

Midwest

Political Science Association 62nd Annual National Conference April 15-8, 2004

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

- 2-10** **PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARDS GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRACY**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30
Chair Tony L. Hill, *University of Minnesota*
Paper **Political Parties, Partisanship, and Support for Democratic Institutions**
 Aida Paskeviciute, *Binghamton University, SUNY*
 Christopher J. Anderson, *Syracuse University*
 Overview: Students of democratic politics routinely emphasize the importance of political parties for structuring the electoral process (competition and choice) as well as issues such as government formation and legislative behavior. Yet, few studies have investigated whether and how parties and party systems shape people's beliefs about democratic governance (e.g., Anderson 1998; Dalton 1999). We draw on Strom's (1990) behavioral theory of competitive parties, which suggests that parties often face trade-offs between competing goals (office v. policy), to examine whether and how the goals parties pursue affect what people think about democratic governance.
- Paper** **Determinants of Social Movement Mobilization: A Pooled Cross-Section Time-Series Analysis for a Comparative Study in Four Western European Countries in 1975-89**
 Jai Kwan Jung, *Cornell University*
 Overview: Assessing strength and weakness of social movement theories, this paper seeks a way of uncovering the determinants of levels of protest mobilization. It derives a set of competing hypotheses from existing theories of social movements and collective action, thereby testing them by using Kriesi et al.'s (1995) protest event data on New Social Movements (NSMs) in four Western European countries (France, Germany, Netherlands, and Switzerland) over the period of 1975-89.
- Paper** **The Effects of Corruption on Political Trust: A Multilevel Analysis**
 Carolina Segovia, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: I test the hypothesis that a society's level of corruption together with people's perceptions of corruption and fairness of political institutions can provide a better explanation of varying levels of political trust across and within countries. This analysis is done using a hierarchical linear model that can help us better explain variations in the levels of political trust at the individual-level and country-level of analysis.
- Paper** **Protests in Semi-Presidential Democracies**
 Taehyun Nam, *University of Kansas*
 Overview: This paper identifies the variation of the scale of protests in democratic regimes including European countries and South Korea using daily interval data, and explains the variation by focusing on political institutions. Through theoretical reviews and data analysis this paper argues that citizens in democratic countries with semi-presidential systems find it more difficult to deliver their demands to government than citizens in other states.
- Paper** **Representing Majority Will**
 Rachel K. Cremona, *Binghamton University, SUNY*
 Overview: Addressing the issue of democratic representation, this paper will examine congruence between the preferences of citizens and legislators across 25 established democracies, for the period 1973-1997. Particular emphasis is placed upon

preferences with regard to the civil rights and liberties of minority groups.

Disc. G. Bingham Powell, *University of Rochester*

- 2-201** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ELECTIONS AND STOCK MARKETS**
Room TBA, TABLE 1, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30
Inf. Rnd. **Coalition Bargaining, Uncertainty and Stock Price Volatility**
 Sona N. Golder, *New York University*
 Fiona McGillivray, *New York University*
 Overview: Delays in government formation in parliamentary democracies are assumed to have adverse effects on political and economic outcomes. We use the stock market volatility that accompanies legislative elections as a tool to determine if these delays actually have negative economic effects. Combining new electoral coalition data with monthly stock market data for eight European countries from 1973-1996, we test whether the stock market volatility surrounding elections is caused by (i) political change itself or (ii) uncertainty from the coalition bargaining process.
- Inf. Rnd.** **Stock Markets and Economic Voting in OECD Countries**
 Nathan M. Jensen, *Washington University in St. Louis*
 Gyung-Ho Jeong, *Washington University in St. Louis*
 Overview: We propose to empirically examine how stock market returns from 1980-2003 in Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom and the United States affected voting patterns in legislative and executive elections. We test if: 1) voters use stock market performance to evaluate incumbent competence and 2) if voters differentiate between stock market movements due to domestic factors or international factors (world stock price movements).
- 3-15** **SOCIAL CAPITAL AND TRUST IN LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30
Chair Brian Silver, *Michigan State University*
Paper **The Pattern of Association Life and the Dual System of Interpersonal Trust in South Korea**
 Soo-chan Jang, *Mokwon University*
 Won-jae Hwang, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: The objective of this research is to grasp the nature of interpersonal trust embedded in Korean society and relate it to the pattern of associational life.
- Paper** **Is Voluntary Association Rosetta Stone?: Democracy and Voluntary Association in Asia**
 Jaechul Lee, *University of Missouri - Columbia*
 Overview: This study seeks to reveal the relationship between voluntary association and democratic development in Asia. In fact, it has been argued that voluntary association is always "Rosetta stone" in explaining a healthy democracy, especially for longstanding democratic countries. This study tests this argument whether it holds up in its extension to new democracies in Asia.
- Paper** **Social Movements, Social Capital and Popular Participation in Latin America: A Theoretical Critique**
 Paul W. Posner, *Clark University*
 Overview: Strengthening democratic legitimacy and reducing poverty and inequality in Latin America will depend in large measure upon increasing the popular sectors' capacity for

	collective action. Unfortunately, most theoretical perspectives fail to correctly articulate the state's role in either impeding or facilitating such collective action. Through a critique social movements, Washington Consensus, and social capital perspectives, among others, this analysis provides a more compelling understanding of the state's role in promoting or impeding the popular sectors' collective action.		
Paper	<u>Political Trust in China: Forms and Causes</u> Zhengxu Wang, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: Citizens in China seem to see two states: the abstract and symbolic state and the concrete state they deal with in their daily life. I analyze the different factors that affect citizens' trust on these "two" states. This finding has important implications for understanding political change in China.		
Disc.	Brian Silver, <i>Michigan State University</i>	Disc.	Karen L. Remmer, <i>Duke University</i>
3-21	<u>POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CONTEMPORARY LATIN AMERICA</u>	3-28	<u>THE POLITICS OF SOCIAL WELFARE IN LATE DEVELOPERS</u>
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30	Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30
Chair	Karen L. Remmer, <i>Duke University</i>	Chair	Andrew Roberts, <i>Northwestern University</i>
Paper	<u>Dollars for Sucre: An Examination of the Dollarization of the Ecuadorian Economy</u> John H. Riley, Jr., <i>Kutztown University</i> Tricia Mulligan, <i>Iona College</i> Overview: This paper examines President Mahaud's 2000 decision to dollarize the Ecuadorian economy. In doing so the paper seeks to explain the decision and evaluate the impact on Ecuador's economy and people. It seeks to contribute to our greater understanding of the mechanics and outcomes of developing country financial decisions, the role of varying domestic political and economic variables, and international constraints.	Paper	<u>Communities of Interest: Social Service Provision in Regional and Historical Perspective</u> Caroline E. Arnold, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Social service providers and the services delivered in late developers have varied not nationally, but by city, and within cities, over time. This fact is all the more striking given the common characterization of many less developed countries as overwhelmed by state interference in the economy. This paper combines insights from Gerschenkron and Polanyi to explain the reasons for these city-based differences.
Paper	<u>The Length of Economic Memories in Latin America or Why Voters Repeatedly Punish Prior Presidential Parties at the Polls</u> Allyson L. Benton, <i>CIDE</i> Overview: I use individual level polling data to show that Latin Americans have long economic memories. Political institutional arrangements determine whether voters will reject multiple parties, or whether they will concentrate on punishing just incumbents.	Paper	<u>The Dilemmas of Creating Social Markets from Scratch: A Case Study of Contracting for Social Services in Northern Italy</u> Vanna Gonzales, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: During the course of the last two decades governments in both advanced industrialized and developing countries have experienced tremendous pressure to make significant structural changes in the way in which public services are produced and delivered. Despite the fierceness with which the new orthodoxy has been politically marketed, few countries have fully embraced this model of governance. Many states are actually engaged in a counter-process; rather than externalizing formerly public services through contracting out, they are internalizing services through a process identified by Nowland-Foreman, as "contracting in". Contrary to the process of externalization, "contracting in" entails incorporating and integrating large portions of the private and third sector, which formerly operated with a high degree of discretion and autonomy. Focusing on two northern Italian regions (Emilia Romagna and Lombardia) where contracting regimes in Italy are the most consolidated, I evaluate how the process of internalization is affecting the nature of social service provision.
Paper	<u>States Make Coffee and Coffee Makes States: The Case of Guatemala, 1871-1966</u> Andrew J. Schlewitz, <i>Wabash College</i> Overview: "States make Coffee and Coffee Makes States" explores the extent to which Charles Tilly's coercion/capital model of state formation can help us understand political development in Guatemala. Two issues are addressed—the adaptability of a model built on a millennium of European history, and the near absence in Guatemala of one of Tilly's key variables, warmaking. The paper finds that a political economy of coffee is a useful substitute.	Paper	<u>Who Represents the Informal Sector? State Policy, Collective Action, and the New Working Class in Peru</u> Sally Roever, <i>College of William and Mary</i> Overview: Like almost all countries in the Latin American region, Peru implemented a sweeping program of neoliberal reform in the early 1990s. These measures contributed to the growth of a massive class of unemployed and underemployed workers, many of whom have sought refuge in what has traditionally been called the 'informal sector.' This paper compares what might be considered less formal and more formal workers in terms of their political attitudes, partisan affiliations, and the extent to which they participate in and support work-based organizations. This research has important implications for understanding the role of civil society and associations in transitional democracies
Paper	<u>How do Incumbents Spend? Electoral Risk and Distributive Politics in the U.S. and Mexico</u> Federico Estévez, <i>ITAM</i> Beatriz Magaloni, <i>Stanford University</i> Alberto Diaz-Cayeros, <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: This paper conceives distributive politics as an investment strategy in which allocations respond to electoral risk. To show the effect of risk on expenditures, we analyze New Deal spending through 1940 and the poverty alleviation program Pronasol implemented by the ruling party in Mexico from 1989 to 1994. We find that incumbents respond to electoral risk, a concept borrowed from finance to measure district-level volatility in vote shares over time, as a function of the size of their expected vote shares. Extremely safe districts with low risk are rewarded as well as marginal districts with high risk; at intermediate levels of competition, districts with high volatility are punished with lower levels of per capita expenditures. Our analysis thus connects electoral volatility with distributive politics and moves beyond the debate on the tradeoff between investment in core versus swing voters that has characterized the literature in the field.	Paper	<u>Managing Labor Markets and Mobilizing Constituencies in Post-Authoritarian Spain and Portugal</u> Sara E. Watson, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Southern Europe, particularly Spain and Portugal, represent a nether-region of political analysis. Although anchored geographically within Western Europe, their patterns of economic and political development differed significantly from the northern Europe experience. Large-scale, state-led industrialization did not get seriously underway until the 1960s; democratic politics did not arrive until the mid-1970s. While welfare state scholars are largely content to characterize southern European welfare states as "uneven" or "less developed" versions of their northern counterparts, the problems associated with covering the Spanish and Portuguese citizenry stem directly from the economic and political challenges associated with late development. This paper examines the evolution of social protection for one "marginal" population -- agricultural workers -- and analyzes its effects on the functioning of rural labor markets. I argue that under conditions of democratization, the economic problem of managing

deruralization is inextricably linked to the political problem of incorporating groups into politics. In this context, political parties (rather than the state or employers) are key actors, and social protection a strategic tool in their efforts to mobilize (or demobilize) constituencies.

Disc. **Andrew Roberts**, *Northwestern University*

4-1 CIVIL SOCIETY IN NEW DEMOCRACIES

Room TBA1, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30

Chair **Steven Majstorovic**, *University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire*
Paper **Civil Society, Emigration and Democracy in Africa: An Alternative Proposition**

Matthew T. Bradley, *Indiana University - Kokomo*

Overview: This paper investigates African democratic transitions and consolidation. The investigation is centered around the non-mainstream issues of ethnic and religious-based NGOs and emigration issues that continue to confront African states. Thus, what will this mean for the future status of African states in terms of international recognition and sovereignty.

Paper **Accountability: NGOs and Democratization**

Elizabeth Radziszewski, *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*

Seden Akcinaroglu, *University of Illinois at Urbana - Champaign*

Overview: We argue that successful NGOs provide a model of democracy by increasing their own accountability to potential members which is crucial to the growth of activist network among the targeted population. To acquire the necessary membership base, we further hypothesize, NGOs need to deliver benefits to their members and fill the vacuum in providing public goods.

Paper **The Emergence of Political Agendas: The Independence Movement in Estonia in 1985-1991**

Cynthia S. Kaplan, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

Henry E. Brady, *University of California Berkeley*

Overview: How do the political agendas of social movements emerge and get fixed in public consciousness? Using Estonia as a critical case, we show how cultural, moral, and historical issues are redefined to create the basis for the cultural frames that mobilized protest for independence. Based on a database of articles from cultural journals (1985-1991, in Russian & Estonian) we capture elite discourse and document how issues became part of the public dialogue.

Paper **Creating Civil Society? Mexican Neighborhood Committees**

Daniel M. Sabet, *Indiana University*

Overview: This study is an examination of Mexican government led efforts to create directly civil society organizations to mediate between government and society. The study evaluates whether Tijuana's neighborhood committees are a part of civil society or a mechanism of government control. The study uses survey of committee presidents to examine democratic practices, links with other civil society organizations, and relationships with the PAN lead government.

Disc. **Maqsood A. Choudary**, *Delta College*

5-10 LEGISLATURES, DURATION, ORGANIZATION, AND POLICY MAKING

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30

Chair **Randy T. Stevenson**, *Rice University*
Paper **More than a Rubberstamp: Parliaments, Coalition Governments, and Legislative Scrutiny**

Lanny W. Martin, *Florida State University*

Georg S. Vanberg, *University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill*
Overview: How do coalition governments, which are composed of multiple parties with often conflicting ideological goals, manage to make policy? We argue that parliamentary oversight provides a key institutional mechanism that allows ideologically divergent parties to govern jointly. Using original legislative data from Germany and the Netherlands, we evaluate this argument empirically by examining the relationship between the policy divisions between coalition partners and the extent to which government bills are amended in the legislative process.

Paper The Effective Number of Issue Dimensions

Benjamin Nyblade, *University of California, San Diego*

Overview: Issue dimensionality has long been held to be of critical importance in understanding many aspects of politics. However, broadly cross-national attempts to measure issue dimensionality have unfortunately been limited to snapshots of a single period, or averages over long periods. This paper presents the first time-series cross-sectional measure of issue dimensionality for the countries of Western Europe based on the Comparative Manifesto Project, and demonstrates its significance in understanding government duration.

Paper **The Role of Parliamentary Committees in a Nascent Party System: Committee Assignments in the Turkish Grand National Assembly**

Walter Forrest, *Florida State University*

Sabri Ciftci, *Florida State University*

Yusuf Tekin, *Gaziosmanpasa University*

Overview: This paper evaluates the applicability of distributional, informational and partisan committee theories, developed specifically for the Congress, to a legislature in the context of a nascent party system. We conducted a survey of current members of the Turkish Parliament to test these theories in a non-US legislature.

Paper **Euroskepticism in Parliamentary Coalition Systems**

Robert Pahre, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Overview: Argues that political systems with governing coalitions work in a way that systematically biases governments and governing elites against Euroskeptic policy positions.

Paper **The Executive, the Treasury, and Budget Decision-making in Italy**

Felsen J. David, *Temple University*

Overview: The paper focuses on the treasury's guidance of budgetary policy in Italy. The paper first traces the domestic institutional and political changes that gave way to greater treasury autonomy in the 1990s, and then examines how a stronger Italian executive bureaucracy constrains the freedom of action of governments in the sphere of public policy. The paper calls for greater attention to how formal institutions and processes shape policy decision-making.

Disc. **Randy T. Stevenson**, *Rice University*

6-1 WHEN ETHNIC CONFLICTS DO NOT OCCUR: THEORIES AND EXPLANATIONS

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30

Chair **Graeme B. Robertson**, *Princeton University*
Paper **Where Have All of the Irredentists Gone? Explaining Why East Europe was Less Violent in the 1990's**

Stephen M. Saideman, *McGill University*

Overview: This paper examines the domestic politics and the content of nationalisms in Hungary and Romania to understand why neither country actively engaged in irredentist foreign policies in the 1990's.

Paper **Russia for the Russians? Russian Irredentism (or Lack Thereof) in the Near Abroad**

R. William Ayres, *University of Indianapolis*

Overview: State-sponsored irredentism – the effort by a government to "recover" territory containing ethnic kin in a nearby state – is an important phenomenon. To understand irredentism, we need also to understand cases where it doesn't occur as well as those where it does. This paper will focus on Russia as a case of a "dog that didn't bark", examining the opportunities that post-Soviet Russian governments have had and reasons for why those governments have eschewed those opportunities.

Paper **Civil Discourse, Inter-Group Trust and Violent Breakdown: When is it Least Likely?**

Murat Somer, *Koc University*

Overview: By integrating insights from the literatures on trust, cascade theories of interdependent choices, democratic transition, and ethnic conflict, this paper develops an explanation for vulnerability to violent social breakdown. It then explains why rapid and violent breakdown could occur in Bosnia although it did not in cases including Czechoslovakia,

	Bulgaria and Turkey, by using the theory developed. The argument offers a simple explanation for cross-regional variations in trust between communities, and in vulnerability to violent breakdown.				institutional issue because of their ties to central banking systems. The relationship between events and rates indicates an interesting area of political risk analysis
Paper	<u>How is Ethnic Peace Possible? Explaining Macedonia's Peaceful Decade</u> Robert Hislope , <i>Union College</i> Overview: For ten years (1991-2001) Macedonia avoided the kind of interethnic strife that overwhelmed other former Yugoslav republics. How was this possible? Theories of ethnic peace are few and far between; the theories that are available fail to provide an adequate explanation of Macedonia's trajectory. Therefore, a new theory of ethnic peace is articulated that focuses on the role of elites and interethnic party coalitions.		Paper	<u>Mercurial Money vs. the Resilient State</u> Zdravka L. Brunkova , <i>Washington University in St. Louis</i> Overview: The retreat and decline of the state is the dominant theme in the contemporary globalization debate. The control of state over the production of money has been implicated as one domain of sovereign retreat. In this project I use statistical analysis to evaluate the connection between different regimes, political authority, fiscal mixes and monetary regimes in 185 countries Preliminary results support the theoretical explanation that different political regimes select different regimes to organize their monetary space.	
Disc.	Carol S. Leff , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i>		Paper	<u>External Effects of Currency Unions</u> Thomas Plümper , <i>University of Konstanz</i> Vera E. Troeger , <i>Swiss Peace</i> Overview: The introduction of the Euro has considerably reduced de facto monetary policy autonomy in non-ECU members, because stabilizing the exchange-rate to the Euro has become more important for countries remaining outside the union. Panel-GARCH models are used to estimate the impact of changes in the key currency real interest rate on the real interest rate of Great Britain, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland.	
7-17	<u>TERRORISM</u> TBA2, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30		Disc.	Robert W. Walker , <i>University of Rochester</i>	
Room	Tse Kwang Teo , <i>University of Illinois</i>		9-6	<u>DEMOCRACY AND WAR</u>	
Chair	<u>Implications of International Terror and Emotions for Information Processes in Foreign Policy Decisions</u>		Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30	
Paper	Steven B. Redd , <i>University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee</i> Nehemia Geva , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Katrina N. Mosher , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Using experimental methods, we endeavor to determine the influence of international terrorism and emotions on foreign policy decision making.		Chair	Brandon C. Prins , <i>Texas Tech University</i>	
Paper	<u>Origins of Terrorism and Weak Statehood</u> Erica Chenoweth , <i>University of Colorado at Boulder</i> Overview: This paper will examine the relationship between weak or collapsed states and the presence and influence of terrorist organizations. To support this thesis, I will examine the differing institutional structures of several states (Afghanistan, Lebanon, Indonesia, and the Philippines), and identify their susceptibility or resilience to terrorist influence. This analysis may inform the study of terrorism and its impact on international security and provide another piece of the puzzle regarding the causes and conditions of state failure.		Paper	<u>Purges, Consolidation and Foreign Policy in Nondemocratic States</u> Randolph M. Siverson , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: The theoretical perspective I advance is that the leaders of nondemocratic states hold power by non constitutional means and, and that their tenure in office depends upon their ability to consolidate power. Because of this they will avoid risky policies, including participation in international conflicts until they time they achieved this. One of the prime methods of consolidation is the removal of possible rivals through purges.	
Paper	<u>Group Type and Competition: An Examination of Intrinsic and Extrinsic Causes of Terrorism</u> Aaron M. Hoffman , <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: Why do some groups claim responsibility for their acts of terror while others do not? This paper examines whether group-type or competition from others better explains the decision to publicize one's responsibility for acts of terror.		Paper	<u>Repression and War Continuation as Persistent Policy Failure</u> Branislav L. Slantchev , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Hein Goemans , <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: We investigate conditions under which leaders may prolong conflict after receiving bad news about their chances of success and conditions under which they may terminate it after receiving good news.	
Paper	<u>An Alternative Policy Perspective on Terrorism</u> John Mueller , <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: Assessed in broad but reasonable context, terrorism doesn't do all that much damage, and its costs very often come from the hasty and ill-considered reactions it inspires. A sensible policy approach might stress that, while judicious protective and policing measures are sensible, extensive anxiety over what is at base a rather limited problem is misplaced, unjustified, and counterproductive.		Paper	<u>Major Power States and Limited War: Military Force as a Policy Instrument</u> Patricia L. Sullivan , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: Why do major power states sometimes fail to achieve even limited objectives when they use military force against vastly weaker targets? The theory developed in this study focuses on the domestic and international political context in which military interventions are undertaken, rather than on measures of relative capability. To test the hypotheses generated by this theoretical approach, statistical analyses are conducted with an original dataset of all major power military operations since World War II.	
Disc.	Martin W. Slann , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i>		Paper	<u>Changing the Subject: Valence Politics in International Crises</u> Robert F. Trager , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: The content and quality of the inferences the target of deterrence can draw from the domestic politics of the deterring state are shown to be a function of the relative popularity of the parties prior to the international crisis. Lack of support from a democratic opposition signals that an unpopular government is more likely to follow through on a threat, and oppositions sometimes support bluffs of unpopular governments.	
8-7	<u>FINANCIAL MARKET, MONETARY REGIME AND INTEREST RATE POLITICS</u> BURNHAM 5, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30				
Room	Andrew Sobel , <i>Washington University in St. Louis</i>				
Chair	<u>Financial Markets, Political Events, and Contagion</u>				
Paper	William Bernhard , <i>University of Illinois</i> David Leblang , <i>University of Colorado</i> Overview: We examine the financial costs associated with domestic and foreign politically-driven asset market volatility.				
Paper	<u>Interest Rates as a Reflection of Political Risk: A Study of Twenty Countries</u> Chelsea D. Brown , <i>University of North Texas</i> Overview: This paper examines the effects of political events on short-term interest rates, and in particular, examines the types of political events that are likely to cause fluctuations. The study of interest rates also bring in an interesting				

Paper **Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Who Influences Whom?**
Jongseok Woo, *University of Texas at Austin*
Eunjung Choi, *University of Texas at Austin*
 Overview: This study examines the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy. The two are in reciprocal relationship: Public opinion influences a political leader's foreign policy choice and, at the same time, a political leader mobilizes foreign affairs to achieve his/her domestic political goals. By examining changes in public opinion and foreign policy behavior of the presidents from Reagan through Clinton, the study identifies simultaneous relationship between the two variables.

Disc. **Brandon C. Prins**, *Texas Tech University*

9-10 **DOMESTIC POLITICS AND WAR**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30
Chair **Mark A. Souva**, *Florida State University*
Paper **Information, International Institutions, and Domestic Politics**
Songying Fang, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: In this paper, I develop a game-theoretic model to capture the interplay of domestic politics and international institutions. Specifically, I examine how states' strategic interactions affect the information transmitted by an institution, and how the strategy of a state leader is shaped by her expectation of the kind of information revealed to her domestic audience. In the equilibrium, different values of parameters indicate different actions taken by the leader.

Paper **Politically Rational Foreign Policy Decision-making**
C. Todd Kent, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: Research on the domestic determinants of foreign policy has not provided adequate explanations. This study proposes a theory of presidential foreign policy decision-making that provides a linkage between the domestic and international decision-making contexts, based on the goal-maximizing behavior of presidents.

Paper **Compliance in Foreign Policy: US and the Rest 1900-2000**
Carmela Lutmar, *American University*
 Overview: I examine levels of compliance in foreign policy (measured as bilateral trade, voting in the UN general assembly, diplomatic relations, and alliances portfolios) in cases in which the leader has been deposed vs the cases in which the defeated leader was left in power. The assumption here is that the deposition is done in order to achieve higher compliance in foreign policy from the other state. This paper presents some surprising findings as to whether deposition serves as a useful mechanism to reach this goal.

Paper **Marketing War: The Iraq Case**
John M. Schuessler, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: How do democratic governments market wars to their publics? In what ways does that marketing diverge from the grand strategy goals that motivate decisions to intervene abroad? To what extent is government marketing contested? In general, how comprehensive and informative are the debates that precede the decision to fight in democracies? In this paper, I begin to answer these questions by focusing on consumers in the democratic marketplace of ideas: mass publics.

Paper **Are Good Times Bad Times? Democracy, the Business Cycle and External Threats**
Martin C. Steinwand, *Brandeis University*
 Overview: The paper argues that democracies are more likely to give in to external threats during economic boom times than during recession. This is because democratic leaders can only make limited use of deficit financing to pay for war during an economic upturn, making them more hesitant to resort to force. An initial test produces support for this hypothesis, using an ordered probit analysis that examines the universe of international crises after 1945.

Disc. **Mark A. Souva**, *Florida State University*

10-1 **CRISIS BARGAINING AND INFLUENCE**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30
Chair **Sarah E. Croco**, *University of Michigan*
Paper **Conventional Conflict under the Nuclear Umbrella**
Jason Brozek, *University of Wisconsin - Madison*
 Overview: This project employs tools of political psychology to explain divergent decision-making strategies. When nuclear weapons are a factor, nuclear peace and limited war are competing models of conflict behavior. The models are fundamentally incompatible, and traditional systemic theories fail to explain how states coordinate their conflict strategy in this regard. I contend that decision-making theories from political psychology, such as taboos and schema, can shed light on this increasingly important puzzle.

Paper **Soldiers and Diplomats: The Impact of Military Strategy on Crisis Bargaining**
Dong SUN Lee, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: I investigate how military strategy shapes the prospects for negotiated settlement of inter-state disputes during crises. I propose a new theory that focuses on whether military strategy is maneuver or attrition-centered. When a state has a maneuver strategy, I argue, crisis bargaining will likely fail for two reasons. First, the cost-effective strategy will imbue its owner with military confidence and lead it to demand large concessions. Second, the maneuver strategy's deceptiveness hinders an accurate assessment of military capabilities and prevents antagonists from finding a mutually satisfactory bargain. Such problems are absent when states have attrition strategies. I test these theories through a comparative-historical analysis.

Paper **Crisis Bargaining: A Spatial Model of Threats Through Escalation Processes**
Monika A. Klimek, *University of Missouri - Columbia*
Meghan Forbes, *University of Missouri - Columbia*
 Overview: We reassess standard spatial models of crisis bargaining in an m-dimensional issue space. The International Crisis Behavior (ICB) Project's framework for the analysis of international crises is used to provide the foundation for the analysis. With an issue-based approach, spatial models of bargaining are developed. The models focus on respective phases from ICB's Unified Model of Crisis (UMC), which pertains to escalation and de-escalation processes. Our models predict crisis outcomes. We derive several hypotheses based upon symmetrical situations where the bargaining costs imposed by actors either cause threats to escalate to full crisis or deescalate to pre-crisis levels. Ultimately, we find that a multidimensional spatial model is essential to account for the full range of outcomes.

Paper **Shirkers and Drug Runners: Why U.S. Policy Fails to Induce Crackdowns on Drug Trafficking Through Transit Countries**
Horace A. Bartilow, *University of Kentucky*
 Overview: Do US anti-drug policies, specifically its bilateral interdiction agreements with drug transit countries, induce foreign country cooperation against drug trafficking? A simple formal model of a two player drug interdiction game demonstrates that drug transit countries, relative to drug consumer countries, have a greater incentive not to cooperate in bilateral drug interdiction arrangements. Estimates from the time series cross-section equations for cocaine and marijuana drug seizures among Caribbean basin countries during 1984 to 2000 provided strong empirical support for the formal model.

