwell, Fort Hays State University
Overview: A survey of university faculty on attitudes of censorship and academic freedom post-9/11.
Disc. Susan Burgess, Ohio University

38-102 ROUNDTABLE: THE FUTURE OF THE STUDY OF STATE POLITICS AND POLICY
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Panelist Richard F. Winters, Dartmouth College
Christopher Z. Mooney, University of Illinois, Springfield
David Lowery, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Ron Weber, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Overview: TBA

39-11 NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS AND PROTEST POLITICS
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Jose F. Marichal, California Lutheran University
Paper: Organizing For Justice: The Urban Poor And Environmental Politics in Multi-Ethnic Southern California
Armando Xavier Mejia, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: Paper examines three organized efforts by the urban poor to contest environmental injustice in Southern California. Case studies offer theoretical and comparative lessons for successful grassroots environmental mobilization in multi-ethnic regions.

Paper: The Fate of Institutionalized Protest: The Suburban O'Hare Commission
Bonnie Lindstrom, Northwestern University
Overview: The rise and fall of the Suburban O'Hare Commission, a coalition of suburbs formed to oppose O'Hare expansion, exemplifies the fate of locality-based protest when a grassroots group becomes institutionalized and identified with one political party.
Disc. Jose F. Marichal, California Lutheran University

40-14 STANDARDS BASED EDUCATIONAL REFORM
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Sandra Vergari, SUNY, Albany
Paper: Race and the Politics of Grade Retention
Valentina A. Ball, Michigan State University
Dorothea Anagnostopoulos, Michigan State University
Overview: Retaining low performing students in grade has become a central though disputed component of current standards-based reforms. This paper examines the political and organizational determinants of school district retention rates across racial groups.

Paper: The Interaction Between Organizational Values and Morality Policy
Warren S. Eller, Texas A&M University
Overview: This paper addresses the potential outcomes of the centralization of educational policy at the federal level on school performance and violence prevention programs.

40-19 URBAN DESIRES: HOUSING, ECONOMIC GROWTH AND AMENITIES
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Juliet F. Gainsborough, Bentley College
Paper: Defining Patterns of Residential Blight for Economic Development
H. Douglas Adams, St. Louis University
Overview: Local governments, lacking a standard for blight, appear subjectively to designate blight to justify Tax Increment Financing. Using Census data, an index of residential blight is proposed to identify blight according to an objective standard.

Paper: The Transformation of Federal Housing Policy and Management, 1980-Present
Stephen Page, University of Washington
Rachel Kleit, University of Washington
Overview: An analysis of recent changes in federal housing programs in historical context shows how the management of public housing authorities now entails a novel combination of discretion, obligations, and partnerships in different areas of responsibility.
Disc. Juliet F. Gainsborough, Bentley College

40-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: VARIATION IN INCARCERATION RATES ACROSS THE FIFTY STATES
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Presenter Variation in Incarceration Rates Across the Fifty States
Anita Pritchard, Florida Atlantic University
Michael Wiatrowski, Department of Education
Overview: This paper examines variation in incarceration rates across the fifty states.

40-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: HIGHER EDUCATION I
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Presenter The Academic Church: The Culture Wars, Academic Freedom and Tenure
David C. Paris, Hamilton College
Overview: This paper explores the image of postsecondary institutions as a kind of “church” with reference to contemporary policy debates. It suggests norms for professional responsibility and accountability, including with respect to the state and market.

Presenter: Allowing Community Colleges To Grant Bachelor Degrees
In Florida: A Policy Framing Process At Florida Legislature and Two Community Colleges
Gregory Pershin, Florida State University
Overview: The presentation deals with framing policies permitting community colleges to grant baccalaureate degrees in Florida.
DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL POLITICS AND POLICY (Co-sponsored with International Political Economy, see 12-18)

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Tobias Hofmann, Free University of Berlin
Paper Mexican Markets in Comparative Terms: Cartels and their Consequences
Jeffrey F. Timmons, ITAM
Overview: Using an original database covering 50 countries, this paper explores the causes and consequences of market concentration. Focusing on Mexico, it shows that market concentration leads to higher prices and slower economic growth.

Paper Banking on the Market? Industry and Finance in Latin America
Ines Valdez, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: This paper explores the effects of banking sector liberalization on industry's access to credit in L. America. This relationship--of great importance for industrial development--is often overlooked in political economy accounts of banking reforms.

Paper The Blame Game: IMF Structural Adjustment Loans and Leader Survival
Laron K. Williams, Texas A&M University
Overview: This paper examines strategic interaction between the IMF and leaders concerning the implementation of structural adjustment loans and how those reforms impact leader tenure under various domestic institutional arrangements.

Paper Can Debt Relief Buy Growth?
Ralf Hopp, University of California, Davis
Overview: This paper investigates the effects of debt relief initiatives in the 1990s on developing countries. I find that debt relief had a positive growth effect on some developing countries, but seems to have been ineffective in promoting growth in the world.

Disc. Tobias Hofmann, Free University of Berlin

INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PROSPECT THEORY AND ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Presenter Michael A. Rudy, University of Missouri, Columbia
Panelist Jerome F. Venteicher, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: We present an application of prospect theory through a game-theoretic model to the initiation and subsequent stages of economic sanctions, thereby offering a substantial improvement to the existing theories in the field.

Paper Collective Action and Jihad: Group Theory, the Mujahideen and Martyrdom
Brian W. Dotts, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: This paper analyzes the formation of the Mujahideen and Martyrdom in Afghanistan in the 1980s, focusing on the role of collective action and the application of game theory.

Paper Solemn and Authoritative Acts: Historical Analysis of the Founder's Ideas on Constitutional Amendment
Darren P. Guerra, Vanguard University of Southern California
Overview: This paper explores the Founder's ideas regarding the Constitutional Amendment; it is argued that their ideas are best viewed as a set of ordered criteria rooted in their dual commitments to a written constitutionalism grounded in popular authority.

Paper The Revolution in their Hearts: Changing Conceptions of British Citizenship in Revolutionary America
Jason Ross, Georgetown University
Overview: This paper examines changing conceptions of British citizenship among revolutionary-era Americans through the lens of patriot arguments about the British constitution.

Disc. Matthew Glassman, Yale University

ROUNDTABLE: POLITICAL SCIENTISTS WHO BLOG

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Thomas F. Schaller, University of Maryland, Baltimore County
Panelist Philip A. Klinkner, Hamilton College
Brendan Nyhan, Duke University
Dante Scali, St. Anselm's College
Overview: This panel assembles several political scientists who blog to discuss the implications of blogging on political science, the impact of political scientists who blog, and the growing nexus between political science theory and practical politics.

Paper Collective Action and Jihad: Group Theory, the Mujahideen and Martyrdom
Michael C. Struemph, University of Kansas
Overview: The formal model shows an individual's calculus changing as the expected costs associated with participation increases (social engagement < martyrdom). To marginalize the expected costs, Islamic groups make appeals to dominant themes in the society.

Paper Shi'a Symbolism, the Imam, and the Formulation of a Revolutionary Ideology
Jeremy D. Bailey, Duquesne University
Overview: This paper examines how the Shi'a community formulates its revolutionary ideology, focusing on the role of the Imam and symbolism in the Iranian Revolution.

Cyrus A. Contractor, University of Chicago
Overview: Based on ethnographic research in Jakarta, Indonesia, this paper argues that many young women activists in Indonesia are inspired by Islamic teachings to struggle for gender equality in their religion and their society more broadly.

Paper Solemn and Authoritative Acts: Historical Analysis of the Founder's Ideas on Constitutional Amendment
Rachel A. Rinaldo, University of Chicago
Overview: Based on ethnographic research in Jakarta, Indonesia, this paper argues that many young women activists in Indonesia are inspired by Islamic teachings to struggle for gender equality in their religion and their society more broadly.

Paper Feminism in Uncertain Times: Women Activists, Islam, and State Transition in Indonesia
Rachel A. Rinaldo, University of Chicago
Overview: Based on ethnographic research in Jakarta, Indonesia, this paper argues that many young women activists in Indonesia are inspired by Islamic teachings to struggle for gender equality in their religion and their society more broadly.

Nesilhan K. Cevik, Arizona State University
Overview: This paper aims to reread the veil issue through revealing the ironies of veil in the Turkish context: Firstly, the representation of veil both a repressive ritual and a militant symbol and secondly, the replacement of veil with wigs.

Disc. Ivan Strenski, University of California, Riverside
Gunes Murat Tezcur, Loyola University, Chicago
Paper Self Interest Rightly Understood: Social Capital and Schooling
Soren Serritzlew, University of Aarhus, Denmark
Gert Svendsen, University of Aarhus, Denmark
Overview: We offer 3 hypotheses about training, selection and corruption on how schooling contributes to social capital. This is investigated by the use of theory in relation to our new social capital database covering 21 countries and 25,000 respondents.

Paper Determinants of Public Support for Regulation: A Look at Health Care Reform
Eileen Braman, Indiana University, Bloomington
Michael J. Enslay, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: We look at support for government intervention in health care. The influences of (1) ideology (2) self-interest (3) institutional orientation (4) perceptions of societal harm and (5) political entrepreneurship are tested using individual level data.

Paper Prohibition and Progressivism, or Punctuated Equilibrium?
Mark L. Schrad, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: Punctuated equilibrium and serial information processing models lend new insight into the politics of alcohol prohibition in the US, and buttress new process models of institutional decisionmaking that are both longitudinal and comparative.

Paper Comparative Policy Entrepreneurship: The Case of Autism Related Policy in North America
Dana L. Baker, Washington State University
Trudy Steuernagel, Kent State University
Overview: Explores how the structure of government and traditions of governance affect successful policy entrepreneurship by comparing the emergence of policy entrepreneurs surrounding autism in Canada and the United States.

Disc. Lisa J. Dotterweich, Kent State University

Paper Understanding Global Leadership: Insights from Vaclav Havel and Martha Nussbaum
Heather McDougall, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: In his 2004 book, James MacGregor Burns calls for “global leadership.” What is global leadership? Utilizing the works of Vaclav Havel and Martha Nussbaum, I argue that in order to be a leader in the global community, individuals need to recognize their responsibility to communities beyond the local or national level.

Paper The Play’s the Thing: Leadership, Literature, and Imaginative Understanding
Michael Harvey, Washington College
Overview: Vivid stories, both ancient and modern, dramatize the problems that leaders and followers confront, helping students and scholars develop an imaginative understanding of the nature and circumstances of leadership.

Disc. Thad M. Williamson, University of Richmond

Paper Leadership in the Change Process of Gramsci
Nathan W. Harter, Purdue University
Overview: Gramsci described leadership roles in the social change process, with distinct functions in the forming of cadres to establish hegemony. His observations on the leadership of cadres have yet to become part of the mainstream literature on leadership.

Paper The Historical Role of the International Court of Justice and the Need for Universal Compulsory Jurisdiction
Adam S Moore, Northern Kentucky University
Overview: I will look at the historical role of the International Court of Justice and point out some prominent cases that illustrate both its successes and failures. Additionally, I will discuss the need for the ICJ to have universal compulsory jurisdiction.

Paper The Bush Doctrine and The American Quest for Global Hegemony
Michael Lee O Brockhouse, Central Missouri State University

Paper The Determinants of Trade-Policy Preferences in Developing Countries: The Case of Malaysia
Megan N Westrum, University of Notre Dame
Overview: This paper centers on an empirical test of the Ricardo-Viner and Stolper-Samuelson models in developing countries using Malaysia as a test case. The analysis uses the author’s survey data complemented by personal interviews with Malaysian officials, academics, and business people.
Presenter: From Pittsburgh to Providence: Justice Kennedy, the Establishment Clause, and Judicial Behavior

Timothy W. O’Brien, College of the Holy Cross
Overview: This paper follows Justice Anthony Kennedy’s evolving view of the Establishment Clause from ALLEGHENY v. ACLU to LEE v. WEISMAN using Harry Blackmun’s papers to situate his change in the scholarly debate over the factors affecting judicial behavior.

Presenter: Variations in Rhetoric and Coverage: How American and English-Language Arab Newspapers Differ in their Presentation of the War on Terror

Kevin F. Adler, Occidental College
Overview: By analyzing articles, consulting journalists, and studying their media institutions’ fundamental disparities, this project sought to determine if (and how) the portrayal of the “War on Terror” differs between American and Arab-based newspapers.

Presenter: A Case Study Analysis of the Actions of Policy Entrepreneurs in the State Policy Process

Emily M. Farris, Furman University
Overview: Agenda-setting theory has paid limited attention to external actors in the policy process. I build on previous work to develop a description of policy entrepreneurs’ activities, with a case study analysis of the South Carolina Conservation Bank Act.


Jonathan E. Bettis, Furman University
Overview: This study examines the relationship between campaign contribution receipts by oil PAC’s during the previous election year and congressional support for the Energy Policy Act of 2005.

Presenter: The Effects of Residence on Voting Habits of College Students

Andrew E. Pate, Vanderbilt University
Overview: This project investigates the effect of residency requirements on the voting of college students. I explore the potential for increased voting associated via new procedures allowing students to become permanent residents of their college towns.

Presenter: Post-Colonial Border and Maritime Dispute: Spain and Morocco

Kara N. Friel, North Central College
Overview: This examines the relationship between Spain and Morocco in the context of an island dispute of Perejil/Leila in 2002. Since this case has gotten the most notable international attention and reached high intensity, it was used to identify patterns of interaction and progression of the conflict.

Presenter: The Myth of Consociationalism in South Africa? Examining ANC Hegemony

Graeme D. Blair, Reed College
Overview: Observing the hegemony of the African National Congress in South Africa, the thesis tests intra-party alternatives to Lijphart’s multi-party consociationalism to explain how the state has achieved social peace amidst ascriptive fragmentation.

Presenter: Peering Beyond Party: Examining Senate Votes on ANWR Drilling in 2005

Lindsay J. Miller, Wellesley College
Overview: The US Senate considered allowing oil drilling in the Alaskan National Wildlife Refuge several times in 2005. This study analyzes potential influences faced by senators on this issue to examine the dynamics producing roll call vote outcomes.
Saturday, April 22 – 3:45 pm – 5:30 pm
1-101 ROUNDTABLE: REMAKING THE AMERICAN NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY: A NEW ERA BEGINS
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Panelist Arthur Lupia, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Jon A. Krosnick, Stanford University
Brian Humes, National Science Foundation
Overview: In 2005, NSF funded a dynamic new ANES. It not only continues the presidential year study, it also adds panel and pilot studies and new ways to promote broad involvement in survey development. This roundtable examines the changes and their benefits.

2-13 STRATEGIC CHOICES AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Michael Harris, Ferris State University
Paper Whose Your Daddy? Legitimacy, Regime Type, and the Duration of Leadership Tenure
Randall J. Blimes, University of Colorado
Overview: The primary purpose of this paper is to explain leadership duration as a function of the success a leader encounters following one or all of three different strategies designed to maintain office.

Paper Cabinet Reshuffles and Government Duration in Parliamentary Democracies
Hande Mutlu, New York University
Overview: I examine the link between cabinet reshuffles and cabinet duration. Using competing risks approach and data on 13 parliamentary democracies (1945-1987), I show that reallocation of portfolios-itself an indicator of instability-can lead to stability.

Paper Choosing Leaders in Federations
Kenneth W. Ollman, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: The paper compares how leadership accession in federations is influenced by philosophies of government proposing centralization or devolution of power.

Paper Portfolio Allocation as Leadership Strategy in Japan
Yoshikuni Ono, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: Constructing a formal model and drawing on data of factional affiliations in LDP cabinets between 1956 and 1991, I demonstrate that portfolio allocation is an instrument the prime minister uses to handle intra-party and inter-party pressures.

Disc. Michael Harris, Ferris State University
Bonnie N. Field, Bentley College

3-4 BOTTOM-UP, OUTSIDE-IN: CHALLENGING AND CHANGING THE CHINESE STATE (Co-sponsored with Asian Politics, see 8-15)
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Andrew C. Mertha, Washington University, St. Louis
Paper Bottom-Up, Outside-In: Challenging and Changing the Chinese State
Andrew C. Mertha, Washington University, St. Louis
Yi Zhao, MacAlister College
Overview: After Reform

Paper Popular Participation in Policy-Making and Policy Implementation in China
Martin K. Dimitrov, Dartmouth College
Overview: Scholars assume that there is no popular input in policy-making in single-party states. Empirically based on environmental protection in China, this paper shows that citizens do have a variety of means through which they can affect policy-making.

Paper Between Bureaucrats and Markets: China’s Frustrating Involvement in Standards Wars
Scott Kennedy, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: This paper investigates Chinese efforts to set unique technical standards in information technology. It finds that Chinese have had no success using standards as part of a protectionist strategy.

Paper Foreign Direct Investment and Politically Strong China
Maksym Kovalov, University of Oklahoma
Overview: This paper looks at how and where the Chinese government has acquired the capacities to operate as a market economy under centralized political control, given the high inflows of FDI into the Chinese economy.

Paper Policy Learning and China’s Opening Strategy
Lawrence C. Reardon, University of New Hampshire
Overview: Having undergone a complex learning process that revealed the deficiencies of China’s thirty-year inwardly-oriented development regime, Chinese elites incremented learned to implement an outwardly-oriented regime in the 1980s.

Disc. Yi Zhao, MacAlister College

3-5 POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND DEMANDS IN ETHNIC AUTONOMY MOVEMENTS
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Mary E. Breeding, American University, SPA
Paper Responses to Demands for Autonomy: Cultural Autonomy, Carvation, Secession
Tavishi Bhasin, Emory University
Amy H. Liu, Emory University
Overview: Using game theory, we show that the concessions granted by the central government to demands for greater autonomy depend on discount rates, expected electoral gains, economic clout, and ethnic heterogeneity. We test the hypotheses on multiple cases.

Paper The Dynamic Declines of the JVP’s Waves of Contention in Sri Lanka
Brent D. Hierman, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: This paper utilizes social mobilization literature to explore factors that caused two insurgent waves launched by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna against the Ceylonese/Sri Lankan state to crest from an initial upsurge and begin a downward trajectory.

Paper Question of Identity of Enclave People Between India and Bangladesh
Pahi Saikia, McGill University
Overview: I examine the construction of a shared enclave identity of the people in the enclaves between India and Bangladesh and what impact if any, does it have on the dilemmas of their citizenship? How can one possibly find a way out of this situation?

Paper Pragmatic Ideologues: The Conflict of Strategic and Normative Interests in the Promotion of Democracy in Post-Civil-War States
Madhav R. Joshi, University of North Texas
Overview: Promotion of democracy in the post-civil-war state is dominant research agenda in political science right now. It has been presumed that the democratic countries are more likely to support democracy in post-civil-war state if involved in the conflict.

Disc. Jennifer Gandhi, Emory University

4-5 ENHANCING TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE AND THE RULE OF LAW
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Katy Crossley-Frollick, DePaul University
Paper Fragile Judicial Independence in Latin America: A Decade After Reform
Silvia Inclan, UNAM
Overview: This paper examines the effects of elections and divided governments on executives’ incentives for judicial independence by looking at the Argentinean, Peruvian,
Latin American cases.

Democracy, evaluating a range of factors in an analysis of 14 violations that was adopted following the transition to countries alter the mode of accountability for past human rights violations.

Overview: This paper examines the puzzle of why certain countries adopt new forms of transitional justice. It discusses the processes and results of vetting former East German police officers in Berlin and Brandenburg.

Paper Revisiting Transitional Justice: Latin America and Beyond
David Backer, Stanford University

Overview: This paper examines the puzzle of why certain countries adopt new forms of transitional justice. It discusses the processes and results of vetting former East German police officers in Berlin and Brandenburg.

Disc. Mark Massoud, University of California, Berkeley

4-16 CONSOLIDATING GAINS IN AFRICAN DEMOCRACIES

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair David H. Carwell, Eastern Illinois University
Paper Democratic Transitions and Stability in Africa: Role of Political Ethnicity
Raphael O. Ogom, DePaul University

Overview: The early 1990s marked a period of democratic transitions in Africa. However, many of these failed to consolidate. We argue that this failure lies in the issue of political ethnicity and its dysfunctional manipulation by the African political elite.

Paper Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress and Retreat
Chris Lee, University of Minnesota, Morris

Overview: This is a paper that examines trends in African Political Development over the last thirty years and looks closely at several cases where democratization seems to be succeeding and others where it has clearly failed.

Paper Political Reconciliation and Democratic Contestation in South Africa: Evaluating the Role of Opposition Parties Since 1994
Matt Murphy, Reed College
Graeme Blair, Reed College

Overview: Using data from federal and provincial elections, parliamentary votes, committee participation, and debates, we look for evidence of political reconciliation between opposition parties and the dominant ANC in South Africa.

Disc. TBA

5-14 PARTIES' POLICY DYNAMICS IN WESTERN EUROPE (Co-Sponsored with Comparative Politics-Industrialized Countries, see 2-19)

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Bonnie M. Meguid, University of Rochester

Paper Dynamic Representation in Western European Party Systems
James F. Adams, University of California, Davis
Andrea Hauß, University of California, Santa Barbara
Heather Stoll, University of California, Santa Barbara

Overview: We explore the linkages between public opinion shifts and parties' policy shifts in Western Europe.

Paper Valence Issue and Parties' Policy Dynamics
Michael Clark, University of California, Santa Barbara

Overview: I investigate whether parties adjust their policy programmes in response to changes in their reputations for competence, unity, and integrity.

Paper Testing the Left-Right Dimensionality of the Party Manifesto Dataset
Erica E. Edwards, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Ryan Bakker, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Catherine Netjes, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Overview: This paper investigates the cross-temporal and cross-national dynamics underlying party positioning by employing content analyses of parties' policy programmes.

Paper Dynamic Distributional Representation
Lawrence Ezrow, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Overview: Does the diversity of policy choices on offer in a political system change in response to changes in the diversity of voters' policy preferences? The empirical analyses in this paper suggest the answer is yes.

Paper Are Changes in Factional Control the Source of Party Left-Right Volatility?
Michael D. McDonald, Binghamton University

Overview: Investigation of whether party leadership changes are a necessary condition for substantial change in party policy position taking.

Disc. Michael Laver, New York University
Bonnie M. Meguid, University of Rochester

5-20 THE IMPACT OF PUBLIC OPINION IN EUROPE AND THE EU

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Francesca Vassallo, University of Southern Maine
Paper Public Support or Trust: Do Europeans Make the Differentiation?
Tracy S. Harbin, Syracuse University

Overview: This paper is designed to test if Europeans respond differently to questions of "public support" and "trust." The goal is to understand if we can speak about trust in a meaningful way that is different from the studies on public support.

Paper Conditional Effect of Public Opinion on Party Positions in Europe
Hanbeom Jeong, University of Kentucky
Satoshi Machida, University of Kentucky

Overview: This study examines the link between parties and the public in the context of European integration. We argue that party reactions to the public depend on the type of parties. We systematically test this hypothesis by using 2SLS.

Paper Does Immigrant Groups Influence Public Attitudes On Immigration in Europe?
Jason E. Keohberg, University of Kentucky

Overview: This paper argues that individual support for Turkey's EU membership is a function of both economic and cultural factors conditional on the degree of Euroskepticism and divisiveness of national elites.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paper</th>
<th>It's Not the Economy Stupid! EU Citizens' Attitudes Towards Turkey</th>
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<tr>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>Christopher Diaz, Morehead State University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Room</td>
<td>TBA, Sat 3:45 pm</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Determinants of Voting Behavior in Mexico’s Sub-National Politics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Ricardo H. Cavazos-Cepeda, University of California, Berkeley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>Mexico’s democratization process evolved rapidly. The objective of this paper is to investigate the existence of punishment voting based on state level politics in Mexico. et al, 2020.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Mark P. Jones, Rice University</td>
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<td>Overview</td>
<td>We examine the evolution of partisan competition at the state level in Mexico since 1970. To do so we employ modified versions of the Ranney and Holbrook-Van Dunk indices that have been used to examine partisan competition in the U.S.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>Clashing Incentives: the Provincialization of Electoral Politics in Argentina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Julieta Suarez-Cao, Northwestern University</td>
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<td>Overview</td>
<td>Despite a constitutional reform that encourages the nationalization of politics, Argentine electoral politics are increasingly tied to the local arenas. The paper argues that this should be understood as an unintended by-product of economic reforms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>The Political and Social Role of Business Groups (Business Associations) in the Democratization of China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Siu Fung Nerisa Chan, University of Newcastle upon Tyne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>Despite the rapid economic growth of China in recent decades, there have been no significant political change.</td>
</tr>
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| Paper | Political Economy of Banking Reforms in Indonesia, Korea, and Thailand |
| Author | Sawa Omori, University of Tokyo |
| Overview | This paper examines what makes the pace and the degree of banking reforms vary in Indonesia, Korea, and Thailand. Not only the IMF’s influence but also the number of veto players matter in explaining banking reforms in these three countries. |
| Paper | Global Finance, Neoliberal Economic Reform, and the State: The Case of Japan |
| Author | Takaaki Suzuki, Ohio University |
| Overview | This paper demonstrates how and why the rise of global finance in Japan since the early 1990s has expanded, rather than eroded, the role of the state in the issue area of fiscal and financial policy. |
| Paper | It’s Not the Economy Stupid! EU Citizens’ Attitudes Towards Turkey |
| Author | Basak Yavea, University of Pittsburgh |
| Overview | The purpose of this paper is to reveal where European Union citizens' attitudes towards Turkey’s membership come from. A new theory incorporating the effects of identity is generated and tested against utilitarian approaches of preference formation. |

| Paper | The Sophists, Thucydides, and Realism in International Politics |
| Author | Fodei J. Batty, Western Michigan University |
| Overview | This paper will examine the writings of Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle on the subject of war and its causes, and then ask whether their insights will illuminate the contemporary question of whether it is possible for war to become obsolete. |
Paper Where Has the Old Debate Gone? Realism, Institutionalism and IR Theory
Rafael Grasa, Autonomous University of Barcelona
Oriol Costa, Autonomous University of Barcelona
Overview: This paper sustains that the neorealism-neoinstitutionalism debate is not the main reference in IR theoretical arguments any more, it intends to explain why, and it tries to suggest which may be the next querrelle to pay attention to.

Paper NATO’s Transformation and its Implications for IR Theory
Ivan D. Ivanov, University of Cincinnati
Richard J. Harknett, University of Cincinnati
Overview: This paper examines the relationship between the security communities and John Mearsheimer’s offensive realist contribution toward understanding unipolarity through a study of NATO.

Paper Inferring Intention from the Choice of Sides: The Decision to Balance
Robert F. Trager, Oxford University
Overview: Third parties involve themselves in conflicts either to gain from conquest or to exert greater influence on the post-war settlement. States bandwagon rather than balance, except when the behavior of the more powerful side indicates hostile intention.

Disc. Ann Wyman, Missouri Southern State University

12-12 POLITICAL RISK AND FINANCIAL MARKETS

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Andrew Appleton, Washington State University

Paper Pork Bellies and War Futures: Making the Case for Market Signals
Jason Brozek, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: If war depresses trade, financial markets will anticipate and signal this relationship. In this paper, I use high-frequency market data and daily events data to examine the short-term relationship between interstate conflict and market activity.

Paper Democracy and Financial Markets - When Voters and Investors Disagree
Daniella Campello, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: This paper studies 35 countries along 25 years in order to investigate the reaction of financial markets to national elections and whether this reaction is associated to the partisanship of the likely winner of the contest.

Paper Partisan Politics, Credibility, and Government Bond Markets
Hye Jee Cho, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: Leftist governments may send negative messages to investors because of their partisan policies and party label. Investors may be willing to invest in left governments over center/right governments if leftist governments provide policy certainty.

Paper Are There Institutional Determinants of FDI?
Rumel S. Mahmood, Washington University, St. Louis
Dan O’Neill, Washington University, St. Louis
Long Chen, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: The literature has found that democracies attract more FDI. We look at the more nuanced aspects of a democracy involved in attracting or discouraging FDI flows. We use panel corrected standard errors. Some of our findings are counter intuitive.

Disc. Jude C. Hays, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

13-12 DOMESTIC POLITICAL APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ISSUES

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Glenn P. Hastedt, James Madison University

Paper Observing Norms: Explaining Internationally Monitored Elections
Susan D. Hyde, University of California, San Diego
Overview: Why do incumbent leaders invite international observers and then commit blatant electoral fraud? I explain why election observation spread, and present empirical evidence to support my argument from an original dataset of elections from 1960-2004.

Paper How a President Decides to Use Unilateral Force: A Poliheuristic Explanation
Bradley F. Podliska, Texas A&M University
Overview: Using poliheuristic theory, this paper examines the sequence of decisions a president faces in a crisis, explaining how a president first decides to use force, and then how he makes a second decision to use unilateral or multilateral force.

Paper Executive Agreement Stasis: Implications in Determining President's Evacuation
Randall D. Smith, University of Illinois, Chicago
Overview: This paper offers an examination of the most complete detailed dataset of American international agreements since World War II. I test the hypothesis that the number of sole executive agreements conducted during this time period has remained static.

Paper News Coverage of Use of Force Events and the Rally 'Round the Flag Effect
Wayne P. Steger, DePaul University
Matt Wolski, DePaul University
Overview: This study contends that the effect of a “use of force event” on public opinion depends on the volume of news coverage given to the event by the news media.

Paper Polarity and War: Simulating Power Concentration in Poliheuristic Explanation
TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Alex Weisger, Columbia University
Erik Gartzke, Columbia University
Overview: We present a game-theoretic model of endogenous war effort to help generate intuition about why some wars are more intense than others.

Paper An Emerging Civil Society in China
Rafael Grasa, Autonomous University of Barcelona
Overview: This study contends that the effect of a “use of force event” on public opinion depends on the volume of news coverage given to the event by the news media.

Disc. Brian Lai, University of Iowa
Glenn P. Hastedt, James Madison University

14-11 WAR AND SECURITY

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair J. David Singer, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Paper Endogenizing War Effort and Conflict Intensity
Alex Weisgerber, Columbia University
Erik Gartzke, Columbia University
Overview: We present a game-theoretic model of endogenous war effort to help generate intuition about why some wars are more intense than others.

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 Polarity and War: Simulating Power Concentration in Virtual World Politics
Byoung W. Min, Seoul National University of Technology
Overview: A computer simulation is conducted to test two theoretical themes on the frequency of war regarding its relationships with polarity and power concentration.

Paper The Snowballing Effect of Concessions: When Present Deals Affect Future Outcomes
Thomas Chadefaux, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: Concessions made today affect future bargaining power. In a three-player context, war can be rational even under complete information if one of the parties expects its losses over time to be high.

Paper The Diffusion of Military Power, Power Balances, and War
Michael Horowitz, Harvard University
Overview: This paper studies the diffusion of military power in the international system, using time-series and survival analysis to examine potential factors that may drive the rate and extent of diffusion for major military innovations.

Disc. Michelle Kuenzi, University of Nevada, Las Vegas
Carmela Lutmar, Princeton University
Paper Voter Errors in Electronic Voting: Voting Systems, Ballot Type, and Voter Traits
Paul S. Herron, University of Maryland
Richard G. Niemi, University of Rochester
Michael J. Hamner, Georgetown University
Benjamin B. Bederson, University of Maryland
Frederick Conrad, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Michael Traugott, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: We report on a field experiment studying whether voters cast votes as intended. Significant variations in accuracy occurred when the task was complex, as when a vote change was required. Ballot format and voter demographics also impacted accuracy.

Paper From Punchcards to Touchscreens: Some Evidence from Pasco County, Florida, on the Effects of Changing Voting Technology
Michael C. Herron, Dartmouth College
Jeffrey Lewis, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: TBA

Paper Voters' Abilities to Cast Write-In Votes Using Electronic Voting Systems
Richard G. Niemi, University of Rochester
Paul S. Herron, University of Maryland
Benjamin B. Bederson, University of Maryland
Frederick Conrad, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Michael Traugott, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: Using field and lab-based experiments, we evaluate voters' ability to cast a write-in on six electronic voting systems. The success rate was about 90%. With paper ballots, voters often fail to fill in the oval; their votes would not be counted.

Disc. Thad E. Hall, University of Utah
Geralyn M. Miller, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne

20-5 CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING DYNAMICS
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair J. Tobin Grant, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Panelist Richard Sobel, Harvard University
Panelist Andy Katz, Denison University
Panelist Russell Lucas, University of Oklahoma
Panelist Chris Whitney, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
Overview: Instead of examining the misleading notion of party development, we define and analyze different aspects of party change. We find the weight of the electoral system relative to other factors is sometimes significant but not always substantial.

Paper Campaign Advertising Impact on Recall and Recognition of Candidates
David M. Greenwald, University of California, Davis
Overview: This paper looks at the effect of campaign advertising on the ability of voters to recall candidate names in the 2000 U.S. Senate races. The effect of campaign advertising will vary depending on the political sophistication of the individual voter.

Paper Campaigns in a New Media Age: How Candidates Use the World Wide Web
James N. Druckman, Northwestern University
Martin Kifer, University of Minnesota
Michael Parkin, University of Minnesota
Overview: We test theories of campaigns and information processing with data from over 450 candidate websites and two election cycles (2002, 2004).

Paper Advertising and Strategy in the 2004 Presidential Campaign
Michael G. Hagen, Temple University
Overview: This paper explores the tailoring and targeting of advertising by the presidential campaigns, and by the other groups that sponsored advertising bearing on the campaign, in 2004. The analysis addresses the deployment of both rhetoric and funds.

Robert P. Amyot, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville
Overview: An analysis of the role of various factors in a campaign's decision to attack an opponent. These factors include incumbency, poll position, and timing, as well as environmental effects: changes in technology, public trust, and elite attitudes.

Disc. Daniel P. Stevens, Hartwick College

21-6 PARTIES AND ELECTORAL SYSTEMS
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Neal G. Jesse, Bowling Green State University
Panelist Ekaterina R. Rashkova, Washington University, St. Louis
Panelist Matthias Caton, University of Heidelberg
Overview: This paper analyzes the influence of different parliamentary electoral system types on party systems in Latin America in the light of specific contexts, such as cleavages and historical experiences with democracy or the breakdown of democracy.

Paper The Impact of Electoral Systems on Change of Parties and Party Systems
Javier Vazquez, University of Pittsburgh
Scott J. Morgenstern, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: The paper uses public opinion data gathered by the Afrobarometer in 15 African countries in 2002-03 to analyze gender gaps in regime preferences, policy preferences, and especially, political behavior.

Paper Electoral Systems and Gender Quotas
Richard E. Matland, University of Houston
Overview: This paper examines electoral systems and gender quotas.

Disc. Alberto Simpsen, Princeton University

22-101 ROUNDTABLE: INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION AND THE STUDY OF FOREIGN POLICY (Co-sponsored with Foreign Policy, see 16-101)
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Peter A. Furia, Wake Forest University
Panelist Richard Sobel, Harvard University
Panelist Andy Katz, Denison University
Panelist Russell Lucas, University of Oklahoma
Panelist Chris Whitney, Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
Overview: This roundtable gathers five experts with a diverse set of ideas about how, if at all, cross-national opinion studies inform our understanding of comparative foreign policy behavior.

22-207 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE POLITICAL GENDER GAP IN AFRICA: SIMILAR ATTITUDES, DIFFERENT BEHAVIORS
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Presenter Carolyn Logan, Michigan State University
Presenter Michael Bratton, Michigan State University
Overview: This paper examines public opinion data gathered by the Afrobarometer in 15 African countries in 2002-03 to analyze gender gaps in regime preferences, policy preferences, performance evaluations, and especially, political behavior.

22-208 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE INFLUENCE OF ELITES ON PUBLIC OPINION
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Presenter Stacey L. Pelika, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: The paper uses a series of mixed-method case studies to investigate how political elites attempt to influence which social-group cues are present in a policy debate in order to maximize public support for their desired outcomes.
Few studies of mass-elite linkage focus explicitly on how elite actions filter down to public consciousness. This paper argues that media messages about polarization provide the fundamental causal link between elite and mass decline and resurgence.

**23-3 SOCIAL NORMS, MOBILIZATION, AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**
**Room** TBA, Sat 3:45 pm  
**Chair** Sean E. Richey, Pace University  
**Paper** Political Cleavages and Participatory Democracy in India  
Ramya Padmanabhan, Marquette University  
Overview: This paper examines the entry of erstwhile rulers into the Indian political system and its impact on the institutionalization of participatory Democracy in India.

**Paper** Theory and Evidence on the Role of Social Norms in Voting  
Patricia Funk, Stockholm School of Economics  
Overview: The introduction of optional mail voting reduced turnout in small communities. I explain this at first glance puzzling result with social pressure to appear at the polls, which was removed by this modern voting tool.

**Disc.** Sean E. Richey, Pace University

**24-17 SOCIAL NETWORKS AND THEIR AGENDAS**
**Room** TBA, Sat 3:45 pm  
**Chair** Juliet A. Musso, University of Southern California  
**Paper** Cross Talk: The Role of Neighborhood Associations in Political discourse  
Juliet A. Musso, University of Southern California  
Christopher Weare, University of Southern California  
Kyu-Nahm Jun, University of Southern California  
Overview: Social network analysis is employed to assess discourse between neighborhood group members who are diverse demographically and with respect to substantive interest (homeowners, businesses, social services).