Disc. **Sarah E. Croco**, *University of Michigan*

11-2 **MOTIVATED REASONING**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30
Chair **Jay Barth**, *Hendrix College*
Paper **Motivation, Internet Political News Usage, And Political Knowledge**
Justin W. Holmes, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: This paper explores the political and psychological motivations of political news seeking on the internet. It finds that, while the digital divide between technological haves and

	have nots is decreasing, there are dramatic motivational differences among citizens to seek out political information, leading to an increased gulf of political knowledge.				
Paper	<p><u>Motivated Reasoning and Voter Decision Making: Affect and Evaluation</u> David P. Redlawsk, <i>University of Iowa</i></p> <p>Overview: This paper examines motivated reasoning in the face of negative information about preferred candidates. Studies have shown voters learning disliked information about a liked candidate become more positive towards that candidate. But with enough negatives it seems likely that voters will realize that their liked candidate is not what they thought he or she was and suddenly adjust evaluations to more accurately reflect reality. This study examines when and under what conditions this will occur.</p>			Paper	<p><u>Causes and Consequences of Crossover Voting in Presidential Primaries</u> Michael G. Hagen, <i>Rutgers University</i> Richard Johnston, <i>University of British Columbia</i></p> <p>Overview: What are the consequences of permitting crossover voting in presidential primaries? Our paper addresses this question by investigating the extent, sources, and effects of crossover voting in the 2000 primaries. The paper provides both an account of the dynamics of the 2000 primary seasons, Republican and Democratic, and a more general exploration of the political import of opening primaries to the participation of independents and members of the opposing camp.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Present before the Past: Motivated Reasoning and Retrospective Judgments</u> Helmut Norpoth, <i>Stony Brook University</i> Milton Lodge, <i>Stony Brook University</i> Sanser Yener, <i>Stony Brook University</i></p> <p>Overview: The paper applies the motivated reasoning approach to retrospective judgments. We demonstrate that how a person currently feels about political parties and leaders such as the president in office affects the assessment about a variety of past events such as past economic conditions and past U.S. military interventions. The proposition is tested both with experiments and survey data.</p>			Paper	<p><u>Theory and Practice in Testing Models of the Iowa Caucus</u> C. Clayton Hull, <i>Georgetown University</i></p> <p>Overview: Ten interviews with Iowa political professionals were conducted to add qualitative nuance to the findings of empirical models predicting Iowa Caucus candidates' vote share. Testing those nuances, the models indicate early straw polls are fundamentally different between the two parties; organization may be more important in the Democratic Caucus; no shift occurred after Forbes' 1996 television blitz; and though Viability matters in the Caucus, being the frontrunner does not give a candidate an additional boost.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Wishful Thinking in the 2000 Presidential Election</u> Kathleen A. Dolan, <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Thomas M. Holbrook, <i>University of Wisconsin Milwaukee</i></p> <p>Overview: In this paper, we evaluate the extent of "wishful thinking" in the 2000 presidential election. In the context of the election, wishful thinking occurs when individuals predict outcomes based not on objective information, but instead on the basis of what they want to see happen. Using data from the 2000 National Election Study, we examine the extent to which political sophistication and need for cognition condition the impact of wishful thinking on election outcome predictions.</p>			Paper	<p><u>Choosing How to Choose: State Delegate Selection Rules for Presidential Nominations, 1972-2000</u> Scott R. Meinke, <i>Bucknell University</i> Jeffrey Staton, <i>Florida State University</i> Steven T. Wuhs, <i>University of Redlands</i></p> <p>Overview: This research explores over-time, state-level variation in Democratic party delegate selection rules for presidential nominations, identifying the role of both national rules and state-level political factors in shaping rule choices. The research emphasizes the strategic choice of selection rules, and it adds needed context to the more developed literature on the consequences of presidential selection rules.</p>
Paper	<p><u>When Cross-Sectional Analysis Hides the Story: Gender Change on the Iraqi War</u> James H. Kuklinski, <i>University of Illinois</i> Paul J. Quirk, <i>University of Illinois - Urbana</i> Buddy Peyton, <i>University of Illinois - Urbana</i> Jillian Evans, <i>University of Illinois-Urbana</i></p> <p>Overview: Using data collected from a three-wave panel, we show that even though women opposed the Iraqi war more than men did at all three points in time, the greatest change from opposition to support of the war occurred among women, largely because their beliefs about the costs of the war changed dramatically. More generally, this paper addresses how indisputable clues from the political environment affect motivated reasoning. When such clues are clear and strong, they can reduce the level of motivated reasoning. The paper's lesson is that we cannot study motivated reasoning without accounting for the political environment, and vice-versa.</p>			Paper	<p><u>Modeling the Presidential Primary Vote: 1976-2000</u> Wayne P. Steger, <i>DePaul University</i></p> <p>Overview: This paper builds on previous models of the vote in presidential primaries, specifically seeking to estimate the effects of campaign momentum while controlling for other factors thought to effect the primary vote.</p>
Disc.	<p>Jay Barth, <i>Hendrix College</i> Mariya Y. Omelicheva, <i>Purdue University</i></p>			Disc.	<p>Costas Panagopoulos, <i>New York University</i> Constantine Spiliotes, <i>St. Anselm College</i></p>
12-2	<p><u>THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION PROCESS (Co-sponsored with Presidency and Executive Politics, see 23-14)</u></p>			12-19	<p><u>THE IMPACT OF CAMPAIGN FINANCE LAWS</u></p>
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30			Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30
Chair	Constantine Spiliotes , <i>St. Anselm College</i>			Chair	Jessica Perez-Monfort , <i>Mercer University</i>
Paper	<p><u>Same Rules, Different Game: A General Model of Presidential Primaries, 1972-2000</u> Marty Cohen, <i>University of California at Los Angeles</i> Hans C. Noel, <i>University of California at Los Angeles</i> John R. Zaller, <i>University of California at Los Angeles</i></p> <p>Overview: We develop a model of the state-level contests in presidential primaries and estimate it in each of the 12 contested party nominations from 1972 to 2000. The model addresses several aspects of the process, including ideological competition, momentum, spending, media coverage and elite</p>			Paper	<p><u>Tainted Money? Contribution Limits and the Effectiveness of Campaign Spending</u> Thomas Stratmann, <i>University of Chicago</i></p> <p>Overview: This paper tests whether campaign expenditures by state House candidates are more productive in increasing vote shares when candidates run in states that limit contributions. The results show that campaign expenditures by incumbents, challengers, and open seat candidates are more productive when candidates run in states with campaign contribution limits, as opposed to in states without limits.</p>
				Paper	<p><u>Estimating the Electoral Effects of Party Contribution Limits</u> Daniel E. Bergan, <i>Northwestern University</i></p> <p>Overview: In this paper, I use simulation techniques to estimate the electoral impacts of a) limits on party contributions to candidates in state legislative elections and b) public funding for parties for state legislative elections.</p>
				Paper	<p><u>Contribution Limits and Disparity in Contributions between Gubernatorial Candidates</u> Kihong Eom, <i>University of Kentucky</i> Donald A. Gross, <i>University of Kentucky</i></p> <p>Overview: Campaign contribution limits have been a common feature of campaign finance reform efforts in most states.</p>

	<p>Despite their apparent popularity, campaign contribution limits have been criticized in academic literature. In particular, it has been suggested that contribution limits are likely to increase the disparity in contributions between candidates in general and the disparity between incumbents and challengers in particular. In this article we subject this important criticism of campaign contribution limits to empirical testing. Analyses of both the number of contributors and the dollar amount of contributions to gubernatorial candidates suggest no support for an increased bias in favor of incumbents resulting from the presence of contribution limits. If anything, contribution limits can work to reduce the bias that traditionally works in favor of incumbents. Also, contribution limits do not seem to increase contribution disparity between candidates in general. Results hold for different subsets of contributors: all contributors, particularistic contributors, and corporate contributors.</p>	<p>a function of the candidate's policy positions and the ideal points of minority voters. We compare our predictions with data from the 2000 presidential election.</p>
Paper	<p><u>State Campaign Finance Laws and the Turnout Decision</u> David M. Primo, <i>University of Rochester</i> Jeffrey Milyo, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: We conduct the first micro-level study that assesses whether state campaign finance laws influence the decision to turn out and whether Democrats or Republicans are advantaged by these laws.</p>	<p>Disc. Nicholas Winter, <i>Cornell University</i> Melissa Michelson, <i>California State University - Fresno</i></p>
Disc.	<p>Tobin Grant, <i>Southern Illinois University</i></p>	
12-21	<p><u>MINORITY PARTICIPATION AND PARTISANSHIP</u></p>	<p>13-15 <u>RELIGIOUS ROOTS OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES (Co-sponsored with Political Psychology, see 11-13)</u></p>
Room	<p>TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30</p>	<p>Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30</p>
Chair	<p>Melissa Michelson, <i>California State University - Fresno</i></p>	<p>Chair Paul Djupe, <i>Denison University</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Who Will Capture the Hispanic Electorate? A Study of Partisan and Ideological Evolution</u> Patrick K. Basham, <i>Cato Institute</i> Overview: An examination of Hispanic voting behavior challenges the thesis that the burgeoning Hispanic electorate will become a loyal component of Democratic party support. The parallel assumption that Hispanic voters should be categorized as ideological liberals is also questioned. The historical evolution of comparable ethnic minority groups' voting patterns and ideological predispositions suggests that the possibility of Republicans securing a long-term partisan advantage and conservatives gaining a long-term ideological advantage among Hispanics should not be discounted.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Righteous Politics: An examination of Fannie Lou Hamer's Religious Political Activism as a Mental Health Strategy</u> Melissa V. Harris-Lacewell, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This paper reexamines the use of religious language, music, narratives, and strategies in the political work of Fannie Lou Hamer. The paper argues that we can understand the connection between mental health and political strategies of African American women through the connective tissues of religious fervor and meaning given to political action.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Ethnic Influences on Voting in 2000</u> Beth Ginsberg, <i>New York University</i> Lawrence M. Mead, <i>New York University</i> Overview: Our question is what demographic factors influenced voting turnout in the 2000 presidential election. Our hypothesis is that differences even within racial and ethnic categories were significant influences. The analysis would use the 2000 Current Population Survey (CPS) voting and registration supplement.</p>	<p>Paper <u>American Catholic Attitudes on Poverty and Welfare: Distinctiveness or Convergence?</u> Matthew Wilson, <i>Southern Methodist University</i> Overview: This paper examines differences between observant Catholics, nominal Catholics, and non-Catholics on issues related to poverty and the welfare state. While observant Catholics are more likely to express attitudes consistent with Church teaching on abortion, homosexuality, and capital punishment, they do not embrace the Church's social justice agenda. This calls into question the existence of a distinctively Catholic voice on poverty issues in America.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Cognition, Evaluation, and Voting in Context: How Minority-Majority Contexts Redefine the Relationship between Psychological Constructs and Likelihood of Voting</u> David J. Levin, <i>University of Texas at El Paso</i> Overview: Findings the UTEP Voting Behavior Survey students reveal that (1) the need for cognition and the need to evaluate are strongly related to a social dominance orientation among the national majority/local minority; (2) that the effect is keyed to context; and (3) the need for cognition has a large influence on the likelihood of voting in inexperienced and non-mobilized electorates like the mostly Latino collegians studied in the UTEP surveys.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Religion or Core Values? A Reformulation of the Funnel of Causality</u> Jason Gainous, <i>University of Florida</i> Bill Radunovich, <i>University of Florida</i> Overview: TBA</p>
Paper	<p><u>All Style and No Substance? Campaign Advertising for Language Minority Voters</u> Rebecca B. Morton, <i>New York University</i> Marisa A. Abrajano, <i>New York University</i> Overview: Since many language minority voters gain most information from non-English media, candidates for elected office can choose to provide different information from that provided to English speaking voters. We show that the decision of whether to advertise policy positions and/or the candidate's descriptive representation record to language minority voters is</p>	<p>Paper <u>A Tale of Three Cities: Comparative Formation and Maintenance of Divided Cities in the former Yugoslavia</u> Emily Shaw, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Though post-war plans to fix localities frequently ignore the fact that conflict is not merely the product of local relations, this paper looks at the ways that larger groups, rather than local events and people, helped to create and maintain the divisions within three "divided cities" in the former Yugoslavia.</p>
		<p>Paper <u>Does Religion Make Us Better Democratic Citizens?</u> Bethany L. Albertson, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: Religion plays an important role in American public life. Surveys show that Americans are particularly religious compared to citizens in most other democracies. They're more likely to attend church regularly and pray. Also, the majority of Americans across the political spectrum say that religion is an important part of their lives. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the role religion plays in their political life. For many Americans, religion affects how they make sense of the world. This paper examines how religion shapes Americans' perceptions, and ultimately, the role religion plays in their political attitudes. For example, religion might affect attributions such as who's responsible for causing problems, and who can help solve them. Religion might also affect perceptions of who is an ally, and who is an enemy, and whether the world is just or not, as well as their fundamental view of human nature. I argue that understanding religion's effect on these perceptions is crucial to understanding the relationship between religiosity and political attitudes. In this paper, I investigate the relationship between religiosity and a variety of attitudes and emotions, such as efficacy, tolerance and punitiveness. This paper relies on data from the General Social Survey and the National Election Study.</p>
		<p>Disc. Ted G. Jelen, <i>University of Nevada</i></p>

14-1 **THE MASS MEDIA & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30

Chair **Richard S. Flickinger, Wittenberg University**

Paper **Do the Media Matter in the Making of U.S. Foreign Policy**

Benjamin I. Page, Northwestern University

Lawrence R. Jacobs, University of Minnesota

Overview: Research on the media typically focuses on their impact on public opinion. Less well examined is the impact of the press on the making of government policy. The research that has investigated the media's policy impact has tended to focus on setting the agenda of government officials. Very little analysis has been focused on the media as a force in the views of policy makers. This paper examines the relationship of the media and foreign policy making in order to address the important but understudied potential for the press to influence government officials.

Paper **Was the Media More Timid in Covering the Iraq War?**

Comparing Images of Death and Capture in the Newsmagazines from the Last 7 U.S. Conflicts

Bob Beatty, Washburn University

Overview: Was media coverage of the Gulf War "sanitized"? In order to approach this question this paper compares the number and type of images of death and imprisonment shown in the three major U.S. newsmagazines (Time, Newsweek, U.S. News) in coverage of major U.S. conflicts in the past 15 years with the goal of determining whether the newsmagazines were more willing to display graphic images of death and violence in the 1990's than in the 2000's.

Paper **Winning the Peace: Paradox and Propaganda in the Wake of the Second Gulf War**

Trevor Thrall, University of Michigan - Dearborn

Brian A. Patrick, University of Toledo

Overview: Unable to meet public expectations substantively in the wake of the war in Iraq, the Bush Administration has turned to symbolic politics to resolve paradoxes (war without casualties, security without threats to liberty, etc.) at home and abroad. In place of the usual tools of foreign policy (alliances, diplomacy, debate), the Bush Administration is using symbols and rhetoric to "win the peace."

Paper **The Rhetoric of Evil vs. Martyrdom: Reflections From the Israeli/ Palestinian Conflict and Female Suicide Bombers**

Maya Sabatello, University of Southern California

Overview: How is the female suicide bomber culturally constructed? Is she a nationalist or a terrorist? How are the socially built feminine and masculine messages brought into play? And what is the import of this double-edged construct to a society in transition? - These are some of the questions the paper The Rhetoric of Evil vs. Martyrdom: Reflections from the Israeli/ Palestinian Conflict and Female Suicide Bombers attempts to tackle.

Disc. **Richard S. Flickinger, Wittenberg University**

16-11 **RACE AND ETHNICITY IN URBAN GOVERNMENT**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30

Chair TBA

Paper **Minority Employment in the Largest Municipal Governments**

Chon-Kyun Kim, Midwestern State University

Overview: Are minorities fairly represented in U.S. municipal governments as demography changes? This paper attempts to explore minority representation in the municipal governments of New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Houston for the years 1990-2000 through an examination of the distribution of minorities. Findings indicate that rapid demographic changes in the four largest U.S. cities have not remarkably changed representation of minorities and nonminorities in those municipal governments. Demographic changes do affect the composition of the city work forces, but demographic changes do not seem to affect considerably the composition of the city work forces. Although minorities and nonminorities appear to be gaining more representation, the extent of the increase of

representation has been much higher in Caucasians than minorities. Occupational and agency segregation as well as salary differences between minorities and nonminorities and between men and women has not been significantly reduced.

Paper **Identifying and Understanding the Effects of Mayoral Change in Minority Governed Municipalities**

Charles Sampson, University of Missouri

Overview: This research reports on policy change in minority governed municipalities (MGM). Cities with populations of 100K that have elected a racial minority as mayor are investigated. Mayor council cities will be distinguished from council-manager cities. Pooled, cross section, time series analysis will be utilized to observe policy shifts. The researcher will control for the effect of other variables that also effect expenditure changes. The unit of analysis is the mayors first term of office. Policy change is measured by (1) expenditure variations in comparison with the previous mayor, and (2) changes in priorities when racial minorities are first elected.

Paper **The New Racial Calculus: Ethnic Heterogeneity, Institutions, and Minority Gains in Local Elected Office (1973 ? 2000)**

Anirudh V.S. Ruhil, University of Illinois, Chicago

Melissa J. Marschall, Rice University

Overview: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Time-Series Analysis of Black and Hispanic Gains in Municipal Office-holding. The data span 309 cities in forty-two states and cover the 1973-2000 period.

Disc. TBA

17-1 **PUNISHMENT AND ITS JUSTIFICATION**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30

Chair **Richard Dagger, Arizona State University**

Paper **Punishment and Democracy**

Albert W. Dzur, Bowling Green State University

Rekha Mirchandani, Bowling Green State University

Overview: Punishment is something democratic citizens must own up to in ways we rarely do. Civic participation in the criminal justice domain is part of what legitimate punishment requires. Yet mere populism, such as the penal activism behind three-strikes laws, should not be seen as legitimation. Only public procedures of justification that hold citizens accountable and subject our preferences to scrutiny and questioning can count as legitimation.

Paper **A Utilitarian Critique of Minimum Sentencing Laws**

James T. McHugh, Roosevelt University

Overview: Jeremy Bentham's book, "The Rationale of Punishment," which was constructed from separate manuscripts after his death and was last published in 1830, offers a utilitarian challenge to trends in penal law that undermine the principle of proportionality. This critique merits a reevaluation, especially due to the foundational influence that utilitarian thought has had upon American penal law and its constitutional underpinnings.

Paper **Vindictive Justice: New York State's Four Strikes Law of 1926**

Khalil G. Muhammad, Vera Institute of Justice

Overview: This paper examines the political and cultural context surrounding major criminal justice reform during the Prohibition era in New York State. Within six years of passing mandatory sentencing laws in 1926, the harshest of which resulted in a life sentence for a fourth felony offense, the New York State legislature "liberalized" the law, yielding to political and public pressure. Given the need for effective political mobilization against similarly hard-line crime policies today, this paper offers a case study from the past.

Disc. **Christopher H. Wellman, Georgia State University**

17-15 **RAWLS AND POLITICAL LIBERALISM**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30

Chair **Emily Gill, Bradley University**

Paper	<p><u>Pluralism and Stability: The Case for "Political" Theory</u> James M. Andresen, Arizona State University Overview: I will consider the arguments for and against doing political theory in a "political" manner. I argue that the argument for "political" theory faces a serious challenge that has thus far not been adequately dealt with. There appears to be no "political" argument available for doing "political" theory in the first place. Thus, I conclude that the "political" approach is one way of conducting political theory that is no more, or less, justified than various comprehensive approaches.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Hobbes on Democracy</u> Ethan Puttnerman, National University of Singapore Overview: In my paper I argue that Thomas Hobbes was more sympathetic to democracy than many scholars believe. I argue that Hobbes retains democracy within Leviathan's constitutional typology with a foreknowledge of key stabilizing features of democracy that many commentators bypass. The philosopher's awareness of these stabilizing features reveals him to be one of democracy's earliest theorists in spite of his (much more famous) defense of absolutist rule.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Should Political Liberals Uphold Universal Values?</u> Chad Cyrenne, University of Chicago Overview: What can political liberals say to so-called "reasonable non-liberals"? What kinds of language are likely to be persuasive in such circumstances? Do the normative foundations of a political liberalism preclude certain kinds of discourse? Do they provide an adequate vantage point for political and moral critique? This paper cuts at the heart of these questions by asking whether political liberals should uphold universal values. The argument is that they should not, because - at least as a matter of historical and empirical investigation - these values do not exist. What otherwise diverse communities do share, however, is a common set of political and social experiences - experiences belonging not to any one community in isolation, but rather to the accumulated historical records of many diverse societies. The crux of my argument will be to say that the relative attractions of a particular politics or society can be recognized not in the values those societies embody but in the practices of daily life. For that reason, political liberals needn't bother with universal values, but they should uphold universal practices.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Sovereign as Totem: Symbolic Authority in the Legal Structure of Hobbes's Leviathan</u> Kevin Cameron, Lafayette College Overview: This paper represents an attempt to smooth out a contradiction in Hobbes's theory of state by drawing parallels between Leviathan and Freud's theory of the primal horde.</p>
	Disc.		<p>John M. Parrish, Ohio State University</p>
	19-2		<p><u>BODIES, VIOLENCE AND IDENTITY</u></p>
	Room		<p>TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30</p>
	Chair		<p>Mindy J. Peden, John Carroll University</p>
	Paper		<p><u>Sacrificing the Body</u> Banu Bargu-Hasturk, Cornell University Overview: While sovereignty rests its claims to legitimacy on the preservation of life, it simultaneously assumes that the sacrifice of the citizen's life for the collective is the precondition of self-preservation. However, the citizen-soldier as the subject of the sovereign contract does not sufficiently capture the problematic of sacrifice. By examining the self-immolation of the hunger striker as an alternative figure, I explore the identity of the sacrificial subject through the violent politicization of the body.</p>
	Paper		<p><u>Slavery and the Technologies of Race</u> Katy J. Dixon, Cornell University Overview: Students of American political thought have tended to regard slavery as a troubling aberration, at odds with America's liberal democratic traditions. This paper suggests, in contrast, that while liberal theory maintains a theoretical commitment to an abstract notion of the individual, the discursive construction of the African as criminal/animal, opened up a kind-of anthropological loop-hole, whereby some were imagined as outside the human fold, without the rights that attend to humans naturally.</p>
	Paper		<p><u>MacIntyre and Butler: Bodies and Violence</u> Leila M. Ibrahim, Cornell University Overview: This paper examines two critiques of the disembodied, autonomous conception of the modern subject: communitarian (MacIntyre) and feminist (Judith Butler) to highlight the limitations of their understandings of "embodiment" in connection to violence/oppression.</p>
	Paper		<p><u>Powerful Bodies: A Feminist Analysis of Medieval Spirituality</u> Joanna V. Scott, Eastern Michigan University Aemilia E. Scott, Columbia University Overview: A debate that has divided feminists since the early days of the Women's Movement revolves around the scope and limits of female power. Should female success be gauged in terms of power within male-dominated spheres, or should the notion of power and success be expanded to include traditionally "feminine" goals? Marguerite Porete and Hadewijch of Antwerp are two of the most well-known religious of the thirteenth century. Though Hadewijch and Marguerite have differing ideas about the path the Soul takes toward union with God, both authors exploit a paradox of power through powerlessness to explain their mystical union. And interestingly, neither woman laments her exclusion from the male-dominated ecclesiastic hierarchy. Somehow their innocence makes them more potent "trumpets" of God's Will. We will probe this paradox of power and powerlessness that shapes the way these women experience and articulate female non-hierarchical power in the world.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Reasonable Citizens Must Be Alienated People: The Implications of Rawls's Burdens of Judgment</u> Alexander Moon, Cornell University Overview: Rawls's argument that recognition of the burdens of judgment ought to lead citizens not to refer to their comprehensive conceptions in political discourse either fails or leads to scepticism about comprehensive conceptions, one's own and others'. A better strategy is to ground anti-perfectionist conclusions on the presuppositions of political argument. The costs of this strategy are that it allows perfectionist reasons in political discourse and requires public discrediting of them in order to justify liberal practices.</p>		
Paper	<p><u>Rawls as a Critical Theorist: Reflective Equilibrium after the 'Deliberative Turn'</u> Ron Amit, Gustavus Adolphus College Overview: An interpretation of John Rawls's 'justice as fairness' as a deliberative critical argumentative strategy for evaluating existing institutions is offered and its plausibility is discussed. It is argued that justice as fairness aims at synthesizing the moral values claimed by existing social institutions into a coherent model of a well ordered society in order to demand these institutions to stand up to the values that they promise. Understood in such way, justice as fairness provides a set of idealizing 'mirrors' through which power dynamics in society can be viewed, not as a model for an ideal society.</p>		
Disc.	<p>David Thunder, University of Notre Dame Andrew Seligsohn, Hartwick College</p>		
18-1	<p><u>HOBBS</u></p>		
Room	<p>TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30</p>		
Chair	<p>John M. Parrish, Ohio State University</p>		
Paper	<p><u>Rights in Leviathan</u> Michael J. Green, University of Chicago Overview: The concept of rights that Hobbes uses in Leviathan is significantly richer than his official definition of rights as liberties, that is, the absence of obligations. Identifying the different elements of this richer concept of rights helps us to understand his views in three areas: (1) the relationship between the sovereign's rights and those of the subjects, (2) the liberty of the subject, and (3) whether God could be the author of the laws of nature.</p>		

Paper **Derailing the Trains: Interest Group Competition and Legislative Gridlock**
Thomas T. Holyoke, Hastings College
 Overview: I argue that because legislators desire consensus before moving bills, they are only willing to proceed when competition among groups can resolve into consensus rather than conflict. I find that the degree of group competition does have a substantial impact on the probability of legislation being enacted into law.

Paper **Outside the Issue Niche: The Multidimensionality of Interest Group Competition**
Michael T. Heaney, University of Chicago
 Overview: Interest groups build their identities, and differentiate themselves from one another, on the basis of their memberships, the ways in which they are organized, the techniques they use to influence public policy, and their relative sizes. I demonstrate that group competition is linked to how groups understand their identities.

Paper **The Structure of Interest Group Competition: Explaining the Variable Nature of the Business Advantage**
William G. Jacoby, Michigan State University
Timothy La Pira, Rutgers University
Beth L. Leech, Rutgers University
 Overview: We hypothesize that the business advantage will be more pronounced for economic policies than for social issues. Likewise, we expect the business interest bias to be greater for policies with particularized benefits than those with common goods. This research enhances our insight into the variable nature of mobilization bias.

Disc. **William P. Browne, Central Michigan University**

23-4 **LEADERSHIP AND PERSUASION**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30
Chair **Andrew C. Rudalevige, Dickinson College**
Paper **The Art of Persuasion: A Study of How Presidents Informally Influence Outcomes**
Jennifer J. Hora, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
 Overview: I developed a "Persuasive Exchange Database," based on direct observations of two presidents, Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon. Using my theory of persuasion, I assess the different issues a president persuades a member on (substantive, procedural, or trivial), the conveyance methods used (action or words), and the tools of persuasion at a president's disposal (process, context and anomaly) to estimate the degree of persuasive success presidents' experience.

Paper **The Presidency in extremis: An Alternative Approach to Understanding Power**
Ryan J. Barilleaux, Miami University
 Overview: The prevailing paradigm of presidential power assumes that chief executives exercise power within a context of broad political influence. Yet presidents often find themselves politically weakened, even crippled, but still able to exercise power. How are we to account for this reality? One answer is to examine the presidency in extremis, in situations when influence has been lost. This study will consider whether there is an irreducible minimum of presidential power.

Paper **The Evolution of the President's Public Image, 1857-1998**
Jeffrey E. Cohen, Fordham University
 Overview: I develop a method of generating data on presidential news coverage using an online data base that spans from the 1850s to the present. Then I test competing models of the time trend in presidential news, focusing in particular on the impact of war and changing news media technologies.

Paper **The President's Ability to Shape Media Coverage**
David J. Plazek, West Virginia University
 Overview: The President's Ability to Shape Media Coverage: This research examines the impact that the personal and media skills of the President and their Public Relations (PR) team have on the potential to shape news coverage. Historical analysis reveals that the media and personal skills of the President and the PR team do affect news coverage. The culmination of this project is a typology based on the skills of the President and the PR team.

Paper **Explaining Presidential Power within the Ronald Reagan Administration**
Tobias T. Gibson, Washington University in St. Louis
Michael S. Lynch, Washington University in St. Louis
 Overview: Ronald Reagan has been regarded as a weak president because of his lack of direct oversight of his administration. We argue that despite, and perhaps because of, his "hands off" approach to governing, Reagan was a powerful president. We employ formal theory to illustrate that the relationship Reagan utilized with those in his administration allowed him to control the actions of his staff while simultaneously appearing to be a distant, uninvolved leader.

Disc. **Christopher S. Kelley, Miami University**

24-7 **OBSTRUCTION AND LEGISLATIVE POLITICS**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30
Chair **Larry Evans, The College of William & Mary**
Paper **Transforming Senatorial Courtesy**
Sarah Binder, George Washington University
 Overview: This paper examines the origins and impact of the Senate's "blue slip," a procedure that empowers home state senators during the confirmation process for federal judges. I offer alternative explanations for the creation of the blue slip, and use Senate archival records to test the rival accounts.

Paper **Shifting Pivots: Cloture Rules and Legislative Outcomes in the Nebraska Legislature**
Scott Cody, University of Iowa
 Overview: This paper examines the effects of institutional rules on legislative behavior. Krehbiel's (1998) pivotal politics model provides expectations of the occurrence of gridlock based on the number of members needed to invoke cloture. Nebraska serves as an excellent "natural experiment", having created a cloture mechanism in 1992, and sheds light on the importance of rules of debate.

Paper **From Strom Thurmond to Jesse Helms: Transaction Costs and Filibustering in the Senate**
Gregory Koger, University of Montana
Kathleen Bawn, University of California, Los Angeles
 Overview: We analyze the effects of significant but understudied changes in Senate decision-making: the use of double-tracking (setting aside filibustered bills) and the development of the hold system for transmitting filibuster threats. Both these practices began around 1970 and significantly the effort required to filibuster legislation. We trace their origins and then test the hypothesis that lowering the costs of obstruction caused an increase in Senate filibustering.

Disc. **Larry Evans, The College of William & Mary**
Douglas Dion, University of Iowa

24-17 **LEGISLATIVE STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30
Chair **Christopher Kam, University of South Carolina**
Paper **Legislative Efficiency in the Czech Parliament**
Adriana Bejan, University of California, San Diego
 Overview: I hypothesize that legislative efficiency in the Czech parliament is a function of the closed list proportional representation system - where legislative efficiency is defined as the ability of the governing party or parties to control the agenda - namely to pass desired legislation (positive agenda control) and prevent unwanted legislation from passing (negative agenda control). I test this hypothesis using lower Chamber plenary session roll call votes from 1996 to present - uncovering the significant relationship between party unity scores and agenda control. I find that the Czech closed proportional representation electoral rules that enable party leaders to better control the agenda help increase the legislative efficiency of the governing parties.