**Paper** Network News or Social Networks? The Influence of Discussion Partners on Public Agendas  
Bas van Doorn, University of Minnesota  
Overview: Drawing upon a variety of literatures, I investigate the effect of the composition of discussion networks on one commonly researched type of media effect: agenda-setting.

**Paper** Interest Groups, Advertisements, and the Public Agenda  
Garrett Glasgow, University of California, Santa Barbara  
Stephen Weatherford, University of California, Santa Barbara  
Overview: We examine the relationship between "advertisements" in the New York Times (advertisements on the op-ed page, paid for by organized interests) and other measures of the public agenda, such as Congressional hearings.

**Disc.** Stephen C. Brooks, University of Akron

**24-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: MEDIA EFFECTS ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH**
**Room** TBA, Sat 3:45 pm  
**Presenter** Young Voter Response to Political Ads  
Elizabeth E. Geske, Iowa State University  
Daniela Dimitrova, Iowa State University  
Overview: This study showed political ads to young voters and captured their responses toward the candidate. The effect of political affiliation as well as differences between positive and negative ads were measured.

**Presenter** Post-9/11 Elections: Media Habits that Could Better Serve Young Voters  
Karon R. Speckman, Truman State University  
Overview: Expanding on Tocqueville and Bellah et al.'s habits of the heart, this paper argues that Wallace's basic habits of oral communication developed in the McCarthy era can be applied to improving media coverage of post-9/11 elections for young voters.

**25-11 GENDERED BEHAVIOR IN LEGISLATIVE INSTITUTIONS**
**Room** TBA, Sat 3:45 pm  
**Chair** Cindy Simon Rosenthal, University of Oklahoma  
**Paper** Decision Making in Gendered Groups  
Rebecca J. Hannagan, University of Nebraska, Lincoln  
Kevin B. Smith, University of Nebraska, Lincoln  
Overview: We use laboratory experiments to test whether the gender composition of a group makes a difference in decision making. We test the hypothesis that all female groups will render different decisions than all male or mixed sex groups.

**Paper** The Substantive Representation of Women: Rethinking the 'Critical Mass' Debate  
Mona Lena Krook, Washington University, St. Louis  
Overview: Scholars often employ and criticize the concept of 'critical mass' in studies of women's legislative behavior. We offer two means for rethinking this debate that draw on more than twenty years of research on women's substantive representation.

**Paper** Providing for the Common Defense: An Analysis of Gender Differences in Defense Policy Participation  
Michele Swers, Georgetown University  
Overview: Post-9/11, women are viewed as disadvantaged in an electoral environment that emphasizes national security. I analyze amendments and floor debate on the annual Senate defense authorization to test popular assumptions about women's policy expertise.

**Paper** The Gender Gap in State Legislative Voting Behaviors  
Eun-Hye (Grace) Lee, Northern Illinois University  
Overview: Female legislators are known for taking more liberal sides when voting, how would this affect the women's issues being represented? Can female voters expect that the female legislators are better at representing their gender-related issues?

**Disc.** Cindy Simon Rosenthal, University of Oklahoma

**25-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: EVOLUTION AND ENDURANCE OF ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN**
**Room** TBA, Sat 3:45 pm  
**Presenter** Modern Sexism and Old-Fashioned Sexism  
Sasha Fay Miller, Michigan State University  
Overview: The 2004 NES includes questions that tap both modern sexism and old-fashioned sexism. This paper will explore the differences between these two measures with a concentration on how the gender of the interviewer may complicate the relationship.

**Presenter** Dynamic Meaning of Being a Woman: Changes in Aggregate Social Identity  
Heather E. Ondercin, Pennsylvania State University  
Overview: I measure progressive views of societal views towards women from 1953-2003, one measure of aggregate social identity. I explain change in aggregate social identity as a function of generational replacement, demographics and the economy.
25-204 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: 
WOLLSTONECRAFT AS THEORIST AND THEOLOGIAN
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Presenter Slavery which Chains the Very Soul of Woman: The 
Theology of Mary Wollstonecraft and the Birth of Modern 
Feminism
Sarah E. Spengeman, University of Notre Dame
Overview: The focus of this paper is the theology of Mary 
Wollstonecraft as communicated through her early writings. I 
argue that Wollstonecraft's faith in God provides the essential 
foundation for her feminist philosophy and radical political 
ideas.

26-11 RACIALIZED MEDIA
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Stephen Maynard Caliendo, North Central College 
Paper Interviewing the Interviewers: Journalistic Norms and 
Racial Diversity in the Newsroom
Terri L. Towner, Purdue University 
Katsu A. Nishikawa, Purdue University
Rosalee A. Clawson, Purdue University
Eric N. Waltenburg, Purdue University 
Overview: By conducting face-to-face interviews with African 
American and Latino journalists, we investigate the influence of 
journalistic norms and racial diversity on news coverage in 
mainstream newsrooms. We argue that journalistic norms shape 
the behavior

Paper Color-Coded Coverage: The Racial Strategy Frame in Local 
Election Reporting
Matthew P. Taylor, Mount St. Mary's University 
Overview: This study measures use of the racial strategy frame 
in mayoral election coverage. Five variables are examined in 
this coverage: racial identifiers for the candidates, endorsements 
related to race, opinion polls, geography, and crowd descriptors.

Paper Images of Latin American Immigrants in the Argentine 
Julia Albarracin, Western Illinois University
Overview: Using qualitative and quantitative methods, this 
paper explores the construction of an immigration crisis in 
Argentina by showing how immigrants from Southern Cone 
countries became associated with unemployment, crime, and 
most ills of the Argentine

Paper Race, Sex and Violence: Lynching and the Politics of 
Pornography
Niamhi M. Carter, Duke University 
Overview: Has played a fundamental role in America's racial 
project. Pornography borrows heavily from the images of black 
sexuality central to lynching narratives and reinscribe them with 
new meaning for yet another generation through interracial 
films.

Disc. Julie Webber, Illinois State University

26-20 RACIAL GROUPS IN AMERICAN POLITICS
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Sylvia Manzano, St. Mary's University 
Paper The Quality of The Black Legislatve Experience Within 
City Councils
Gregory G. Neddenriep, No Affiliation
Overview: I rely on data generated by two nation-wide surveys 
one of black city councilors and one of their white 
counterparts to describe the quality of black legislative 
experience within city councils and to explain why the quality 
varies.

Paper Spatial Profiling: To What Extent Do the Cleveland Police 
Department's Traffic Ticketing Patterns Target Blacks? 
Ronnie A. Dunn, Cleveland State University
Overview: This study analyzed the traffic ticketing patterns of 
The Cleveland Police Department by race, at the city, police 
precinct, and street level.

Paper Does Assimilation Bring Resistance to Racial Preferences? 
Mingying Fu, University of California, Los Angeles 
Overview: This paper examines whether an adoption of 
American identity is associated with an acceptance of 
conservative racial attitudes, and explores determinants of 
Asians' racial attitudes associating with their immigration 
backgrounds.

Paper The Impact of African-American Members on Congress 
Charles Tien, Hunter College/Graduate Center, CUNY 
Dena Levy, SUNY, Brockport 
Overview: In this paper we approach the question of whether or 
not gains in descriptive representation for African Americans 
also result in losses in substantive representation from a 
different angle than previous research. We assess the long-term 
impact of el
Disc. Henry Flores, St Mary's University

27-14 THE NATURE AND PHENOMENON OF 
Law
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Francis J. Carleton, III, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay 
Paper Natural Right and Acquisition in Grotius, Selden, and 
Holbes 
Jeffrey Edwards, SUNY, Stony Brook 
Overview: The paper examines the 1600s debate between Hugo 
Grotius and John Selden concerning the foundations of property 
and natural law. It determines how this debate relates to modern natural-law 
conceptions of the normative basis of juridical and political 
obligation.

Paper Order and Law 
Elina Tregyer, Harvard University 
Overview: This paper suggests that any defensible positivist 
conception of law-based order requires a foundation in 
something close to natural law, and elaborates and defends one 
such conception.

Paper The Phenomenon of Law 
Stanley C. Brubaker, Colgate University 
Overview: In The Concept of Law, H.L.A. Hart endeavors, but 
fails, to preserve the phenomenon of law by viewing it from the 
"internal" perspective. Only the perspective of the "citizen," 
joining jurisprudence with political theory, can preserve the 
phenomenon.

Paper Commodifying Environmentalism and the New Counter- 
Movement
Brian D. Solis, University of Maryland 
Overview: Links the commodification of sustainability to 
natural law and articulates the new counter-movement that 
develops in reaction to this commodification
Disc. Frank Lovett, Washington University, St. Louis 
Francis J. Carleton, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay

27-24 MODERN THINKERS IN ACTION
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Peter McNamara, Utah State University 
Paper The Theorist as Architect: John Locke and the Carolina 
Constitution
Scott C. Pandich, St. Lawrence University 
Overview: An examination of John Locke's work on the 
constitution of the Carolina colony.

Paper The Rights of Confederate States: Montesquieu and the 
Civil War Reality
Halima K. Khan, Northern Illinois University 
Overview: Taking lead from the perceived paucity of 
philosophical discussion on the issue of secession this paper will 
try to show that the U.S. Civil War was at once both 
legitimate and illegitimate when examined in light of 
Montesquieu's writings.

Paper Montesquieu on Power: Lessons for Today 
Peter M. Levine, National-Louis University 
Overview: Consistent with Montesquieu's constitutional theory 
that power exercised by governments should be limited, states 
should seek to limit their exercise of power in international 
affairs through a variety of different mechanisms.

Paper Love, Rectitude, Patriotism, and Valor: Hegel's Theory of Ethical Disposition
Jeremiah John, University of Notre Dame
Overview: An examination of the concept of Gesinnung as it appears in part three of Hegel's Philosophy of Right.

Paper Agents Provocateurs: Agency and Recognition in Hegel, Honneth, and Habermas
Tanner J. McFadden, University of Chicago
Overview: A rethinking of Hegel's concept of recognition in light of his pragmatist approach to truth, suggesting that Hegel offers important insights while avoiding a basic problem shared by Habermas' democratic theory and the politics of recognition.

Disc. Geoffrey Kurtz, Rutgers University

Paper COMPARATIVE THEORY AND THE POLITICAL IMAGINARY
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Wayne S. LeCheminant, Loyola Marymount University
Paper Activist Theorists: N. Manley, E. Williams, & West Indian Decolonization
Fragano S. J. Ledjister, Clark Atlanta University
Overview: Political education of decolonizing peoples involved developing a political theory of independence, both to encourage movement to it and to justify it.

Paper Imagining Bolivia: The Struggle for Democracy in the Midst of Competing Visions of "the Nation"
Miguel Centellas, Western Michigan University
Overview: Using the current Bolivian crisis as an example, this paper presents the argument that democracies are "imagined political communities" and that democratic consolidation is not severely hindered so long as citizens in a democracy are unable to agree.

Paper Testing Ferejohn's Model of Transparency and Accountability in US States
Robert C. Lowry, Iowa State University
James E. Alt, Harvard University
Overview: We use panel data for gubernatorial elections from 1972-2000 to test a formal model by Ferejohn that predicts voters will have greater confidence in incumbents and accept higher taxes and spending when government institutions are more transparent.

Disc. Sven Feldmann, Northwestern University

Paper Your Varying Slopes Correlate With Your Varying Intercepts
Joseph Bafumi, Yale University
Andrew Gelman, Columbia University
Overview: Multilevel models often require estimating varying slopes, which may correlate with varying intercepts. This paper compares the effectiveness of several strategies for dealing with correlating slopes and intercepts in multilevel models.

Paper Elections: Pivots for the Present versus Signaling for the Future
Ken Shotts, Stanford University
Adam Meirowitz, Princeton University
Overview: Most electoral models focus on low probability pivot events in which a single vote makes a large impact. We add in a high probability low impact signaling effect.

Paper Government Transparency and Policymaking
Justin Fox, Yale University
Overview: Increasing the openess of government proceedings is widely believed to increase the th e public's welfare. This paper examines the conditions under which this conventional wisdom is correct.

Paperマルクスとヘーゲルの動物について、UMANS、AND AGENCY
Maya Joseph, New School for Social Research
Overview: In critiquing Hegel's Philosophy of Right, Marx reveals an understanding of nature which contains a unique and expansive view of man's relationship to nature and critically informs his early understanding of democracy.

Paper Agents Provocateurs: Agency and Recognition in Hegel, Honneth, and Habermas
Tanner J. McFadden, University of Chicago
Overview: A rethinking of Hegel's concept of recognition in light of his pragmatist approach to truth, suggesting that Hegel offers important insights while avoiding a basic problem shared by Habermas' democratic theory and the politics of recognition.

Disc. Geoffrey Kurtz, Rutgers University

Paper Modeling Korean Civil Society: Against Three Liberal Ways
Sungmoon Kim, University of Maryland, College Park
Overview: This paper shows the inadequacy of three liberal models of civil society in capturing the viability of Korean civil society and calls for an attention to its own indigenous cultural assets, the affectionate sentiments as an engine of that viability.

Paper The Ayatollah's Republic: An Examination of Plato's Republic and Khomeini's Welayat Al-Faqeh
David Alvis, University of West Florida
Husain Abdulla, University of West Florida
Overview: For Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Plato's Republic offered a partial model for the reform of Iranian politics. Here we argue that the criticism directed at much of Iran's theocratic state derives from the problems inherent in the Republic.

Paper Orderly Liberty: Elite Republican Imaginings of American Executive Administration from the Founding to the Gilded Age
Jonathan S. O'Hara, University of Southern California
Overview: Elite Republican thought emphasizing values of leadership hierarchy, popular deference and paternalism has been undertheorized in the American context. The emphasis has been on popular republican notions of liberty and equality.

Disc. Eileen Hunt Botting, University of Notre Dame

Paper COMPARATIVE THEORY AND THE POLITICAL IMAGINARY
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Wayne S. LeCheminant, Loyola Marymount University
Paper Activist Theorists: N. Manley, E. Williams, & West Indian Decolonization
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Paper What to Do When Your Varying Slopes Correlate With Your Varying Intercepts
Joseph Bafumi, Yale University
Andrew Gelman, Columbia University
Overview: Multilevel models often require estimating varying slopes. These slopes may correlate with varying intercepts. We compare the effectiveness of several strategies for dealing with correlating slopes and intercepts in multilevel models.
Paper A Verification Study of Goodman Regression, Double-Regression and EI Extended Model
Baodong Liu, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh
Overview: This paper takes advantage of a unique opportunity to compare the controversial methods, including survey approach, by using aggregate as well as individual level data from an actual election. Our results show that EI basic model provided a better es

Alexis J. Diamond, Harvard University
Jens Hainmueller, Harvard University
Overview: We develop tests to evaluate if matching has identified control units that show what would have been observed for treated units in the absence of treatment. These tests promote honest analysis in that they do not involve outcomes for treated units.

Disc. Jonathan N. Katz, California Institute of Technology

32-10 THIRD PARTIES IN AMERICAN POLITICS
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Tim Hundsdofer, University of Colorado
Paper Surviving Against All Odds: A Case Study of the Vermont Progressive Party
Delia N. Goosby, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Partrick R. Miller, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Nicholas Pyeatt, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: The Vermont Progressive Party is unique among third parties for its growth and stability. This paper seeks to examine the factors that help this party survive, its ideological effect on the two major parties, and the role of partisan coordination.

Paper Women and Green Parties in the U.S. and Germany: Locations of Power?
Ellen McMinn Larrimore, Northeastern Illinois University
Overview: I argue that rather than distorting democratic accountability in uniform ways, lobbies are instrumental in conveying their interests in major policy with what is later reported in three news dailies: one liberal (New York Times), one conservative (Washington Post) and one centrist (Washington Times).

Overview: This study compares how lawmakers and lobbyists convey their interests in major policy with what is later reported in three news dailies: one liberal (New York Times), one conservative (Washington Post) and one centrist (Washington Times).

Paper A Systematic Study of the Frequency of American Minor Party Co-optations
Eric D. Russell, The Ohio State University
Overview: How often do the agenda items of minor parties end up on the national platforms of the major parties? This paper employs case studies of the most successful minor parties to systematically address a key presumption in the field of political parties.

Paper Ballot Access Laws and the Two-Phase Decline of American Third Parties
Bernard Ivan Tamas, Illinois State University
Matthew D. Hindman, Illinois State University
Amalia Monroe, Illinois State University
Overview: State election laws stultified third parties in two phases, not one.

Disc. Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University

33-8 PRESIDENTIAL-CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS I
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Kenneth Mayer, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Paper The President's Agenda: Presidential Position-Taking in the U.S. House
William D. Anderson, University of South Dakota
Overview: This paper employs an event history model to assess presidential position-taking in the U.S. House and finds support for the hypothesis that declines in presidential capital—measured with the ticking clock—shape presidential policymaking in Congress.

Paper Last Mover Advantage: Presidential Power and the Role of Signing Statements
Bryan W. Marshall, Miami University
Chris S. Kelley, Miami University
Overview: Signing statements are an important tool of presidential power in signaling policy implementation, electoral rewards, and protecting prerogatives. Our analysis of signing statements offers a lens to assess change in presidential power over time.

Disc. Jeffrey S. Peake, Bowling Green State University

33-12 PRESIDENTIAL BIOETHICS COMMISSIONS
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Mark B. Brown, California State University, Sacramento
Paper Political Legitimacy and the President's Council on Bioethics
Adam R. Briggles, University of Colorado
Overview: This paper explores the political legitimacy of a current bioethics commission through an analysis of three controversial events and concludes with recommendations for future commissions.

Paper Assessing the Political Impacts of Presidential Bioethics Commissions
Summer Johnson, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health
Overview: Using presidential bioethics commissions as a case study, this paper discusses the empirical methods of impact assessment as well as the political impact of these executive advisory commissions.

Paper Democratic Legitimacy and the Design of National Bioethics Councils
Christopher F. Vukicevich, Georgetown University
Overview: This paper develops an analytical framework to evaluate the effects of institutional design on the legitimacy and impact of national ethics councils in the U.S. and Germany.

Disc. Eric M. Meslin, Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis
Mark B. Brown, California State University, Sacramento

34-4 LOBBYING: A U.S. AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Sean M. Theriault, University of Texas, Austin
Paper Promoting Policy in a Mediated Democracy: Congress, Lobbying and the News
Christine DeGregorio, American University
Overview: This study compares how lawmakers and lobbyists convey their interests in major policy with what is later reported in three news dailies: one liberal (New York Times), one centrist (Washington Post) and one conservative (Washington Times).