Paper **Regional Parties, National Instability: The Effect of Regional Parties on Government Stability**
Dawn Brancati, Princeton University
 Overview: TBA

Paper **Institutional Reform and Legislative Behavior: The Case of Italy**
Carolyn Forestiere, *Emory University*
 Overview: This paper explores the relationship between institutional change and legislative behavior in Italy. Recent institutional modifications were designed to increase the executive's ability to protect the content of its legislation in parliament and to increase parliament's ability to provide stable and consistent majorities. To what extent these goals have been realized is the topic of this paper. Positive findings will provide evidence that institutional reform leads to tangible outcomes in legislative settings.

Disc. **Irina S. Khmelko**, *Indiana University*
Christopher Kam, *University of South Carolina*

25-1 **STEPPING ON AND CLIMBING THE LADDER: CANDIDATE EMERGENCE AND AMBITION**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30
Chair **Linda Fowler**, *Dartmouth University*
Paper **Candidate Emergence in Congressional Elections, 1976-2002**
Charles B. Arnold, *University of Oklahoma*
Larycia A. Hawkins, *University of Oklahoma*
 Overview: Candidate emergence studies often attempt to understand the factors that determine the conditions under which a quality candidate will surface without exploring the characteristics that make up a quality candidate. With the employment of a properly specified, empirically justified measure of candidate quality, our knowledge of the factors by which a quality candidate will emerge may be improved. The purpose of this paper, using data from open seat House elections from 1974 – 2002, will be to update the literature on candidate emergence by analyzing the conditions that enhance the probability that those quality candidates will emerge.

Paper **The Impact of Congressional Redistricting on Candidate Emergence in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1962-2002**
Jamie L. Carson, *Florida International University*
Michael H. Crespin, *Michigan State University*
Charles J. Finocchiaro, *University at Buffalo*
David W. Rohde, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: Building on the existing literature demonstrating that experienced candidates emerge when conditions are more favorable to their likelihood of success, we theorize that candidate emergence is also a function of underlying changes in the constituency resulting from redistricting. We expect that incumbents representing seats that are dramatically altered through the redistricting process should be more likely to face an experienced challenger in the subsequent election if after redistricting, the incumbent is no longer a good 'match' for the district.

Paper **An Expected Utility Model of Gender and Candidate Emergence**
Sarah A. Fulton, *University of California, Davis*
 Overview: I explore male and female state legislators' decisions-to-run for Congress within an explicitly rational choice framework. Preliminary results suggest that female state legislators are more sensitive to the strategic environment, especially the probability of winning, than are male state legislators. In addition, I find preliminary support for the thesis that private commitments to children and spouses are a deterrent to female state legislators' pursuit of progressively higher office.

Paper **The Initial Run for Office: Decision Dynamics of Entering Electoral Politics**
Jennifer L. Lawless, *Brown University*
Richard L. Fox, *Union College*
 Overview: A critical component involved in evaluating the health of a democracy is the degree to which well positioned, politically astute citizens are willing to engage the political system and run for public office. The extant research pertaining to the candidate emergence process, however, virtually ignores citizens' initial decisions to run for office. Instead, political scientists tend to focus on candidates and office holders – all of

whom have already decided to run – and explore, retrospectively, the strategic nature of their political ambition. Although these studies shed light on the cost / benefit analyses candidates and office holders employ when deciding whether to enter specific races, seek higher office, or retire from politics altogether, they do not aid in our understanding of why certain people pursue elective positions in the first place. Based on the results from our Citizen Political Ambition Study – a national survey of nearly 3700 men and women in the four professions that most frequently precede a career in politics – this article provides the first empirical assessment of potential candidates' attitudes about seeking any local, state, or federal level political office. We employ literature on political participation and candidate emergence to develop and test several hypotheses concerning the factors that spur potential candidates to consider a candidacy. The results of this first systematic analysis of the initial decision to run for office indicate that race, gender, political socialization, and perceptions of the electoral environment serve as key predictors of who considers entering the electoral arena.

Paper **Lining up in a Circle? The Strategic Environment and Congressional Primary Competition in 2002**
Justin B. Taylor, *Ohio State University*

Overview: Moving beyond a focus on incumbency advantage, this paper develops a more general model of the forces that produce effective congressional primary competition. My theory seeks to explain when there will be effective primary competition as measured by the dispersion of voters. I report analyses of the 2002 congressional primaries based on a much wider view of the strategic and information environment that may affect potential candidates' decisions to run.

Disc. **Linda Fowler**, *Dartmouth University*

26-12 **NEW PERSPECTIVES ON UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT DECISION MAKING**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30
Chair **Susan Mezey**, *Loyola University*
Paper **Toward an Independent Measure of Supreme Court Ideology**

Corey A. Ditslear, *University of North Texas*
 Overview: Current measures of Supreme Court ideology suffer from either circularity or insufficiency of nuance in measurement. I propose a new measure which relies on the opinions concerning the ideology of the justices from a survey of experts in the field. The survey is designed to gauge and compare the ideology opinions of experts in political science, and law schools, as well as in the field practitioners who are members of the Supreme Court Bar.

Paper **A Spatial Model of Supreme Court Voting**
Kevin T. McGuire, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

Charles E. Smith, *University of Mississippi*
Gregory A. Caldeira, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: We challenge the conventional wisdom regarding how the Supreme Court makes decisions by proposing and testing a spatial model of voting on the Court. Our results strongly suggest that the justices make choices between two competing policy alternatives in ideological space. This finding leads us to question the results of most quantitative studies of the Court and to offer an alternative (and, we think, preferable) modeling strategy.

Paper **Mechanism of Motivated Reasoning? : A Look at the Separability of Preferences in Legal Decision Making**
Eileen Braman, *Ohio State University*

Overview: This study looks at the separability of preferences in cases involving multiple issues. In an experiment with law students I investigate whether decision-makers are able to separate their views on divisive policy matters from a seemingly neutral "threshold" decision they are asked to make. Participants were given a mock legal brief containing identical legal arguments on both sides of a standing dispute. Subjects' policy views were measured to test how they influenced the threshold decision.

Disc. **Jeffrey R. Lax**, *University of California, San Diego*
Chad M. King, *University of Texas at Dallas*

27-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE:**
CONSTITUTIONAL DECISION MAKING

Room TBA, TABLE 2, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30

Inf. Rnd. **Suspect Classifications and Judicial Policymaking**
David A. Lewis, *Frostburg State University*

Overview: Antonin Scalia and others have argued that the Supreme Court's recognition of suspect classifications has usurped authority properly belonging to politically accountable actors. This paper examines all suspect classification decisions between 1965 and 2003. I argue that these decisions tend to leave nonjudicial political actors with substantial discretion over the ends and means of public policy, and thus place only modest judicial constraints on the democratic process.

Inf. Rnd. **The Formation of Federalism: The Founders' Views of the Commerce Clause**

Michael R. Fine, *University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire*

Overview: The paper looks at Founder's views of the Commerce Clause from the Constitutional Convention, through the state ratifying conventions to the Marshall Court. It demonstrates the lack of early discussion of the controversies that would follow after the landmark case of *Gibbons v. Ogden*.

27-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: JUDICIAL**
DECISION MAKING

Room TBA, TABLE 3, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30

Inf. Rnd. **Getting Attention: Testing Competing Theories of Supreme Court Attentiveness to Issues**

Scott Peters, *University of Northern Iowa*

Overview: This paper builds an integrated model of Supreme Court attentiveness to issues that tests several competing theories across multiple issue areas.

Inf. Rnd. **Judicial Processing of Scientific Information: The Puzzle of State Variance**

Rebecca C. Harris, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Overview: Judicial gatekeeping decisions validate science for legal (political) purposes. Differential treatment by state jurisdictions has created an empirical puzzle where by state supreme courts vary in their validation of scientific information. The goal of this investigation is to explain the political conditions under which novel scientific evidence is accepted or rejected. Variance in validation patterns among state supreme courts is analyzed for the purpose of measuring hypothesized roles for legal, attitudinal, institutional, and organizational variables in judicial gatekeeping decisions. Specific case studies include: DNA Evidence, Polygraphs, rape trauma syndrome, and spectrograph analysis.

28-8 **POLITICAL CULTURE, SOCIAL CAPITAL**
AND RACE

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30

Chair **Richard C. Fording**, *University of Kentucky*

Paper **The Changing Political Subcultures of the United States**
Joel A. Lieske, *Cleveland State University*

Overview: This paper reports the results of updating my classification of American political subcultures using data on a standard set of indicators drawn from the 1980, 1990, and 2000 censuses and Glenmary religious surveys. It is part of a more comprehensive project to understand how regional subcultures develop in the United States, how they continue to evolve, and how they shape American society and politics. My preliminary results using 1990 data suggest that despite internal migration and the recent waves of new immigrants that entered the U. S. during the 1980s, the regional subcultures that I identified in an earlier published study have held largely in tack with two qualifications. First, an "Ethnic" subculture, largely rooted in the metropolitan Northeast, appears to have grown and expanded into a greater "European" subculture that now encompasses most of the counties that formerly were classified

as "Anglo-French." Second, the growing cluster of counties that comprise the "Rurban" subculture have grown even faster, possibly reflecting both internal migratory shifts and the arrival of new immigrants from Asia and Latin America. A more worrisome footnote to these early findings is the strong correlation I find between America's growing racial diversity and a growing inequality in the distribution of national income. Another is evidence that links this growing diversity to cutbacks in state funding for education and other social services.

Paper **The Democratic Paradox: Social Capital, Political Engagement and Governing Process**

Richard Braunstein, *University of South Dakota*

Elizabeth Smith, *University of South Dakota*

Overview: The current research studies the role democratic procedures play in the production of social capital. By examining the link between procedural democracy and social capital, we expect to gain insight to the practical import of social capital and to contribute to an ongoing dialogue on the nature of democratic association in the United States.

Paper **On the Sources and Origins of Social Capital**

Benjamin Radcliff, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: This paper examines and evaluates arguments about how, and in what way, various societal institutions foster higher levels of social capital across the industrial democracies and the American states.

Paper **Improving the Elazar Measure of Political Culture: Analysis of Results from 5-State Pilot Study**

Robert D. Brown, *University of Mississippi*

Harvey D. Palmer, *University of Mississippi*

Overview: In this paper, we reconsider the Elazar's measure of political culture and report on a preliminary effort to improve on this measure.

Paper **Community, Race, and Political Participation in America: Examining Social Capital and Social Diversity**

Rodney E. Hero, *Notre Dame University*

Caroline J. Tolbert, *Kent State University*

Overview: This research explores whether declining political engagement in American politics is the result of low civic engagement (social capital) or conversely high (and growing) racial and ethnic diversity.

Disc. **Richard C. Fording**, *University of Kentucky*

29-1 **ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN**
AMERICAN CITIES

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30

Chair **Anne F. Peterson**, *University of Washington, Bothell*

Paper **Implementing Tax Abatements: A Study Of Best Practices**

Laura A. Reese, *Wayne State University*

Heather L. Kahn, *Wayne State University*

Overview: This project will address the following research questions: 1) To what extent do cities in Michigan utilize the following practices in granting PA 198 tax abatements: Assessment of costs and benefits of tax abatements before granting an abatement; Attachment of strings or performance requirements to the award of tax abatements; and, Evaluation of the outcomes of abatements granted. 2) What kinds of municipalities in Michigan evidence the above best practice activities as part of their abatement decision process? 3) Have assessment practices changed over time? 4) How do municipalities go about these assessments? 5) What do municipal officials feel are the costs and benefits to their communities of using the above best practice activities?

Paper **When Boeing Landed in Chicago: Lessons for Regional Economic Development**

Joel S. Rast, *University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee*

Virginia Carlson, *The Brookings Institution*

Overview: This paper is a case study of the relocation of the Boeing Co. corporate headquarters from Seattle to Chicago in 2001. In March 2001, Boeing announced that it had short-listed three regions-Chicago, Dallas-Fort Worth, and Denver-for its new headquarters location. The paper examines how each of the three regions responded to Boeing's announcement, focusing in particular on questions of regional cohesion.

Paper	<p><u>Cultural Industries and Urban Redefinition: Stadium Development and the Policymaking Process in Chic</u> Costas Spirou, <i>National - Louis University</i> Larry Bennett, <i>DePaul University</i> Overview: The urban restructuring of the 70's - 80's placed cultural industries on the economic development agenda for many cities across the country. This paper assesses how Chicago's government responded to the (re)development efforts of three new stadiums - New Comiskey Park (1991), the United Center (1994), Soldier Field (2003), - and the installation of lights at Wrigley Field (1988). While developers succeeded in all cases, the varying government role reveals the inconsistencies of urban policymaking</p>	to identify the impact of state level political factors and bi-partisan controlled legislatures and gubernatorial bodies on the variation in deficiencies and nursing home compliance.
Paper	<p><u>Consequences of Tax Increment Financing in Houston: Testing Polycentric and Ecologic Explanations</u> Robert D. Thomas, <i>University of Houston</i> Toshiyuki Yuasa, <i>University of Houston</i> David W. Hawes, <i>HawesHill&Associates</i> Overview: TBA</p>	<p><u>Charity at the Deathbed: A Study of the Impacts of Public Funding Changes on Hospice Care</u> Julie Pietroborgo, <i>Southern Illinois University Edwardsville</i> Overview: Through a survey of hospices in six states, this study examined the degree to which nonprofit hospice organizations supported by the Medicare and Medicaid benefit have continued to provide charitable end-of-life care to the indigent in an era of diminished public funding; coping strategies that are being employed to deliver charitable care; and options available to the poor when hospice services are unavailable. Implications for future public policy in end-of-life care are considered.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Bargaining for Business: A Model of Local Economic Development Incentives</u> Richard C. Feiock, <i>Florida State University</i> Annette Steinacker, <i>Claremont Graduate University</i> Overview: This paper will apply the Nash bargaining model to development incentives negotiated between local governments and private firms. City and firm outside options, bargaining power, time preference, and risk aversion are specified. This bargaining approach is investigated through empirical analysis and theoretical modeling. Predictions of the model are tested with data collected from a national survey of development officials in all incorporated places over 10,000 within 12 selected metropolitan areas.</p>	<p><u>Medicare Prescription Drugs Debate: Policy Issues and Political Challenges</u> Sorina O. Vlaicu, <i>University of Western Ontario</i> Overview: This paper provides a detailed analysis of the debate on Medicare prescription drugs over three Congresses (106th to 108th). Methodologically, a modified Kingdonian framework will be used to study the specifics of the policy formulation process and to predict the most likely policy outcome. In addition to the three 'streams' defined by Kingdon—problem, policy, and political streams—particular attention will be given to the influence of public opinion and media coverage.</p>
Disc.	<p><u>George P. Lynch</u>, <i>Liberty Fund</i></p>	<p><u>Jenifer Cartland</u>, <i>Northwestern University</i></p>
30-1	<p><u>GRANDMA, GRANDPA AND PUBLIC POLICY</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30 Bruce Rocheleau, <i>Northern Illinois University</i></p>	<p><u>GENDER IN PUBLIC BUREAUCRACIES</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30 Anna Marie Schuh, <i>Roosevelt University</i></p>
Room		
Chair		
Paper	<p><u>Taking the Keys from Grandpa: Policy Diffusion Failure or Stealth Policy?</u> Elaine B. Sharp, <i>University of Kansas</i> Paul E. Johnson, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: This paper examines a failure of policy diffusion – the refusal of nearly all states to take up a stringent drivers license renewal policy for relicensing of older drivers, despite much evidence that older drivers have a much higher accident rate than any other group of drivers except the very youngest. The paper presents evidence that the adoption of such a policy innovation in Illinois has had the desired effects. We then explore alternative explanations for the cold shoulder that other states have given to this policy innovation.</p>	<p><u>Appraising Emotion Work: Determining whether Emotional Labor is Acknowledged in Public Service</u> Sharon H. Mastracci, <i>University of Illinois - Chicago</i> Meredith A. Newman, <i>University of Illinois - Springfield</i> Mary Ellen Guy, <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: Service work requires extensive amounts of emotional labor. This paper will explore this issue by examining performance appraisal instruments used to evaluate work performance in public service organizations.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Two Tails of Social Insurance for Long Term Care: Hawaii 1992 and 2002</u> Lawrence H. Nitz, <i>University of Hawaii</i> Overview: The State of Hawaii had been at the forefront of providing broad health coverage for its citizens For nearly three decades. In the early 1990s and in 2002, attempts to expand the logic of "coverage for all" from medical care to long term care for the frail elderly were submitted to the legislature. The 1992 bill, based on an income tax concept failed in conference committee. The 2002 bill passed, but was vetoed by the governor. The program, if enacted, would have been the first U.S. social insurance program in long term care for a broad population.</p>	<p><u>Gender and Emotional Labor in Public Organizations: An Empirical Examination of the Link to Performance</u> Kenneth J. Meier, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Kristin Wilson, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper demonstrates that emotional labor improves the performance of public organizations. The specific test relates the gender of employees to better interpersonal relations, better relationships with clientele and higher overall performance.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Nursing Home Regulations: Assessing the Influence that Bi-partisan Politics Has On Compliance</u> Lucinda M. Deason-Howell, <i>University of Akron</i> Overview: The Nursing Home Reform Act was adopted and implemented to improve the quality of care that residents receive. Yet, there is a great deal of variation in the average number of deficiencies cited by inspectors and the quality of care that residents receive. The goals of this study are:</p>	<p><u>Management Activity and Program Performance: Gender as Management Capital</u> Kenneth J. Meier, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Laurence J. O'Toole, <i>University of Georgia</i> Holly T. Goerdel, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Recurrent questions concerning the functions of public managers are not surprising given the growing interest in networks and network management. Building from a formal treatment of public management and performance, this study moves research forward by empirically investigating how the interaction of gender and management strategies influence organizational performance.</p>
Paper		<p><u>Lost and Found: Gender, Narrative, and the Construction of Knowledge in Public Administration</u> Lysa Burnier, <i>Ohio University</i> Overview: This paper examines the presence and absence of gender in the founding narrative of public administration by looking at the "story of Miss Burchfield."</p>
Disc.		<p><u>Karen M. Hult</u>, <i>Virginia Polytechnic Institute</i> Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, <i>University of Utah</i></p>
33-203	<p><u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: UNIVERSITIES AS SITES OF DEMOCRATIC AND CIVIC EDUCATION</u> TBA, TABLE 4, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30</p>	
Room		

Inf. Rnd. **Universities as Sites of Democratic and Civic Education**
Frank Plantan, *University of Pennsylvania*
 Overview: The Universities as Sites of Citizenship and Civic Responsibility Project, a research project that explores the actual activities of institutions of higher education that support democratic values and practices; assesses their dispositions and capabilities to promote democracy; and examines how the use of university resources can improve the contributions of higher education to democracy on the campus, and in the local community and wider society.

33-204 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE:
MULTICULTURALISM**

Room TBA, TABLE 5, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30

Inf. Rnd. **Mexicanizing the Melting Pot: Political Values and Acculturation in the Mexican Origin Population**
Rachel M. Gisselquist, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
Chappell Lawson, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
 Overview: In this paper, we draw on data from the Democracy through U.S. and Mexican Lenses Project and the Latino National Political Survey to probe competing arguments about differences in political values between Mexican immigrants, Mexican Americans, and the rest of the U.S. population. We find that some differences in political attitudes and behavior between the Mexican-origin population and other U.S. residents are small or evanescent. Other differences, however, persist even when demographic factors are taken into account. Our findings thus suggest certain remaining challenges for the political acculturation of Mexican immigrants

Inf. Rnd. **Embedded Political Cultures: Identifying Regional Cultures in Multi-National States.**

Ailsa Henderson, *Wilfrid Laurier University*

Overview: Evidence from the United States points to the existence of regional sub-cultures. This paper tests for the existence of such cultures in three multi-national States. The paper argues that cultural clusters operate across and within sub-State political boundaries and urges a conceptual distinction between political sub-cultures and regional variations of a dominant culture.

34-102 **ROUNDTABLE: TEACHING AT A
COMMUNITY COLLEGE**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30

Rndtbl. **Constance A. Mixon**, *City Colleges of Chicago*
Richard J. Kiefer, *Waubesa Community College*
Marilyn Gaar, *Johnson County Community College*
 Overview: What is it like to teach at a community college? This informal roundtable will address the rewards and challenges of teaching political science at a community college. Special attention will be paid to strategies for engaging students in the political process through service learning and hands-on simulated learning environments.

35-102 **ROUNDTABLE: GETTING TENURE:
STRATEGIES FOR SUCCESS**

Room PDR 9, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30

Chair **Claudine Gay**, *Stanford University*
Rndtbl. **Wendy Cho**, *University of Illinois, Urbana - Champaign*
Georgia Duerst-Lahti, *Beloit College*
Ann Lin, *University of Michigan*
Paula McClain, *Duke University*
Tali Mendelberg, *Princeton University*
Susan Welch, *Pennsylvania State University*
 Overview: This roundtable will discuss ways of smoothing the path toward tenure. Members of the roundtable will offer advice that reflects the perspectives of chairs and deans who mentor junior faculty and participate in tenure decisions as well as the experiences of faculty who have been recently tenured or will soon enter the review process.

36-1 **TEXTS AND SUBTEXTS: RHETORIC,
DRAMA, AND IRONY IN POLITICAL
PHILOSOPHY**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30

Chair **Jacqueline Pfeffer Merrill**, *St. John's College, Annapolis*
Paper **The Rhetorical Metaphysics of Two-Worlds in Plato's Republic, Book 5**

Darrell Dobbs, *Marquette University*

Overview: This paper examines the evidence for Socrates' rhetorical intention in presenting a "two-worlds" metaphysics in Book 5 of the Republic.

Paper **Divine Irony in Plato's EUTHYPHRO and Herodotus' HISTORIES**

Ann M.E. Ward, *University of Nevada-Las Vegas*

Overview: This paper explores the various beliefs concerning the divine's complex communication and contact with human beings and their world, as they are presented in Plato's EUTHYPHRO and Herodotus' HISTORIES. In the EUTHYPHRO, theologically based moral paralysis is contrasted with theologically based moral absolutism, both of which, but especially the latter, are eventually refuted by Socrates. Socrates points to a private philosophic way of life which pursues knowledge of the "ideas," such as the "idea" of the pious, rather than the pious itself. However, Herodotus, in his HISTORIES, points to an alternative to Socrates' stance toward to gods and the divine things, which allows not just for the free exercise of human rationality, but for noble action within the political sphere. This alternative requires understanding the ironic character of divine speech.

Paper **Plato's Dialectical Politics and Thomas More's Utopia**

Lisa P. Vetter, *American University*

Overview: This study explores the similarities between the dialectical approach to political life presented in Plato's dialogues, including the Republic, Statesman, and Laws, and Thomas More's Utopia. This comparison challenges literal interpretations of the works of both thinkers, and offers an alternative understanding of the relation between ancient political thought and humanism.

Disc. **Jacqueline Pfeffer Merrill**, *St. John's College, Annapolis*
Dustin Gish, *John Cabot University*

39-302 **POSTER SESSION: EMPIRICAL
IMPLICATIONS OF THEORETICAL
MODELS II**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 8:30

Poster **Duration of Coalition Bargaining: The Impact of Particularistic Politics**

Indridi H. Indridason, *University of Iceland*

Overview: present a model of bargaining under certainty to examine the effects that preferences over policy and office have on bargaining duration. I argue that cross-national incentives to pursue particularistic policies induce politicians willingness to accept policy compromises and consequently the bargaining duration. The hypotheses derived from the model are tested on sample coalition formation opportunities in 10 Western-European countries

Poster **Why Intervene? External Intervention in Civil Wars**
Stephen E. Gent, *University of Rochester*

Overview: This paper examines the decisions of major powers to intervene in civil wars. The implications of a game theoretic model are tested using statistical analysis of data on external interventions.

Poster **A Two-Step Strategy for the Analysis of Cross-National Public Opinion Data**

Karen J. Long, *University of Michigan*

Overview: I propose a two-step estimation strategy for the comparative analysis of political behavior that maintains the advantages of common practice in the discipline, while promoting greater attention to theoretical development and model specification.

- Poster** **Enlargement and Cooperation Within International Organizations**
Megan Shannon, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: How does enlargement affect cooperation within an international organization? This paper shows that the relationship between expansion and cooperation within international organizations is largely a function of uncertainty over how new members will part
- Poster** **The Effect of Networks on Interagency Coordination: A Computational Model**
Cheng-Lung Wang, *Florida State University*
 Overview: The proposed paper examines the formation of networks and its impact on the evolution of coordination among individuals. Results are expected to improve our understanding of dynamic co-evolution of networks and cooperation.
- Poster** **Electoral Competition, Veto Players, and Financial Stability in Developing World**
Wongi Choe, *University of Washington*
 Overview: This paper examines the ways in which electoral competition and institutional distribution of veto players in domestic politics influence the robustness of banking regulation and financial stability in developing world. I conduct a cross-section time-series multivariate logistic regression on a banking crisis data set for 60 developing countries from 1974 through 1997. I find that greater electoral competition is associated with less likelihood of banking crisis. I also find that the most dominant argument in the field of market reform that centralized executive power is most conducive for market reform does not hold in the case of banking regulation. The results indicate that greater political competition and political opening facilitates better financial policy management in emerging market economies in developing world. Given the ongoing theoretical debates on the public policy consequences of electoral competition and presence of multiple veto players, these findings have broad implications for research on the political determinants of policy outcomes in general and financial reform in particular
- Poster** **District Drawing, Partisan Bias, and Legislative Output**
Jason Reifler, *Duke University*
 Overview: This paper argues that the partisan bias that results from gerrymandering should be evaluated in legislative outcomes rather than perturbations of the seats-votes curve. Using the theory of Conditional Party Government, the paper shows that the majority party in a legislature may get better legislative outcomes manipulating the distribution of preferences of members and not maximizing the number of seats than simply by maximizing seats.
- Poster** **Bargaining Model of Coalition Maintenance**
Tatyana A. Karaman, *Princeton University*
 Overview: I propose the bargaining theory of coalition maintenance which views cabinet coalition maintenance as a process of continuous bargaining among coalition partners aimed at the resolution of disputes that may arise over a cabinet's lifespan. To formalize my arguments, I develop a Bayesian model of coalition bargaining. My purpose is to enrich the understanding of a coalition cabinet duration by focusing on the dynamics of inter-coalition bargaining. I am primarily interested in the effect of the institutional arrangement and the objectives of coalition partners upon bargaining outcomes.
- Poster** **Ideological Dimensions and Partisan Agenda Setting**
Jesse T. Richman, *Carnegie Mellon University*
 Overview: This paper develops and evaluates a model of party-influenced agenda selection that explains variation in the strength of the ideological left-right dimension in both the US Congress and the US state legislatures

Thursday, April 15 – 10:30 am – 12:15 pm

2-301 POSTER SESSION :COMPARATIVE POLITICS - INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30

Poster **The Struggle to Find a Binding Agreement on Fundamental Rights in the EU: The Treaty of Amsterdam and Beyond**
Donald D.A. Schaefer, *University of Washington*

Overview: This paper will argue that the recent changes in the European Union regarding fundamental rights have not gone far enough in that direction. After reviewing the changes before the Treaty of Amsterdam, it will next lay a foundation from which the more persuasive facts will allow a better understanding of why human/fundamental rights are so central to the European Court of Justice (ECJ).

Poster **Monarchy in the Modern World**

Martin Gruberg, *University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh*

Overview: The author examines whether monarchy, an age-old political form, is able to adapt successfully to the situations of the modern world. He will consider comparatively factors contributing to the vitality of the institution and factors tending to its demise.

Poster **A Comparative Analysis of Elite Foreign and Domestic Policy Beliefs in the United States and European Union**

Neil J. Mitchell, *University of New Mexico*

Kerry Herron, *Texas A&M University*

Hank Jenkins-Smith, *Texas A&M University*

Guy Whitten, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: This paper examines foreign and domestic policy preferences of elites in the United States and European Union. Building on the U.S. literature in this research area, the paper will probe the generality of earlier findings about the constraints and influences that shape elite policy preferences. The data are from an identical survey administered in sixteen different national settings (translated into French, German, and Italian) to scientific elite subsets of the population in 2002.

Poster **Measuring Democracy: The Inclusion of the Context**

Michael Stoiber, *University of Darmstadt*

Heidrun Abromeit, *University of Darmstadt*

Overview: Indices of democracy typically identify democracy with the set of institutions of government which have evolved in 'Western' representative political systems. But on the basis of this specific democratic model these indices produce an 'institutional fallacy' in measuring 'democratic quality', because they fail to take into account the respective (societal, institutional) context. In this paper we develop and test a new index based on this argument.

Poster **Two Sides of the Same Coin? Measuring Public Support and Opposition to Immigration in Canada**

Jessica Fortin, *McGill University*

Peter John Loewen, *University de Montreal*

Overview: We examine public opinion towards immigration in Canada, using the 2000 and 1997 Canadian Election Studies. The paper is modeled on Citrin, et al (1997)'s "Public Opinion Towards Immigration Reform." In contrast to them, we find negative personal retrospective economic evaluations are the principal factor causing opposition to immigration. Since we want to determine if the factors causing support are asymmetrical with oppositional factors, the use of a Multinomial Logit over an Ordered Probit is appropriate.

Disc. William Shaffer, *Purdue University*

3-4 ELECTORAL RULES AND ELECTORAL CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30

Chair Mark P. Jones, *Michigan State University*

Paper **Local Voting in 23 Democracies**

Scott Morgenstern, *Duke University*

Stephen M. Swindle, *Southeast Missouri State University*

Overview: This article measures, compares, and analyzes the degree to which local factors, be they candidate qualities or district characteristics, affect electoral politics. It applies Morgenstern and Potthoff's components of variance model to

57 parties or coalitions in order to measure the local vote, and then shows that the type of executive system (presidentialism/parliamentarism), ideological cohesion, and a country's ethnic heterogeneity combined with federalism are all strongly tied to the local vote patterns.

Paper **Electoral Rules as an Insurance Mechanism Against Defeats: What Are Risk-Averse Office Holders To Do?**
Patricio Navia, *New York University*

Overview: Once electoral rules that insured against electoral defeats are in place, will risk-averse office-holders have any incentives to change them in favor of rules where give voters greater influence? Using the case of Chile's unusual across the board 2-seat proportional representation system, I argue that once an electoral set of rules that successfully insures against electoral defeats is in place, there will not be enough support among legislators to change the status quo.

Paper **The Nationalization of Electoral Change in Latin America**

Marisa Kellam, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Eduardo Aleman, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: This paper examines the influence of national and local forces on voting behavior in Latin America. Using methods appropriate for analyzing compositional data (Tomz, Tucker and Wittenberg 2002), we adapt Bartels' (1998) model of electoral continuity and change to a multiparty framework. We measure the relative strength of national and subnational electoral forces across parties and elections in six Latin American countries in the current democratic period.

Disc. Mark P. Jones, *Michigan State University*

3-27 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DEVELOPMENT

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30

Chair Dwayne Woods, *Purdue University*

Paper **Political Regimes and Economic Growth: A Comparison of the Indian States**

Ira Parnerkar, *University of Chicago*

Overview: This paper develops a typology of democratic regimes in 15 states in India and explores the connections between regime type and economic growth in these states.

Paper **Identity in Democracy and the Politics of Poverty**

Dagfinnur Sveinbjornsson, *University of Michigan*

Overview: The paper examines the relationship between identity on the one hand and political engagement which aims to reduce capability poverty on the other. The working hypothesis, which remains to be empirically evaluated, is that an appreciation of identity and its functions in collective action offers an analytical key to explaining variations in capability poverty across institutional domains.

Paper **Rural Interests, Rural Control, and the Development of National Property Rights**

Robert P. Parks, *University of Texas at Austin*

Overview: Agricultural property rights in Algeria and Tunisia are the result of a dynamic negotiation process between the capital (and urban elites) and the agrarian periphery (and local notables) over the centralization or devolution of political and economic autonomy to or from the central government. This paper argues that resulting variation in political economic institutions created to control the countryside have been conditioned by several factors, including: the degree of colonial penetration; the degree of state and party penetration into the countryside in the post-colonial era; the type of rural organization and production (which largely condition the political and economic import of the rural elite and peasantry); and the relationship between the ruling party and rural elite.

Paper **Distribution of Investment Subsidies in Turkey: The Role of Politics**

Ozge Kemahlioglu, *Columbia University*

Overview: This paper seeks to explain how the level of electoral competition and the partisan composition of a district's representation in the national legislature and government affect the allocation of industrial subsidies to the private sector in the case of Turkey. I use district level data for the period between

1991 and 1997 and estimate a model with the negative binomial distribution, using maximum likelihood methods.
Disc. **Dwayne Woods**, *Purdue University*

4-7 **THE ECONOMY AND DEMOCRACY: CAUSES AND CONSTRAINTS**
Room TBA1, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30
Chair **Ross Burkhart**, *Boise State University*
Paper **Regime Shift: Economic Crises in Third Wave Democracies**
Julie I. Chernov, *University of Colorado-Boulder*
 Overview: This paper examines how economic crises affect third wave democracies. I argue economic crisis will not generate regime change but instead a regime shift—a movement among alternatives within the democratic structure. In order to test this hypothesis, I analyze the affects of economic crises on incumbent party re-election in Turkey, Poland, and the Philippines. I find that a robust correlation exists between economic crisis and regime shift.

Paper **Risks for Democratic Rule in Latin America: Growing Inequality, Social Unrest and Political Instability (Two "Contrasting" Experiences: Brazil and Venezuela)**
Guadalupe Correa-Cabrera, *New School University*
 Overview: The aim of the present paper is to propose an analytic framework to identify the major sources of recent social unrest and political instability in some countries of Latin America. Specifically, I wish to provide an alternative methodological schema and propose the use of new measures to determine under which conditions high levels of income inequality—or the “alleged” increasing income concentration after nearly two decades of structural economic reform—by fueling social discontent, could bring about political instability, thus constituting an important risk for democratic consolidation in the region. In order to elucidate the proposed relationships, I will briefly make reference to two quite interesting and, in some way, contrasting experiences: Brazil and Venezuela.

Paper **Trade Openness and Democratic Survival: An Empirical Investigation**
Mariana M. Sousa, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: Attributed to conventional wisdom is the belief that higher levels of international trade promote political stability and democracy. This paper explores the relationship between exposure to international trade and the prospects of democratic survival. Drawing on the evidence provided by the Przeworski et al 2000 data set, it assesses the conditions under which democracies are more likely to survive. The main finding is that trade openness negatively affects the prospects for democracy.

Paper **Bridging the Gap between Theories: Economic Crisis and Regime Change**
Charity D. Butcher, *Indiana University*
 Overview: This paper will explore the more specific role played by economic crisis in fostering regime change. First, the effects of economic crisis and other structural variables on general regime change are tested. Second, this paper considers the factors influencing the direction and degree of regime change. In addition, this paper uses economic crisis to bridge the gap between mobilization theories that rest on the idea of political opportunities and those that point toward relative deprivation.

Paper **Re-Conceptualizing the Social Requisites of Democracy: A Conditional Probability Analysis of Modernization Theory**
Ryan P. Kennedy, *Ohio State University*
 Overview: This paper re-conceptualizes the endogenous link between democracy and development, that development makes a democratic transition more likely, as a conditional probability problem, suggesting that, when a transition takes place, it is more likely to be democratic in more developed states. The paper shows how previous studies have been unable to properly test this proposition and goes on to test it using a sample of 348 transitions in 116 countries from 1950-2000.

Disc. **Karen L. Remmer**, *Duke University*

4-204 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PARTY INSTITUTIONALIZATION IN LATIN AMERICA**
Room TBA, TABLE 1, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30
Inf. Rnd. **Party Systems in Transition and the Value of Political Reform: Evidence from Colombia and Venezuela**
Erika Moreno, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: This research evaluates the effects of electoral and political reforms on the appearance of ‘new’ parties in congress through a formal test of district level congressional elections in Colombia and Venezuela from 1982 to 2000. This study offers insight into the value of political reforms in increasing the number of actors in the democratic process, without necessarily increasing the number of representational alternatives in either system.

Inf. Rnd. **Filling the Gap: Political Parties, Social Mobilization, and Political Stability**
Robin M. Laueremann, *Messiah College*
 Overview: This paper examines the validity of Huntington's gap hypothesis (1968) using political party institutionalization as the relevant measure of political institutionalization. The data collected on political parties (Janda 1980), pertains to the second wave of democracy in Latin America. Factor analysis is used to create multifaceted measures of hypothesis variables. These factor scores are used to assess the validity of the gap hypothesis using Ordinary Least Squares Regression. The strong results supporting the relevance of party institutionalization, given a relatively small n, encourage future systematic collection of data related party institutionalization in the more recent wave of democracy in Latin America.

4-205 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: FOLLOWING UP ON DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT (2000)**
Room TBA, TABLE 2, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30
Inf. Rnd. **Military-Presidential Nexus**
Jose Antonio Cheibub, *Yale University*
 Overview: In this paper we argue that there is a military connection in presidential regimes: countries where the military are strong tend to adopt presidential institutions when they democratize; presidential democracies, when they die, tend to be replaced by military, as opposed to civilian, dictatorships. The relatively high hazards faced by presidential democracies, therefore, originate not so much in the inherent features of presidentialism, as in the underlying conditions that make presidentialism possible. Once these conditions are taken into consideration, the differences in the survival rates of parliamentary and presidential regimes disappears.

Inf. Rnd. **Democratic Stability and Political Institutions: A Survival Analysis**
Boix Carles, *University of Chicago*
Adsera Alicia, *University of Illinois at Chicago*
 Overview: Using survival analysis techniques in a data set that covers all sovereign nations from 1850 to 1999, the paper develops and empirically tests the impact of political institutions (presidentialism, federalism and proportional representation) on the stability of democratic regimes, alone and in interaction with economic and social variables.

4-206 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: FORMAL THEORIES OF CITIZENS AND THE STATE**
Room TBA, TABLE 3, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30
Inf. Rnd. **Social Network Effects on the Likelihood and the Form of Revolt**
David A. Siegel, *Stanford University*
 Overview: I propose an agent-based model of citizenry and state that recovers such commonalities as the unexpectedness of revolution and its relative historical scarcity. Using this model, I explore interactions between social networks, oppressive state action, and revolt dynamics, illustrating the substantial effects each can have on the others. I find strong path dependency in

revolt behavior in segmented societies, while more connected ones exhibit greater robustness to violent government action.

Inf. Rnd. **Surviving Structural Change: Electoral Reform in the Face of Franchise Expansion**
Barbara Kinsey, *University of Central Florida*
Olga Shvetsova, *Duke University*
 Overview: This paper addresses the issue of endogenous choice of election laws, seeking to trace the evidence of strategic intent in the design of electoral reforms in European democracies in the early 20th century

5-1 **THE EUROPEAN UNION: INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30
Chair **Christian B. Jensen**, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Paper **Regional Integration and Social Purpose: The Construction of the European Community**
Daniel C. Thomas, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: study of the role of state and non-state actors in EU decision-making with regard to non-members' applications to join the community.

Paper **What Is behind the Copenhagen Façade? EU Enlargements History in the Light of the Evolution of the Conditionality Policies Applied by the Union**
Dimitry V. Kochenov, *Rijksuniversiteit Groningen*
 Overview: What is behind the Copenhagen façade? Did the Copenhagen criteria really play the role which they were officially supposed to play, being a tool in the hands of the impartial Commission and the general rules of the game for the enlargement process, or they only served a cover to justify decisions on exclusion of some countries from entering the Union?

Paper **A "Powerful" Parliament with Low Popularity: The European Parliament and the Limits of Post-national Democracy**
Isa Camyar, *Louisiana State University*
 Overview: The study inquires into the limits of the emerging post-national democracy within the framework of EU by looking at the relationship between the European Parliament being the first and the only directly elected supranational representative body and the people of Europe that it claims to represent.

Paper **Lessons from Philadelphia: The Convention on the Future of Europe in Historical Perspective**
Angelica M. Bernal, *Yale University*
 Overview: Originally established by the Laeken Declaration as a preparatory body for IGC 2004, the Convention on the Future of the European Union has emerged on its own right as a bold new political experiment, unique in its character as a deliberative process and in its substantive outcomes: a draft Constitutional Treaty for Europe. In this paper, I contrast the European Convention with another historical convention with which it has been most closely related to throughout its proceedings—the 1787 Federal Convention in Philadelphia. The important lessons that may be gleaned from a study of the dynamics, conflicts, failings, and successes of Philadelphia, this paper claims, will provide invaluable insights for current discussions and evaluations of the European Convention and a future European Constitution.

Paper **The Constitution of Europe: Conflicts, Compromises and Comparative Construction**
Timothy S. Boylan, *Winthrop University*
 Overview: This paper examines the key conflicts and compromises that have emerged from the July, 2003 European Union Constitution's draft text. It identifies parallels with the framing and ratification debates of America's founding period, and uses the most common modes of constitutional argument to evaluate the provisions, procedures and rights written into the EU document.

Disc. **Christian B. Jensen**, *University of California, Los Angeles*

6-2 **THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF POST-COMMUNIST REFORM**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30
Chair **Mikhail Filippov**, *Washington University*
Paper **Privatization Reform in Transitional Countries: New Institutional Analysis**
Olga A. Avdeyeva, *Purdue University*
 Overview: Privatization is a central element of the structural reform agenda in transitional countries. The task in these countries is not limited to assets transfer from public to private sphere. It should be accompanied by some important changes in political, economic, and institutional spheres. Why did some transitional countries succeed in their privatization reform, whereas others failed? This study adopts new institutionalist approach for explaining structural changes in transitional countries that could account for success of privatization reform. The findings of this study affirm the importance of democratic development, elimination of corruption, and the establishment of effective governance able to produce and enforce sound policies for successful realization of privatization reforms. This study uses cross-sectional analysis of privatization successes in 25 transitional countries of Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union.

Paper **Experimenting with Pension Reform in Central and Eastern Europe: Parties, Coalitions, and Policies**
Oana I. Armeanu, *University of Illinois at Urbana - Champaign*
 Overview: Faced with growing fiscal deficits of the public pension systems, many post-communist countries have embarked on neo-liberal type of pension reforms, with variable degrees of success. This study finds that factors such as the depth of the pension crisis and the strength of the international presence explain poorly the diversity of outcomes. Instead, it argues that institutional variables have the main explanatory power, in particular the susceptibility of the party system to the formation of pro-reform coalitions.

Paper **Neoliberalism's Ingenious Oversight: A Political Economy of Postcommunism**
Neil Abrams, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: Prevailing theories of postcommunist economic reform fail to sufficiently explain variations in the subsequent economic trajectories post-communist countries take. This paper attempts to correct for these shortcomings. It explains why firms in the Balkans and most of the former USSR remain subordinate to the arbitrary and unconstrained intervention of high level state officials and organized crime groups, while firms in East Central Europe and the Baltic states are largely independent of this force-wielding political realm.

Paper **Using the Stage Model of Policy-Making to Measure Economic Reform in the Transition Economies**
Petia Kostadinova, *University of Florida*
 Overview: This paper develops unbiased and replicable measures of economic reform. I use information published by international organizations, and in the news media, to develop measures for three aspects of economic reform, price liberalization, privatization, and institutional reform, for 26 former communist countries for 1976-2000 time period. While, these measures focus on the postcommunist countries, the proposed model is easily applicable to other regions and other policy processes.

Disc. **Andrew Barnes**, *Kent State University*

7-101 **ROUNDTABLE: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS: AUTHOR'S ROUNDTABLE WITH PATRICK JAMES**

Room TBA2, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30
Rndtbl. **Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier**, *Ohio State University*
Paul Diehl, *University of Illinois*
Randall Schweller, *Ohio State University*
Kevin Sweeney, *Ohio State University*
Patrick James, *University of Missouri*

Overview: International Relations and Scientific Progress contends that a theory focusing on the structure of the international system explains a wider and more interesting range of events in world politics than other theories. Such theorizing appears to be out of favor as the result of the apparent failure by structural realism, the most prominent system-level theory over the last two decades, on any number of fronts—most notably an inability to anticipate the ending of the Cold War and its aftermath. Patrick James puts forward a comprehensive and innovative theoretical work on paradigms in International Relations, which will be discussed.

8-14 **EFFECT OF IMF/WORLD BANK ON REFORMS AND POLICY OUTCOMES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30

Chair **Jonathan R. Strand, University of Nevada Las, Vegas**

Does the International Dimension Matter? Empirics on the Impact of Globalization and International Conditionality on Domestic Compensation

Wonik Kim, New York University

Overview: How do the international dimensions affect domestic compensation for economic insecurity? Many existing studies, the so-called 'compensation thesis,' have found that there is a strong and robust positive association between government welfare spending and globalization. They have argue that as the economic globalization becomes deeper, people get exposed to greater economic risks, which in turn leads them to demand more government's social protection. Another line of research, the 'conditionality thesis,' has claimed that government' autonomous choices are more directly truncated by the pressure of international organization. The governments that ratified on conventions related to social security of international organizations, such as ILO, tend to increase in their social expenditures. Contrary to both theses, this paper argues that the government's commitment to social protection depends on 1) the distribution of risks embedded in socio-economic configurations – whether a society is composed of homogeneous high-risk, homogeneous low-risk, or heterogeneous risk people, and 2) politically organized power of high-risk people. Using the panel data on unemployment benefits from 68 countries (that have the unemployment compensation scheme as of 2000) in 1946-2000, the paper demonstrates that the assumed but untested link between the globalization and risks is empirically unfounded. It further shows that once the distribution of risks and organized power are taken into account, the effect of international conditionality disappears, suggesting that the international conditionality is not a cause of the increase in the government's commitment to social protection.

The IMF and the Global Spread of Privatization Reforms

Nancy E. Brune, Yale University

Overview: This paper focuses on privatization and the effect that international financial institutions have on a country's decision to privatize. I argue that governments may need to send a signal to the markets that they are committed to economic reforms. Participation in IFI programs may provide the "commitment technology" to send a signal to investors. I develop my argument using a game-theoretic framework. I then empirically test the model using an original global privatization database that contains annual privatization data for 165 countries.

The World Bank's Impact on Health System Reforms: An Evaluation of Its Role in Eastern European Countries

Dagmar Radin, University of North Texas

Overview: In light of the reforms undertaken by the Eastern and Central European countries, most of the literature has focused on the effects and consequences of macroeconomic stabilization reforms, thereby neglecting the health care sector. This paper attempts to assess the relationship between funding from international organizations and the success of health care reforms.

A Voice Beyond the State: The Contribution of Accountability and Democratic Dialogue to IMF Policy Success.

Jodi M. Latham, McGill University

Overview: During the 1990's the neo-liberal economic programs implemented by the International Monetary Fund met with widely divergent results. While achieving relative success in certain states, in a significant number of others the institution's policies not only failed to rescue the country from financial crisis, they actually accentuated existing social and economic unrest. While certain scholars have attributed these failures to weak governance at the national level, many others have criticised the IMF for its focus upon a narrow set of pre-defined liberal market reforms that are inappropriate for developing states. This research seeks to move beyond the limitations of existent explanations to examine the influence of both national and international governance on policy making, and in doing call for a re-evaluation and democratisation of IMF policy making procedures.

Do IMF Programs Discipline Budget Deficit?

Hye Jee Cho, University of California, Los Angeles

Overview: Previous studies on the effect of IMF programs largely ignored the mechanisms by which IMF programs have the effects that they do on macroeconomic outcomes, and have attempted to assess whether IMF programs have been "effective" in achieving the broader macroeconomic objectives for which the policies are formulated. This study is intended to contribute to the literature by explaining the relationship between the IMF programs and policy conditions. Using a methodology which accounts for nonrandom selection into IMF programs to the question of the effect of IMF programs on the size of national governments' budget deficits.

Disc. **Jonathan R. Strand, University of Nevada Las, Vegas**

8-15 POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Room BURNHAM 5, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30

Chair **Dale Smith, Florida State University**

The End of Pluralism? The Implementation of Non-tariff Trade Policy in South Africa, 1994-2002

Jeffrey Drope, University of New Mexico

Overview: This paper examines a major counterpoint to recent trade liberalization: nations' vigorous introduction of non-tariff policies such as antidumping (AD) in the face of significant tariff reduction. While the preponderance of studies suggests that the particularistic demands of firms or sectors greatly condition trade protection, I assess whether or not the decision calculus guiding these trade policy decisions is also influenced by governments' considerations for broader development strategies. The theoretical framework and empirical analysis of the study focus specifically on South Africa because it has become the most aggressive user of non-tariff barriers in the last decade.

Paper First Do No Harm: The Effect of Trade Preferences on Developing Country Exports

Eric Reinhardt, Emory University

Caglar Ozden, World Bank

Overview: In perverse contrast to their nominal purpose, nonreciprocal trade preferences dampen a developing country's export performance, because the extra-legal and nonreciprocal structure of such preferences encourages protectionism on the part of both donor and beneficiary.

Paper The Political Determinants of Bilateral Trade

Mark A. Souva, Florida State University

Dale Smith, Florida State University

Overview: Research in political science indicates that political factors—e.g. alliance ties, democratic regimes—influence bilateral trade flows. This conclusion stems from adding political variables to a gravity model of trade, and finding that the political variables are statistically significant. We agree that politics matters, but that present research only offers limited support for this claim. Existing research does not fully account for the economic determinants of trade. For example, gravity models are best for explaining intra-industry trade between two capital-abundant states. Capital-abundant states, however, are

Paper	<p><u>The Water Weapon: And Ecologically Induced National Security Threat</u> Neda A. Zawahri, <i>University of Virginia</i> Overview: This paper examines the relationship between the environment and national security. It argues that the environment creates an interdependent and vulnerable relationship among states. This not only represents a national security threat, but it provides nations with the ability to imposes economic, political, and military losses on each other. The example of international rivers and the water weapon they bequeath to riparian states is used.</p>	Inf. Rnd.	<p><u>The Ties That Bind: The Role of Marriage in Partisan Identification</u> Amanda D. Williams, <i>University of Wisconsin</i> Overview: Using a multi-wave panel design this paper examines the influence that marriage, the most personal and political of inter-personal relationships, has on shaping and reaffirming political attitudes among partners.</p>
Paper	<p><u>A Necessary Collaboration: Nongovernmental Organizations, Peacekeepers, and Credible Military Force in Sierra Leone and East Timor</u> Michael G. Jackson, <i>Brown University</i> Overview: To be effective in humanitarian emergencies, NGOs require credible military force from peacekeepers to create secure environments to allow them to perform their missions. In two cases, Sierra Leone and East Timor, the quality of UK and Australian peacekeepers, defined as reputation, professionalism, effectiveness, lethality, and fair-mindedness, not the quantity of "blue helmet was the decisive factor in restoring order.</p>	12-7	<p><u>RECALLING CALIFORNIA: ELECTIONS IN THE GOLDEN STATE</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30 Michael P. McDonald, <i>George Mason University</i> <u>Recalling Elected Officials: The Incidence and Success of Recall Efforts as a Function of Institutional and Contextual Variables</u> Melissa C. Anderson, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: In the wake of the recent landmark recall of Governor Gray Davis of California, we are in the process of building a detailed cross-state and cross-office database of nationwide recall attempts that, in addition to recording the event details of each case, recognizes institutional and contextual variables as well. We hope to use these data to demonstrate relationships between institutional and contextual constraints and the incidence and success of recall petitions.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Causal Dynamics of Refugee Security</u> Benjamin M. Jensen, <i>American University</i> Overview: Examine the relationship between refugee flows and international security concerns.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Insert Your Bad Movie Pun Here: How Arnold Schwarzenegger Did It</u> Brian K. Arbour, <i>University of Texas at Austin</i> Danny Hayes, <i>University of Texas at Austin</i> Overview: The California recall election was as monumental as it was entertaining. In the end, a key question remains: How did Arnold win? We rely on network exit poll data to demonstrate that voters 1) saw the recall election as a two-way choice between Gov. Gray Davis and Schwarzenegger, and 2) saw the Schwarzenegger campaign as a vehicle for anti-establishment sentiment and a "throw-the-bum-out" attitude. Schwarzenegger thus benefited from turnout gains among those most disaffected with Davis and the political establishment.</p>
Paper	<p><u>U.N. Peacekeeping Operations in the Post-Cold War Era</u> Dongsuk Kim, <i>Creighton University</i> Overview: I explore the failure of U.N. peacekeeping operations that have been conducted in the post-Cold War era. I hypothesize that the more warring parties in a country possess lucrative natural resources, the more warring groups in a country are ethnically polarized, and the more insurgent parties a country has, the more the United Nations is unlikely to resolve civil conflict.</p>		
Disc.	<p>Theresa M. DeGeest, <i>University of Maryland, College Park</i></p>		
11-204	<p><u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE POLITICS OF THREAT PERCEPTION</u></p>	Paper	<p><u>Donkeys and Elephants, but No Circus: The 2003 California Recall</u> Wesley A. Hussey, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper will look at the effect of political parties on the 2003 California Gubernatorial recall election. Unlike many pundits and journalists, however, this paper argues the recall election was not a political circus, but an example of both political parties responding strategically and sensibly to an unexpected event. This project will look at the consequences of recalling the first governor in eighty-two years, and the implications for both state and national politics.</p>
Room	<p>TBA, TABLE 4, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30</p>	Paper	<p><u>Precinct Quality and Voter Turnout: Race, Income, and Civic Participation</u> Mara A. Marks, <i>Loyola Marymount University</i> Matt A. Barreto, <i>University of California, Irvine</i> Nathan D. Woods, <i>Claremont Graduate University</i> Overview: Using data from 500 randomly selected voting precincts, U.S. Census, and voter turnout data, the authors determine if polling place quality varies according to ethnic and class composition of the surrounding neighborhood. Specifically, the authors examine if polling places in predominantly low-income and non-white neighborhoods are less stable, harder to find, and more difficult to navigate than polling places in higher-income, predominantly white neighborhoods and if such differences impact voter turnout.</p>
Inf. Rnd.	<p><u>Perceptions of Threat and their Influence on Policy Preferences</u> Stanley Feldman, <i>Stony Brook University</i> Erin Cassese, <i>Stony Brook University</i> Overview: This study considers the interplay between situational and psychological determinants of perceived risk. The manner in which individuals perceive threat and use these perceptions as information in determining attitudes and policy preferences is explored using an experiment design in which levels threat and levels of trust in administration are manipulated.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Correlates of Electoral Fraud: A Quantitative Analysis of Fraud Cases in California</u> Frederick J. Boehmke, <i>University of Iowa</i> R. Michael Alvarez, <i>Caltech</i> Overview: In this paper we conduct a quantitative analysis of electoral fraud using data from California's 58 counties that cover the period 1994-2002. Our results provide strong evidence that the number of fraud cases is associated with competitiveness, ideology, race and population density.</p>
Inf. Rnd.	<p><u>Cueing Emotions and Identity: The Power of Group Threats in American Politics</u> Ted Brader, <i>University of Michigan</i> Nicholas Valentino, <i>University of Michigan</i> Elizabeth Suhay, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: We contribute to the growing body of research on emotion and mass politics by investigating the impact of threat cues in mass-mediated messages on attitudes toward immigration. We focus on the emotional responses these threats engender and their relationship to social identity. Our analysis draws on a series of experiments in which framing of the consequences of immigration, argument valence, and the implied skill-level and ethnic-racial identity of immigrants are varied.</p>	Disc.	<p>Michael P. McDonald, <i>George Mason University</i></p>
11-206	<p><u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE TIES THAT BIND: THE ROLE OF MARRIAGE IN PARTISAN IDENTIFICATION</u></p>		
Room	<p>TBA, TABLE 5, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30</p>		

13-13 PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE IRAQ WAR
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30
Chair Kent L. Tedin, *University of Houston*
Paper **Iraq, 9/11, and the War: Understanding Mass Belief in the Saddam-9/11 Nexus and Support for War**
Christopher N. Lawrence, *University of Mississippi*
Overview: Public opinion polls since the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States have shown an enduring belief that Saddam Hussein was at least partially responsible for those attacks, despite a lack of evidence tying him to them. This paper examines the sociological and psychological correlates of that belief and tests whether belief in the "Saddam-9/11 Nexus" affected public support for the war in Iraq.

Paper **Passion and Reason on the Road to War: Presidential Approval and Public Support for the Invasion of Iraq**
James N. Schubert, *Northern Illinois University*
Margaret A. Curran, *Stockton College*
Patrick Stewart, *Arkansas State University*
Overview: This paper applies the affective intelligence model of political judgment to explore the impact of attitudes toward Bush upon support for the pending invasion of Iraq, as of late February 2003. Based on survey responses, findings are that: (1) enthusiasm for Bush was strongly associated with hawkish attitudes, (2) anxiousness about Bush, even among his supporters was associated with receptivity to anti-war rhetoric, and (3) that enthusiasm and anxiousness interacted in their effects

Paper **Mass Media, the Internet and Public Opinion (Iraq War)**
Caroline J. Tolbert, *Kent State University*
Ramona S. McNeal, *Kent State University*
Overview: Researchers have long found that news coverage has at most a modest effect on public opinion due to the phenomena of selective perceptions. Selective perception is a phenomenon in which people perceive the same event differently because they have different beliefs and personal experiences. Page, Shapiro and Dempsey (1987) find that change in public opinion attributable to the news media is generally small. The media shapes the political agenda, but does not directly influence what people think, due to pre-existing beliefs and values. This research tests this theory of media influence on public opinion in a telecommunications era that now includes new media outlets such as the Internet and the trend toward corporation monopolization of the media industry.

Paper **It's Not What You Say But How You Say It: How the Bush Administration's Rhetoric in the Iraq Conflict Shifted Public Opinion**
Shana A. Kushner, *Princeton University*
Amy R. Gershkoff, *Princeton University*
Overview: We examine support for the Iraq war and suggest that it was high because the Bush administration convinced Americans of a link between Iraq and terrorism. A content analysis of Bush's speeches shows extensive use of the "Iraq as War on Terror" frame. Analysis of polling data from multiple sources shows that the public responded to this rhetoric with high levels of support, and the rhetoric can often be isolated as the causal reason.

Paper **The 2003 Presidential State of the Union Address at Two Points in Time**
Lynda Lee Kaid, *University of Florida*
Andrew Paul Williams, *University of Florida*
Kaye D. Trammell, *University of Florida*
Overview: This study examined the 2003 State of the Union Address from multiple perspectives. First, though the use of an experimental design, the researchers assessed the effects of the president's address on a group of more than 120 respondents, using a pre-posttest survey design, specifically measuring the effects the speech had on respondents' support for military action against Iraq. The second phase of this study focused on when the scandal broke over the 16 words that President Bush used, based on now-suspect British intelligence reports about Iraq's amassing of weapons of mass destruction

Disc. Kent L. Tedin, *University of Houston*

13-17 SPATIAL AND COMMUNITY EFFECTS ON SOCIAL CAPITAL
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30
Chair Philip Paolino, *University of North Texas*
Paper **Spatial Effects and Social Capital**
Thomas J. Rudolph, *University of Illinois*
Wendy Cho, *University of Illinois*
Overview: We employ recent advances in spatial econometrics to examine the extent to which communities' levels of social capital and political participation exhibit spatial patterns consistent with contagion or diffusion effects.