Paper Does K Street Run Through Capitol Hill? Lobbying in a Republican Era
Burdett A. Loomis, University of Kansas
Overview: Various scholars and journalists argue that the Republican control of Congress has made lobbying more partisan, in marked contrast to past practices. This paper asks, “Is this so? And if so, with what implications?”

Paper An Empirical Investigation of Lobbying In Developing Countries: A Comparison of Brazil and India
Vineeta Yadav, Yale University
Overview: I argue that rather than distorting democratic accountability in uniform ways, lobbies are instrumental in pushing political systems towards one of two equilibria.
36-301 POSTER SESSION: JUDICIAL POLITICS

Presenter When the Laws Says Little: Birth Control Statutes and Service in the US
Room TBA, Board 1, Sat 3:45 pm
John P. Balz, University of Chicago
Overview: My paper proposal compares state statutes on birth control in the early 20th century (1900-1940) to the service levels across the nation. I explain what kind of effect, if any, legislative initiatives had on how citizens acquired birth control.

Room TBA, Board 2, Sat 3:45 pm
William L. Gillespie, Kennesaw State University
Overview: I investigate what factors lead to appellant success or failure when appealing sentences given by district court judges that fall outside of the recommended Federal Sentencing Guideline range (a.k.a. sentencing departures).

Presenter Game Theory, Chief Justice Rehnquist and Dickerson v. United States
Room TBA, Board 3, Sat 3:45 pm
Daniel M. Katz, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: A game theoretic explanation for the late Chief Justice Rehnquist’s otherwise anomalous pro-miranda decision in Dickerson v. United States.

Presenter To Cite or not to Cite: When Does the Supreme Court Cite Amicus Briefs?
Room TBA, Board 4, Sat 3:45 pm
Ryan J. Owens, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: This paper analyzes cases heard during the Court’s 2001 and 2002 terms in order to explain the circumstances under which the Court will reference amici briefs.

Presenter Courtroom Battlefields in the Evolution War: Examining Judicial Behavior and Potential Outcomes of Cases Involving Public Education and Intelligent Design
Room TBA, Board 5, Sat 3:45 pm
Trevor W. Ramsey, Indiana State University
Overview: With federal court battles over anti-evolution/pro-intelligent design, this paper seeks to apply models of judicial behavior in an attempt to predict outcomes in such cases.

Presenter Why Do They Switch? A Spatial Model of Voting Fluidity on the U. S. Supreme Court
Room TBA, Board 6, Sat 3:45 pm
Min Ye, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Overview: A spatial model is established to explain voting fluidity on the Supreme Court. As a result, voting fluidity reflects justices’ efforts to build winning coalitions in the different institutional contexts on the Court.

Disc. C. Scott Peters, University of Northern Iowa

38-12 REDRAWING DISTRICT LINES

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Adam J. Newmark, Appalachian State University

Paper The Importance of Institutional Rules in Limiting Gerrymandering
Jonathan Winburn, Western Kentucky University
Overview: This paper analyzes cases heard during the Court’s 2001 and 2002 terms in order to explain the circumstances under which the Court will reference amici briefs.

Paper The Limits of the Gerrymander: Examining the Impact of Redistricting on Electoral Competition and Legislative Polarization
Seth E. Masket, University of Denver
Gerald C. Wright, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: While legislative polarization has been on the rise and electoral competition has been on the decline in the Congress and many state legislatures, this paper shows that redistricting has had only a marginal impact on either of these trends.

Disc. Teena Wilhelm, University of Georgia
Paper 39-8 IMPACT OF RACE/ETHNICITY ON LOCAL POLITICS AND POLICY
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Brady Baybeck, University of Missouri, St Louis
Paper Urban Charter Reform and the Politics of Race and Class
Lana Stein, University of Missouri, St Louis
David Kimball, University of Missouri, St Louis
S. Kristine Walker, Wayne State University
Overview: Cities such as St. Louis and Dallas recently defeated charter reform. The reforms differed in the two cities: Dallas would have moved to a mayor-council form from a manager-council form while St. Louis would strengthen a weak mayor system.

Paper Accounting for Variation in Black Distrust of Local Police
Elaine B. Sharp, University of Kansas
Overview: This paper analyzes variation in black distrust of local police.

Michael Javen Fortner, Harvard University
Overview: This paper asks: Must racial hierarchy beget racial politics? Using data on non-white associations, it compares the development of non-white civil society in London and New York in order to identify the roots of racial-oriented activism.

Paper How Concentrated Poverty Matters for the Digital Divide
Karen Mossberger, University of Illinois, Chicago
Michele A. Gilbert, Kent State University
David Kaplan, Kent State University
Overview: Building on a national study that showed that controlling for concentrated poverty, race is no longer a significant factor in the digital divide, we use hierarchical linear modeling in three Northeast Ohio communities, to identify causal mechanisms.

Disc. Brady Baybeck, University of Missouri, St Louis
Jill L. Tao, University of Oklahoma

40-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: HIGHER EDUCATION II
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Presenter Access to Higher Education for Economically Disadvantaged Students
Scott M. Rainone, Kent State University
Overview: The purpose of this study is to explore the condition of access for Ohio's economically disadvantaged students by exploring post-secondary models used in five other states.

Paper Strategic Spending and Saving: Fiscal Manipulation in a Global Economy
Angela O'Mahony, University of British Columbia
Overview: I examine how exchange rate regime and trade openness affect fiscal manipulation. I find that fiscal manipulation is likely when the exchange rate is fixed and trade openness is high, and when the exchange rate is floating and trade openness is low.

Paper How Concentrated Poverty Matters for the Digital Divide
Karen Mossberger, University of Illinois, Chicago
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Overview: Building on a national study that showed that controlling for concentrated poverty, race is no longer a significant factor in the digital divide, we use hierarchical linear modeling in three Northeast Ohio communities, to identify causal mechanisms.

Disc. Brady Baybeck, University of Missouri, St Louis
Jill L. Tao, University of Oklahoma

42-7 FISCAL POLICY AND CONSTRAINTS IN OPEN ECONOMIES (Co-sponsored with International Political Economy, see 12-19)
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Vera E. Troeger, University of Exeter
Paper Strategic Spending and Saving: Fiscal Manipulation in a Global Economy
Angela O'Mahony, University of British Columbia
Overview: I examine how exchange rate regime and trade openness affect fiscal manipulation. I find that fiscal manipulation is likely when the exchange rate is fixed and trade openness is high, and when the exchange rate is floating and trade openness is low.

Paper Modeling Constrained Regional Convergence of Economic Policy and Growth
Tobias Hofmann, Free University of Berlin
Overview: Modelling interactions between regional integration and national political institutions, I show how institutions constrain regional convergence of economic policy and with it growth. I test the model's empirical implications using panel econometrics.

Paper Buck for the Bang? Budget Punctuations in Denmark, Germany, the UK, and the US
Christian Breunig, University of Washington
Overview: The study shows that massive shifts within national budgets occur and considers four sources of these shifts: institutional constraints, attention, partisan preferences, and veto players. The theory is tested via time-series data of four democracies.

Disc. Vera E. Troeger, University of Exeter

42-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: INDUSTRIAL AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY UNDER GLOBALIZATION
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Presenter Industrial Policies in a Global Commodity Context: An Avenue for Economic Development?
Marco A. Fernandez, Duke University
Elda L. Becerra Mizuno, Duke University
Sinziana Popa, Duke University
Overview: In the last decades of the 20th century we have observed important changes in the patterns of production in the global economy. The fragmentation of the value chains is reflected in the increase of the outsourcing and the off-shoring of production.

Presenter Regional Integration and the Challenge of Economic Development in Africa
Overview: Many African countries consider regional integration as a vehicle for achieving economic development. This could be seen from the many regional integration frameworks aimed at promoting intra-regional trade, investment and development.
42-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT AND STABILITY STRATEGIES IN ZAMBIA, IRAN, AND KUWAIT

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Nimah Mazaheri, University of Washington
Overview: Utilizing an historical institutionalist approach, this paper examines the forces that helped shape state policies towards the domestic private sector in Iran and Kuwait from 1950-1980.

43-8 DECISIONS AND AGENDAS (Co-sponsored with Public Policy, see 40-21)

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Sean Gailmard, Northwestern University
Paper A Model of Bureaucratic Policy Innovation
Wayne A. Thornton, Harvard University
Overview: I propose a model of bureaucratic policy innovation. My paper first develops the model, and then demonstrates its plausibility by explaining historical cases from two disparate policy areas-- national defense and agriculture.

Paper Agency Agendas: Why Study Substance?
Samuel G. Workman, University of Washington
Overview: This paper applies recent research on decision making and the politics of agenda setting to the Securities and Exchange Commission. I begin from the premise that federal agencies are created to solve problems, then develop a theory of agency problem

Paper Comparing Executive-led Policy Agendas in the USA and UK
Heather A. Larsen, University of Washington
Peter John, University of Manchester
Overview: This paper takes two cases of executive-led policy agendas, the USA and UK, seeking to find out how different executive agendas are from other agendas, and how different the institutions are from each other.

Paper Revisiting Federal Agency Responsiveness to Executive Policy Direction
Dana Michael Harsell, University of North Dakota
Overview: Mandatory planning and performance reporting systems inaugurated by GPRA and maintained by the PMA have augmented agency responsiveness to the executive branch by increasing goal congruence between top career and non-career executives.

Disc. Jason A. MacDonald, Kent State University

43-10 COMPARATIVE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Gaylord G. Candler, Indiana University, South Bend
Paper Public Management, Autonomy, and Performance
Holly T. Goerdel, University of Kansas
David W. Pitts, Georgia State University
Overview: Bureaucratic power is predicated on autonomy and resource extraction. We investigate ways in which public managers translate this power into positive outcomes for the agency.

Paper Globalizing Local Governance: A Comparative Study of Local Governance Reform in China and in the United States
G. Z. Lan, Arizona State University
Overview: The paper examines the structures, the processes, reform trends of local governments in China and in the United States.

Paper China's Civil Service Reform and Government Performance: An Agency Approach
Xiaoqi Wang, University of Hong Kong
Overview: This article examines the impacts of China's 1993 Civil Service Reform on performance of government agencies in charge of environmental protection and education in three Chinese cities (Beijing, Changchun, and Ningbo).

Paper Preservation Strategies: NGO Autonomy in Ecuador
Stephanie L. Smith, Syracuse University
Overview: This study explores the issue of organizational autonomy from the perspective of NGO administrators in Ecuador. Interviews suggest various strategies are used to preserve mission-focused autonomy to cope with funding and socio-political environments.

Paper External and Internal Politics of Turkish Management Reforms: The Experience of Public Hospitals in ISO 9001 Certification
Ali O. Ozturk, North Carolina State University
Overview: One approach to management improvement, widely used in the U.S. private sector, is to secure quality certification under ISO (International Organization for Standardization) 9001 standard.

Disc. Xiaoqi Wang, University of Hong Kong

46-8 PATRIOTISM AND TOLERANCE, EAST AND WEST

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Mark S. Jendrysik, University of North Dakota
Paper Political Tolerance: The Committed, the Conflicted, and the Constrained
Robert K. Postic, Wayne State University
Overview: Using GSS data this paper will test the pluralistic tolerance model suggested by Sullivan, Piereson, and Marcus (1979, 1982).

Paper Can Dissent Be Patriotic in Wartime? Results From a Representative U.S. Survey
Jeremy B. Straughn, Purdue University
Overview: A representative CATI survey of 1,500 U.S. citizens is used to evaluate the proposition that attitudinal patriotism comprises at least two conceptually distinct and potentially contradictory notions of civic duty-compliance and contention.

Paper Memory, Meanings, and Political Actions in 2005 China's Anti-Japan Protests
Bin Xu, Northwestern University
Overview: My paper examines how different groups in China's Anti-Japanese Protest Movement in 2005 reacted to the same mnemonic narrative of WWII in different ways and how they strategically utilized the memory in their political actions.

Paper Emergence and Development of Taiwan Independence Movement in the US
Chi-Chen Chiang, University of Chicago
Overview: This paper attempts to formulate a new model to explain Taiwanese movement in the US by analyzing a transnational network established among intellectual communities in the US and the island to sustain the force of the movement.

Disc. Deva R. Woody, University of Chicago
RELIGION AND DEMOCRATIC VALUES IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair David E. Campbell, University of Notre Dame
Paper The Impact of Religious Beliefs and Practices on the Support for Democracy
Myunghee Kim, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville
Charles F. Andrain, San Diego State University
Overview: By using data from the 1999-2001 World Values Survey, this paper examines the impact of religious beliefs and practices on support for democracy across twenty countries.

The Role of UK Faith Communities in Defending Asylum Seeker Rights
Esther D. Reed, University of St. Andrews
Overview: This paper considers (a) how faith communities in the UK have been defending asylum-seeker rights; and (b) how questions raised by faith communities have exposed retreats from rights in the name of greater security and increasing legal voluntarism.

Giving to Caesar What Is Caesar's... and More: Analyzing the Relationship Between Religion and Corruption
Anhrey L. Westfall, Colorado University, Boulder
Overview: Using panel data and regression analysis, this paper fleshes out the theoretical relationship between religion and corruption, focusing on the Muslim, Catholic, and Protestant religions.

The Impact of Religion on Citizens' Perceptions of Human Rights
Matthew M. Carlson, University of Vermont
Overview: To what extent are citizens' perceptions of human rights issues shaped by religious denomination and religiosity? I examine whether the fit between perception and reality improves when variables that tap religion are included in the model.

Disc. Geoffrey C. Layman, University of Maryland
Benjamin Radcliff, University of Notre Dame

ROUNDTABLE: POLITICS, POP CULTURE AND THE TEACHABLE MOMENT
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Chapman B. Rackaway, Fort Hays State University
Panelist Shala Mills-Bannister, Fort Hays State University
Darrell A. Hamlin, Spring Hill College
Kevin Anderson, Eastern Illinois University
Michael A. Smith, Emporia State University
Overview: A discussion of popular culture mediums such as current music, the Daily Show and Saturday Night Live as an extension of the traditional use of film and fiction to teach political science.

THE SEXUALIZED NATURE OF PUBLIC POLICY, TAKE TWO (Co-sponsored with Gender and Politics, see 25-19)
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Kate D. Bedford, Barnard College
Paper Abstinence Only Education: The Politics of Gendered Sexuality
Aleshia E. Doan, California Polytechnic University
Overview: We analyze abstinence education as a morality policy, critiquing its effects on teenagers who are subject to the teaching of abstinence. The lessons of abstinence education reveal the politics of gender, particularly the politics of sexuality.

Sexual Agency in Risk Society
Valerie D. Lehr, St. Lawrence University
Overview: After discussing the centrality of sexuality to the lives of youth in "risk society," I will begin to articulate a vision of sexuality as an expression of agency with the potential to enhance democracy, particularly for young people.

My Two Moms: Homosexuals Parental and Adoption Rights in Developed Democracies
Megan E. Osterbur, University of New Orleans
Overview: This paper examines variations in parental rights and adoption rights policy for gays and lesbians in industrialized democracies with focus on explaining why such variations exist.

State Efforts to Promote Companionship Sexuality in Popular-Front Chile
Karin A. Roesblatt, Syracuse University
Overview: This paper will explore the importance of marriage and the regulation of sexuality to state-building projects by examining the experiences of the Chilean popular-front governments of 1959-1959.

TBA

MIDWEST CAUCUS FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION BUSINESS MEETING AND HERBERT SIMON LECTURE: ORGANIZATIONAL ATTENTION DEFICIT DISORDER: THE SORTING PROCESS OF ORGANIZATIONAL PRIORITIES
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Lecturer Bert A. Rockman, Purdue University

POSTER SESSION: UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH II
Presenter Appellate Court Judge Retirement and Polarization of U.S. Political Parties
Room TBA, Board 8, Sat 3:45 pm
Emily F. Siedell, Wellesley College
Overview: Prior studies reveal the impact of politics on appellate court judge retirement. I build on this research by examining historical change in strategic retirement over time, particularly as related to the increasing polarization of political parties.

Reclaiming Humanitarian Action: An EU Civilian Rapid Reaction Mechanism
Presenter Fostering Social Capital and Public Health in Southern Cone Countries
Room TBA, Board 10, Sat 3:45 pm
Alexander W Hertel-Fernandez, Northwestern University
Overview: This study offers a comparative framework to examine the effect of state-mediated welfare programs on social capital, the impact of social capital on health outcomes, and policy implications for WHO social determinants to health in the Southern Cone.

The impact of anger and fear on political tolerance
Presenter The Executive's New Legal Universe: The Bush Administration's Unilateral Construction of a New Legal Paradigm for Fighting Terrorism after September 11th
Room TBA, Board 12, Sat 3:45 pm
Jacob W Day, SUNY, New Paltz
Overview: This paper examines the profound shift from “crime” to “act of war” that characterized the Bush administration's approach to terrorism after 9/11, and questions whether or not such an approach can be reconciled with the traditional understanding of separation of powers in the Constitution.
Kathryn E. Dove, Room TBA, Board 17, Sat 3:45 pm

Overview: A content analysis of print media coverage of female athletes before and after the establishment of Title IX public policy.

Presenter Bases of Popular Support for Aboriginal Rights Claims in Canada
Room TBA, Board 14, Sat 3:45 pm
Matthew L. Cornett, University of Toronto

Overview: This paper seeks to determine the most significant underlying determinants of Canadian public support for Aboriginal rights claims using national survey data. The study concludes Aboriginal-specific predictors, such as the belief Aboriginal-non-Aboriginal relations are improving or perceptions of the Aboriginal material situation, are by far the most significant underlying determinants of support for Aboriginal rights claims today.

Presenter Chicago City Council: Rubber Stamp or Legitimate Legislature?
Room TBA, Board 15, Sat 3:45 pm
Elias Cepeda, University of Illinois, Chicago

Overview: Chicago politics is known for strong executive/mayoral control over the whole of the city’s government, including its legislative body, the City Council. Many believe that current Mayor Richard M. Daley’s control over the City Council is comparable to that which his father wielded as Mayor. Yet, the landscape is different for the present Mayor. This study shows those differences.

Presenter The United States Government and HIV Prevention Strategies in Africa
Room TBA, Board 16, Sat 3:45 pm
Valerie Berezner, Indiana University, South Bend

Overview: In Sub-Saharan Africa, women struggle to protect themselves from contracting HIV. This research outlines why the Abstinence, Be Faithful, Condoms (ABC) approach is unrealistic, and which programs and initiatives may be more effective.

Presenter Women in Government and the Effects on the Type of Foreign Aid
Room TBA, Board 17, Sat 3:45 pm
Kathryn A. Sanders, Truman State University

Overview: The relationship between gender participation in government and its effects on the type of foreign aid is examined. Through statistical analysis, gender empowerment and the type of foreign aid possessed a positive relationship.