Paper **What You Do Depends on Where You Are: Community Heterogeneity and Participation**
David E. Campbell, *University of Notre Dame*
Overview: Does community-level heterogeneity ignite or extinguish participation? Some studies find the former, some the latter. This paper reconciles the seeming contradiction regarding the effect of heterogeneity on participation. It shows that civic activity, like volunteering, is facilitated in homogeneous places, while people are more likely to express political voice in communities that are heterogeneous. Furthermore, it demonstrates that the most theoretically coherent and analytically consistent type of heterogeneity is not racial or economic (the focus of the current literature). Instead, it is ideological heterogeneity.

Paper **Geographies of Trust**
Wendy M. Rahn, *University of Minnesota*
Kwang S. Yoon, *American Institutes for Research*
Overview: This paper uses a multi-community data set and hierarchical linear modeling techniques to test several different models about the impact of community characteristics, such as racial diversity and concentrated disadvantage, on individual-level beliefs about the trustworthiness of others.

Paper **Civic Engagement and Elite-Mass Policy Agenda Agreement in American Communities**
Kim Hill, *Texas A&M University*
Tetsuya Matsubayashi, *Texas A&M University*
Overview: This paper offers empirical tests of propositions from Putnam that higher levels of civic engagement in bonding and bridging associations are associated with public policy more responsive to mass preferences. The analyses are carried out for the American local communities originally studied by Verba and Nie in *Participation in America* and with data from that project that have been lost until they were reconstructed by the present authors.

Disc. Casey A. Klofstad, *Harvard University*

15-1 INNOVATIVE ANALYSES OF WOMEN AS ELECTORAL CANDIDATES
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30
Chair Janet K. Boles, *Marquette University*
Paper **Chances for Success: Examining Differences in Women's Congressional Candidacies**
Pamela M. Fiber, *California State University, Long Beach*
Overview: Scholarship on gender and elections has treated all female candidates in their respective incumbent, challenger and open seat races as similarly situated, obfuscating important differences in party, region and political experience and their impact on women's ability to compete both in fundraising and in the election. This paper provides an in-depth investigation of female Congressional candidates' fundraising and electoral contests.

Paper **Anything She Can Do, He Can Do Better? Gender Stereotyping and Prospects for Women's Electoral Success**
Jennifer L. Lawless, *Brown University*
Overview: Based on the results of a Knowledge Networks national random sample survey, this article offers the first empirical examination of the manner in which the current atmosphere of war might affect women candidates' electoral prospects. I find that citizens prefer men's leadership traits and characteristics, deem men more competent at legislating around issues of national security and military crises, and contend that men are superior to women at addressing the new obstacles

generated by the events of September 11th. As a result of this gender stereotyping, levels of willingness to support a qualified woman presidential candidate are lower than they have been for decades. These findings carry broad implications for the study of women and politics. If women fare as well as men when the political climate is dominated by issues that play to women's stereotypical strengths, but are disadvantaged when "men's issues" dominate the political agenda, then we must reconsider the conclusion that winning elections has nothing to do with the sex of the candidate.

Paper **Throwing Your Hat Out of the Ring: Negative Recruitment and the Gender Imbalance in Political Office**

David Niven, *Florida Atlantic University*

Overview: Why more women do not seek political office has proven to be a daunting question to answer. Using data based on the experiences of near-candidates; people who decided to run for office then decided against it; this study offers a rare perspective on the efforts of political elites to discourage the candidacies of disfavored individuals, and the resulting disproportionate loss of potential women candidates.

Paper **Electing Women as a Political Innovation**

Heather L. Ondercin, *Pennsylvania State University*

Susan Welch, *Pennsylvania State*

Overview: Our study provides a longitudinal perspective on the constituency factors promoting the election of women to office. Focusing on congressional races in the 1990s, we explore a variety of hypotheses to explain why, over time, some districts are more likely to elect women than are others. Viewing the election of women as a political innovation, we examine the likelihood of women's election in light of factors thought to promote political innovation.

Paper **Gender and Patriotism in 2002 Congressional Campaigns**

Patricia Strach, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Virginia Sapiro, *University of Wisconsin - Madison*

Overview: Using a unique data source, which captures all campaign ads run in the top 100 media markets in 2002, we analyze the influence of gender on campaign advertising at a highpoint of American patriotism, the 2002 election. We test hypotheses about the gendered nature of patriotism by evaluating similarities and differences in the political advertising of men and women running for office.

Disc. **Kira Sanbonmatsu**, *Ohio State University*

15-2 **GENDER EQUITY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30

Chair **Kathleen A. Montgomery**, *Illinois Wesleyan University*

Paper **Islamic Women & Democratic Theory in Egypt: A Revision of United Nations Development Index Indicators**

Sonia Alianak, *University of Texas, Pan American*

Overview: An analysis and revision of the United Nations Development Index Indicators for empowerment of women in terms of Islamic Culture and Democratic Theory in Egypt.

Paper **A Global Paradigm on Death Penalty: Accounting for International Variance Through a Feminist Perspective**

Jennifer S. Guon, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: The goal of this paper is to answer the question, "Why have certain countries chosen to abolish the death penalty while others have adopted differing policies such as retaining the death penalty?" In looking at precedent literature regarding women's psychology and how this affects policy, this paper proposes a strong theoretical connection can be hypothesized between the percent of women in legislature and death penalty policies.

Paper **Adjudication in Public and Private: Women's Struggles and Agency in State and Non State Legal Arenas**

Gopika S. Solanki, *McGill University*

Overview: The paper examines state-community negotiations at the interface of family laws, i.e., laws regulating family relations, and assesses its impact on women's rights within the family in India. The paper focuses on women's agency in challenging patriarchy in state-run as well as community-governed legal institutions.

Paper **Women's Group Mobilization in Uruguay**

Erica Townsend-Bell, *Washington University in St Louis*

Overview: This project will consider on one potential cause of the variety of social movement outcomes with a focus on women's group interaction both with one another and the state. I posit that the extent of this interaction may be due to a number of reasons, including historical understandings of what constitutes a reasonable base from which to claim greater representation, including race, class, and gender.

Disc. **Catherine Warrick**, *American University*

16-1 **INTRA RACE RELATIONS: CONFLICT AND COOPERATION I**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30

Chair **Fred Slocum**, *Minnesota State University, Mankato*

Paper **Whiter the Black-White Paradigm in the South?: Race, Immigration, and Intergroup Relations**

Paula D. McClain, *Duke University*

Niambi C. Carter, *Duke University*

James Alan Kendrick, *St. Augustine's College*

Monique L. Lyle, *Duke University*

Thomas J. Scott, *Duke University*

Victoria M. DeFancesco, *Duke University*

Jeffrey D. Grynawski, *University of Chicago*

Jason A. Johnson, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Gerald Lackey, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Overview: The population makeup of Southern cities has changed dramatically since 1990 as a result of Latino immigration—the percentage of Latino inhabitants in North Carolina has increased by nearly 500% since that date. Using a carefully crafted pilot study of whites, African Americans, and Latinos in Durham, NC, we inquire as to the nature of inter-group relations in the South amid this massive demographic change. Using data from a survey of Durham, NC residents, we address several questions about the changing nature of Southern politics as a result of Latino immigration.

Paper **African Americans & Hispanics in the 21st Century: Political Allies or Adversaries?**

Sharon L. Hill, *University of Tennessee, Chattanooga*

Overview: This paper examines the political relationship between African Americans and Hispanics in the U.S. While African Americans have been politically active for many years, Hispanics have only recently begun to make significant political strides. Three primary issues are explored: history of both groups in the U.S., grassroots movements that promote their agenda, and issues that unify and separate the two.

Recommendations are provided that may increase the opportunity for the two groups to emerge as political allies.

Paper **When Do Citizens Vote for Candidates from Races and Ethnicities Not Their Own? Evidence from a Survey of Latinos, African-Americans, and Anglos**

David L. Leal, *The University of Texas at Austin*

Overview: A key question in political participation research is whether citizens will vote for political candidates from racial and ethnic groups other than their own. This paper therefore uses a 2002 Texas post-election survey of 1,200 Latinos, African-Americans, and Anglos to assess the frequency and determinants of voting for candidates from different races and ethnicities. This unique election featured a Latino and Anglo running for governor and an African-American and Anglo running for the U.S. Senate.

Disc. **Fred Slocum**, *Minnesota State University, Mankato*

16-2 **INTRA RACE RELATIONS: CONFLICT AND COOPERATION II**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30

Chair **Manuel Avalos**, *Arizona State University*

Paper **Finding Common Ground: Exploring the Roots of Political Solidarity between African-Americans and Caribbean Blacks**

Alana C. Hackshaw, *University of Michigan*

Overview: Using focus group data and survey data, this paper examines the political significance of race within the African

	<p>American and Caribbean black communities and compares whether foreign born blacks and African Americans have significantly different perceptions of racial group interest.</p> <p>Paper <u>A Sea Change in California Racial Politics? The Curious Case of the 2003 Racial Data Initiative, Proposition 54</u> Daniel HoSang, <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: This paper examines the rise and fall of California Proposition 54, a measure sponsored by anti-affirmative action champion Ward Connerly that would have banned the state from collecting most race and ethnicity data about its residents. I examine the factors leading to the overwhelming defeat of the initiative and consider whether it signals an end to the polarizing racial politics witnessed in the state over the last decade.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Redistricting in a Multi-racial Context: Majority-Minority Districts and the Maximization of Substantive Representation for Blacks and Latinos in Congress</u> Christopher B. Mann, <i>Yale University</i> Andra Gillespie, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: Much of the literature on majority-minority districts has revolved around the electoral power and substantive representation of Blacks. However as American demographics have become more diverse, so has the racial makeup of majority-minority districts. We correct the omission of Hispanics from the majority-minority district literature. We estimate how to maximize electoral power and substantive representation for both Blacks and Hispanics.</p>	<p>Disc. Manuel Avalos, <i>Arizona State University</i></p>
<p>17-2</p>	<p>Room <u>INTERNATIONAL LAW AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30</p>	<p>Chair Gerald Gaus, <i>Tulane University</i></p>	<p>Paper <u>International Law and Crimes Against Humanity</u> Andrew Altman, <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: In this paper, I criticize the prevailing justifications for a system of international criminal law and present an alternative which provides a more secure moral foundation for international criminal norms that hold individuals liable for genocide and crimes against humanity.</p>
<p>Paper</p>	<p><u>International Law and Crimes Against Humanity</u> Larry May, <i>Washington University in St. Louis</i> Overview: In this paper I draw on my theoretical work on the normative foundations of international criminal law to investigate why, if at all, it could be plausibly maintained that killing by means of poisoning is unjustified, but that killing by means of bombing is justified, during war. If it is not because poisons cause greater pain, then it is hard to figure out why they should be treated differently than bombs in determining whether a war crime has been committed.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Is the US Double Standard on International Criminal Law Defensible?</u> Christopher H. Wellman, <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: TBA</p>	<p>Disc. Gerald Gaus, <i>Tulane University</i> Eric M. Rovie, <i>Washington University in St. Louis</i></p>
<p>18-2</p>	<p>Room <u>HEGEL</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30</p>	<p>Chair Kevin Anderson, <i>Purdue University</i></p>	<p>Paper <u>Hegel on Power in Politics</u> Tim Duvall, <i>St. John's University</i> Margaret de Jacquant Overview: Hegel on Power in Politics</p>
<p>Paper</p>	<p><u>Hegel: Abstract Right and Duties to Self</u> Maria G. Kowalski, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: The aim of this paper is to argue that Hegel's Philosophy of Right puts forth a particularly informative and provocative model of rights and duties which articulates the primacy of individual rights, including the right to freedom, in the justification of political institutions. Key to understanding Hegel's conception of freedom is his conception of rights as being grounded on the concept of free will, which constitutes a</p>	<p>Paper <u>Science Contra Politics: Why Hegel's Political Theory Fails to Complete His Larger Philosophical Project</u> Craig R. Ewasiuk, <i>Cornell University</i> Overview: I will show how Hegel's own dialectical method suggests that politics should not conclude his enquiry, which is evident if one tries to follow his method consistently. Humankind's problematic relationship to the material world seems to point to a final technological resolution to Hegel's dialectic. However, Hegel glosses over this possibility by making a premature move into a description of inter-subjective conflict, which is of course resolved politically. This mistake can be seen in the transition out of "force and the understanding" in the Phenomenology, as well as in the discussion of "quantity" in the Science of Logic.</p>	<p>Disc. Kevin Anderson, <i>Purdue University</i></p>
<p>19-1</p>	<p>Room <u>ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO CRITICAL THEORY</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30</p>	<p>Chair Gregory Bruce Smith, <i>Trinity College</i></p>	<p>Paper <u>Foucault's Genealogy and Habermas' Critique - Differing Ways out of the Dialectic of Enlightenment</u> Thomas Biebricher, <i>University of Florida</i> Overview: The paper argues that the critical enterprises of Habermas and Foucault share a common heritage. Both can be placed in the tradition of the Frankfurt School and the style of Critical Theory that is best exemplified by the Dialectic of Enlightenment. However, both modify certain elements of the approach of the latter and thereby invent differing styles of criticisms that have the ability to overcome the shortcomings of the self-defeating critique of Horkheimer/Adorno. While Habermas abandons the notion of an all-encompassing critique, Foucault reduces the knowledge claims of his genealogical critique. Far from being in a dichotomous relation, Habermas and Foucault are united in their status as differing heirs of Horkheimer and Adorno.</p>
<p>Paper</p>	<p><u>A Critical Theory for the Contemporary Age: Issues, Problems, and Possibilities for Meaningful Political Change</u> Shaun M. Gilligan, <i>University of Texas at Austin</i> Overview: Through briefly analyzing the particular novel aspects of the current era, this paper attempts to (re-)construct a critical theory equipped to describe, analyze, and critique contemporary society. I discuss how certain aspects of Marxism can be fruitfully included in this project, and how certain post-modern authors illuminate recent developments in culture, economics, society, and politics. Furthermore, I will note what opportunities for meaningful political change of the system can be suggested by this critical theory.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Technological Neutrality and the Political Challenges of Human Genomics</u> Jeffrey Alan Johnson, <i>Hendrix College</i> Overview: The Human Genome Project presents a host of political challenges, ranging from distributive justice to class structure to identity. This paper argues that the Human Genome Project incorporates many values into genomic technologies—and disregards others—because it fails to see technologies as value-laden, imposing through its implementation a set of values that are not always compatible with the values explicitly asserted by society. Political challenges emerge as conflicts between these sets of values.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Embodiment and Critical Theory</u> Julie D. Lane, <i>University of Texas at Austin</i> Overview: This paper argues that subordination of "body" in a Cartesian duality has drawn American culture and western political thought into problematic underlying contradictions whereby violent occurrences, such as rape, are treated as mental phenomena, despite the overwhelming role and presence of "body" in these events. I utilize Freud, Susan Bordo, and John Searle in seeking out potential ways to integrate the unknown, the physical "body", into critical theory.</p>

19-3
Room
Chair
Paper

CONTEMPORARY LIBERAL THEORY
TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30
Johnny L. Goldfinger, *Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis*
An Institutional Theory of Accommodation of Disagreement
Dimitri Landa, *New York University*
Overview: Contrary to the existing accounts, the epistemic argument for political neutrality and accommodation of disagreement cannot proceed from the fact of moral disagreement because the plausibility of epistemic inference from disagreement is mediated by a conjunction of institutions "on the ground" and morally complex individual choices regarding deliberative engagement. The proper form of the epistemic argument is institutional through and through: it sanctions principles of institutional design that minimize errors due to deliberative non-engagement.

Paper
How Complex is Complex Equality?
Robert Mayer, *Loyola University Chicago*
Overview: This paper shows that Michael Walzer's theory of complex equality is simpler than it claims to be. The distribution of many goods in Walzer's theory is determined by a principle of equal outcomes: the equalization of social burdens. This metric, I argue, is more attractive than egalitarian alternatives like welfare, resources or capabilities.

Paper
Motive Matters: Liberalism and Insincerity
Michael Neblo, *Ohio State University*
Overview: John Rawls's theory of political liberalism, is uniquely and gravely vulnerable to the threat insincerity and hypocrisy pose for liberal theory. To see this, we must juxtapose the two leading ideas of political liberalism: the sufficiency of public reason and a commitment to accommodating reasonable disagreement. Doing so creates an immediate problem. How should we deal with the likelihood that, when people take up defensible positions on matters about which reasonable people could disagree, for many, their true reasons for doing so are nonetheless unreasonable?

Paper
The Problem of Decision-Making: Justice vs. Rationality
Peter C. Stone, *Stanford University*
Overview: Both rationality and justice may prove indeterminate. When this happens, justice demands that no morally arbitrary reasons be used to resolve the indeterminacy. Therefore, only random selection, or an equivalent technique that eschews reasons altogether, can do justice in such cases. In contrast, rationality is compatible with, but does not demand, the eschewal of arbitrary reasons. It therefore can, but need not, employ random selection to resolve indeterminacies.

Disc.
Alexandra Kogl, *Northern Iowa University*

20-5
Room
Chair
Paper

BARGAINING MODELS IN LEGISLATURES
TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30
Tim Groseclose, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Bargaining Foundations of the Median Voter Theorem
John Duggan, *University of Rochester*
Seok-ju Cho, *University of Rochester*
Overview: We provide an "anti-folk theorem" result for a one-dimensional bargaining model based on Baron and Ferejohn's (1989) model of distributive politics. We prove that, as the agents become arbitrarily patient, the set of proposals that can be passed in any pure strategy subgame perfect equilibrium collapses to the median voter's ideal point. While we leave the possibility of some delay, we prove that the agents' equilibrium continuation payoffs converge to the utility from the median, so that delay, if it occurs, is inconsequential. We do not impose stationarity or any other refinements. This contrasts with the result for the distributive model that, as agents become patient, any division of the dollar can be supported as a subgame perfect equilibrium outcome, and it provides a strong game-theoretic foundation for Black's (1958) median voter theorem.

Paper
Open vs. Closed Rules in Budget Legislation: A Result and an Application
David M. Primo, *University of Rochester*
Overview: I solve a variant on Baron and Ferejohn's (1989) divide-the-dollar model, allowing for spending to vary rather than being prefixed, and demonstrate that under these conditions an open rule is almost always preferred to a closed rule by the legislature. This contrasts with previous results in the literature. I then apply this result to the study of budget rule enforcement in legislatures.

Paper
Bilateral Bargaining with Influential Audiences
Adam Meirowitz, *Princeton University*
Nolan McCarty, *Princeton University*
Overview: We consider institutions in which policy decisions are reached through bilateral bargaining, between agents that are accountable to separate audiences.

Disc.
Tim Groseclose, *University of California, Los Angeles*

22-16
Room
Chair
Paper

BEYOND "IDENTITY" VS. "CLASS": ORGANIZING AND ADVOCACY STRATEGIES OF WOMEN'S CIVIL RIGHTS, AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS
TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30
Maryann Barakso, *American University*
Advocacy at the Intersections: Women's, Racial Minority, and Economic Justice Interest Groups and Intersectional Policy Issues
Dara Z. Strolovitch, *University of Minnesota*
Overview: Using survey and interview data, I examine whether organizations that represent women, racial minorities and low-income people devote more resources to "identity" issues than to economic issues. I find that it is the size and power of the target group, rather than whether an issue is primarily economic or social, that determine levels of advocacy.

Paper
An Injury to One is an Injury to All? Moving Beyond the Dichotomy of Class v. Identity in the US Labor Movement
Dorian Warren, *Yale University*
Overview: This paper questions the dichotomy between identity and class. Using data from a survey of national labor unions and local unions in Chicago, supplemented by interviews, Warren examines how labor organizations deal with issues of race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality in their organizing, collective bargaining, and political activities. By looking empirically at the ways in which contemporary unions increasingly deal with these "identities" in their everyday activities, he argues that the sharp dichotomy of class and identity does not hold up. Instead, the relationships between class and identity are much more integrated and complex, and vary widely depending upon several conditions and factors.

Paper
The Development of Political Contacting and Coalition Formation in the Washington Community: Civil Rights During the Era of Segregation
Dianne Pinderhughes, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
Overview: This paper surveys the occasions when civil rights organizations testified in Congressional Hearings on Voting Rights issues, and evaluates their cooperation with each other in coalition activity. The paper seeks to gain some insight on how they established effective legislative coalitions, beginning with efforts in the 1930s and 1940s.

Paper
Race, Class and Labor Unions: Towards a Political-Institutional Understanding of Racism
Paul Frymer, *University of California, San Diego*
Overview: paper examines race manifestations in union certification elections. Unlike other elections in America, racial speech and conduct are closely regulated by the National Labor Relations Board in union elections. Analyzing the more than 60 cases that the Board has decided since 1950, I argue for an understanding of racism that moves beyond psychology and individual behavior and incorporates the role of institutions, power, and politics.

Paper	<p><u>Coalition Building Strategies in Community Organizing</u> Heidi Swarts, Syracuse University Overview: Compares how the political-organizational cultures of two kinds of broad-based community organizing-ACORN and faith-based community organizing-have approached the challenges faced by progressive social movements that seek to build a broad base when they try to recruit members across divisions of class, race, and religion. In particular, her paper takes up the tensions confronted by these movements when they appeal to identity-based movement constituencies while highlighting economic issues and appealing to likely constituents who are conservative on race/gender/sexuality. As they strive to build coalitions, they must confront longstanding tensions in American political culture and movements, such as reconciling pragmatic self-interest with transcendent values, and internal process with external results.</p>	<p>each perspective. Studies of gubernatorial popularity commonly reflect one of two shortcomings: data from a limited number of states and models that are underspecified. The Official Job Approval Project spearheaded by Beyle, Niemi, and Sigelman offers a solution to the first problem by providing nearly 2,000 cases spanning three decades and all 50 states for analysis. The second problem can be addressed with more comprehensive models, reflecting larger numbers of variables than are typically used. The results will provide a better indication of the factors affecting the approval of state chief executives.</p>
Disc.	Linda Williams, University of Maryland	Disc. Katherine Stewart, Brown University
23-9	<p><u>PRESIDENTIAL POPULARITY: CAUSES AND EFFECTS</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30 Room John B. Gilmour, College of William and Mary Paper <u>Terrorist Attacks and Presidential Approval from 1949-2002</u> Eugenia K. Guilmartin, United States Military Academy Overview: President George W. Bush experienced a sustained period of high approval ratings following September 11th, 2001. Is there a positive relationship between terrorist attacks and presidential popularity and do characteristics of terrorist attacks (e.g., location, tactic, lethality) have differential effects? I control for standard economic and political covariates in a WinASTSA lagged multiple regression to test hypotheses of attack lethality, domestic and international attacks, Mid Eastern terrorism, and terrorism post-9/11.</p>	<p><u>CONSTITUENCY RELATIONS</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30 Chair Susan Hammond, American University Paper <u>Serving Seniors: Examining State Legislator's Constituency Service for Older Adults</u> Sara A. Grove, Shippensburg University Overview: According to recent Census estimates, individuals aged 65 years and older make up approximately sixteen percent of the population in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Demographic projections suggest the senior population will increase approximately 32 percent over the next two decades. Returning to the tradition that began with the publication of Richard Fenno's book, <i>Home Style</i>, this paper examines how members of the Pennsylvania General Assembly approach constituency service for senior citizens. Using materials collected from members of the Pennsylvania General Assembly and interview data, this paper describes how state legislators approach the concerns of a politically-active constituency. Like Fenno's original work, the paper presents rich qualitative data regarding legislators' perceptions of their senior constituents, as well as quantitative assessments of support for legislation benefiting seniors and the number of senior residents and senior activists in state legislative districts.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Bush & Iraq: An Experiment on Salient Issues and Presidential Approval</u> Michael R. Wolf, Indiana University Purdue University, Fort Wayne David B. Holian, University of North Carolina, Greensboro Overview: Our experimental design assesses how information on a salient issue affects individual's assessment of the president's handling of the issue, while controlling for the collective public's opinion of presidential performance on the issue. This experiment complements earlier individual cross-sectional and macro-level findings. It is one section of a broader study on how the issue agenda helps to explain presidential approval.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Citizen Knowledge of Congress and its Members</u> Jeffery Mondak, Florida State University Edward Carmines, Indiana University Robert Huckfeldt, University of California, Davis Scot D. Schraufnagel, University of Central Florida, Daytona Beach Overview: This study draws on data from an extensive 2002 national survey on citizens' levels of knowledge about Congress and candidates for congressional office, and their attitudes toward Congress and its members. Knowledge levels in several domains are assessed in an effort to identify both the antecedents of knowledge about Congress and the consequences of variance in knowledge for citizens' attitudes toward Congress as an institution.</p>
Paper	<p><u>"Riding High": Presidential Responsiveness and Public Opinion Polling on Policy</u> Brandon Rottinghaus, Northwestern University Overview: Presidents are conditionally responsive to public opinion and generally do so when external political or economic events are working positively for them, such as when their approval ratings are higher, the Gross National Product (GNP) is growing, they garnered a higher percentage of the popular vote or when more of members of the president's party are in Congress. This phenomenon, codified into the political lexicon during the Reagan Presidency as "riding high," is shorthand for a White House strategy where the president simultaneously enhances personal popularity with the public and while a majority of the public agrees with the administration's policy choices.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Congressional Communication Strategies using Official World Wide Web Pages</u> Chapman B. Rackaway, Fort Hays State University Mark C. Bannister, Fort Hays State University Overview: What explains the variability of content among official World Wide Web pages for members of the United States Congress? Using demographic, electoral, and geographic data, authors examine the environment and influences on official Congressional web page content.</p>
Paper	<p><u>What Determines a Governor's Popularity? State versus National Factors Influencing Gubernatorial Approval</u> James D. King, University of Wyoming Jeffrey E. Cohen, Fordham University Overview: While public attitudes toward the president have been studied extensively, the popularity of state governors received relatively little attention. One tension in the literature on gubernatorial approval is whether state-level or national factors drive evaluations of the governor's performance in office. We propose a test of the state versus national factors debate by defining and testing comprehensive models reflect</p>	<p>Paper <u>The Work of Personal Staff in Four State Senates</u> Brian E. Russell, University of Tennessee Overview: My findings suggest that most of the work of personal staffers is not dedicated to constituency service. In addition, staffers in professional and citizen-professional legislatures prioritize their workloads differently. Offices in professional legislatures spend more time on constituency service, while offices in citizen-professional legislatures spend more time preparing and assisting their senator on the floor, working with the executive branch, and on administrative tasks at the expense of constituency service.</p>
		Disc. Susan Hammond, American University Lynne Gibson-Gleiber, East Carolina University

25-6 **REPRESENTATION IN REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY: VOTER INFLUENCE AND ACCOUNTABILITY**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30

Chair Clive S. Thomas, *University of Alaska, Juneau*

Paper **Legislative Productivity and Congressional Approval**

Matthew G. Jarvis, *University of California, Berkeley*

Overview: A central pillar of representative democracy is that elected officials are held accountable for their actions. This paper will examine the impact of the passage of major legislation on congressional approval. Concurrent research by the author indicates that while presidential approval is responsive to the production of the system, congressional approval is unaffected. This has implications for interbranch power dynamics as well as research on public opinion.

Paper **Constituency Ideology: From Measurement to Application**

Jeremy C. Pope, *Stanford University*

Matthew S. Levendusky, *Stanford University*

Overview: We use an improved measure of constituency ideology (at the House district level) to explore the influence of constituency attitudes on member behavior in several substantive areas.

Paper **Lies, Damned Lies, and Campaign Promises II: Environmental Protection Policy in Congress**

Evan J. Ringquist, *Indiana University*

Joe Aamidor, *Indiana University*

Overview: Using environmental policy as a test case, we examine the extent to which candidates for Congress keep their campaign promises once elected; whether campaign promises provide useful information to prospective voters; and whether the propensity to keep campaign promises varies systematically among members of Congress.

Paper **"Out of Step Out of Office" Revisited: The Electoral Consequences of Legislative Shrinking**

Alan E. Wiseman, *The Ohio State University*

Gregory A. Caldera, *Northwestern University*

Overview: We address recent work on the impact of congressional roll call records on electoral prospects and find that voters are not attentive to subtle changes in members' voting records across elections; but are aware of only large changes in voting patterns. More specifically, small deviations in the positions taken between congresses are not rewarded or punished at the polls in a manner consistent with the Downsian model of electoral politics; when members are significantly out of step with their constituents, voters take note and cast their votes accordingly. These results raise questions about the general responsiveness of representatives to their constituencies as well as concerns about appropriateness of the Downsian model in explaining electoral dynamics in U.S. House races.

Disc. **John McAdams, *Marquette University***

26-17 **THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT AS POLICY MAKER**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30

Chair **Lawrence Baum, *Ohio State University***

Paper **The Supreme Silence During War**

Jeffrey A. Segal, *Stony Brook University*

Lee Epstein, *Washington University*

Daniel Ho, *Harvard University*

Gary King, *Harvard University*

Overview: We examine whether the Supreme Court curtails civil rights and liberties during wartime that it might protect during peacetime. Using the best data available on the causes and outcomes of every civil rights and liberties case decided by the Supreme Court from 1941-2001, and with methods chosen and tuned especially for this problem, we demonstrate that when the country is at war, the probability that the Supreme Court upholds a civil rights or liberties claim drops by about 15 percent. This substantial effect appears to hold for a much broader range of cases than hypothesized even by its proponents. Our findings also challenge two widely asserted views of "learning" and "lingering" effects, which hold that courts have learned to protect greater levels of civil liberties

during each successive war, and that wartime decisions tend to linger in peacetime.

Paper **Judicial Impact: The Policy Consequences of the Reapportionment Revolution**

Jeffrey R. Lax, *University of California, San Diego*

Mathew D. McCubbins, *University of California, San Diego*

Overview: The Supreme Court's reapportionment decisions, beginning with Baker v. Carr (1962), reshaped the political landscape, setting in motion the most comprehensive changes in state legislative and congressional districts since the founding. We present evidence, using event study methods, that, as measured by market traders' reactions, the reapportionment decisions had large and wide-ranging policy consequences and thus demonstrate the power of the courts in policy-making.

Paper **The Dynamic Emergence and Evolution of Supreme Court Policy: Toward and Integration of Individual and Institutional Approaches to Judicial Decision-Making**

Barry W. Pyle, *Eastern Michigan University*

Richard L. Pacelle, *Georgia Southern University*

Overview: We develop a theoretical framework that captures the Supreme Court's policy-making process as an interplay between the individual goals of the justices, the reality of the Court as an institution and the influence of non-judicial actors. We envision a bifurcated process in which the policy goals of the individual justices and the court are expressed in individual cases and in sets of case that represent doctrinal development in a given area of the law.

Disc. **Lawrence Baum, *Ohio State University***

Craig Emmert, *Texas Tech University*

27-1 **CREATING CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS (Co-sponsored with Politics and History, see 32-8)**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30

Chair **Daniel Hoffman, *Johnson C Smith University***

Paper **Coordination and Constitutional Change**

Randall Calvert, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Overview: Uses the notion of coordination games to examine constitutional maintenance and constitutional change in the context of basic issues from the U.S. framing that, while partially resolved, continued to present constitutional ambiguities: the commerce clause; impeachments; state vs. federal powers; and foreign and military policy-making powers.

Paper **The Judicial Sanction of Executive Orders**

Graham G. Dodds, *The Brookings Institution*

Overview: My paper examines why and how the judiciary endorsed the presidential power to issue executive orders. I examine the text and context of a series of nineteenth century cases through which the judiciary sanctioned the president's ability to unilaterally make law, a power that presidents from then to now have utilized, with considerable political impact.

Paper **National Power in the Theory of the Constitution: The Founding Era**

James R. Rogers, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: This paper draws on historical sources and simple game theoretic models to demonstrate that, in recognizing the need to delegate additional power to the national government, the Constitution's framers were responding to the pathologies created by a small set of identifiable incentive structures that prevented states from coordinating to achieve their common interests. Identifying these incentive structures identifies a coherent and parsimonious theory that underlies the scope of power delegated by the U.S. Constitution to the national government.

Paper **The Politics of Articulation and the Reconstruction of Judicial Authority**

Keith E. Whittington, *Princeton University*

Overview: This paper will examine the political supports for the activist exercise of judicial review in American politics and consider the ways in which national political leaders over the course of American history have encouraged the growth of the judicial authority to define constitutional meaning. The paper

will show how even a "friendly" and "affiliated" judiciary can find opportunities to be constitutionally activist.

Disc. **Tom Keck**, *Syracuse University*

28-9 **PARTY ON: PARTIES AND POLITICAL AGENDAS IN THE AMERICAN STATES**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30
Chair **Daniel Smith**, *University of Florida*
Paper **Party Switching among Incumbent Southern Legislators, 1980-2003**
Antoine Yoshinaka, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: What factors lead to party switching in state legislatures? I offer a systematic aggregate analysis of party switching among incumbent state legislators in the South from 1980 to 2003. Results show that the incidence of party switching rises with increases in environmental stress associated with political, institutional, and economic shocks.

Paper **A New Look at the Republican Bias Hypothesis in Nonpartisan Elections**
Matthew J. Streb, *Loyola Marymount University*
Brian F. Schaffner, *Western Michigan University*
Gerald C. Wright, *Indiana University*
 Overview: Examining the conventional wisdom that the nonpartisan ballot favors Republican candidates, we analyze Nebraska and Kansas state legislative elections. We argue that nonpartisan elections do not have a Republican bias, but instead favor the minority party in an area by masking the candidates' party affiliations.

Paper **Policy Diffusion and the Nationalization of State Political Agendas**
Andrew Karch, *University of Texas at Austin*
 Overview: This paper demonstrates that state political agendas are often virtually identical. In seeking to explain differences in the timing of program adoption, most research on policy diffusion overlooks this overlap. This convergence is due to federal developments. The federal government, even when it does not act, has a systematic impact on state political agendas.

Disc. **Jonathan P. Euchner**, *Missouri Western State College*

28-11 **GOVERNANCE AND URBAN POLITICS**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30
Chair **Dennis Judd**, *University of Illinois at Chicago*
Paper **Line Dancing: Municipal Unification Across a State Border**
Daniel Levin, *University of Utah*
Bryan Thiriot, *University of Utah*
 Overview: This paper examines the full range of legal, political, economic, and social issues involved in when two border towns merge across a state line and assesses how state and local authority and state and local identity are both legally and culturally constructed.

Paper **Safety in Numbers: Collective Action and City Council Size**
Bertram Johnson, *Harvard University*
 Overview: An analysis of city council committee systems shows that committees succeed at collective good provision, as theories of institutions predict.

Paper **The Impact of Fluctuations in Intergovernmental Aid on Municipal and County Own Source Revenues, 1980-2000**
J. Edwin Benton, *University of South Florida*
 Overview: This paper seeks to determine the impact that reductions in federal aid have had on municipal and county revenue policy. First, it examines whether or not counties and municipalities have reduced their spending or have replaced federal aid with either more own-source revenue or state aid. Second, it seeks to identify different patterns of coping with reductions in federal aid--that is, counties versus municipalities and among these two types of full-service local governments

Paper **Representation and Local Policy: Relating Ideology to County-Level Policy Adoption**
Garrick L. Percival, *University of California, Riverside*
Martin Johnson, *University of California, Riverside*
Max Neiman, *University of California, Riverside*
 Overview: Scholars of comparative state politics have successfully used national survey data to create aggregate

measures of state-level ideology. These measures have shown that state-level political ideology has a profound affect on policy outputs and outcomes across a wide range of public policy issues. In this paper, we advance this logic farther, arguing that ideological variation within individual states also influences policy implemented at the local level. We develop and test measures of county-level ideology by disaggregating to the county-level statewide California Field Poll surveys conducted between 1990-1999. Using county-level measures of ideology, we show the influence that this more localized measure of political ideology has on a number of policy areas operating at the local level. We will conclude by highlighting other states with survey instruments capable of being used by state politics researchers to create other local ideological measures.

Disc. **Armando X. Mejia**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Jered B. Carr, *Wayne State University*

29-2 **RACE IN AMERICAN CITIES**
Room TBA0, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30
Chair **Ben Marquez**, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*
Paper **Blacks and Municipal Employment in the South**
James W. Button, *University of Florida*
Jason Gainous, *University of Florida*
Barbara A. Rienzo, *University of Florida*
 Overview: The employment of blacks in municipal jobs is a good indicator of the degree of racial equality at the local level. This comprehensive, longitudinal study explores black employment (total and in supervisory positions) in police, fire, recreation and public works departments in six representative southern cities in Florida over the time period 1960-2000.

Paper **Handcuffed by Race: The Spatial Consistency of the Racial Gap in Attitudes Towards the Police**
Daniel J. Hopkins, *Harvard University*
 Overview: This paper extends recent work on social capital by exploring governments' ability to build trust. Specifically, it examines community-level determinants of trust in the police, and illustrates that the racial gap in attitudes towards the police is remarkably consistent across communities. Drawing on a survey of 11,010 respondents, the paper analyzes ordered probit models to show that trust-building policies including hiring a more diverse police force have only modest effects.

Paper **En Route to Aztlán: The Struggle of Mexicans for Political Spaces in New Yorktlan**
Alejandro Echegaray, *New School University*
 Overview: Some work has been written on the political incorporation of immigrants but very little scholarship has been produced on the Mexican-origin community, specifically in the New York City metro area. This paper seeks to fill this gap in the literature by studying how Mexican civic and religious associations in New York City have tried to incorporate their members into the American society. I will expound on the characteristics of the most notable Mexican NGO in New York, the Tepeyac Association, and explain which factors within this organization have encouraged a religiously based political mobilization. I contend that, as of today, the association's function as a political mobilizing agent is much more important than its spiritual role. I will go on to examine briefly some of the other Mexican organizations in New York City and their role in the incorporation of Mexicans into the American political system. Regarding the Tepeyac, I am interested in solving three puzzles. First, why has the Tepeyac, a religious association, had an unprecedented success in politically organizing Mexican-Americans and first generation Mexican immigrants (most of them undocumented) in New York City? Second, what are the incentives for Mexicans living in New York to join an association such as the Tepeyac and not other associations that could have more leverage within the American polity? And third, which other factors are promoting their political mobilization? Some of the factors that I will explore are the power of the New York Catholic Church, transnational immigration policies, the opening of the Mexican economy and the liberalization of the political system (a process that started in the mid 1980's and consolidated in the second half of the 1990's), the changing role of the Mexican Consulates and the

establishment of the Mexican Cultural Institutes throughout the US, and the newly formed Institute for Mexicans Living Abroad. Further, I am also interested in analyzing the role that other organizations in New York have in the process of political (or at least civic) incorporation of Mexicans into the American polity.

Disc. **Marion Orr**, *Brown University*

30-2 **FORESTS, WATER AND POLICY**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30

Chair **David L. Feldman**, *University of Tennessee*

Paper **The Politics of Accountability in National Forest Planning**

Nancy J. Manring, *Ohio University*

Overview: This paper examines the potential effects of community-based, collaborative national forest planning without a post-decisional appeals process on national, environmental stakeholders. The paper reviews the multiple conceptions of accountability, and explores what it means to be accountable to a national constituency. I argue that the focus on the community of place in collaborative planning, compounded by the loss of post-decisional appeals, undermines the democratic accountability of the national forest planning processes.

Paper **Transnational Water Quality and Subsistence Hunting: Modeling Interlocal Natural Resource Institutions Under Both Complex and Remote Conditions**

Amy L. Lovcraft, *University of Alaska Fairbanks*

Overview: Studies concerning North American environmental management tend to focus on either nation-to-nation agreements or the local contexts affected by such arrangements. There exist a series of transboundary commons that have developed bounded rule structures combining both local and international elements. Using institutional rational choice, this paper focuses on seven cases of localized transnational natural resource management by analyzing seven such interlocal organizations between Canada and the United States in the Great Lakes Basin and the Northwest, along the Alaskan border.

Paper **Political Dynamics of U. S. Water Policy**

Philip A. Mundo, *Drew University*

Overview: U. S. water policy is made by actors at all levels of government together, separately, in concert, and in conflict. Understanding water policy requires understanding the different political dynamics that characterize the work of these political actors.

Paper **An Institutional Analysis of the Washington State Forests and Fish Plan**

Shane D. Day, *Indiana University*

Overview: This paper examines the Washington State Forests and Fish Plan, a ground-breaking attempt at collaborative rule making and self regulation in response to the Endangered Species Act listing of Pacific Northwest salmon. The Institutional Analysis and Development Framework (IAD) is used to explain the logic behind the State's regulatory approach, and to examine the policy implications of collaborative rulemaking, "voluntary" self-regulation, and third party enforcement.

Disc. **Dorothy M. Daley**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

30-102 **ROUNDTABLE: WHY IS IT SO HARD TO TEACH PUBLIC POLICY TO SOPHOMORES? (Co-sponsored with Teaching Political Science, see 34-104)**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30

Chair **Paul J. Culhane**, *Northern Illinois University*

James T. Anderson, *Texas A&M University*

William T. Gormley, *Georgetown University*

Michael E. Kraft, *University of Wisconsin at Green Bay*

Joseph Stewart, *University of New Mexico*

Overview: Authors of two leading and two newer public policy textbooks debate the optimum approach to teaching the introductory undergraduate public policy course. How can one balance presentation of disparate policy theories or frameworks with satisfactory descriptions of a half-dozen or more complex

policy arenas? James Anderson is co-author of *Public Policymaking: An Introduction*. William Gormley is co-author of *Politics and Public Policy*. Michael Kraft is co-author of *Public Policy: Politics, Analysis, and Alternatives*. Joseph Stewart is co-author of *Public Policy: An Evolutionary Approach*

31-2 **POLITICAL MANAGEMENT IN THE U.S. EXECUTIVE**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30

Chair **Charles E. Walcott**, *Virginia Tech*

Paper **The Government Performance and Results Act and its Effects on Careerist and Political Appointee Relationships**

Dana Michael Harsell, *Syracuse University*

Overview: The Government Performance and Results Act of 1993 is a recent legislative effort to improve the performance outcomes of federal agencies. Although GPRA's statutory requirements fail to adequately address inequities that contribute to the long-standing tensions between career managers and political appointees, certain aspects of GPRA may help reduce barriers and promote comity between political appointees and career managers. The author evaluates GPRA's subtle effects on these relationships through case studies of three federal agencies.

Paper **Political Appointees and the Competence of Federal Program Management**

David E. Lewis, *Princeton University*

John B. Gilmour, *The College of William & Mary*

Overview: In this paper we use the Bush Administration's management grades to analyze whether programs administered by senior executives (SES) are better managed than those administered by political appointees requiring Senate confirmation (PAS). We find that political appointee-run programs earn systematically lower grades in most management areas.

Paper **The President's Management Agenda: Projecting Its Success**

Margo Bailey, *American University*

Lorenda A. Naylor, *American University*

Overview: The purpose of this research is three-fold. First, it assesses the President's Management Agenda and its five government-wide goals. Second, the PMA's two performance measurements, Executive Agency Scorecards and the Program Assessment Rating Tool, are evaluated and analyzed for their capacity to accurately measure government performance. Third, the PMA is evaluated within the context of a separation of powers framework and addresses the ramifications for failing to include Congress in the reform.

Paper **Information and Institutional Control of Bureaucratic Rulemaking**

Brandy M. Durham, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: One of the primary ways that agencies are able to resist control from Congress and the president is through the use of information. Because of an information asymmetry that exists between the agent and the principal, agents are able to shirk and act in their own interest rather than in the interest of the principals. However, if the principals require, through contractual reporting requirements, more information, control of agencies should be made easier. Rather than using enforcements or other traditional bureaucratic outputs to measure agency action, I focus of the ability of agencies to make policy through the rulemaking process. Rulemaking is an important bureaucratic output that has been virtually ignored in past scholarship. Further, rulemaking and the process that it entails involves both Congress and the president, and the dissemination of information. Presidents, using Executive Orders have begun to demand more information on agency action by using cost-benefit analysis to review rules proposed and finalized by every agency. Congress requires information through reports provided to oversight committees, and regular police patrol oversight. I have collected original data on changes in information requested and provided to the president and Congress (through Executive Orders and oversight) from 1974-2003 and will empirically

analyze the relationship between rulemaking as a bureaucratic output, and the attempts of Congress and the president to demand more information in order to exert control.

Disc. Bert A. Rockman, *Ohio State University*

33-101 **ROUNDTABLE: RICHARD MERELMAN'S PLURALISM AT YALE: THE CULTURE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN AMERICA**

Room PDR 9, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30

Rndtbl. Laura R. Olson, *Clemson University*
 Peter K. Eisinger, *Wayne State University*
 Roderick P. Hart, *University of Texas-Austin*
 David O. Sears, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Richard M. Merelman, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*
 Overview: This roundtable is designed to be a discussion of Richard M. Merelman's recent book on the Yale Political Science Department, *Pluralism at Yale: The Culture of Political Science in America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003). Commentators will share their reactions to the book and audience discussion will ensue.

34-5 **PROMOTING ASSESSMENT IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30

Chair John T. Ishiyama, *Truman State University*

Paper **A Retrospective View on Assessment Thirty Years Later: Lessons from a Successful Program**
 Candace C. Young, *Truman State University*
 Overview: Truman State University began assessing student learning in 1973. Through a combination of talented leadership and assessment, Truman State transformed itself from a regional comprehensive university to a nationally recognized, liberal arts and sciences university serving high ability students. In this paper, a brief overview of the university's transformation will be followed by a discussion of three enduring challenges campuses must successfully tackle if they are to create assessment programs that go beyond compliance efforts. First, a university must reach agreement on what its goals are. Second, the university must grapple with multiple views of the purposes of assessment and of appropriate measures for each of those purposes. And finally, the university must establish a culture that supports assessment, which requires the development of processes for faculty and student involvement and significant use of the data. Progress on these three challenges is likely to be uneven and incomplete. Even following tremendous successes, a university must continue to nurture its assessment culture. The assessment experience at Truman State confirms that assessment can be a useful tool for improving student learning and institutional effectiveness.

Paper **The Evolution of an Objectives-Based Curriculum and Assessment: The Millikin University Experience**
 Paul Folger, *Millikin University*
 Brian Posler, *Millikin University*
 Overview: The curriculum of the Department of Political Science at Millikin University has evolved tremendously over the past ten years. This paper describes the movement away from a "content only" to an "objectives-based" curriculum. We document shifts in culture and pedagogy within the department, interactions with key administrators outside the department, and the uses of a variety of assessment methods and new technologies which have provided both the impetus and grounding for curricular change. Finally, we will identify future challenges for our department in the area of student outcomes assessment.

Paper **Building a Culture of Assessment: Insights from Theory and Experience**
 Jeffrey Hill, *Northeastern Illinois University*
 Overview: At first glance, academic assessment is simply another request for more paper. But it goes well beyond the design of a plan or blueprint. Instead, assessment involves the much more difficult task of creating a new culture. Borrowing from both the experience of the Department of Political Science at Northeastern Illinois University and from the political science

literatures on cooperation and policy implementation, I describe the beginning of an assessment culture. I describe the steps taken to build trust and make the task some more tractable, the way commitment grew within the department, and the plan that was devised. I also review some current problem in the implementation of this plan, showing the vulnerability of an assessment culture in its early stages.

Disc. Linda Lopez, *American Political Science Association*
 Ardice Hartry, *MPR Associates Inc.*

40-1 **GLOBALISM, US HEGEMONY, AND RESISTANCE TO THE SAME**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 10:30

Chair John Bokina, *University of Texas - Pan American*

Paper **The Bush Doctrine and U.S. Hegemony: Continuity and Change**

Joseph G. Peschek, *Hamline University*
 Overview: Two aspects of the politics of post-September 11 U.S. foreign policy are addressed. First, the development of an expansive Bush Doctrine, including an emphasis on preemptive or preventive war, is traced. Second, the revival of a positive discourse on U.S. empire and hegemony within policy and opinion circles is explored. This paper surveys and categorizes a range of interpretations of these developments that seek to explore elements of continuity and change in the foreign policy approach of the Bush administration. An argument is put forward about the importance of distinctive policy currents; within U.S. ruling circles. The development of the policy current associated with the Project for a New American Century is explored as a case in point.

Paper **Nationalism and National Movements in the Age of Globalization**

Berch Berberoglu, *University of Nevada, Reno*
 Overview: This paper addresses an important question that has come to dominate discussion and debate in political ideology in recent years -- nationalism. It examines the class nature of nationalism and national movements and provides an analysis of the dynamics and contradictions of leading national movements placed in historical perspectives.

Paper **Social Movement Resistance to Neoliberalism: The Zapatista Autonomy Movement in Chiapas, Mexico**
 Richard Stahler-Sholk, *Eastern Michigan University*

Overview: Neoliberal globalization has reduced the role of state intervention in global markets, reconfiguring state/society interactions at the domestic level. These new forms of politics create the possibility of "globalization from below," social movements that resist the logic and priorities of the global market by creating autonomous political structures from the grassroots up. This paper will examine the case of the Zapatista autonomy movement in Chiapas, Mexico, based on research in Zapatista communities since 1994.

Paper **Emergence of Child Rights Transnational Coalitions: The Critical Role of International Non-Governmental Organizations**

Heather D. Heckel, *Georgia State University*
 Overview: This study compares the emergence of the child soldiers and child sexual exploitation transnational coalitions. The project argues that existing theories of coalition emergence, including the boomerang and spiral models, are not sufficient for understanding the origins of child rights advocacy coalitions (Khagram, Riker, Sikkink 2002; Keck and Sikkink 1998). Using these child rights coalitions, I propose a new theory of emergence, highlighting the primary role of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs).

Disc. Jeffrey B. Freyman, *Transylvania University*

Thursday, April 15 – 1:30 pm – 3:15 pm

1-102 ROUNDTABLE: INEQUALITY AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Room PDR 9, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Chair Lawrence R. Jacobs, *University of Minnesota*

Rndtbl. Larry Bartels, *Princeton University*

Morris Fiorina, *Stanford University*

Suzanne Mettler, *Syracuse University*

Benjamin Page, *Northwestern University*

Theda Skocpol, *Harvard University*

Overview: Economic inequality has risen rapidly during the past three years, reinforcing and, in some case, expanding disparities in political voice and influence. The American Political Science Association's Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy has been working for over a year on a series of reports and will use this panel to discuss its current findings.

2-5 MICRO NATIONALISM, POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND PARTY STRATEGIES

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Chair Lee Ann Banaszak, *The Pennsylvania State University*

Paper Solutions that Backfire: Linguistic Conflict and the Transformation of Constitutional Politics in Canada and Belgium

Kirk Buckman, *Catholic University of America*

Overview: Belgium's 1963 linguistic border and Canada's 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms were undertaken in response to growing demands for greater cultural protection, linguistic autonomy, and regional independence. Yet these initiatives exacerbated the very tensions they sought to defuse, provoking the transformation of party systems and opening constitutional questions that have yet to be resolved. In short, these constitutional efforts to resolve linguistic tensions backfired.

Paper The Rise of Separatist Nationalism within Liberal-Democratic States: Two Case Studies

Garth Stevenson, *Brock University*

Overview: This paper uses two cases, Quebec from 1960 to 1976 and Ireland from 1905 to 1918, to explore factors leading to the emergence of separatist nationalism within liberal-democratic states that contain national minorities.

Paper Decentralization of the Party System

Dawn Brancati, *Princeton University*

Overview: TBA

Paper Policy and Coalition Patterns in the Scottish Parliament

William R. Shaffer, *Purdue University*

Overview: This exploratory study seeks to (1) examine the unique impact of the system designed for the election of members of the new Scottish Parliament, (2) identify the broad dimensions of the substantive content of legislative initiatives, and (3) map the inter-party spatial relationships among the parties in the Scottish Parliament. These findings will be discussed in light of the expectation that the Scottish Parliament would be unique in British politics.

Disc. Jóhanna K. Birnir, *SUNY-Buffalo*

2-104 ROUNDTABLE: ANALYZING TIME-INVARIANT POLITICAL FACTORS WITH FIXED EFFECTS

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Rndtbl. Robin Best, *Binghamton University, SUNY*

Ian Budge, *University of Essex*

Michael McDonald, *Binghamton University, SUNY*

David Rueda, *Binghamton University - SUNY*

Yulia Tverdova, *Binghamton University - SUNY*

Hans Keman, *Vrije University*

Overview: Panelists will consider time-invariant political factors by adopting an integrated model of incumbent vote dynamics as well as an alternative to the absence of fixed effects.

3-2 CONTEMPORARY INDONESIAN POLITICS

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Chair Dwight Y. King, *Northern Illinois University*

Paper Decentralization, Political Participation, and Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia

Anies Baswedan, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: This paper discusses the interrelationships between decentralization, political participation and democracy in Indonesia.

Paper Development Issues and the Role of Religious Organizations in Indonesia

Jennifer L. Epley, *University of Michigan - Ann Arbor*

Overview: This paper is a preliminary exploration into the intersection of economics, religion, and politics with regards to development issues in Indonesia. This paper's hypothesis is that the Indonesian government often acts through and with religious organizations (and not as much or in the same ways as with secular civil society organizations) for economic and social development. Examples include family planning and education policy debates.

Paper An Analysis of Indonesia's Electoral Rules and Its Effects on Political Parties and Democratic Consolidation

Srie H. Ramli, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: The paper discusses the effects of the new electoral rules on political party system and democracy in Indonesia

Paper Regional Autonomy and Economic Reform: Indonesia's Privatization Experience

Cheng Wang, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: This paper is about the regional economy in Indonesia and its impact on the privatization

Disc. Dwight Y. King, *Northern Illinois University*

3-17 THE CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL ECONOMY OF MEXICO

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Chair Eric Magar, *ITAM*

Paper Electoral Competition, Participation, and the Quality of Government in Mexico

Matthew R. Cleary, *University of Chicago*

Overview: This paper shows that electoral competition does not improve the responsiveness of Mexican municipal governments, as many scholars would expect. Variation in responsiveness is better explained by the level of non-electoral participation in a given municipality. I offer theoretical explanations and empirical support for these propositions.

Paper Social Movement Resistance to Neoliberalism: The Zapatista Autonomy Movement in Chiapas, Mexico

Richard Stahler-Sholk, *Eastern Michigan University*

Overview: Neoliberal globalization has reduced the role of state intervention in global markets, reconfiguring state/society interactions at the domestic level. These new forms of politics create the possibility of "globalization from below," social movements that resist the logic and priorities of the global market by creating autonomous political structures from the grassroots up. This paper will examine the case of the Zapatista autonomy movement in Chiapas, Mexico, based on research in Zapatista communities since 1994.

Paper The Mexican Labor Law Reform Negotiations of 2001-2003: A Critical Case Study of Changes in State-Independent Labor Relations

Jean F. Mayer, *Concordia University*

Overview: There exists a contradiction between the current literature's assertions and recent patterns of relations between the state and independent labor in Mexico. My paper seeks to solve this analytical puzzle by conducting a critical case study that will test the literature's contentions. To this end, it will independent labor leaders and governmental representatives during the latest round of negotiations on the proposed reform to the Federal Labor Law.

Paper The Spatial Determinants of Pork: Evidence from Mexico

Jonathan T. Hiskey, *University of California, Riverside*

Overview: This paper identifies the spatial determinants of government spending strategies in Mexico, arguing that in many

instances the political impact of pork-barrel spending is realized not only among the beneficiaries, but also through the message sent to neighboring communities.

Disc. **Eric Magar, ITAM**

5-2 **THE EUROPEAN UNION: CHALLENGES OF ENLARGEMENT**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Chair TBA

Paper **The Baltic View on the EU Constitution**

Mykolas K. Cerniauskas, Groningen University

Overview: In my paper I will analyze the position of the Baltic States regarding their accession to the EU, in particular, their viewpoint on the EU Constitution as related to their own constitutional, societal and political values. Other questions that I am going to cover are the participation and influence of the Baltic States in the European Convention as well as in the following IGC.

Paper **Turkey and the EU: Perceptions and Challenges to Accession**

Galen A.T. Stocking, California State University San Bernardino

Overview: This paper discusses the myriad challenges facing Turkey as it argues for its inclusion in the European Union. Such a venture provides benefits to the Turks, benefits to current Europeans, and challenges and complications to both. In order to examine this, the paper courses through various issues from Cyprus to the death penalty.

Paper **TBA**

Melanie C. Smith, Belmont University

Overview: Enlargement of the European poses potential problems for the Common Agricultural Policy, especially in the case of Poland. This paper will evaluate the potential problems that Poland would have presented under old reforms and then examine the potential problems Poland poses under the new reforms, comparing the hypothetical effects in each scenario.

Paper **EU Legitimacy in the East: Gender Equity Regulations and EU Enlargement**

Leah S. Anderson, Wheaton College

Overview: My paper contributes to the academic and popular debates on EU legitimacy heightened by the dramatic ten-country European Union enlargement planned for May 2004. Through a case study of EU gender equity legislation in Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia I examine first how the EU translates its norms into domestic legislation in East Central European candidate countries and then assess what this means for EU legitimacy within these future member states.

Paper **Divide and Conquer: The EU Enlargement's Successful Conclusion?**

David L. Ellison, Grinnell College

Overview: The European Union's upcoming Eastern enlargement will grant membership to 8 former Communist states (2 additional states in 2007) and 2 Mediterranean states in May of 2004, thereby creating the largest single integrated economy in the world. How will this enlargement impact either the current Member or the New Member States? What will the impact of economic and political integration be on the less developed economies of Central and Eastern Europe, and the more advanced economies of the current EU club? More importantly perhaps, how does the EU institutional decision-making structure affect the ability of current and New Member states to affect the parameters of the enlargement process and the final Accession Treaty? I argue that the economic and political integration of more and less developed economies leads to the likely divergence of policy interests across states. Due to the potential role of "external" economies of scale, more advanced states are likely to favor the expansion of markets and the elimination of barriers to trade, while less advanced states are likely to prefer redistributional arrangements that will ensure they also benefit from economic and political integration. However, the Enlargement bargaining process is heavily weighted in favor of the EU Member states. This makes the potential distribution of benefits from economic and political

integration at best uneven and severely disadvantages the Central and East European countries and economies. Thus, the degree to which the far less developed Central and East European countries will benefit from this completed arrangement is at best questionable. Based in part on a series of interviews with officials from Hungary and the Czech Republic who participated in the EU membership negotiations, I demonstrate that while there may be some benefits to economic and political integration for the less developed economies, these are greatly overestimated in current studies. On the other hand, the more advanced economies of the core of Europe are likely to reap substantial benefits. This is above all true because the EU Member states have structured the accession agreement in ways that benefit them and place the primary burden of adjustment on the Central and East European countries. Moreover, the restructuring of the institutional decision-making process begun at Nice and continued with the recent European Convention and now the 2003 Intergovernmental Conference is likely to further cement this imbalance for years to come.

Disc. **Eric H. Hines, University of Iowa**

6-3 **INSTITUTIONAL CHOICE, CHANGE, AND EFFECTIVENESS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

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

Paper **Government Change in President-Parliamentary Regimes: The Case of Russia 1994-2003**

Petra Schleiter, University of Oxford

Edward Morgan-Jones, University of Oxford

Overview: This paper examines the causes of government change in Russia's President-Parliamentary regime (1994-2003) and assesses three views: 1) That the constitutional format of President-Parliamentary regimes causes government instability and conflict, 2) That Russia's constitution creates such a powerful presidency that the incumbent can decide government changes unchecked, 3) That government change is the result of an institutionally structured bargaining process, in which the capability and willingness of actors to use their constitutional powers is shaped by election results, policy and public opinion shocks and government performance.