58-303 POSTER SESSION: UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH III
Presenter The Changing Face of Retail: Wal-mart’s Effects in Mexico
Room TBA, Board 18, Sat 3:45 pm
Kathryn E. Dove, The Ohio State University

Overview: Globalization is affecting the commercial sector in Mexico as traditional small shops lose ground to Wal-mart’s big-box retail. Using district-level data, I utilize regression analysis to isolate Wal-mart’s effects on small shop owners.

Presenter Authoritarianism, Regime Transitions, and the First Use of Violent Force
Room TBA, Board 19, Sat 3:45 pm
Ryan T. Conway, Truman State University

Overview: This study investigates the often overlooked “Authoritarian peace” proposition in international relations literature, testing the effects of different authoritarian regime types, and different types of transition to democracy, on conflict initiation.

Presenter Attitudes toward Social Security Reform
Room TBA, Board 20, Sat 3:45 pm
Joshua Caldwell, University of Texas, Brownsville

Overview: Social Security reform is emerging as a hot-button political issue. Public opinion polls indicate a discontent for reforming the entitlement program. However, are these attitudes age-based? Our research looks at age — and other characteristic factors (sex, political affiliation) — and whether or not they affect attitudes toward social security reform.

Presenter The Struggle of Democratic Consolidation in Post-Marcos Philippine Politics
Room TBA, Board 21, Sat 3:45 pm
Gaia Benitez, University of Pennsylvania

Overview: The 1986 People Power Revolution ended Philippine dictatorship and opened an opportunity for democratization. Yet, President Corazon Aquino hindered democratic consolidation as a politically inexperienced compromise candidate of a diverse coalition.

Presenter Expansionism & Exportation: Rhetoric of Manifest Destiny and the War on Terror
Room TBA, Board 22, Sat 3:45 pm
Sarah M. Bryan, Beloit College

Overview: Current political rhetoric describing the War on Terror resembles the language used to justify manifest destiny. By analyzing media coverage, this paper will illuminate the differences between expansionism in the 1850s and exportation today.

Presenter If Welfare Rolls Are Decreasing, Then Welfare Reform Is Working...Right?
Room TBA, Board 23, Sat 3:45 pm
Leslie A. Randell, Michigan State University

Overview: This paper will examine the quality of life of Michigan’s welfare recipients. The focus will be on the interaction of Michigan’s welfare system with a challenging economic situation and the resulting effects on Michigan recipients.

Presenter What Affects the Strength of Partisan Identity in Sub-Saharan African?
Room TBA, Board 24, Sat 3:45 pm
Krystal L. Fox, Truman State University

Overview: This study examines the strength of partisan attachment among respondents from nine African countries.

Presenter Durable Influence of Parent Partisan Identity
Room TBA, Board 25, Sat 3:45 pm
Nick Jones, Heidelberg College

Overview: College education, membership in the "60s" generation and residential mobility significantly reduce the correlation between parent and respondent partisan identity. The findings are based on a 2005 election survey in Tiffin, Ohio.

Presenter Shifting Outlooks: The Presidency and National Education Reform
Room TBA, Board 26, Sat 3:45 pm
Ashley E. Watson, University of Washington

Overview: The No Child Left Behind Act is the culmination of a journey to reevaluate the nation's education system. This project considers how the politics of national education policy have been altered since a federal role was initiated more than three decades ago.

Presenter Canadian Attitudes Towards Gay and Lesbians
Room TBA, Board 27, Sat 3:45 pm
Aldous Cheung, University of Toronto

Overview: This study investigates the causes of attitudes towards gay and lesbians in Canada, using public opinion data. Interestingly, one important independent variable seems to be respondents' attitudes toward Canadian relations with the United States.
sense of losing out translates into support for a political
their own accounts of why they are worse off, and how the
'losers of globalization': who they are, what factors are salient in
Overview: A comparative study of the political responses of the

Paper The Political Economy of Ethnic Mobilization
Nicolaos Biziouras, Harvard University
Overview: Using case study evidence from Sri Lanka, Bulgaria
and Malaysia, I show how the strategic interests of ethnic
colitical entrepreneurs interact with the selective incentives that
the ethnic group members demand to institutionalize ethnic
politics.

Paper Bolivia and Peru: Differing Ethnic Discourses
Kimberly E. Moloney, American University
Overview: Bolivia's indigena and Peru's indigenista discourses
and their relevance for present-day Bolivian and Peruvian
politics.

Paper Political Community and Indigenous Identity in Latin
America
Daniel E. Moreno Morales, Vanderbilt University
Overview: Using survey data from Bolivia and Guatemala, this
paper explores the effect that ethnic, and particularly indigenous
identities have on the strength of citizens' identification with the
national political community.

Disc. Amalia Pallares, University of Illinois, Chicago

Sunday, April 23 – 8:30 am – 10:15 am
2-15 VOICE AND OPPOSITION — MEASURING
DEMOCRACY AND PROTEST
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Erik R. Tillman, Emory University
Paper A New Measurement of Democracy: The Inclusion of the
Context
Michael Stoiber, University of Darmstadt
Heidrun Abromeit, University of Darmstadt
Overview: Indices of democracy produce an institutional fallacy
in measuring democratic quality, because they ignore the
respective (societal, institutional) context. We develop and test a
new contextualized measurement.

Paper Diffusing Violence: Competition and Radicalization in
Contentious Politics
Jakub Kakietek, Emory University
Overview: This paper examines relationship between
competition between social movement organizations and their
use of political violence.

Paper Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death: Repression in the
Democratic Context
David A. Armstrong, II, University of Maryland
Overview: This work investigates the variation of repression
and violations of civil liberties within democracies. I find that
even within democracies when domestic threats are present, the
civil liberties of citizens hang tenuously in the balance.

Paper The Political Responses of the 'Losers of Globalization'
Yotam M. Margalit, Stanford University
Overview: A comparative study of the political responses of the
'losers of globalisation': who they are, what factors are salient in
their own accounts of why they are worse off, and how the
sense of losing out translates into support for a political
program.

Disc. Erik R. Tillman, Emory University

3-6 DISAGGREGATING ETHNIC IDENTITY
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Brent D. Hierman, Indiana University, Bloomington
Paper Policy Veto Players and Relevant Ethnic Groups
Johanna K. Birnir, SUNY, Buffalo
David M. Waguespack, University of Maryland
Overview: Are indigenous groups, that by and large are
excluded from the policy process in Latin America, instrumental
to the passing (and quality) of economic policy?

Paper Appropriating Nation-ness: Peru as the "Inca State"
Sebastian Karcher, Northwestern University
Overview: Drawing on a variety of non-standard approaches,
the paper seeks to explain why in Peru, unlike in its Andean
neighbor states, no significant indigenous movement has emerged.

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paper explores the effect that ethnic, and particularly indigenous
identities have on the strength of citizens' identification with the
national political community.

Disc. Amalia Pallares, University of Illinois, Chicago

4-6 COMPARING DEMOCRATIZATION
ADAPTATION IN TRANSITION STATES
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Kathleen R. Barrett, Georgia State University
Paper Democratic Society and Adaptive Management Models:
Comparing the Resilience and Collapse of Ten Democratic
Systems
Amy Lauren Lovecraft, University of Alaska, Fairbanks
Sultan Tepe, University of Illinois, Chicago
Overview: Drawing on ten cases (Iran, Nicaragua, Iraq, Nigeria,
Colombia, Turkey, Israel, Germany, the UK, the US) we ask to
what extent the Gunderson and Holling's resilience theory is
useful to explain the adaption and maladaptation of democratic
society?

Paper The Cultural and Institutional Foundations of Trust: A
Cross-National Study
Amaney A. Jamal, Princeton University
Irfan Nooruddin, The Ohio State University
Overview: The correlation between trust and democratic
government has opened several new debates, in which two
overarching themes have become particularly visible. The first
examines the source from which trust emerges. From what
cultural dynamics does trust
10-12 DETERMINANTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF POST-COMMUNIST ELECTIONS

**Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
**Chair** Oana I. Armeanu, Southern Methodist University
**Paper** Issue Salience and Dynamic Economic Voting in New Democracies

Hyeok Yong Kwon, Texas A&M University
Overview: This paper examines the electoral effects of issue salience of unemployment in new democracies. Analyzing survey data from the post-Communist countries, the paper finds dynamic electoral consequences of economic reforms in new democracies.

**Paper** Electoral Rules and Political Corruption in Post-Communist Countries

Tatiana Kostadinova, Florida International University
Overview: This paper argues that the rules of electoral competition have had a strong effect on resulting levels of political corruption in Eastern Europe. Cross-sectional time-series panel data are used to test this proposition.

**Paper** Explaining Electoral Volatility in Post-Communist Romania

Silviu M. Matei, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris
Overview: Addressing the institutionalization of political parties, I use a logit model for ecological inference to explain the high level of volatility of the Romanian party system. The model uses socio-demographic characteristics as explaining variables.

**Paper** The Fourth Power: Mass Media and Campaign Finance in South Eastern Europe

Bogdan Stanciu, Eastern Illinois University
Overview: Mass media and campaign finance in southeastern Europe

**Disc.** Bryon Moraski, University of Florida

11-12 REGIME TYPE AND INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR

**Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
**Chair** Scott M. Fitzsimmons, University of Calgary
**Paper** Can Democracy Still Promise the Victory in Militarized Disputes?

Kwang-Jin Kim, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: This paper examines the effect of democracy and dynamic statecrafts such as economic coercion and air power on the outcome of militarized disputes.

**Paper** Domestic Institutional Constraints on International Cooperation

Sam R. Bell, SUNY, Binghamton
Overview: I examine the effect of institutional structures on the ability of democracies to cooperate internationally.

**Paper** Are Democracies More Transparent in Their External Affairs Than Dictatorships?

James J. Marquardt, Lake Forest College
Robert J. Lemke, Lake Forest College
Overview: This paper tests several hypotheses on transparency and regime type.

**Paper** The Impact of Regime Change on Issue Onset and Issue Violence

Michelle L. Keck, Texas Tech University
Overview: This study seeks to expand research on issues by examining if regime change influences issue onset and issue violence. It will also examine if the level and incidence of issue violence varies across regime types.

**Disc.** Gaye B. Muderrisoglu, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

11-13 RETHINKING GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AFTER THE WAR IN IRAQ

**Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
**Chair** Francois Debrix, Florida International University
**Paper** Sublime Spectatorship and the War in Iraq: Revisiting Global Governance as America’s Politics and Aesthetics of Terror

Francois Debrix, Florida International University
Overview: The sublime is the pleasurable experience through visual representation of a situation or event that would otherwise be painful or terrifying if lived or experienced firsthand.

**Paper** The Next ‘Long Twilight Struggle with Totalitarianism’? Recreating Islamic Radicalism, Iraq, and Insecurity in the Bush (43) Administration as Islamo-Fascism

Timothy Luke, Virginia Tech University
Overview: This paper looks at how the current alliance of liberal capitalist states lead by the U.S.A. under President Bush (43) is struggling to define the “war on terror” as essentially World War IV.

**Paper** Suspended Sovereignty and the Law of Foreign Occupation: Incorporating the Biopolitical Paradigm into Global Governance

Alex Barder, Florida International University
Overview: The legal concept of suspended sovereignty has been receiving greater attention within the last decade. The implementation of humanitarian interventions in Somalia, Kosovo - to name a few - and more recently the occupation of Iraq in 2003.

**Disc.** Pablo Toral, Florida International University

12-13 POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY, INSTITUTIONS, INTERESTS, AND TRADE POLICIES (Co-sponsored with Economic Policy, see 42-16)

**Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
**Chair** Jeffrey W. Ladewig, University of Connecticut
**Paper** Constituency Size and Support for Trade Liberalization

Sean D. Ehrlich, Florida State University
Overview: This paper tests the oft-used assumption that policymakers with larger constituencies will be more supportive of free trade because they will be less susceptible to particularistic pressure by analyzing roll call vote data from the U.S. Congress.

**Paper** Political Geography and the Import Restriction Bias

Lucy M. Goodhart, Columbia University
Overview: The paper presents a model that explains the observed import restriction bias in trade policy and in which representatives are responsive to local employment conditions.


Megumi Naoi, University of California, San Diego
Overview: Using a new dataset covering interest group lobbying on trade before Diet committees from 1950 to 2002 in Japan, this paper investigates when regional competitions, as opposed to class or sectoral competitions, prevail in trade politics.

**Paper** Political Determinants of Interindustry Labor Factor Mobility

Qiang Zhou, Columbia University
Overview: This paper proposes a theory to endogenize interindustry labor factor mobility within the political process. I argue that certain government policies can influence levels of factor mobility and governments manipulate them for political purposes.
Paper Governmental Structure, Partisanship, and Free Trade in Latin America  
William D. MacMillan, University of Iowa  
Overview: Research suggests that, in Latin American countries, political variables effectively describe the aggregate volume of tariffs. This work uncovers the conditional nature of partisan and institutional influence in setting the tariff rates.  
Disc. Todd Allee, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

13-13 WAR FROM REGIONAL POWERS PERSPECTIVES  
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am  
Chair Adrian S. Petrescu, University of Texas, Brownsville  
Paper The India-Pakistan Peace Process: Towards Normalization of Relations?  
Arijit Mazumdar, Miami University  
Overview: The current peace process between India and Pakistan represents the most significant opportunity for reconciliation of differences because of the convergence of international and domestic factors that are both crucial and unprecedented.  
Paper The War on Terror From Regional Powers Perspectives: Indonesia and Saudi Arabia  
Ribbi I. Salhi, Roosevelt University  
Overview: Both Saudi Arabia and Indonesia have been considered crucial allies for the war on terror. This paper will examine the role of the two nations in fighting Alqaeda and its terror network. It compares the nations’ policy in war on terror.  
Paper Constructing Regional Institutions in Asia: APEC and ASEAN+3  
Yasumasa Komori, University of Pittsburgh  
Overview: This paper examines the formation of APEC and ASEAN+3 by examining the variation in state preferences over time and a catalytic role of weaker powers as initiators at the critical juncture.  
Disc. Adrian S. Petrescu, University of Texas, Brownsville

15-11 ECONOMICS AND CONFLICT  
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am  
Chair Mark Crescenzi, University of North Carolina  
Paper Economic Freedom as a Source of International Peace  
Christopher G. Ingram, Louisiana State University  
Overview: While democratic peace may guide the pursuit of democracy to deter international conflict, this paper argues that, for reasons of normative values and economic rationale, policies that spread economic freedom could serve equally as a source of peace.  
Paper Bargaining and Economic Coercion  
Valentin L. Krustev, Rice University  
Overview: Building on the recent informational literature on economic sanctions, the paper develops and tests a bargaining model of one-sided incomplete information, in which the imposition, escalation, and termination of sanctions are determined endogenously.  
Paper How the Weaker Prevail: An All-Pay Auction Model of Conflict Escalation  
Keith A. Grant, University of Arizona  
Overview: Conflict escalation can be modeled as an All-Pay Auction, in which players are required to pay what they bid regardless of who wins the pot. This suggests that disputants' relative power interplays with the salience of the conflict, defining an equilibrium.

16-7 THEORIZING THE FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING PROCESS  
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am  
Chair Stephen B. Dyson, Wabash College  
Paper The Inherent Nuances of American Foreign Policy Construction—What an Issue Areas Analysis Can Reveal About the State-Centrism-Domestic Variables Debate  
Matthew M. Caverly, University of Florida  
Overview: This paper offers an alternative theoretical conception to analyze American foreign policy by breaking foreign policy down into its component issue areas.  
Paper Time Horizons, Discounting, and Intertemporal Choice  
Philip A. Streich, Rutgers University  
Jack S. Levy, Rutgers University  
Overview: Our aim in this paper is to review the literature in behavioral economics and psychology on discounting and intertemporal choice, and to begin to explore some of the implications for theories of international conflict.  
Paper US Foreign Aid and Human Rights  
Woongjo You, Binghamton University, SUNY  
Overview: This paper examines the circumstances under which the US is more likely to attach the goal of the advancement of human rights practices to foreign aid.  
Paper Power, Influence, and Bureaucrats: The Role of Status Within Foreign Policy Formation  
Eben J. Christensen, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee  
Overview: This paper applies social network analysis and experimental techniques to examine the influence of status and feedback within a simulated foreign policy environment. Results indicate such factors alter policy recommendations and information selection.  
Disc. R. Michael Smith, Glenville State College

18-12 INDIVIDUAL AND CONTEXTUAL DETERMINANTS OF POLICY PREFERENCES  
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am  
Chair Evan Parker-Stephen, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill  
Paper Understanding Social Conservatism: Values, Threat, and the Framing of Issue Preferences  
Stanley Feldman, Stony Brook University  
Christopher Weber, Stony Brook University  
Overview: We examine the personality and situational factors that help shape social and moral issue preferences. Results indicate that individuals endorsing social conformity, non-egalitarian beliefs, and who experience a threat to social order are more likely.  
Paper Limits of Leadership  
Renan Levine, University of Toronto  
Laura Stephenson, University of Western Ontario  
Overview: What happens when political and religious leaders convey conflicting messages? We conducted an experiment where we could control the message the respondent received, varying the source (religious or political leader) and the frame.

Paper Public Policy Preferences and Perceptions of Inequality and Discrimination  
Elisabeth R. Gerber, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor  
Charles L. Ballard, Michigan State University  
Jeremy F. Duff, Michigan State University  
Overview: We analyze the ways in which perceptions of inequality and discrimination influence preferences on a wide variety of public policy issues. Our data set includes detailed information from a survey of over 1000 respondents.  
Paper The Impact of Economic Inequality on Attitudes of the Rich and Poor  
Alina R. Oxendine, Hamline University  
Overview: In order to elucidate the relationship between economic inequality and civic attitudes, this paper uses cross-sectional survey data from communities across the US, in conjunction with a quasi-experimental comparison of two rural towns.
Paper Competing Partisan Frames, Public Opinion and Party Identification
Michael W. Wagner, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: This paper uses an experimental design (N=133) to demonstrate the conditions under which competitive partisan issue framing can affect public opinion and party identification.
Disc. Joanne Miller, University of Minnesota

19-10 ISSUES AND IDEOLOGY IN VOTE CHOICE
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Steven E. Galatas, Stephen F. Austin State University
Paper Ideology and Evaluation in an Experimental Setting: Proximity vs. Direction
Ryan L. Claassen, Kent State University
Overview: The debate between which model best describes citizens' political behavior, directional or proximity, remains unresolved. I report the results of an experiment designed to control many sources of contradictory findings based on observational studies.