Paper **The Institutions of Competition and Control in Post-Communism**

Graeme B. Robertson, Princeton University

Overview: Theories of interest intermediation in advanced industrial democracies have focused on a range of different ways in which organized labor is integrated into politics through such institutions as tripartite bargaining and labor based political parties. This paper shows how attempts to imitate such institutions in the post-Communist lead to unexpected outcomes in which unions are used as political resources by regional political elites both in their bargaining with national leaderships and in the competition for power at the regional level.

Paper **Institutional Choices in Post-Communist Countries**

Young Hun Kim, Pennsylvania State University

Overview: How does one understand the diversity in institutional choices in post-communist regions? What made a country prefer one specific executive type to another? To answer these questions, the author explains the origins of executive regime type choices in 26 post-communist countries in terms of transition modes. Besides, to understand how different transition modes produced different executive types, the author employs a new coding scheme for presidential power.

Paper **The Dark Side of Federalism: Decentralization and the Enforcement of Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) Laws**

Martin Dimitrov, Stanford University

Overview: While previous studies of federalism have tended to stress its positive effects, my research focuses on its dark side. I investigate the effects administrative decentralization on bureaucratic compliance. I use evidence on the enforcement of intellectual property rights laws in 32 countries (as well as case studies of enforcement in China and Russia) to show that bureaucracies in federal states are more likely to shirk than bureaucracies in unitary states.

Paper	<p><u>The Federal Gamble: The Russian Federation in Comparative Perspective</u> Heather L. Tafel, <i>Grand Valley State University</i> Overview: An investigation of the origins of federalism in post-Soviet Russia, this paper compares the strategic environment of constructing federal institutions in Russia with other countries that embarked on simultaneous democratization and federalization: Brazil, South Africa, and Spain. Working from a critical juncture framework, finds that the manner in which liberalization proceeded, and the constituencies activated by liberalizers of the ancien regime have a significant impact on the resulting federal institutions.</p>	<p>asymmetric bargaining model that the outcomes that emerge depend upon two factors: the willingness of the executive to grant concessions to the opposition if demanded, and the discount rate that is associated with the issue at stake.</p>
Disc.	<p>Thomas F. Remington, <i>Emory University</i></p>	<p>Paper <u>How Long Will it Last: Presidential Approval and Dispute Duration</u> Michael T. Koch, <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: Does presidential approval affect the duration of militarize disputes? I argues that an elite dominance perspective of approval best explains this relationship. Under most circumstances changes in approval has little affect on the duration of a dispute. However, during times when a large degree of countervailing messages from elites are likely to be encountered in the information environment, such as during elections, changes in approval are likely to have an impact on dispute duration.</p>
6-5	<p><u>COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE AND LEGAL REFORMS</u></p>	<p>Paper <u>Rallying Around the Podesta: Testing Diversionary Theory Across Time</u> David Sobek, <i>Binghamton University</i> Overview: Diversionary theory argues that leaders threatened by domestic turmoil manipulate the rally around the flag affect by initiating conflict abroad. This study expands the literature in three ways. First, it broadens the spatial and temporal domain by examining the seven major powers of Renaissance Italy (1250-1494). Second, it uses a directed-dyadic research design, which provides a more rigorous framework. Last, it simultaneously assesses the effects of regime change (the highest form of unrest) and domestic turmoil on the conflict behavior of states.</p>
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30	
Chair	Joel M. Ostrow , <i>Benedictine University</i>	
Paper	<p><u>Does Inclusiveness Really Increase Legitimacy in New Democracies? C</u>onstitutional Adoption in Eastern Europe Melissa Scheier, <i>University of Houston</i> Overview: This paper looks at three in-depth case studies from Eastern Europe (and four additional E.E. countries in brief) that clearly contradict the literature from American politics that suggests representation and open political participation will increase participation and legitimacy. Specifically, constitutional formation, adoption and implementation are traced across the cases. Findings suggest that no relationship exists between aggregate levels of support for democracy and the inclusiveness of constitutional drafting and implementation processes. While participation may be linked to support for government in developed democracies, in nations undergoing transformation other concerns such as rights and the economy may be key.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Domestic Crisis and Interstate Conflict: The Impact of Economic Crisis, Domestic Discord, and the Decision to Initiate Interstate Conflict</u> Charles R. Boehmer, <i>University of Texas, El Paso</i> Overview: This paper investigates the comparative risk of economic growth and domestic conflict on militarized interstate conflict and regime transitions on a sample of over a hundred countries from 1920-1992. I find that higher rates of economic growth are related to militarized interstate conflicts and reduce the risk of regime transitions, although higher levels of domestic conflict indeed lead to interstate conflict. Democracy and economic development likewise provide internal stability and interstate peace.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Constitutional Amendments in Eastern Europe</u> Andrew L. Roberts, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the politics of constitutional amendment in Eastern Europe. It asks what factors determine the frequency of constitutional amendments, focusing on independent variables such as constitutional rigidity, constitutional length, and democratic consolidation.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Congress and the American Use of Force: Partisanship, Support, and the Actions of Individual Legislators</u> Dennis Foster, <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Overview: Recent scholarship has posited and shown that the absence of partisan legislative-executive preference congruity can deter presidents from engaging in foreign policy adventurism for purposes of domestic political gain. I argue that opposition acts by individual members of Congress can serve as a more useful measurement of legislative support for presidential policy. results indicate that opposition acts are negatively associated with the use of force irrespective of the party from which they originate, and that general measures of partisan support are insignificant</p>
Paper	<p><u>Understanding Activism of Russia's Constitutional Court</u> Elina Treyger, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This paper examines the character of Russia's (2nd) Constitutional Court decisions, in an effort to gauge the degree of Court's independence from political influence, or the degree of its politicization. The study is based on a dataset created by author of all Court decisions, and employs several discrete choice probability models to identify likely factors influencing the Court's decision to strike down the challenged legal acts.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Disc.</u> <u>Will H. Moore</u>, <i>Florida State University</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Legal Reform in China: Institutionalizing Cadre Rent Seeking?</u> Jessica Teets, <i>University of Colorado at Boulder</i> Overview: According to many statistics, the rule of law is increasing in China, but corruption is also increasing. In examining the relationship between these two factors, I posit that state-led legal reform in China is occurring in a political context based upon informal networks of guanxi, and thus is being formulated in a way that preserves or increases cadres' rent-seeking abilities.</p>	
Disc.	Robert Sharlet , <i>Union College</i>	
7-9	<p><u>DOMESTIC POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY</u></p>	<p>7-207 <u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: RIVALRY AND WAR</u></p>
Room	TBA2, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30	<p>Room TBA, TABLE 1, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30</p>
Chair	Timothy Nordstrom , <i>University of Mississippi</i>	<p>Inf. Rnd. <u>Ethnicity in Protracted Conflicts: The Arab-Israeli and India-Pakistan Cases 1947-2003</u> Ben-Yehuda I. Ben-Yehuda, <i>Bar Ilan University</i> Meirav Mishali-Ram, <i>Bar Ilan University</i> Overview: The paper offers a framework for the analysis of compoundness and magnitude in Protracted Conflicts. A Protracted Conflict (PC) is a sequence of hostile interactions that extends over long periods of time and involves at least three international crises during five years. Using our framework, we examine two PCs: one, between the Arab states and Israel in the Middle East and the second between India and Pakistan in South Asia. Both, vital in today's world politics, have endured</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Domestic Politics of Alliance Formation</u> Christopher Sprecher, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Realist theories have a tendency to ignore the role that domestic politics play in alliance formation. In this paper I construct a game-theoretic model that belies this assertion. Alliance formation is modeled as a bargaining process between an executive and a domestic opposition. I demonstrate through a</p>	

from 1947 to the present, and have common characteristics as well as unique ones

Inf. Rnd. Complex Rivalries in World Politics

Brandon Valeriano, Vanderbilt University

Overview: Diehl and Goertz (2000) and Valeriano (2003) have investigated certain types of rivalry linkages. Diehl and Goertz (2000) focus on rivalries that are linked through a common foe or a common alliance partner. Valeriano (2003) investigates the impact of simultaneous rivalries on the severity of conflict within a rivalry. What is left is to look at rivalry groups. Some rivals are not dyadic, but rather groups of actors inter-linked together. For example, the rivalry between the United States and Soviet Union is deeply linked with China. This paper will identify which groups of states make up a complex rivalry; or those rivalries that include more than two interstate actors. Once the initial dataset is created, this analysis will allude to the dynamics of conflict within complex rivals. Do these types of rivalries experience war more frequently? Do they last longer than other types of rivalries? Are they more severe than other types of rivals? Not all rivals are strictly dyadic and the interactions of complex rivals may suggest that these types of rivals have significantly different conflict propensities and foreign policy practices than dyadic rivalries. Distinguishing between a typology of dyadic and complex rivalries will aid theorists and researchers in the investigation of the causes and consequences of rivalry relations.

7-208 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LEADER PSYCHOLOGY AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Room TBA, TABLE 2, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Inf. Rnd. Tyrants: Can They Be Deterred?

Betty Glad, University of South Carolina

Overview: This study investigates the circumstances under which several contemporary tyrants/dictators have initiated wars threatened to initiate wars, or been the object of aggressive actions by others. This historical data suggests that aggressive actions by such leaders may best be deterred by adversaries who make clear commitments to the status quo, backing these commitments up with facts of power that are very hard to ignore. Personal threats that threaten the would be tyrant with severe narcissistic damages, and policies that place them in a lose/lose situation will most likely aggravate aggressive responses.

Inf. Rnd. The Art of Political Advising and Crisis Decision-Making

Brent A. Strathman, Ohio State University

Overview: This paper confronts the question of entrepreneurial manipulation by exploring the cognitive dynamics underlying the advisor-leader relationship. I examine two strategies and argue the amount of information surrounding a policy decision determines the success and magnitude of either strategy. The successful application of advisor strategies within this structured space allows an advisor to imprint their preferences on the resulting policy. Evidence supports the conclusion that different explanatory styles does impact the final decision in dramatic ways.

8-1 DETERMINANTS OF FOREIGN AID

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Chair **Julian C. Westerhout, Indiana University**

Paper Organizational Structures and Foreign Aid Distribution: the US and Brazil

Gina M. Y. Reinhardt, Washington University

Overview: What does the organizational structure of a prospective aid recipient have to do with how much foreign aid it receives? I present a formal signalling model of donor-recipient interactions, and test it with qualitative evidence from interviews conducted in Brazil and the US. I find that the organizational structure of potential aid recipients is directly related to their ability to complete aid applications correctly, and that these applications serve as a signal to prospective donors.

Paper Aid Allocation and Conflict: Testing a New Measure of Donor Strategic Interests

Gina M. Y. Reinhardt, Washington University

Eliana Balla, Washington University

Overview: To what extent do a donor's strategic interests affect its bilateral aid allocation? Our research tests a new measure of donor strategic interests, based on geographic proximity to conflict interacted with UN voting patterns between donors and recipients at the time of the conflict. We contribute to both the literature on conflict and that on foreign aid distribution, by offering a new measure of strategic interests and a new explanatory variable of aid allocation.

Paper Aiding or Abetting? Human Rights, Economic Interests, and US Policy Leadership in Foreign Aid Decisions

Bethany A. Barratt, Roosevelt University

Overview: This paper examines the relative role of human rights and economic self-interest in shaping aid policy during the era of globalization. I develop an argument that human rights abuses in the recipient state will prompt aid reduction or cessation by donors only when the recipient is neither economically nor strategically valuable to the donor. In the case of middle-power states, however, the donor will additionally refuse to punish states that are of strategic importance to major-power allies, such as the US.

Disc. **Julian C. Westerhout, Indiana University**

8-13 ECONOMIC FORCES AND HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTION

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Chair **Sean D. Ehrlich, University of Michigan**

Paper How Shadow Economy Affects Human Rights

Dean Haddock, University of North Texas

Overview: This article explores the causal relationship between the shadow economy and human rights.

Paper The IMF, Adjustment Lending, and Government Respect for Human Rights 1981-2001

Mohammed R. Abouharb, Binghamton University

David L. Cingranelli, Binghamton University

Overview: This paper investigates the impacts of IMF structural adjustment lending on respect for human rights and employs a data set of annual specific human rights practices for all countries from 1981 to 2001. We also estimate the direct and indirect effects of SALs on the human rights practices of recipients and determine whether the relationship between SAL receipt and subsequent human rights practices are due to selection effects rather than the loans themselves.

Disc. **Sean D. Ehrlich, University of Michigan**

9-2 POLITICS OF TRADE PROTECTION

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Chair **Marc Busch, Queen's University**

Paper Dispute Settlement and the WTO: New Approaches to Old Puzzles using ADR and Game Theory Tools

Cristiane Carneiro, New York University/Arcadia University

Overview: This paper studies the WTO mechanisms to settle disputes. The questions here are of two kinds: firstly, why WTO cases involving continuous issues are settled early, in most instances even before a Panel is established? Secondly, why cases involving non-continuous issues are generating adjudication outcomes that are not being complied with? Two methodological approaches will be used to address these questions: A Generic Negotiation Game (Brams 1992) and Adjusted Winner (Brams & Taylor 1999).

Paper Nationalism and Economic Interdependence: A Cross-National Public Opinion Approach

Peter Furia, Wake Forest University

Overview: Analyzing opinion data from fifteen member countries of the OECD included in three waves of the World Values Survey (WVS), I offer a systematic empirical test of the much-debated proposition that mass nationalism hinders international trade. Building upon previous studies that have looked at INDIVIDUAL nationalism in conjunction with

Paper	<p>attitudes toward trade, I examine SOCIETAL nationalism in conjunction with trade behavior.</p> <p><u>Navigating a Two Way Street: Global Trade Regimes and Domestic Choice of Trade Policy Instruments in Japan, 1980-2002</u> Megumi Naoi, <i>Columbia University</i> William A. Hornung, <i>Sullivan and Cromwell</i> Overview: Using a conditional logit framework, this paper identifies conditions under which the Japanese government chose one of the following policy instruments to protect industries that suffered from the rise of imports from 1980 to 2002: domestic subsidies, voluntary export restraints, and GATT/WTO protectionist measures. In contrast to claims that a government resorts to international rules for enhancing its credibility or shifting blame, we show that different distributional implications of policy instruments can explain Japan's policy choices.</p>	<p>theory/policy for IR scholars) serves to constitute a particular view of the role of the IR scholar which maintains distance from the subject which they seek to explain and prevents an accurate understanding of the role of the IR scholar in political life.</p> <p><u>Fighting Irregular Forces with Irregular Means: State as Imitator of Violent Non-State Actors</u> Amanda J. DiPaolo, <i>Syracuse University</i> Bartosz H. Stanislawski, <i>Syracuse University</i> Overview: Non-state actors imitate states in an effort to gain global influence. States, in turn, now must imitate non-state actors in order to combat neutralize the threats they may pose to international security. To fight irregular forces, one must employ irregular means. The paper's argument rests on the concept of asymmetric threat, traditionally referred to as a conflict between states, applied to "bad" non-state actors to show how they pose a serious threat to international security.</p> <p><u>Candace Archer, Bowling Green State University</u></p>
Paper	<p><u>Divided Government, Parties, and U.S. Trade Policy: How Domestic Institutions and Partisan Control Effect Trade Policy, 1947-2002</u> Nicole M. Simonelli, <i>New York University</i> Overview: This paper re-analyzes Lohmann and O'Halloran (1994) findings that divided government is positively associated with trade protectionism in the United States. Increasing the sample size with the addition of the years 1991-2002 leads to the following findings. First, divided government is negatively associated with higher tariff levels. Second, a Republican Congress is associated with a decrease in protectionism, while Republican presidents are associated with higher tariff levels. Finally, using an interactive variable to measure partisan control of the presidency and Congress, divided government only makes a difference when the President is a Democrat and Congress is Republican.</p>	<p><u>COGNITION, HEURISTICS, AND EMOTION</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30 Monika L. McDermott, <i>University of Connecticut</i> <u>Emotions and Voting Behavior: A Critique</u> Jonathan Ladd, <i>Princeton University</i> Gabriel S. Lenz, <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: Tests of the Affective Intelligence theory (Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen 2000) suggest that anxious voters rely less on heuristics and more on substantive information. In this paper, we demonstrate that these potentially interesting results are an artifact of the coding procedures and the fact that their measure of anxiety is contaminated with respondents' evaluations of the candidates. We conclude with a discussion of dual-process theories and applicability to politics.</p>
Disc.	<p><u>Marc Busch, Queen's University</u></p>	<p><u>Shortcuts Missed or Mistaken</u> Robert C. Luskin, <i>University of Texas at Austin</i> Mathieu Turgeon, <i>University of Texas at Austin</i></p>
10-3 Room Chair Paper	<p><u>IDENTITY, CONSTRUCTIVISM, AND IR</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30 Candace Archer, <i>Bowling Green State University</i> <u>Integrating Identities in Structural Theories of International Relations</u> Martin Kleiber, <i>University of Passau</i> Overview: This study combines constructivist models with structural theories of international relations. The focus of the study is on the transatlantic crisis over the conduct of the war on terrorism after the attacks of 9/11. Using discourse and poll data analysis, the analysis finds that varying constructions of the identities by the U.S. and European states are not correlated to a change of the perception of the power distribution in the transatlantic state system.</p>	<p>Overview: This paper revisits Lupia's model, measures, and results. We argue that his measures of cues and knowledge are inadequate, his model misspecified, and his results therefore misleading. Using Lupia's data but substituting better measures and better specified models suggests that knowledge matters more and that simple cues are less helpful than Lupia suggests.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Collective Identity and the Rise of the "Region-State" Model</u> Michael Sangervasi, <i>Notre Dame de Nauru University</i> Overview: Differing aspects of these three methods, once applied to the empirical data of actual PTA's should reveal some interesting similarities and differences between the European Union (EU), the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Economic Community of West African States, and Mercado Comun del Sur (or MERCOSUR).</p>	<p><u>Missed Cues: Heuristics and Citizen Competence</u> David W. Schwieder, <i>Susquehanna University</i> Paul J. Quirk, <i>University of Illinois at Champaign - Urbana</i> Overview: Our paper calls into question the utility of cue-based "heuristic reasoning." We report findings showing that experimental subjects have difficulty recognizing and acquiring cues presented in material designed to simulate actual political discourse, and, moreover, that politically uninformed subjects fare particularly poorly in this regard. This suggests that heuristics may be generally less useful than political scientists have supposed, and specifically that those citizens most needing help from cues seem least able to even perceive or acquire them.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Recognition and the Logic of Security</u> Michelle Murray, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This paper posits recognition of an identity as an important motive in international politics. Not only physical, but social survival is at stake in international affairs and security may have an additional logic which accommodates this need—one that holds identity as its primary referent. I develop a new 'logic of security' whereby identity survival is seen as a cause of war.</p>	<p><u>A Computational Model of Political Cognition - Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation</u> Sung-youn Kim, <i>Stony Brook University</i> Milton Lodge, <i>Stony Brook University</i> Charles S. Taber, <i>Stony Brook University</i> Overview: The study presents a computational model of political cognition with both cognitive and affective mechanisms built in and examines some well-known phenomena of human cognition in the context of candidate evaluation. The computational model to be presented is built based on ACT-R (Anderson et al, 1990, 1997, 2002) - one of the popular architectures in artificial intelligence - with an affect mechanism added. Specifically, the model incorporates most of the arguably well-established properties of human cognitive processes such as priming, practice, recency, and fan effect on recall via spreading activation mechanism in long term memory. Moreover, it also incorporates an affective mechanism that reflects 'Hot Cognition' (Abelson, 1963; Fazio et al, 1986, 1990; Bargh et al, 1992, 1994; Lodge and Taber, 2000, 2002),</p>
Paper	<p><u>Intellectual Responsibility and IR Theory: Security Studies, Scholarship, and Theory/Practice</u> Christopher McIntosh, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This article seeks to identify and explore conceptions of responsibility as they apply to the scholar working in IR theory. Drawing on Spivak's notion of responsibility for the "deconstructionist" intellectual, this paper will identify ways in which the theory/practice binary (or</p>	

	<p>'Primacy of Affect' (Zajonc, 1980, 2001), and 'On-line Processing' (Hastie and Park, 1985; Lodge & Taber, 2000) theses in cognitive science and political psychology. In fact, the model will be one where human cognition and affect are inseparably interfused in a specific way. The study will simultaneously reproduce, using the computational model, several well-known phenomena of human mental processes in the context of candidate evaluation; 1) Cognitive priming effect (Neely, 1977) - a unit of information in memory becomes more accessible when it is semantically associated with a prime; 2) attitude priming (Fazio, 1986, 1990; Bargh et al, 1992, 1994; Lodge and Taber, 2000, 2002) and affective congruence effect - a unit of information in memory becomes more accessible when it is affectively congruent with a prime or an information currently being processed; 3) On-line processing (Lodge and Taber, 2000) - affective summary evaluation attached to every social concept in memory is updated on every exposure to new information, increasing (decreasing) whenever new positively (negatively) charged information is connected to the object. Moreover, the on-line updating mechanism exhibits the property of anchoring and adjusting. The study may also demonstrate that two theories of political judgement, on-line processing and memory based model (Zaller and Feldman, 1992), are in fact different instantiations of a single set of cognitive/affective processes of political judgement.</p>	<p>Internet usage, especially its use for political purpose. Despite of uncountable political information within the Internet, non-political internet users tend not to access political information. Thus, Internet effects on voting are actually appeared only among political-Internet users. Since netizens use the Internet self-selectively, the research about the Internet effects on voting should consider the purpose of the Internet usage and the degree of Internet usage.</p>
Paper	<p><u>A Hybrid Model of Political Cognition</u> Darren M. Schreiber, <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> Overview: Cognitive neuroscience has increasing evidence that the brain is a hybrid; two distinct brain systems that work together to solve complex problems. In this paper, I show how a model developed by artificial intelligence research Ron SUN goes from behaving like a political novice to acting like a political sophisticate as it learns the political environment.</p>	<p><u>Politics As Usual or Politics Unusual? Position-Taking and Issue Dialogue on Campaign Web Sites</u> Michael A. Xenos, <i>University of Washington</i> Kirsten A. Foot, <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: Initial investigations of campaign Web sites reveal that some competing candidates employ a dialogic strategy approach to issue positions through their campaign sites, discussing many of the same issues and engaging a variety of other political actors. Others stick with a more monologic strategy of position presentations, consistent with traditional rhetorical and political science research documenting the persuasive and political advantages to restricting campaign communications to issues and content on which a candidate or candidate's party is favored. In this paper we report results of a systematic investigation of this variation, based on content analyses of issue sections on candidate Web sites from a random sample of roughly 200 of the over 500 House, Senate, and Gubernatorial races in the 2002 elections. After assessing the prevalence of issue dialogue across the races, we analyze factors such as campaign intensity, and overall Web development, that may explain this variation.</p>
Disc.	<p>Marco R. Steenbergen, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Monika L. McDermott, <i>University of Connecticut</i></p>	<p>Garish J. Gulati, <i>Wellesley College</i></p>
12-5	<p><u>CANDIDATE.COM: CAMPAIGNING ON THE INTERNET</u></p>	<p><u>AFRICAN-AMERICAN VOTERS AND CANDIDATES</u></p>
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30
Chair	David Leal , <i>The University of Texas at Austin</i>	Henry Flores , <i>St. Mary's University</i>
Paper	<p><u>Internet Strategies in the Invisible Primary: Analyzing the 2004 Democratic Presidential Field</u> Brendan J. Doherty, <i>University of California Berkeley</i> Overview: In this paper, we will study the confluence of these two dynamics by examining the use of outreach via email by the ten Democratic presidential contenders throughout the "invisible primary". We will analyze these campaign communications in relation to other factors such as fundraising, television advertising, and success in early primaries and caucuses.</p>	<p><u>The 2002 Election: A Study in African American Candidates for High-Profile Statewide Offices</u> Kristofer A. Frederick, <i>University at Albany, SUNY</i> Overview: The existing literature on black candidates for high-profile statewide office consists of three major articles. This paper assesses the two black candidates for high profile statewide office in 2002, Carl McCall, the Democratic candidate for Governor of New York, and Ron Kirk, Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate in Texas, in terms of the literature on black candidates for high-profile statewide office and voting results and survey data to assess the criteria developed in this literature.</p>
Paper	<p><u>E-democracy: Influence of Technology in Campaigns and Elections</u> Clarissa I. Arellano-Malca, <i>Bighorn Center for Public Policy</i> Overview: This paper discusses the increased significance of technology in modern campaigns and posits the notions of whether the undue influence of the internet will shift our society from representative to a direct democracy.</p>	<p><u>Blacks and High Profile Statewide Elections in the South: 1988-2002</u> Matthew A. Wavro, <i>Purdue University</i> Judson L. Jeffries, <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: This paper extends a previous analysis of black candidates for high profile statewide office by Jeffries. (1998) This paper looks at the pattern of electoral support for black candidates in the south and explains the underlying factors that affect the support of black candidates across elections. The impact of candidate characteristics, structure of the political party, and newspaper coverage are explored.</p>
Paper	<p><u>e-Organization: The Role of Online Organization in the 2004 Iowa Caucus</u> C. Clayton Hull, <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: What role did online organization play in 2004 Democratic presidential candidate success? This paper builds a model to find out, using new regional data on 2004 Democratic candidates' online organization, combined with data on other factors prior research has shown to be important in predicting candidates' first-in-the-nation Iowa Caucus vote share.</p>	<p><u>Sometimes Less Is More: Majority-Minority Districts and Political Trust Among African-Americans</u> Thomas L. Brunell, <i>Northern Arizona University</i> Rachel Cremona, <i>Binghamton University, SUNY</i> Christopher J. Anderson, <i>Syracuse University</i> Overview: In this paper we show that "unpacking" majority African American House districts will have the effect of increasing political trust and increasing affect towards the representative for African American voters in these districts.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Internet Effects on Voting: Political Internet Users VS Non-Political Internet Users</u> Hyung Lae Park, <i>Purdue University</i> Jae won Jang, <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: Recent Internet related literatures showed that the Internet reinforces likely voters but fail to recruits unlikely voters. However most researches did not account the purpose of</p>	<p><u>Urban Black Voters v. Black Middle Class Voters: Is a Second Realignment Possible to the Republican Party</u> Steven D. Day, <i>University of Houston</i> Overview: The hypothesis of this paper argues two basic claims. First, black middle-class voters currently do not base their votes predominately on economic criteria as does the white</p>

middle-class voter, but on a combination of fiscal self-interest and social issues of black middle-class interest. Thus, a realignment of the black middle-class to the GOP based on 'voting their pocket books' alone is not possible at this time. Secondly, a second realignment of black middle-class voters is possible. In order for this realignment to occur, two conditions must be met. One, there must be a moderation of GOP stances on social issues of black middle-class interest. And, two, enough time must pass for a generation of black middle-class children to be raised from birth as middle-class and outside poor urban communities, to begin basing their votes primarily on one basic, traditional suburban attitude, the self-interest of their own pocketbooks. All these children will ever have known is a lifetime of existing in a middle-class setting, learning middle-class values with parents earning middle-class incomes.

Disc. **James Garand**, *Louisiana State University*
Henry Flores, *St. Mary's University*

13-5 LOCAL CONTEXTS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Chair **Bat Sparrow**, *University of Texas at Austin*

Paper **From Problems to Participation: An Explanation of Citizen-Initiated Contacts**

Henk Van der Kolk, *University of Twente*

Herman T. Lelieveldt, *University of Twente*

Overview: Research on the relationship between socioeconomic status (SES) and the mobilization of officials through 'citizen-initiated contacts' has produced conflicting results. These conflicting results are produced by a number of conceptual and methodological problems. In this study, we solve these problems by using a problem-oriented approach to examine the effects of SES on citizen-initiated contacting. The data are collected in a survey among 557 citizens, mentioning 1516 neighborhood problems. The data are analyzed using multi-level analysis.

Paper **Crowded Cities, Crowded Streets: How Living in Big Cities Can Increase Civic Engagement**

Daniel Hopkins, *Harvard University*

Colin D. Moore, *Harvard University*

Overview: We challenge the argument that individuals are less likely to participate in politics as the population of their municipality increases. By considering a broader range of forms of participation, we find that the effects of one's environment hinge on the kind of participation in question. Individuals in big cities are actually more likely to participate in conflictual political activities such as marches or rallies. Across localities, political participation differs chiefly in form, not in intensity.

Paper **Local Socioeconomic Context and Political Participation: Reexamination**

Tetsuya Matsubayashi, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: This research reexamines the proposition that local socioeconomic contexts exert an influence on political participation. The contribution of this paper is to test several hypotheses regarding social interaction as a possible mechanism binding high status contexts to greater participation and to bridge two competing arguments on the effect of local socioeconomic contexts.

Disc. **Bat Sparrow**, *University of Texas at Austin*

13-18 SURVEY RESPONSE AND NON-RESPONSE

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Chair **John Brehm**, *University of Chicago*

Paper **The Silent Electorate: A Political Profile of Phone Non-Respondents**

Travis N. Ridout, *Washington State University*

Ashley C. Grosse, *Washington State University*

Overview: In this paper, we examine the consequences for those who use survey data of Americans' increasing ability and willingness to avoid the survey taker. Specifically, we inquire whether those who refuse to answer the phone are different than those who do answer in terms of their political attitudes and

behaviors. We answer this question by comparing the political profile of phone survey respondents with mail survey respondents and citizens listed in states' voter information files.