22-6 ATTITUDES ABOUT IMMIGRATION
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Brian P. Frederick, Northern Illinois University
Paper I Pity the Poor Immigrant...Why Immigrants are more Xenophobic?
Daphna Canetti-Nisim, University of Haifa
Eran Halperin, University of Haifa
Stevan E. Hobfoll, Kent State University
Robert Johnson, University of Miami
Overview: In this study, we examine the differences between veteran Israelis versus immigrants from the former Soviet Union (FSU) with regard to the theoretical frameworks explaining their xenophobic tendencies towards Palestinian citizens of Israel (PCI).

21-7 POLITICS OF MAJORITY-MINORITY DISTRICTS
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Guy-Uriel E. Charles, University of Minnesota
Paper Legislating Without Constraints: The Effect of Minority Districting on Legislators' Responsiveness to Constituency Preferences
Claudine Gay, Stanford University
Overview: Using data on referenda and initiative voting to estimate constituency preferences, I assess the correspondence between district opinion and roll call voting for legislators from majority-minority and majority-white CA Assembly districts.

Paper Hurricanes & Rotten Boroughs
John K. Wildgen, University of New Orleans
Fritz F. Wagner, University of Washington
Overview: A Louisiana majority-minority Congressional seat depended on a dense, homogeneous black population compromised by the storm. We examine how contemporary urban planning theory and redistricting practices might respond to post-Katrina redistricting.

Paper A Unified Theory of Minority-Majority District Effects: Latino Legislators
Eric Gonzalez Juenke, University of Colorado, Boulder
Robert R. Preuhs, University of Colorado, Boulder
Overview: We combine several important elements of minority legislative incorporation into a single theoretical model to demonstrate how institutional arrangements affect the degree to which racial and ethnic group representatives influence public policy.
Disc. Guy-Uriel E. Charles, University of Minnesota
David L. Leal, University of Texas, Austin
Paper
Social Class Identity and Political Attitudes: The Role of Political Elites
Katherine Cramer Walsh, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Overview: When does social class identity affect political attitudes? Analysis of a two-generation national sample panel study reveals the importance of political candidates’ strategies.
Disc. Edward Carmines, Indiana University, Bloomington

24-15 THE WEB AND ACCESS TO POLITICAL VOICE
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Claes H. de Vreese, University of Amsterdam
Paper Web Research on Transnationalism: Surfing at Sea or at the Swimming Pool?
Gustavo Cano, University of Nebraska, Omaha
Kari S. Burdick-Caves, University of Nebraska, Omaha
Carie M. Franks, University of Nebraska, Omaha
Overview: The proposed research aims to point out to what extent research on "transnationalism" through the web is useful to advance the theoretical and empirical development of the term.
Paper The Political Discourse of Magazines and Weblogs: A Content Analysis
Susan Currie Sivek, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: This study will provide a content analysis of political articles in American news magazines and partisan opinion magazines, as well as political weblog postings, in order to describe the contribution of these media to American political discourse.
Paper Candidate Control in Cyberspace: News Media as a Strategic Tool on Campaign Websites
Matthew P. Taylor, Mount St. Mary's University
Overview: This paper looks at how gubernatorial campaigns use the news media as part of their Web sites to control the agenda and communicate their messages more directly.
Paper Fifth Estate or Echo Chamber, An Analysis of the Blogosphere, Media Coverage and the War in Iraq
Kevin J. Wallsten, University of California, Berkeley
Overview: This paper explores the question of whether blogs are an "echo chamber" (meaning they merely repeat media messages) or a "fifth estate" (meaning they criticize and fact-check media sources) in the context of an analysis of blogging on the war in Iraq.
Disc. G.R. Boynton, University of Iowa

25-13 WOMEN AND THE WELFARE STATE
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Alesha E. Doan, California Polytechnic University
Paper Intersectionality and the Welfare State: A Comparative Study
Sirje Laurel Weldon, Purdue University
Overview: In this paper I reformulate the idea of intersectionality and apply it in a comparative analysis of welfare states, examining social policies addressing gender, race and class inequality in general as well as intersectionally marginalized groups.
Paper Assessing Welfare Reform from a Feminist Perspective
Mary Ann E. Steger, Northern Arizona University
Overview: Using a feminist perspective to redefine the values of accountability, equality, effectiveness, and efficiency radically changes state-determined TANF rules and shifts the goal of welfare reform to one of moving families out of poverty.
Paper Budget Deficit, Welfare Reform, and Single Mothers: Canada and the United States
Sherraw O. Pinder, Hobart and William Smith Colleges
Overview: I examine the deficit politics in Canada and the United States from 1980-1999. I focus on Ontario and New York State, and I show how both followed the same political trajectory with similar consequences for single mothers in both locales.
Disc. Peregine Schwartz-Shea, University of Utah
Alesha E. Doan, California Polytechnic University

26-14 COMPARATIVE RACIAL POLITICS
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Arus Harutyunyan, Western Michigan University
Paper Security, Xenophobia and Nationalism
Amber C. Concepcion, Georgetown University
Overview: The rise of extreme right-wing parties in the supposedly tolerant societies of Western Europe has been attributed to such diverse causes; this paper argues that public fears of crime and terrorism are an integral part of the puzzle.
Paper Contesting National Identities in an Ethnically Homogeneous Armenia
Juliane Edler, York University
Overview: East Germans have accepted their class positions in post-unification' Germany as they have received the wages of Germanness. The East German inferiority/West German superiority dualism coexists with the binary 'non-German foreigners' and Germans.
Paper Confrontation with Arrogant Discourses
Kathleen Claussen, Indiana University, Bloomington
Blaine Horrocks, Susquehanna University
Maura Beaufait, Vassar College
Eric Brown, City University of New York
Overview: This paper examines the different political constructs for the integration of Muslim communities in London and Copenhagen. It surveys the attitudes that structure the interaction between majority and minority groups in the two metropolitan areas.
Paper O Movimento Negro and the Civil Rights Movement: An Interpretive Analysis
Rosalind Fielder, University of Illinois
Overview: The paper will respond to the question, why have Afro-Brazilians been unable to mount a mass movement on the scale of the civil rights movement through an interpretive analysis of the Brazilian Black movement and the civil rights movement.
Disc. Julia Albarracin, Western Illinois University
Agnes K. Koos, University of New Orleans

27-15 DESIGNING DEMOCRACY: FOUR VIEWS FROM THE EARLY REPUBLIC
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Michael P. Zuckert, University of Notre Dame
Paper Publius' Theory of the Stable Democracy
Shanaysha M. Furlow Sauls, Duke University
Overview: The association of democracy with stability is a relatively new notion and most certainly a modern one. How did the association of democracy with stability arise? I argue that the emergence of the contemporary notion of a stable democracy can be at
Paper Democracy and the Framers' Constitution: Towards an Apolitical Assessment
Alan Gibbon, Princeton University
Overview: This paper will revisit the question, "How Democratic is the Constitution?" by first providing a Madisonian interpretation of the Madisonian Model and then evaluating it against the criteria of responsiveness, inclusiveness, and political equality.
Paper Jefferson's Ward Republic: Political Rights and an Engaged Citizenry
Derek A. Webb, University of Notre Dame
Overview: Jefferson's proposal of the ward republic represented an attempt on his part to supply greater security to the political rights of citizens by overcoming anemia (a potential vulnerability in liberal polities) and encouraging citizen vigilance.
Paper John C. Calhoun's Consensus Model of Government
James H. Read, College of St. Benedict
Overview: Critical examination of Calhoun's argument for government by consensus rather than majority rule.
Disc. Lilly J. Gore, Carroll College
Michael P. Zuckert, University of Notre Dame

27-22 EDMUND BURKE: CONSERVATIVE OR RADICAL?
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Joyce M. Mullan, Oakton College
Paper Edmund Burke's Anti-Rationalist Conservatism
Andrea M. Radasanu, University of Toronto
Andrea Radasanu, University of Toronto
Overview: This paper poses the question of Edmund Burke's political and philosophical conservatism. While it seems clear that he had conservative political goals, it is not clear that his philosophical grounds proved conducive to his conservative politics.
Disc. Joyce M. Mullan, Oakton College
Joseph Pappin, University of South Carolina

28-15 EXPLORING HEIDEGGER
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Mark Blitz, Claremont McKenna College
Paper What Are Poets For? Gadamer's Answer to Heidegger’s Question
Glenn D. Clifton, University of Notre Dame
Overview: This paper addresses the issue of what political theory has to learn from the arts, through an examination of the differences between Gadamer's ideas about poetry and those of his teacher, Heidegger.

30-15 FORMAL THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Konstantin Sonin, New Economic School/CEFIR
Paper Rational Sanctions: A Game Theoretic Analysis
Catherine C. Langlois, Georgetown University
Jean-Pierre P. Langlois, San Francisco State University
Overview: We develop a game theoretic model of sanctions and test it using data on sanctions episodes.

Paper Global Games in International Relations Theory
Barry O'Neill, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: In a global game players hold symmetrical payoff functions but have only incomplete information about what these are. Their benefits are advocated as international relations models.

Paper The Convergence of Martin Heidegger Philosophy and Politics
Mark A. Menaldo, Michigan State University
Overview: An examination of Heidegger's philosophical view of politics in his, "Introduction to Metaphysics". Special attention is paid to his view of ground and intrinsic order of the "polis".
Disc. Christian D. Dean, Dominican University of California

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Paper Rational Sanctions: A Game Theoretic Analysis
Catherine C. Langlois, Georgetown University
Jean-Pierre P. Langlois, San Francisco State University
Overview: We develop a game theoretic model of sanctions and test it using data on sanctions episodes.

Paper Threats and Promises, Bargaining Strategies and Intergovernmental Negotiations
Hartmut Lenz, University of Essex
Han Dorussen, University of Essex
Hugh Ward, University of Essex
Overview: The paper explores the strategic use of public commitment in negotiations. It uses a signaling model to distinguish between credible commitment and mustering public support. It is applied to negotiations on the EU constitution and crisis bargaining.

Paper Coalitional Colonel Blotto Games: Application to the Economics of Alliances
Dan Kovenock, Purdue University
Brian Roberson, Miami University
Overview: This paper examines a multi-player, multi-front Colonel Blotto game in which players may form non-cooperative alliances. Unilateral transfers within an alliance may arise even though resource expenditure is not a (pure or impure) public good.

32-4 INTEREST GROUP FORMATION AND SURVIVAL
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Anthony J. Nownes, University of Tennessee
Paper Structuring Incentives to Participate: Democracy in Voluntary Associations
Maryann Barakso, American University
Brian Schaffner, American University
Overview: This study provides empirical evidence on the relative influence members may exert in interest group election and policymaking processes and examines the factors that correlate with higher levels of internal democracy.

Paper The Voluntary Provision of Public Goods: Public Interest Groups and the Collective Action Problem
David A. Siegel, Stanford University
Overview: Aggregate level evidence of density dependence and viability, at least as important for many is the ability to attract large donations in amounts well above the minimums required for simple membership.

Paper Discerning Collective Action and Density Dependence in Interest Communities
David Lowery, Universiteit Leiden
Virginia Gray, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
James Monogan, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Overview: Aggregate level evidence of density dependence and collective action in interest communities cannot distinguish between these two models. We show why this is so and offer a solution to this conundrum focusing on secondary features of the two models.

Paper Interest Groups and Nonprofit Advocacy
Jill D. Nicholson-Crotty, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: This study explores the relationship between the advocacy activities of nonprofit organizations and interest groups in the states.
33-9  PRESIDENTIAL-CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS II
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Samuel B. Hoff, Delaware State University
Paper The Presumption of Success on Presidential Appointments Reconsidered: How Delay Has Become the Primary Method of Defeating Nominees
Jon R. Bond, Texas A&M University
Richard Fleisher, Fordham University
Glen S. Krutz, University of Oklahoma
Overview: This analysis shows that the lengthening of the confirmation process for nominations to major executive and judicial offices from 1965-2004 is due to a purposeful strategy to defeat presidential nominees by preventing them from getting a vote.
Paper Recommend for Their Consideration: The President's Legislative Policy Agenda, 1789-2004
Jeffrey E. Cohen, Fordham University
Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha, University of North Texas
Overview: We look at presidential policy comprehensively by coding by policy area all 14,000+ presidential requests to Congress for legislation from 1789-2004.

35-9  CANDIDATE QUALITY, STRATEGY, AND COMPETITION
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Scot D. Schraufnagel, University of Central Florida
Paper Iraq War Veterans and the 2006 Elections: An Analysis of Candidate Quality
Neal Allen, University of Texas
Jeremy M. Teigen, Ramapo College
Overview: This paper explores the connection between veteran status and candidate quality in U.S. House elections. This paper focuses on 2006 anti-war veteran candidates, and their ability to counter issue ownership deficits of the Democratic Party.

34-12  EXPLAINING SPENDING BY LEGISLATURES
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Ronald E. Weber, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Paper Congressional Support for Deficit Reduction: Taxing versus Spending
Patrick Fisher, Seton Hall University
Overview: This study will analyze congressional support for deficit reduction differentiating between taxing and spending legislation by utilizing the votes on "fiscal responsibility" as compiled by the Concord Coalition, an anti-deficit interest group.
Paper The Inequitable Distribution of Federal Aid in Criminal Justice
Pamela M. Schaaf, University of Notre Dame
Overview: The distributive patterns of grant-in-aid spending are influenced by several categorical variables but political variables are more prevalent in periods of unified government.
Paper Electoral Systems, Bargaining Power, and Legislative Outcomes
Michiko Ueda, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
James M. Snyder, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Overview: The paper tests two contrasting hypotheses regarding the impact of district magnitude on legislative outcomes by examining intergovernmental transfers from state governments to counties in the U.S. state legislatures during the 1960s and 1970s.

Paper Friends in High Places: The Institutional Politics of Post-Disaster Recovery
Mark Wrighton, University of New Hampshire
Lara M. Brown, California State University, Channel Islands
Overview: Recovery efforts after recent hurricanes have highlighted the importance of representation and intergovernmental relationships. This paper explores the changing political scene of the South and its effects on disaster recovery efforts there.

Paper Party Strength, the Personal Vote, and Government Spending
David M. Primo, University of Rochester
James M. Snyder, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Overview: We use a noncooperative bargaining model to analyze the conditions under which party strength constrains legislative incentives for inefficient spending. We also show that strong party organizations constrain spending in the U.S.

Paper A Deterrence Model of Congressional Elections: The Polarizing Effects of Quality Challengers in Congressional Elections
Michael J. Enslay, Indiana University, Bloomington
Scott J. Basinger, SUNY, Stony Brook
Overview: Procedures for dealing with an endogenous dichotomous treatment variable are analyzed and applied to two examples of strategic behavior in congressional politics: the effect of challenger quality on fundraising and incumbent retirement on shifting.

Paper All in the Family: Advantages of Second-Generation U.S. House Candidates
Michael Kellermann, Harvard University
Overview: Do candidates from political families win more votes? This study estimates the electoral advantage of second-generation politicians in House elections, and finds that candidates who run to fill vacancies left by relatives outperform other candidates.

Paper Confronting Strategic Behavior in Congressional Elections: The Policing Effects of Quality Challengers in Congressional Elections
Justin M. Buchler, Case Western Reserve University
Overview: Circumstances that make quality challenger entry into a congressional election more likely can produce non-centrist outcomes, even when the quality challenger is more moderate than the incumbent.

Paper Popular Presidents' Strategic Choices Under Divided Government
Hoi-Ok Jeong, University of Iowa
Overview: I argue that under divided government, presidents will be less likely to go public, and this strategic behavior is motivated by relatively high presidential popularity that presidents are blessed to enjoy during divided government.

Disc. Steven A. Shull, The Ohio State University
Disc. Jocelyn J. Evans, University of West Florida
Mitzi Ramos, University of Illinois, Chicago
Overview: This work unites Charles Lindblom’s incremental model and John Kingdon’s policymaking model in examining the emergence of Equal Employment Opportunity policy and the multiple factors leading to the passage of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Disc. Erin O’Brien, Kent State University
Regina Bratton, Rice University

41-3 TRENDS IN EDUCATION POLICY
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Terry S. Weiner, Union College

Paper Why States Support Charter Schools
Bryan T. Shelly, Wake Forest University
Overview: This paper examines which factors make states more likely to adopt charter schools.

Paper Private Higher Education in the Persian Gulf: The Experience of Kuwait
Christian B. Hummel, College of Saint Benedict/Saint John’s University
Gina E. Cinalli, Gulf University of Science and Technology
Overview: Building on four years of combined fieldwork in the Gulf, this paper examines the emergence of private institutions of higher education in the Persian Gulf with a particular focus on new “American-style” universities in Kuwait.

Paper Outcomes and Quality of Alternative Early Education Policies
Dana K. Rickman, Georgia State University
Gary T. Henry, Georgia State University
Craig S. Gordon, Gordon Holdings
Overview: The fragmentation of early education programs is utilized to compare the service quality and children’s developmental outcomes of low-income students enrolled in a targeted Head Start program and the state-run universal Pre-K Program in Georgia.

Paper The UK Education System: Access to Children With Special Educational Needs
Lisa Nitti, University College of London
Overview: Representational democracy in the United Kingdom elects professional groups to enact special educational policies. The civic voluntarism model explains the existence of participatory inequalities in parental groups. Recommendations are provided.

Paper Teaching Evolution: State Institutions, Public Opinion, and Science Curriculums
Michael B. Berkman, Pennsylvania State University
Eric Plutzer, Pennsylvania State University
Nicholas Stark, Pennsylvania State University
Overview: We rate each state’s biology curriculum based on how closely it adheres to the most rigorous standards for teaching evolution and model differences across the states with an emphasis on state institutions and public policy.

Disc. Jal D. Mehta, Harvard University
Rachel A. Fulcher Dawson, Michigan State University

43-1 COURTS AND BUREAUCRACY (Co-sponsored with Judicial Politics, see 36-21)
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Stefanie Lindquist, Vanderbilt University

Paper Congress’ Regulatory Control of Business: The Efficacy of At-Will Employment Litigation in Achieving Regulatory Compliance
Quan Li, Texas A&M University
Overview: This project collects and reviews state appellate court opinions in at-will employment cases involving state and local governments. The most important feature of this data is not the ultimate outcome or holding of the cases.

Disc. Stephanie Lindquist, Vanderbilt University

46-1 EDUCATIONAL CULTURES
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair David M. Dolence, Cuyahoga Community College

Paper The Culture of Learning in the Context of Globalization
Barbara A. Strassberg, Aurora University
Overview: The paper focuses on the transformations of the culture of learning in the context of processes of globalization, as well as the competition of various regions of the world for hegemony in the new emerging world-system.

Disc. Tanner J. McFadden, University of Chicago
47-13  THE RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICAL LIBERALISM
Room  TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair  John Michael McTague, University of Maryland, College Park
Paper  The Implications of Martin Luther’s Political Absolutism on Liberalism
       Graham B. Glover, University of Florida
Overview: The purpose of this discussion is to evaluate Martin Luther’s commitment to political absolutism and its implications for today’s liberal understanding of the relationship between secular and ecclesiastical authorities.

Paper  Prophetic Black Christianity and the Limits of Rawlsian Liberalism
       Terrence Johnson, Brown University
Overview: Rawlsian liberalism’s unabashed rejection of religious beliefs in deliberative democracy stems from a parochial interpretation of religion. What Cornel West calls prophetic Christianity challenges the divide between the religious and the political.

Paper  Reassessing Religion in Liberalism
       Clarissa H. L. Kornell, Ohio University
Overview: By examining the recent rise of Christian fundamentalism in the United States, this paper aims to broaden the liberal perception of religion in politics to demonstrate that liberal principles and comprehensive religious beliefs can be reconciled.

Disc.  Rokas Oginskis, Wayne State University/University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
       Andrew R. Murphy, Valparaiso University

49-101  ROUNDTABLE: HOW TO LAND YOUR FIRST ACADEMIC JOB: TIPS FOR THE ACADEMIC JOB MARKET
Room  TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair  Tracy L. Osborn, Bridgewater State College
Panelist Eileen Braman, Indiana University, Bloomington
       Tasha Philpot, University of Texas, Austin
       Mona Lena Krook, Washington University, St. Louis
       Brandice Canes-Wrone, Princeton University
Overview: This roundtable will provide advice for graduate students about the academic job market. Members of the roundtable will offer tips on such topics as the application process, the job talk, and the interview. Panelists will draw on their experiences on both sides of the hiring process.
Paper **The Case of the Vlaams Belang**
Jana W. Kunicova, California Institute of Technology
Olga Shvetsova, SUNY, Binghamton

Overview: Why was the Ukrainian presidency contested so hotly, while the Russian was a done deal? We argue that the answer lies in the choice of the elite strategy for political interaction among the contestants.

Disc. Petros Vamvakas, Emmanuel College

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Paper **Putting the Success of the Extreme Right in its Nationalist Environment**
Hilde Cofé, Vrije Universiteit Brussel
David Art, Holy Cross College

Overview: By comparing different political systems both with strong and weak pre-existing nationalist subcultures, we demonstrate that the existence of a nationalist subculture is a necessary condition for the long-term success of extreme right parties.

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Paper **Modernization and its Political Consequences, East and West**
Florin N. Fesnic, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Overview: I look at the social and economic determinants of support for extreme right-wing parties in Eastern and Western Europe. I compare Romania and France, identifying variables which account for the rise of extreme right-wing support in both countries.

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Paper **Anti-immigrant Vote in Denmark and Norway: the Volk Effect**
Barbara S. Kinsey, University of Central Florida
Juan Gabriel Gomez-Albarelo, Washington University, St. Louis

Overview: We examine the anti-immigrant vote across electoral districts in Denmark and Norway. This vote is expected to be conditioned by the concentration of foreigners across districts but this effect would vary depending on the citizenship model that applies.

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Paper **Does Radical Right Parties Capitalize on Anti-Immigrant Sentiments?**
Wonjun Yoon, University of Texas, Austin

Overview: As opposed to the conventional wisdom that radical right parties in Europe capitalize on anti-immigrant sentiments, I argue that the success of radical right parties was not the result but the cause of anti-immigrant sentiments.

Disc. Terri E. Givens, University of Texas, Austin
Paper State Legitimacy, Social Contract, and the Welfare System-
Welfare Politics in China and Taiwan
Bin Yu, University of Colorado, Boulder
Overview: Why is the welfare state collapsing in China while it is growing Taiwan? This paper argues that they have chosen different state legitimacy formulae that led to different social contracts, which ultimately resulted in different welfare patterns.

Paper Protecting Japanese Workers from Death by Overwork:
The Role of the State?
Darlene M. Budd, Central Missouri State University
Overview: This paper presents and analyzes the results of a survey administered to 200 Japanese businessmen in Nagoya, Japan on the topic of karoshi ("death by overwork"), and the role of the government to protect workers against dangerous work conditions.

Paper Bureaucratic Choice under Double Advent: Lessons from
the South Korean Case
Dongryul Kim, University of Virginia
Overview: This paper suggests a triangular relationship between democratization, globalization, and bureaucracy. The so-called double advent is conducive to friction when a bureaucracy resists economic reform in reaction to political liberalization.

Disc. Koop Berry, Walsh University

9-3 COLONIAL LEGACIES AND
DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair Gina M. S. Lambright, George Washington University
Paper Traditional Leaders in Modern Africa: Can Democracy and
The Chief Co-Exist?
Carolyn Logan, Michigan State University
Overview: Using public opinion data gathered by the Afrobarometer in 15 African countries, we analyze perceptions of traditional leaders in comparison to elected officials, and evaluate the impacts of modernization and other factors on these perceptions.

Paper The Social Construction of Ethnicity and National Identity
in Contemporary Senegal
Nancy Kwang Johnson, Western Illinois University
Overview: In Senegal, French is the official language and the Wolof language is the de facto lingua franca. Wolofization, the process of promoting Wolof as a first language among non-Wolof ethnic groups, is increasingly becoming a national phenomenon.

Paper Politics and Geography: Explaining African Economic
Performance
Matthew Fails, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: The shape and size of state boundaries are presented as fundamental determinants of African economic performance. This re-focuses the debate on the legacy of European colonialism in the region.

Paper Leave Your Credit Cards at Home: Criminality and Rumor
in Gaborone's Slums
Steve D. Marr, University of Florida
Overview: Combining an inter-disciplinary approach and nearly 18 months of fieldwork, the paper examines the failure of utopian urban planning in Gaborone, Botswana and the discursive mechanisms working to marginalize slum dwellers in the city.

Paper Explaining Economic Policy Reform: Does the Interest
Group/Rational Choice Model Work?
Stephen M. Clemens, University of Memphis
Overview: The utility of the interest group/rational choice model as regards Africa has been questioned. Using Guinea and Nigeria as case studies, this paper tests the model. The result is that the model can be effective if it includes possible state autonomy.

Disc. Fodei J. Batty, Western Michigan University

10-13 PUBLIC POLICY IN THE FORMER
COMMunist STATES

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair Alexander Baturo, Trinity College, Dublin
Paper Reworking Post-Communist Welfare: How Politics Affects
Policy Structures
Christine S. Lipsmeyer, University of Missouri
Overview: Using a new measure of welfare policy, one based on structural changes in five policies, I show how governments affect policy. I systematically analyze how governments create welfare policy in thirteen European post-communist countries.

Paper Institutions, Ideology, or Wealth?: Government Spending
after Communism
Tatiana Kostadinova, Florida International University
Overview: This paper tests hypotheses about the impact of institutions, government ideology, and economic growth on public expenditures in fifteen post-Communist countries undergoing dual transition to a market economy and democratic political practices.

Paper Determinants of Government Spending in Post-Communist
Countries
Joseph W. Robbins, Texas Tech University
Overview: This research extends existing literature on institutions and government spending to Post-Communist countries. Preliminary results indicate that when strong executives and weak parties coexist, government spending increases.

Paper Sweeping Anti-Corruption Reforms?: A New Comparative
Approach to Measuring Corruption Fighting
Monica Dorbôi, World Bank
Overview: This study investigates why and how countries fight corruption.

Paper Party Systems, Coalitions, and Pension Reform. Legislative
Roll Call Analyses and Expert Surveys in Poland, Slovakia,
and Hungary
Oana I. Armeanu, Southern Methodist University
Overview: Roll call analyses of voting in legislatures and expert surveys of party positions in Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia show that the characteristics of the national-conservative and left poles are decisive for the outcome of pension reform in CEE.

Disc. Alexander Baturo, Trinity College, Dublin

12-9 INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS,
PROPERTY RIGHTS, AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair John A. Doces, University of Southern California
Paper North-North Divisions Regarding Intellectual Property
Rights Enforcement
Nikolaos Bizioras, Harvard University
Overview: This paper argues that the differences among rich countries in terms of IP enforcement result from the interaction between domestic level veto point institutional structures and the extent of the public goods nature of the products.

Paper Countries With Access to Information Laws: An
Examination of Institutions
Jeannine E. Relly, University of Arizona
Meghna Sabharwal, Arizona State University
Overview: Countries have adopted access to information laws in the last decade at a pace unlike any other time in history. This study will examine the strength of economic and political institutions in countries that have passed these laws.

Paper Systemic Globalization and Personal Integrity Rights in
Developing States
Robert Stewart-Ingersoll, Grand Valley State University
Overview: This paper empirically examines the influence of globalization as a systemic and multi-dimensional phenomenon upon the protection of personal integrity rights in LDCs, arguing that globalization may be viewed as a liberally-based ordering principle.
Paper Protection of Human Rights During Economic Development
David S. Yamanishi, Michigan State University
Overview: I explore the relationship between the protection of different classes of human rights (due process, civil, economic, social) and economic development, in an effort to improve upon the vague "rule of law" measures prevalent in the literature.
Disc. Andrew C. Mertha, Washington University, St. Louis

13-14 ALLIANCES, INSTITUTIONS AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair Randolph M. Siverson, University of California, Davis
Paper Latin America 1950-1979: Evidence of Autocratic Economic Cooperation?
Ana Carolina Garriga, University of Pittsburgh
Overview: Do Latin American autocracies cooperate more in the economic realm than democracies do? Preliminary results show that autocracies have been more prone to cooperate than democracies. This propensity varies across different types of economic agreements.

Paper Explaining the Adoption of International Human Rights Treaties
Emily R. Hencken, Emory University
Overview: This paper presents the hypothesis that the system ratification status of international human rights treaties establishes a normative concern, which makes social movements against the state more likely, regardless of the state's ratification status.

Paper Democratization and U.S. Alliances in Asia
Dong Sun Lee, East-West Center
Overview: This paper investigates how democratization affects alliance. I argue that democratization tends to destabilize asymmetric alliances, but its effects are uneven because transition occurs in different threat environments and takes divergent paths.

Paper Anarchy, Hierarchy, and Alliance Relations: Does Regime Type Matter?
Neill Mohammad, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Michelle Allendoerfer, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: We argue that choices about the rigidity of alliances are related to domestic regimes. The risk of both economic distortions and abandonment suggests that democratic dyads will build anarchic alliances, and others will stress hierarchy.

Paper Realism, and Risk Acceptance: Arms Transfers Between Rivals
Michael P. Jasinski, University of Georgia
Jeffrey Berejikian, University of Georgia
Overview: The paper advances a prospect theory-based theoretical framework to explain cooperation among rivals in situations where relative gains concerns are acute, through a study of arms transfers between Russia and China.
Disc. Stephen Quackenbush, University of Missouri
Randolph M. Siverson, University of California, Davis

14-12 HUMAN SECURITY

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair Khalil M. Marrar, Loyola University, Chicago
Paper International Security and Immigration Policy
Nikola Mirlovic, University of Chicago
Overview: I argue and show using econometrics that the countries that face substantial security threats (e.g., war, intense regional security competition) are more likely to adopt permissive immigration policies than the countries that face fewer threats.

Paper Legal Barriers to Human Security in the Baltic States
Kathleen Claussen, Indiana University, Bloomington
Joshua Asher, Northwestern University
Overview: Ambiguities in international law lead to a new classification of the individual in the context of international security. Russian nationals living in Estonia are at risk of remaining "citizenshipless" with no institution to guarantee them of any rights.
Disc. Yoram Z. Haftel, The Ohio State University

Paper The Paradoxical Effect of Shared Military Identity on State Socialization
Carol Atkinson, The Ohio State University
Overview: Statistical analyses are used to evaluate the extent to which state socialization to more liberal practices (democratic institutions and human rights practices) is facilitated through educational exchange programs and shared common identity.

Paper The Politics of Ethnic Cleansing
H. Zeynep Bulutgil, University of Chicago
Overview: The paper deals with the conditions under which ethnic cleansing occurs. I develop an argument and then test it by using data from Europe between 1900 and 1950 as well as by using the results of my field research in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
Disc. Khalil M. Marrar, Loyola University, Chicago

15-12 METHODS, MODELS, AND WAR

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair Stephen E. Gent, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Paper Cheap Conflict: Picking Fights and Accepting Costs
Michelle C. Anderson, Princeton University
Overview: A state's decision to fight depends on the expected costs and a willingness to accept them. Logit and duration analyses suggest that the probability and duration of international conflict are positively influenced by both.

Paper The Origins of Private Information and War
Adam H. Meirovitz, Princeton University
Anne E. Sartori, Princeton University
Overview: We show why states create informational asymmetries that lead to war. In our model, two actors with no private information invest in military capacity; they often keep each other guessing about their chosen capacity and create a risk of war.

Paper The Road to War: Choosing the Instrument of Coercion
Branslav L. Slantchev, University of California, San Diego
Overview: We examine the choice between the military and economic instruments for strategic coercion in international crises.

Paper Power Distributions and Patterns of Conflict among the Major Powers
Kelly M. Kadera, University of Iowa
Overview: TBA
Disc. Stephen E. Gent, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

17-11 REGIONAL INTEGRATION BEYOND THE EU

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair Nathan D. Griffith, Belmont University
Paper Regional Cooperation and Conflict Resolution in Africa
Sebuyuna E. Kasule, Purdue University
Overview: This paper studies the East African Community to find out whether African leaders use Regional Economic Organization to address regional conflicts, and if so whether they have been successful.

Paper Regional Integration, Domestic Institutions, and Economic Security
Huisheng Shou, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Overview: The paper aims to identify the domestic factors and understand the mechanisms that determine the variation of policy choices of ASEAN member states in negotiating multilateral rules set for ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA).

Paper US-Mexico Relations and Why is NAFTA Not Enough for Either Country
Adrian S. Petrescu, University of Texas, Brownsville
Overview: Using past cases of regional integration and assessing opportunities in US-Mexico relations, I look at the policy complexities in immigration, economic and education policies in the US, and how do US-Mexico relations affect these policy issue areas.
18-14 THE STUDY AND MEASUREMENT OF RACIAL ATTITUDES
Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair Shayla C. Nunnally, University of Connecticut
Christopher S. Parker, University of California, Santa Barbara/Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Scholar
Overview: This paper addresses competing hypotheses within racial literature: (a) conservatives rely on their principles in making policy decision, regardless of race, or (b) conservatives abandon their principles when policies benefit minorities.

Paper Color-Blind Policies or Color-Infused Principles: An Experiment
Inna Burdein, Stony Brook University
Overview: This experiment addresses competing hypotheses within racial literature: (a) conservatives rely on their principles in making policy decision, regardless of race, or (b) conservatives abandon their principles when policies benefit minorities.

Paper Race on the Brain: A Functional MRI Study of Racial Perception
Darren Schreiber, University of California, San Diego
Overview: MRI has proven to be a useful tool for examining racial attitudes. This study adds nuance to this line of research by focusing on the neural correlates of perception of White and Black political figures.

Paper Social Groups and Social Desirability: Measuring Group and Question Stimulus Effects
Christopher P. Muste, University of Montana
Overview: Survey experiments are used to test two types of social desirability effects: the effect of social group cues of race, sex, and class; and the effect of questions tapping social group affiliations compared to perceptions of social group influence.

Disc. John E. Transue, Duke University

19-9 INFORMED VOTING?
Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair Richard R. Lau, Rutgers University
Paper Hearing the Campaign: Candidate Messages, Public Perceptions, and Public Priorities
Michele P. Clabourn, University of Virginia
Overview: Do citizens accurately hear the issue content of the presidential advertising campaign? Do they prioritize the issues candidates emphasize in their advertising campaigns?

Paper An Exploration of Correct Voting in U.S. Presidential Elections, 1972 - 2004
Richard R. Lau, Rutgers University
David J. Andersen, Rutgers University
David P. Redlawsk, University of Iowa
Overview: This paper presents a comprehensive examination of correct voting in U.S. presidential elections, 1972 - 2004. Three sets of predictors are considered: individual (cognitive) capacity, task difficulty, and the complexity/density of the information.

Paper Too Many Bush Voters? False Vote Recall and the 2004 Exit Poll
Mark Lindeman, Bard College
Overview: The 2004 NEP exit poll indicates that 2004 voters had substantially favored George W. Bush over Al Gore in 2000 – an “impossible” result that some took as evidence of fraud. How anomalous is the result, and how should it influence election analysis?

Paper Campaign Effects and Correct Voting
Scott D. McClurg, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Tom Holbrook, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Overview: We examine the effect of presidential campaigns on the probability of voting correctly.

22-9 SHORTCUTS TO POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE
Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair Paul Goren, Arizona State University
Paper The Military Vote: Security Threats and Candidates' Veteran Prestige as Determinants
John M. Fulwider, University of Nebraska, Lincoln
Overview: The military votes like civilians, except in times of threat. Further, they aren't swayed by a candidate's military background. This will affect the electoral prospects of the first group of veterans since Vietnam to enter politics in large numbers.

Paper Cue-based Versus Message-based Political Persuasion: Evidence From a Survey
Rune Slothuus, University of Aarhus, Denmark
Overview: A national representative election survey allows me to disentangle the persuasive effects of changing arguments in political messages, while holding the partisan source constant, thus illuminating cue-based versus message-based opinion change.

Paper Cues Given, Cues Received: How Candidates Use Shortcuts When Voters Need Them Most
Jeff M. Tessin, Princeton University
Overview: This paper shows that House candidates use more cues and heuristics in their ads in crowded media markets and unsophisticated districts. Thus, candidates may help citizen competence by providing messages suited for low-information conditions.

Disc. Paul Goren, Arizona State University
Wendy Rahn, University of Minnesota

23-2 CROSS-NATIONAL VOTER TURNOUT AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair Miki Cau Kittelson, Arizona State University
Miki Cau Kittelson, Arizona State University
Mark M. Gray, Georgetown University
Overview: We draw on the cross-national Comparative Study of Electoral Systems data set to examine how political institutions and organizations interact with individual-level resources in shaping an individual's propensity to vote.

Paper European Parliament Electoral Turnout in Post-Communist Europe
Mary A. Stegmaier, University of Virginia
Christine Fauvelle-Aymar, Université de Paris I
Overview: Turnout rates in the 2004 European Parliament election in the post-communist states averaged 32.5% and ranged from 17% in Slovakia to 48% in Lithuania. Using district-level data, we assess the factors that explain the variance in turnout rates.

James W. Endersby, University of Missouri, Columbia
Jonathan T. Krieckhaus, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: On average, compulsory voting increases national voter turnout by about ten percent. However, the influence of mandatory voting laws depends on the penalty imposed, the level of enforcement, the extensiveness of coverage, and the level of democracy.
Paper: Social Capital and Political Participation
Maria Elena Sandovici, Lamar University
Overview: This paper explores the relationship between political participation and social capital. It argues that social networks facilitate participation, and trust shapes the choice between conventional and unconventional action.

Disc. TBA

24-16 AGENDA SETTING AND THE MEDIA

Room: TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair Johanna L. Dunaway, Rice University
Paper: Whose Agenda Wins Out? The Effects of Candidate and Media Issue Attention
Danny Hayes, University of Texas, Austin
Overview: I identify the circumstances under which one group of elites—candidates or journalists—is more likely to succeed in setting the public's agenda, as well as the ways individual-level factors condition a person's susceptibility to agenda-setting.

Paper: Does the Media Agenda Reflect the Candidates' Agenda?
Travis N. Ridout, Washington State University
Rob B. Mellen, Washington State University
Overview: Using coding of local news broadcasts, statewide newspapers, candidate ads and candidate websites, this paper examines the degree of congruence between the candidates' issue agenda and the media's issue agenda in the 2002 U.S. Senate campaigns.

Paper: Entertainment Their Brain: Selling Political Agenda Using Entertainment Values
Michael D. Todd, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Overview: This paper is an analysis of how nightly news programs are using entertainment and marketing techniques to present President Bush's War on Terror to the viewer and with what effect.

Disc. Linda Bennett, University of Southern Indiana

25-14 DESCRIPTIVE AND SUBSTANTIVE VIEWS OF WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION

Room: TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair Katherine Opello, Hollins University
Paper: Women's Political Mobilization in Ethnic Conflicts: Theoretical Considerations
Linda Racioppi, Michigan State University
Katherine O. See, Michigan State University
Overview: This paper explores women's political mobilization under conditions protracted ethnic conflict. It examines how ethnic conflict shapes and constrains activism and political participation and how such conflict limits movements for women's equality.

Paper: Explaining French Parties' Response to the Parity Law
Rainbow Murray, Birkbeck College, University of London
Overview: This paper examines the French parity law from the perspective of political parties. Existing theoretical approaches are used in conjunction with individual party priorities to provide a fuller explanation of parties' choice of electoral candidates.

Paper: Critical Acts or Critical Mass? Female Deputies' Impact on Policy in France
Katherine Opello, Hollins University
Overview: This paper examines whether women in the French National Assembly affect policy. It posits that demands for and passage of "women friendly" policies are due to the critical acts (rather than a critical mass) of female deputies.

Disc. Manju Parikh, College of Saint Benedict/Saint John's University

26-7 AFRICAN AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Room: TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair Damon Freeman, University of Pennsylvania
Paper: Considering Political Socialization Among African American Youth
Zahra G. Ahmed, University of California, Irvine
Overview: This paper conceptualizes five research dimensions of the political socialization literature. A critique follows each dimension in the context of its utility for understanding political consciousness development among African American youth.

Paper: Black Ethnicity: Political Attitudes, Incorporation, and Participation
Christina M. Greer, Columbia University
Overview: An analysis of political attitudes and participation of black American, African Immigrant, and Afro-Caribbean Immigrant members of the Social Services Employees Union - Local 371 in New York City, NY.

Paper: Uplift Revisited: Barack Obama and Black Progress in America
Gayle McKeen, University of the South, Sewanee
Overview: This paper sets the recent wave of uplift ideology articulated by black leaders such as Obama in the context of African-American political thought and examines the recent shift from civil rights to self-help discourse.

Paper: Advocacy on Behalf of the Poor: Elite Influence on Organizational Behavior
Catherine Paden, Northwestern University
Overview: I compare the NAACP's and NUL's responses to the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act and the 1988 Family Support Act. I argue that the organizations' changing relationship with elites affected their advocacy on behalf of the poor during the 1980s.

Disc. Mark Q. Sawyer, University of California, Los Angeles

27-16 LIBERALISM, COMMUNITARIANISM, PLURALISM

Room: TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair Eric MacGilvray, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Paper: The Ideas of Roscoe Pound: Pragmatism, Pluralism and Polylegalism
Roger J. Cusick, University at Albany
Overview: This paper examines the life and writings of Roscoe Pound (1870-1964). It focuses upon his largely overlooked decisions as a Nebraska judge (1901-03) his early writings and the unique way that he merged theory, practice, and education in law.

Paper: Conversation, Conversion and Conservation: Oakeshott, Arendt and Cavell
Richard E. Flathman, Johns Hopkins University
Overview: An examination of relationships that produce and sustain conversion and conversation. Critical discussion of the theories of Oakeshott, Arendt and Cavell all look to what they call conversation sustaining the continuity of political liberalism and the limits of pluralism.

Paper: Liberalism and the Limits of Pluralism
Paul E. Kirkland, Kenyon College
Overview: This paper responds to critics of liberal universalism like John Gray by examining the preferences among goods involved in the foundations of liberalism in thinkers like Locke and Montesquieu.

Paper: The Political Significance of Commitments
Nicolaus Tideman, University of Chicago
Overview: Based on existing relations, commitments are voluntarily created. In contrast with contractual obligations, however, commitment-based obligations cannot be precisely specified. I argue that political obligations should be understood in this model

Disc. Eric MacGilvray, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Nicolaus Tideman, Virginia Tech University
Paper Nature in the Thought of Montaigne and Rousseau
Benjamin W. Storey, Farman University
Overview: This paper describes a naturalist strain of modern thought that runs from Montaigne to Rousseau, thereby challenging the standard view of Rousseau as reactionary, and the view of modern thought as anti-naturalist.

Disc. Jeffrey Metzger, Brown University

29-8 FAMILY, EQUALITY, AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

28-14 ROUSSEAU RECONSIDERED
Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair Folke B. Lindahl, Michigan State University
Paper Rousseau and the Republican Fear of Large Assemblies
Ethan Putnam, National University of Singapore
Overview: Eighteenth and nineteenth century republicans such as James Madison and Edmund Burke routinely describe large or "extended" legislatures as mobs.

Paper Nature in the Thought of Montaigne and Rousseau
Benjamin W. Storey, Farman University
Overview: This paper describes a naturalist strain of modern thought that runs from Montaigne to Rousseau, thereby challenging the standard view of Rousseau as reactionary, and the view of modern thought as anti-naturalist.

Paper Elective Aristocratic Republican Government: Rousseau Reconsidered
Michael J. Faber, Indiana University, Bloomington
Overview: Rousseau's essay On Social Contract is frequently cited as the source of absolutist ideas. I argue here that this essay is generally misinterpreted, and in fact lays down a limited government based in modern republican principles.

Paper The Spirit/Form Tradition in Political Thought
Michael T. Rogers, Lindsey Wilson College
Overview: In this paper I argue a) there are enough similarities in Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Tocqueville to treat them as a common tradition and b) using their approach to political analysis can give us a better understanding of the practice of democracy today.

Disc. Jeffrey Metzger, Brown University

Paper Bases of Self-Respect?
Gerald Doppelt, University of California, San Diego
Overview: This paper reports the results of five-person voting experiments designed to test the viability of the uncovered set. The results show strong support for the uncovered set as a solution concept in simple majority decision-making environments.

Disc. Rebecca B. Morton, New York University

30-16 LAB EXPERIMENTS OF FORMAL MODELS
Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair Rebecca B. Morton, New York University
Paper Endogenous Choice of Redistributive Taxes in a Lab Experiment
Justin Esarey, Florida State University
Tim Salmon, Florida State University
Charles Barrilleaux, Florida State University
Overview: We conduct a laboratory experiment to assess the effects of different rules on individual preferences for redistribution.

Paper Spurring Development: Developing Trust
Nicholas Weller, University of California, San Diego
Overview: Economic exchange requires institutions, and I test experimentally the type and quality of institutions that increase exchange between subjects.

Paper Constrained Instability: Experiments on the Robustness of the Uncovered Set
Michael S. Lynch, Washington University, St. Louis
William T. Bianco, Penn State University
Gary J. Miller, Washington University, St. Louis
Itai Sened, Washington University, St. Louis
Overview: This paper explores how cultural differences and issues have come to play a central role in the outcome of presidential elections and how American voters view the two major parties and their candidates.

Paper Parental Influence On Partisan Identification
Patrick T. Hickey, University of Texas
Overview: This paper examines the effect parents have on their children's partisan identification. The hypothesis is that parental party ID is the single most important variable in a young adult's choice of a political party.

Paper Partisan Stability and Electoral Context
Quin Monson, Brigham Young University
Kelly Patterson, Brigham Young University
Jeremy Pope, Brigham Young University
Overview: Using 2004 three wave panel data, we find individuals change their partisanship in response to political stimuli in their environment suggesting that institutional context affects partisan stability even in the abbreviated window of a campaign season.

Paper Do Policy Shifts Have an Electoral Payoff?
Margit Tavits, University of Missouri, Columbia
Overview: Party policy shifts on pragmatic issues such as managing the economy are associated with increased voter support. However, policy shifts on principled social issues lead to decreased support for the party.

Paper Making a Difference: How Exposure to Ads Conveys Party Distinctions
Michael M. Franz, Bowdoin College
Overview: This paper explores the effect of campaign ads on citizen perception of party differences.

Disc. Barbara A. Trish, Grinnell College
The Mass Mediated Presidencies of John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan: From Spectacle to Simulacra
James A. D. Bucellato, Wayne State University

Overview: This essay examines the mass mediated presidencies of JFK and Ronald Reagan. The paper improves upon previous research by using Guy Debord's socioeconomic theory to enhance our understanding of the presidential spectacle.

Code Fear: The Terror Alert System and the Rally Effect
Tracy C. Burdett, Eastern Kentucky University

Overview: Can a basis for possible manipulation of the color-coded terror alert system by the Bush administration be found in the concept of the rally effect? I examine approval ratings and news items for periods preceding each change in terror alert level.

Presidential Persuasion and Media Coverage of Domestic Policies Post-9/11
Caroline E. Heldman, Whittier College
Erinn M. Carter, University of California, Los Angeles

Overview: This paper examines the mass mediated presidencies of JFK and Ronald Reagan. The paper improves upon previous research by using Guy Debord's socioeconomic theory to enhance our understanding of the presidential spectacle.

Going Public When the Public Has Turned a Deaf Ear
Todd Kent, Texas A&M University
Justin S. Vaughn, Texas A&M University

Overview: Using time series methods, we determine the causal relationship between declining public support for George W. Bush's Social Security reform plan, his handling of the Iraq war and the energy crisis, and his performance as president in general.

Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion on the Economy
Jeffrey S. Peake, Bowling Green State University
Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha, University of North Texas

Overview: Studies of leadership of opinion exclude an important link in the public presidency: the media. When controlling for media, our results indicate presidents have difficulty leading the public primarily because of their reliance upon the 4th estate.

A War of Words: The Duration of the Filibuster in the U.S. Senate, 1919-93
Charles Shipan, University of Iowa
Dong Dion, University of Iowa
William D. MacMillan, University of Iowa

Overview: This paper applies two war of attrition game theoretic models to describe the use of the filibuster in the Senate from 1917-1993. Using a Weibull model, we find support for the existence of two regimes.

Curing Obstruction? Potential Effects of Reforming the Filibuster
Lawrence S. Rothenberg, University of Rochester
Fang-Yi Chou, Princeton University

Overview: Policy production in the United States is typically viewed as obstructed, with proposals and nominations stymied against majority wishes.

Duck and Cover: Filibustering in Congress
R. Steven Daniels, California State University, Bakersfield

Overview: An inquiry into the concept of constitutional identity. The approach is theoretical and comparative, the latter to be pursued with a dual focus on India and Ireland. An understanding of constitutional change must confront the question of identity.

A Historical Analysis of Points of Order in the United States Senate
Anthony Madonna, Washington University, St. Louis

Overview: This paper is an evaluation of all points of order in the U.S. Senate from the 56th to 106th congresses. The results are then contrasted to the contemporary debate over the nuclear option.

The Americanization (?) of Canadian Voting Rights
Sara E. Jolin, University of Ottawa

Overview: An inquir y into the concept of constitutional identity. The approach is theoretical and comparative, the latter to be pursued with a dual focus on India and Ireland. An understanding of constitutional change must confront the question of identity.

Policy production in the United States is typically viewed as obstructed, with proposals and nominations stymied against majority wishes.
Paper Promises Made, Promises Kept? An Assessment of the
decisions of the United States and the German Supreme Courts.

Disc. Ian G. Cram, Leeds University

LOCAL BOUNDARY CHANGES

TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Michael C. Craw, Michigan State University
Anexation Policy in Milwaukee: An Historical
Institutionalist Approach
Joel Rast, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Overview: To date, there are no documented studies that empirically prove city-county consolidation cuts costs and leads to improved service delivery. This paper plans to directly address this gap in the literature.

Paper Promises Made, Promises Kept? An Assessment of the Efficiency and Effectiveness of City-County Consolidation
Overview: This paper examines the desirability of consolidating counties and eliminating/reducing the number of townships in rural areas. The evaluation will consider how consolidation affects 1) the cost of services, and 2) citizen access to government.

Keith A. Boeckelman, Western Illinois University
Overview: This paper examines the desirability of consolidating counties and eliminating/reducing the number of townships in rural areas. The evaluation will consider how consolidation affects 1) the cost of services, and 2) citizen access to government.

Nicholas G. Bauroth, North Dakota State University
Overview: Using data from the Bureau of the Census and the 50 state statutory codes, this study examines the processes through which special districts dissolve. It classifies dissolution by degree of difficulty and tests the impact upon district policies.

J. Edwin Benton, University of South Florida

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT RISK (Co-sponsored with International Political Economy, see 12-17)

Chair Bumba Mukherjee, Florida State University
Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Elections, Partisan PBC's and Sovereign Bond Spreads in Developing Countries
Bumba Mukherjee, Florida State University
Overview: I develop and test a model using partisan political business cycle (PBC) theory to predict the investment risk perceived by investors during several presidential and parliamentary elections in 50 developing countries from 1986 to 2000.

Laura Ruttan, Michigan State University
Overview: We offer a theory of how political institutions affect political risk. We then estimate how political constraints affect the prices paid by multinationals to purchase political risk insurance contracts covering civil war and political violence.

Tatiana Vashchilko, Penn State University
Overview: We investigate theoretically and empirically how various institutional and security variables influence bilateral investment flows.

 Nathaniel M. Jensen, Washington University, St. Louis
Daniel J. Young, University of California, Los Angeles
Overview: We offer a theory of how political institutions affect political risk. We then estimate how political constraints affect the prices paid by multinationals to purchase political risk insurance contracts covering civil war and political violence.

Tatiana Vashchilko, Penn State University
Overview: Current regulations on alcohol use don't account for the residual effect of alcohol after a night of heavy drinking. As many workers have this exposure, effects felt at zero BAC the next day could have a large impact on the workplace.

 Jonathan Howland, Boston University School of Public Health
Overview: Current regulations on alcohol use don't account for the residual effect of alcohol after a night of heavy drinking. As many workers have this exposure, effects felt at zero BAC the next day could have a large impact on the workplace.

 Bumba Mukherjee, Florida State University
Overview: We focus on Virginia's alcohol direct shipment ban as a testing ground for assessing the economic effects of regulations that limit competition.

Damaris Rohsenow, Brown University
J. Todd Arnett, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Overview: We investigate theoretically and empirically how various institutional and security variables influence bilateral investment flows.

 Jonathan Howland, Boston University School of Public Health
Overview: Current regulations on alcohol use don't account for the residual effect of alcohol after a night of heavy drinking. As many workers have this exposure, effects felt at zero BAC the next day could have a large impact on the workplace.

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 Bumba Mukherjee, Florida State University
Overview: We focus on Virginia's alcohol direct shipment ban as a testing ground for assessing the economic effects of regulations that limit competition.
Paper: Do Employee Attitudes Differ by Agency Type?: Analysis of 2004 FHCS
Yoonho Kim, Cornell University
Overview: This paper examines if there are different federal employees' attitudes by agency types (e.g., Theodore Lowi's and James Q. Wilson's) using 2004 Federal Human Capital Survey data (focusing on effectiveness, job satisfaction, motivation, etc).

Paper: Review of the Four Personnel Reform Effects on Organizational Effectiveness: An Empirical Study of the GeorgiaGain Program and the Civil Service Reform Law
Sung Min Park, University of Georgia
Overview: In this paper, within the principal agent theoretical frameworks, four major personnel reform effects – discretionary and performance controlling systems and monetary and information incentive systems – were empirically analyzed at the state level.

Paper: Work-Family Culture and Job Satisfaction in Public, Private, and Nonprofit Sectors
Sanda M. Dolcos, North Carolina State University
Dennis M. Daley, North Carolina State University
Overview: Using data from the 2002 National Study of the Changing Workforce, we investigate how the impact of family-friendly policies and work-family culture on job satisfaction vary according to the sector of employment and gender.

Disc: Anna A. Amirkhanyan, American University

47-12 THEOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOLUTIONS TO THE CULTURE WARS
Room: TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair: Erika R. Seeler, Duke University
Paper: Roger Williams: Tolerance, Cooperation, and Culture Wars
Owen Yeates, Duke University
Overview: This paper argues that Williams's defense of toleration and respect for others resulted from his unrelenting religious convictions. It calls on the religious and non-religious to seek grounds for cooperation within their own and others' traditions.

Amy L. Cavender, Saint Mary's College
Overview: In this essay, I explore the experience of three interfaith/interreligious dialogues, examining the ways in which ecumenical religious dialogue has been conducted, and apply the learnings from that exploration to the field of political dialogue.

Paper: Making Deep Reasonings Public: Pursuing Moral Debate and Fugitive Ontologies
Jeff Bailey, Cambridge University
Overview: Repair of political fragmentation is found in shared ontologies, discovered when deep reasonings can be expressed amidst difference. Searle and Bourdieu, as well as new models of interfaith textual study, offer resources for such political repair.

Paper: The Democratization of the Sacred
Giuseppe Giordan, University of Valle d'Aosta
Overview: Religion and democracy mutually define themselves: the emergence of the "spirituality" category in contemporary sociology of religion highlights the very process of the "democratisation of the sacred".

Disc: Maurice M. Eisenstein, Purdue University, Calumet
Andrew R. Murphy, Valparaiso University

48-5 TEACHING POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT
Room: TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair: Roger P. Rose, Benedictine University
Paper: What Do College Students Know about American Government and When Do They Know It?
Jane Bryant, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
Overview: To assess information and knowledge of college-aged students - measure civic engagement and how democratic ideals are fostered in the community college environment.