Paper **Neural Network Simulation of Survey Response**

Adam F. Simon, *University of Washington*

Overview: The relationship between training and performance of a neural network model can assist in penetrating the "black-box" of survey response. Here, a split-half assessment demonstrates the model's ability to replicate results from over 5,000 survey questions. Two refinements include data from media sources and political speech as well as an ordinary language dictionary augmentation. Should citizens' judgment processes operate similarly then the optimal training will highlight which factors exert the greatest influence public opinion.

Paper **Poll Accuracy in Subnational Elections**

Jay A. DeSart, *Florida Atlantic University*

Overview: This paper is an examination of the determinants of accuracy in pre-election polls in gubernatorial and senatorial elections. Using data from the National Council on Public Polls, the variables of interest include sample characteristics (sample size, likely voter screens, weekend sampling) and proximity to election.

Paper **Measuring Public Opinion: Examining the Impact of Refusal Conversions and Callbacks on Data Quality**

Justin P. Wedeking, *University of Minnesota*

Joanne Miller, *University of Minnesota*

Overview: We examined the impact of two methods to increase survey response rates – making more call attempts to hard-to-reach respondents and attempting refusal conversions – on measurement error. Using NES data, we found that adding these respondents to the sample pool increased measurement error, resulting in an attenuation of relationships between variables.

Disc. **Taeku Lee**, *University of California at Berkeley*

14-2 E-MAIL, INTERNET USE, & POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Chair **Michael Margolis**, *University of Cincinnati*

Paper **A Rational Approach to the U.S. Representatives' Use of Internet**

Mijeong Baek, *University of Texas at Austin*

Hyo Bin Im, *University of Texas at Austin*

Overview: This paper investigates how the members of Congress communicate with the public on their official web sites. I'd like to explain the inter-member differences in the use of internet in terms of the frequency of content updates (i.e. active vs. passive use), the proportion of the district vs. national agendas (i.e. geographical agenda), and the level of congruence with the national and state party agendas. I predict that the Representatives who expect constituents' frequent visit to the web sites will invest more resources than those who expect low traffic. Therefore, the district's socioeconomic factors such as the rate of internet access, education, income, region, and urbanization will affect the congressman's use of internet. On the other hand, the individual congressperson's demographic and political characteristics will also affect his or her internet use – i.e. age, gender, party affiliation, House vs. senate, seniority, and committee status. I conduct a content analysis of the official web sites of all House members and senators serving in the 108th Congress as well as the national and state parties. As my study is interested not only in the cross-sectional difference, but also in the temporal changes in the content, it collects the homepages during a three month period (from October to December) by using a homepage download program. District variables are obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau. The least squares regression will be used for estimation.

Paper	<p><u>Communicating Digital - A Comparative Look at the Internet's Role in Political Communication</u> Hannes Richter, <i>University of New Orleans</i> Michael L. Hess, <i>University of New Orleans</i> Overview: This paper aims to develop a comparative perspective on the Internet's role in political communication during election campaigns. Based on a study of the Internet's effect on political knowledge during the 2000 presidential campaign, a basis for comparison with the medium's role in a similar setting in the European Union is being developed.</p>	sources, we show that variations in the quality of the political information environment have a more profound effect on knowledge than individual-level characteristics such as education, income, and gender.
Paper	<p><u>E-mail and Political Communication in Silicon Valley</u> Elsa Y. Chen, <i>Santa Clara University</i> Overview: This project studies the use of e-mail for political communication in "Silicon Valley." Using a Web-based questionnaire, we examine how elected officials and government agencies use e-mail, the volume of e-mail and other communication received and transmitted, whether and how political officials reply to e-mail, and how much influence e-mail has on their decisions. Limitations of e-mail, as a means of political communication, and as a tool for social science research, are also explored.</p>	<p><u>Voter Knowledge and Candidate Evaluation During a Campaign: Partisans and Non-Partisans</u> Brian W. Bough, <i>University of Missouri - Columbia</i> William L. Benoit, <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Glenn J. Hansen, <i>University of Missouri - Columbia</i> Overview: We offer a replication of Brians and Wattenberg's (1996) research into candidate evaluation and issue knowledge by the electorate in presidential campaigns. In addition breaking up the campaign periods by debates, we also examine information levels in partisans and non-partisans. Our research utilizes ANES data from the 1992, 1996, and 2000 elections.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Neighborhoods On-line: The Adoption and Use of Web Pages by Community Organizations</u> Matthew Hale, <i>Seton Hall University</i> Overview: Community organizations may play an important role in improving local government performance, but often face significant barriers or costs to participating in local decision making. While there is a great deal of excitement about the potential of information and communication technologies (ICT) to overcome barriers to citizen participation, there is little in the way of empirical evidence to support these claims. In addition, much of the initial research on ICT adoption indicates the presence of a "digital divide" with evidence that upper classes are more likely than lower classes to adopt new technology. The existence of a digital divide is thought to decrease the potential of ICT to serve as a democratizing force.</p>	<p><u>Every Picture Tells A Story</u> Phil Gussin, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: Students of the mass media routinely ignore or downplay the importance of the visual information transmitted by the mass media. Anecdotal evidence, however, suggests that those who govern (as well as those seeking elective office) believe that the judicious use of visual information can be a powerful tool for advancing their goals. This experimental study focuses on the role that visual information plays in shaping individual assessments of President Bush.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Grassroots Political Warriors (Moveon.org): Email and Political Mobilization</u> Ramona S. McNeal, <i>Kent State University</i> Kenneth Fernandez, <i>Kent State University</i> Overview: This research provides a case study of the mobilization efforts of a grassroots online nonprofit organization, Moveon.org. Online mobilization efforts will be discussed, including petition drives and fundraisers. This will be augmented by analysis of survey data from the Pew Research Center on Internet.</p>	<p><u>Disc.</u> Stephen Bennett, <i>University of Southern Indiana</i></p>
Disc.	<p><u>Steve Frantzich</u>, <i>U.S. Naval Academy</i></p>	
14-4	<p><u>THE MASS MEDIA & GRASSROOTS POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT & KNOWLEDGE</u></p>	<p><u>16-3 RACE, REPRESENTATION AND REDISTRICTING</u></p>
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30
Chair	Linda Bennett , <i>University of Southern Indiana</i>	Valeria Sinclair-Chapman , <i>University of Rochester</i>
Paper	<p><u>Getting the Public's Attention: What Works and What Doesn't</u> Doris A. Graber, <i>University of Illinois</i> Overview: It is extraordinarily difficult to capture the public's attention even for messages that are important and interest most citizens. This raises questions about the factors that come into play to push some messages to the forefront of public attention while others lag behind. My paper explores this issue through a comparative analysis of television news stories that covered identical events but varied greatly in capturing the attention of a national sample of survey respondents.</p>	<p><u>Congressional Agenda-Setting for Racial and Ethnic Minority Interests, 1973-2002</u> Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, <i>University of Rochester</i> Stephen Gent, <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: We consider the effects of membership diversity on aggregate-level agenda setting behavior in the House of Representatives from 1973 to 2002. We examine the relative impact of the minority and partisan makeup of Congress and the level of public discourse on the proportion of bills introduced each year that specifically target minorities. Using OLS regression, we find that the number of minority representatives in Congress increases the number of minority-interest bills sponsored, all else being equal.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Citizen Knowledge and the Information Environment</u> Jason Barabas, <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Jennifer Jerit, <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Toby Bolsen, <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Overview: Scholars often attribute low levels of knowledge to individual-level factors, but we concentrate on the role of the information environment. Using data from twenty public opinion surveys since 1992 on domestic and foreign policy issues as well as a detailed content analysis of three media</p>	<p><u>Minority Representation in Congress: Assessing the Linkage between Legislators' Perceptions of Their Constituents and its Impact on Legislative Oversight of Federal Civil Rights Policy</u> Michael Minta, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: Few scholars in the race and representation literature have attempted to examine how the size of the minority population directly affects legislators' perceptions of racial or ethnic minorities. This paper will use interview data to determine to what degree does the size of the minority population affects members of Congress perceptions of minority interests. Moreover, this paper will examine how legislators' perceptions of their constituents affect their likelihood to intervene in agency civil rights policymaking.</p>
Paper		<p><u>Descriptive v. Substantive Representation: A New Perspective</u> Christine T. LeVeaux, <i>University of Houston</i> Overview: Using the 1996 ANES I attempt to answer the question of whether there are symbolic benefits that a people experience when their House members shares their race or ethnicity. Because most African American Members of Congress members are also Democrat, and most African American survey respondents are also Democrat, it is difficult to differentiate the effects of each. This study compares white respondents' satisfaction, efficacy and trust of government when they are represented by a white Member of Congress who may or may not share their party affiliation, with an African American Member of Congress who does.</p>
Disc.		<p><u>Lewis Randolph</u>, <i>Ohio University</i></p>

**17-3 REINTERPRETING MONTESQUIEU:
INHERITANCES AND INFLUENCES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Chair Richard Boyd, *University of Wisconsin*

Paper **Liberal Feminism, Gender and Montesquieu**

Mika Lavaque-Manty, *University of Michigan*

Overview: This paper offers a qualified defense of liberal feminism via an exploration of Montesquieu's work. The paper shows that Montesquieu offers us conceptual resources for a robust account gender. It connects Montesquieu's style of inquiry with the practices of cross-cultural political judgment. The paper also identifies limits to using Montesquieu and suggests the limits may be theoretical constraints in liberal theory.

Paper **The Persians of the Young Montesquieu and the Cartesian Path to Enlightenment**

Michael Mosher, *University of Tulsa*

Overview: Jonathan Israel's Radical Enlightenment has the merit of urging French eighteenth century intellectual historians and political theorists to reflect upon the consequences for their century of a four way philosophical battle that occurred in the late seventeenth century among the adherents of Descartes, Locke, Leibniz, and Spinoza. At stake were the hearts and minds, as it were, of the eighteenth century enlightenments. On this account, Spinoza alone conjures up secular modernity in its crystalline shape, while adherents of the other schools either fall into incoherence, as allegedly the Cartesians did, or are involved in evasion and compromise with (various forms of) traditionalism, none more so, apparently, than Montesquieu. However, wherever the older Montesquieu of the Spirit of the Laws (1748) ended up—and he was accused of Spinozism—there is evidence that the young Montesquieu, the author of the Persian Letters (1721), flirted with a radicalized Cartesianism. Let us agree that Spinoza plainly shows how science as a way of life points to new (and radical) understandings, but in dissent, insist that Descartes and Locke also offer coherent alternative accounts of an enlightenment science of freedom. These are no less radicalizable than Spinozism. In this light, Montesquieu's Persian Letters can be read as a thought experiment—the enlightenment in critique of itself—that reflects upon models of self-liberation that begin with the ethos of the new science and end with a new ethics and political science. I propose as an honest and non-rhetorical question, however, to what an extent the epistolary biographies of the Persians are also cautionary tales that record risks and failures as well as hopes and achievements in these philosophical models for self-liberation?

Paper **Montesquieu and Natural Law: Sociability as Problem and Promise**

Anna Stilz, *Harvard University*

Overview: Montesquieu's work in The Spirit of the Laws is often viewed as reinterpreting natural law, merging it with (a modified) ancient constitutionalism. This paper seeks to explore Montesquieu's effort to defend natural law and use it to articulate standards of legitimacy through the notion of sociability. Can sociability provide us with a minimal set of considerations to define the legitimate and the illegitimate? Can sociability be defended without invoking a theodicy to ground its claims?

Disc. Verity Smith, *Harvard University*

**18-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE OTHER
IN MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT**

Room TBA, TABLE 3, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Inf. Rnd. **Disillusioning 'the subject' to account for 'the other':**

Reflections on some challenges for a 'post-modern' politics

Timothy M. Dale, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: Attempts to include 'the other' in modern political theory have led some theorists to disillusion the notion of a universal subject as the foundation for political thinking. This paper discusses some possible expenses to dispensing with the notion of the universal subject, with particular attention to what a critique of the subject would hope to accomplish. Special attention will be given to Michel Foucault's thinking related to

political identity, and on the possibility for a 'radical democracy' according to the writings of Chantal Mouffe.

Inf. Rnd. **Democratic Irony and Human Solidarity: Examining the Defense and Production of Locality in Empires Past and Present**

Kathy Purnell-Craft, *DePaul University*

Overview: Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri in Empire, critiqued political analyses or resistance movements that emphasized the "localizations of struggles" in a globalized era (analyses that either stressed the construction of "'place-based' movements or politics in which the boundaries of place (conceived either as identity or as territory) are posed against the undifferentiated and homogenous space of global networks" or stress the defense and/or construction of local barriers as a form of resistance to "capital's accelerating flows"). They instead urge us to examine the "production of locality" – "the social machines that create and recreate the identities and differences that are understood as the 'local'." This paper embraces this desire to examine the "production of locality" through an analysis of the manner in which political thinkers in Empires past and present have approached, constructed and defended the cultural "other".

**18-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE:
PERSPECTIVES ON JUSTICE**

Room TBA, TABLE 4, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Inf. Rnd. **Pragmatism and Universality in Grotius and Hume**

Alex S. Tuckness, *Harvard University*

Overview: A philosophical analysis of Hume's claim that the content of principles of justice is affected by less than ideal human tendencies and capabilities and that justice be understood in terms of general rules.

Inf. Rnd. **Traumatic Justice: Memory, Amnesia, and the Dilemma of Action**

Timothy M. Yetman, *Purdue University*

Overview: We interpret the current state of politic-ethical theory as characterized by a condition of trauma. Following the institutionalized violence of the 20th Century, theory has turned to ethics for principles for a re-conceptualized justice. We argue that only a conscientious recognition that power inevitably involves violence can produce a theory of justice that enables us to use power in positive, ethical ways, making us less prone to repeat the horrors of the 20th Century—or worse.

**18-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE:
WITTGENSTEIN**

Room TBA, TABLE 5, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Inf. Rnd. **Wittgenstein**

Jason M. Scruton, *University of Albany*

Overview: A synopsis of current literature using philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein in contrast to Wittgenstein's views on philosophy and philosophers.

**19-4 CRITICAL CURRENTS IN U.S. POLITICAL
AND SOCIAL THOUGHT**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Chair Richard K. Matthews, *Lehigh University*

Paper **What Ever Happened to the Economic Interpretation: Beard's Thesis and the Legacy of Empirical Analysis**

Alan R. Gibson, *California State University, Chico*

Overview: This essay will provide an analysis of the state of our understanding of the economic interpretation of the Constitution.

Paper **The Dreams of Poor Men's Sons: Democracy and Ideologies of Class in the United States**

Alexandra Kogl, *University of Northern Iowa*

Overview: Observers of democracy have long worried that it has the potential to degenerate into rule by the poor. If we wish to understand why democracy in America has never been a vehicle for rule by the poorer classes, class structure alone does not offer us an adequate explanatory framework; we must also

consider the roles played by ideology, culture, and class consciousness.

Paper **Poetry and Political Vulnerability**
Larry M. Preston, *Union Institute & University*
 Overview: Selected features of poetic form and imagery, prevalent in contemporary poetry, are believed to provide a rich and largely unexamined source for carrying on the work of political philosophy. This is thought especially to be the case for addressing present circumstance of heightened uncertainty and social vulnerability.

Paper **Recovering Public Space: the Reasonable Rantings of Howard Kunstler**
John L. Fremstad, *University of South Dakota*
 Overview: Howard Kunstler, in desperate tones, calls our attention to a redesigning of our shared spaces that shatters community. His catalogue of design errors serves as a contemporary, concrete elucidation and extension of some of Hannah Arendt's more sober commentaries on the decline of the public sphere.

Disc. **Richard K. Matthews**, *Lehigh University*

19-17 **TOCQUEVILLE AND MILL**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30
Chair **Molly A. Patterson**, *University of California, Irvine*
Paper **Motion in Tocqueville's Democracy in America: The Challenges and Remedies**
Elizabeth M. Eastman, *Chapman University*
 Overview: The motion of the people in various capacities is a topic in Tocqueville's Democracy in America. While there are many benefits that result from an active people, there are disadvantages as well. I propose first to give an overview of the positive and the negative aspects of motion; next to consider the challenges that are presented by this agitation in society and the ensuing consequences; and finally to explore the remedies that Tocqueville suggests.

Paper **Democracy and the Multitude: Tocqueville and Ortega on "Mass-man"**
Ty E. Shaffer, *Indiana University*
 Overview: This essay addresses the similarities between Alexis de Tocqueville's discussion of 'democratic man' and Jose Ortega y Gasset's "mass-man." In so doing, it explores the suggestion that both thinkers shared a similar conception of liberalism--a doctrinaire liberalism that emphasized the need for an enlightened elite to curtail the growing force of the democratic multitude. It concludes by elucidating ways that both authors might contribute to our contemporary understanding of liberalism.

Paper **The Reincarnation of Democratic Virtue in Modern Political Thought**
John R. Wallach, *Hunter College*
 Overview: From the Athenians' defeat in the Peloponnesian and the ensuing trial and execution of Socrates until the American and French revolutions, the idea of "democratic virtue" was conspicuously absent in Western political thought. This paper analyzes the obstacles to the articulation of "democratic virtue" from Plato to Rousseau, notes the features of its reemergence in the nineteenth century, and critically evaluates the nature of its transformation from an ancient to a modern idea.

Paper **Relativism and the Moral Authority of the Majority**
Catherine Warrick, *American University*
 Overview: Tocqueville suggests that our love of equality leads us to grant not only political power but moral authority to the majority; the "moral authority of the majority," he says, is "the theory of equality applied to brains." I argue that this moral authority (as distinct from the political authority of majorities) leads to a relativist epistemology potentially damaging to, rather than supportive of, democracy. This paper first investigates the links among equality, moral authority, and relativism, and then assesses the implications of this phenomenon for the notion of rights in a democracy.

Disc. **Brian Danoff**, *Lewis and Clark College*

20-2 **THEORETICAL MODELS OF ELECTIONS**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30
Chair **Indridi H. Indridason**, *University of Iceland*
Paper **Modelling Challenger Entry**
Jay Goodliffe, *Brigham Young University*
 Overview: I present a theoretical model where multiple potential challengers make interdependent decisions about running against the incumbent, and test this model empirically using U.S. House data from 1982-2002.

Paper **A Model of Electoral Competition with Uncertainty on Challenger's Competence**
Insun Kang, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: This paper describes a model which assumes there is uncertainty over candidates' competence levels as well as policy preferences. Since voters want to elect a better qualified candidate, they make inferences using all the information to maximize their expected utilities. With this model, I find fully revealing equilibria where some types of candidates send costly signals with pre-electoral policy announcements to inform voters so that voters can infer the quality of candidates.

Paper **The Effect of Ideologically Motivated Donations on Incumbent Behavior**
Justin Fox, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: We analyze a model of lawmaking and elections in order to understand the effect of ideologically motivated interest group donations on incumbent behavior. We find that such donations can affect incumbent decision making. Key to this result is interest group uncertainty of the incumbent's policy preference. In equilibrium, the interest group's influence of the incumbent's behavior is decreasing in the magnitude of its donation to the incumbent.

Paper **A Spatial Election with Common Values**
Carlos Maravall, *New York University*
 Overview: The paper analyzes an election where candidates compete unrestrictedly in a many dimensional Downsian space and it predicts that a candidate will be elected (which is not generally the case with many dimensions). Moreover, the value added of the election is clear: to pick the best candidate out of the two. That is, it is a mechanism to sort among the possible candidates when there is imperfect information. It also shows that if one candidate is sufficiently popular, he will be able to implement policies that are not Pareto optimal: some other policy could make some voter better off without hurting any.

Paper **Habitual Voting and Behavioral Turnout**
James Fowler, *University of California, Davis*
 Overview: Bendor, Diermeier, and Ting (2003) develop a behavioral alternative to rational choice models of turnout. This model generates significant aggregate turnout but it does not capture the well-known phenomenon of habitual voting (people either always vote or always abstain). I develop an alternative model that yields both high turnout and habitual voting.

Disc. **Indridi H. Indridason**, *University of Iceland*
Carlos Maravall, *New York University*

21-1 **I CHOO-CHOO-CHOOSE YOU: CHOICE MODELS**
Room TBA0, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30
Chair **Carla Van Beselaere**, *California Technology Institute*
Paper **The Influence of the Number of Alternatives on Discrete Choice Models Dealing with Correlation and Heteroscedasticity**
Yu-Chin Chen, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: In empirical studies of individual behavior in political science, there are many cases where individuals make choice from more than two candidates, even tens of alternatives. The research investigates the influence of the number of alternatives on both IIA (Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives) based models and flexible discrete choice models which attempt to deal with correlation and heteroscedasticity among alternatives. The flexible models, which include nested logit (NL), heteroscedastic extreme value model (HEV), error component logit (ECL) and multinomial probit (MNP), are taken into consideration. MNP, one of the flexible models, has

some limitations due to a high-dimensional integral and normal distributions which are not appropriate in some instances. One of the limitations, about the number of estimable parameters, is closely related to identification and the number of alternatives. This means that the number of estimable parameters in the error structure is restricted by econometric order and rank condition because of identification, and the number of alternatives affects the quantity of estimable error-structure parameters. In the trinomial probit case, for example, there are 6 unknown parameters in the error structure but at most 2 parameters may be estimated according to order condition. However, the percent of estimable error-structure parameters to unknown ones may increase to 80% while ten alternatives are faced. Moreover, another flexible model, ECL, is also restricted by the order and rank condition. Thus, the number of the parameters in the error structure is not unlimited even though ECL is a more general discrete choice model than MNP in some aspects. But it is not easy to tell the difference between correlation and heteroscedasticity by specifying utility function in ECL, but by specifying error structure in MNP. The research attempts to explore the applicability of these flexible models while the number of alternatives or choice-set increases. Through Monte Carlo simulation and an analysis of the error structure, we will discuss how the flexible models could model conditions in which correlation and heteroscedasticity exist. Moreover, the research demonstrates findings that while the number of alternatives increases, the applicability of ECL might decrease gradually because the specification of utility function accounting for correlation and heteroscedasticity gets progressively more difficult to be set up. Furthermore, the research aims to address how to take account of complex error structure such as cross correlation, and to avoid the confounding of correlation and heteroscedasticity in ECL. Possible specifications dealing with large number of alternatives are also discussed.

- Paper** **Difficult Choices: An Evaluation of Heterogeneous Choice Models with An Alternative Estimator**
Luke J. Keele, *Oxford University*
David Park, *Washington University*
 Overview: In our paper, using a series of Monte Carlo experiments, we focus on the properties of both heteroskedastic probit and heteroskedastic ordered probit models. We test how robust these models are given the specification quality of the variance model under varying sample sizes.
- Paper** **Bayesian Inference for Semiparametric Quantal Response Equilibrium Models**
Kevin M. Quinn, *Harvard University*
Anton Westveld, *Department of Statistics, University of Washington*
 Overview: This paper develops Bayesian inference for a class of strategic discrete choice models.
- Paper** **Utility Maximization and Intertemporal Choice**
Jonathan Wand, *Stanford University*
 Overview: I provide a model of dynamic discrete choice which is consistent with random utility maximization and provides a parsimonious framework for understanding intertemporal choice behavior over a finite set of discrete alternatives. The empirical portion of this paper provides tests the theory of contextual partisanship using data from the ANES 1980 Major Panel Study, and the 2000 National Annenberg Election Survey.
- Disc.** **Lee Walker**, *University of Kentucky*
- 22-1** **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, MOBILIZATION, AND POLITICAL POWER**
Mitzi L. Mahoney, *Sam Houston State University*
Cheryl L. Thomas, *American University*
 Overview: Using an original survey of 360 organizations, this study explores the relationship between type of organization (e.g. public affairs) and the benefits and incentives (e.g. newsletters) provided by organizations on their web sites. The analysis supports the hypothesis that organizations are using

their web sites to provide traditional benefits; however, these benefits are generally accessible to nonmembers. This analysis also suggests that organizations do not use their web sites to increase member participation.

- Paper** **The Impact of Election Day Registration on Voter Mobilization Activities**
Mary K. Fitzgerald, *James Madison University*
 Overview: How does Election Day registration influence voter mobilization activities by the political parties and other groups in the six states where this procedure exists? Typically, political parties and other groups focus their limited resources toward mobilizing/contacting individuals who are most likely to vote. However, since research shows that Election Day registration has the potential to increase voter participation in elections, this law may prompt political parties and other groups to alter their mobilization strategies. As a result, Election Day registration has the potential to have a direct impact on electoral participation by easing the voting process, as well as an indirect impact on electoral participation by encouraging the political parties and other groups to expand their mobilization activities and contact a larger and more diverse population of potential voters.
- Paper** **Political Disadvantage and Policy Expertise: The Obstacles and Opportunities in State and Local Politics for Native American Tribal Governments**
Laura Evans, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: This project examines relations between Native American tribal governments and states and localities. While some tribes have transformed their fortunes with highly profitable casinos, most continue to struggle against stark disadvantages—yet there are examples where tribes in constrained circumstances have convinced states and localities to adopt policies that better serve tribal communities. How is it that tribes, in some cases, overcome the odds and make their voices heard? This analysis builds on existing models of interest groups and social movements, and it identifies strategies that enhance the influence of marginalized communities.
- Paper** **Representation, Accountability, Co-optation, and the Control of Communication**
Michael D. Duenes, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: If a democratic government and a democratic society are mutually reinforcing and reflective, then what conclusions may be drawn from how society practices democracy with how society governs? I theorize that within organizations a small cadre of leaders rises to power and stay in power by controlling communication and information networks, creating a conducive atmosphere for co-optation to occur.
- Paper** **The Behavioral Model of Extraordinary Politics in Progressive Legal Thought**
Alyce J. Thomas
 Overview: To reconceptualize the concept of extraordinary politics using three common themes shared by behavioral theorists, legal historians and political theorists. Those three themes are 1) the structural characteristics of complex social, biological or political systems, 2) the relationship between evolutionary theory and 'collective behavior theory', and 3) the distributive implications of both scientific and legal critiques of the 'rational actor' model.
- Disc.** **Dara Strolovitch**, *University of Minnesota*
- 23-12** **PARDON MY SCANDAL**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30
Chair **Russell D. Renka**, *Southeast Missouri State University*
Paper **Below Reproach: Scandalog in the Postmodern Presidency**
Katherine A. Stewart, *Brown University*
 Overview: Little is understood about the political dynamics of presidential scandals and how their increasing use for political objectives has changed the institution of the presidency. Making use of public opinion and unique data sets, this comparative study of presidential scandals from the 1970s to the 1990s investigates why scandals come about, how presidents can best handle them and what the consequences of this trend towards scandal politics are for the institution of the presidency.

Paper	<p><u>The Healer In Chief: Presidential Leadership Following Public Scandal</u> Randall E. Adkins, <i>University of Nebraska at Omaha</i> Gary L. Gregg, <i>University of Louisville</i> Overview: The ability of the President to act as the Healer-in-Chief holds an important influence on the public, the president, the institution, and public policy. This research explores both the efforts and effects of modern presidents and their successors to heal the wounds of American society, including the impeachment of Presidents Andrew Johnson and Bill Clinton, and other major events such as Watergate.</p>	Chair Paper	<p>David Rohde, <i>Michigan State University</i> <u>Floor Leadership and the Rise of the Modern Senate, 1899-1937</u> Gerald H. Gamm, <i>University of Rochester</i> Steven S. Smith, <i>Washington University in St. Louis</i> Overview: In this paper, we examine the growth of floor leadership in the Senate. The emergence of party leaders is a late development, which began in the minority (Democratic) party in the late 1890s, assumed formal status in 1913, and became fully modern form in the 1920s and 1930s. We document this development and test theories of institutional change to account for this new institution.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Signaling, Separated Powers, and Federal Pardons</u> Holona LeAnne Ochs, <i>University of Kansas</i> Andrew B. Whitford, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: We show through an ARIMA model of the execution of executive clemency by the U.S. Pardons Attorney that signaling relationships drive the aggregate dispensation of clemency requests. We find that the pattern of applications for executive clemency denied reflects presidential ideology and attention, Supreme Court attention, media attention, and public opinion. In sum, the policy signaling at the core of the democratic process penetrates the bureaucracy and alters technical matters like clemency appeals.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Contested Election Cases in the Senate, 1789-2002</u> Jeffery A. Jenkins, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: Examines the history of electoral challenges in the U.S. Senate and their partisan and policy consequences.</p>
Paper	<p><u>A Multifactorial Analysis of Presidential Clemency: 1900-2002.</u> Ted Jones, <i>Washington State University</i> Jack McGuire, <i>Washington State University</i> David Nice, <i>Washington State University</i> Overview: This paper constructs several models of analysis to test the relationships between presidential clemency and political party of the president, years since the last party alignment, mean prison population, wartime, the modern presidency, length of presidential term at time of clemency, and presidential personality. In model one, for example, multivariate regression analysis is used to predict presidential clemency. In model two, clemency is operationalized as dichotomous dependent variable where probit is used. In model three, presidential clemency is a categorical dependent variable where 0 is no action, 1 commutation, 2 is remission, and 3 is pardon. In this model, ordered probit is used to determine the probability of an independent variable falling into each category of the dependent variable. Several iterations of these models are run to measure the effect James Barber's and Dean Simonton's typologies of presidential personality have on clemency.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Senate Elections before Popular Election: An Exploration</u> Charles H. Stewart, <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Wendy Schiller, <i>Brown University</i> Overview: This paper will report results from an initial exploration into U.S. Senate elections in state legislatures between 1870 and 1913---the forty years preceding popular election of the Senate.</p>
		Paper	<p><u>Cloture Reform Reconsidered</u> Gregory J. Wawro, <i>Columbia University</i> Eric Schickler, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This paper investigates the impact of the adoption of cloture by the U.S. Senate in 1917, assessing the degree to which the rule affected lawmaking in the institution.</p>
		Disc.	<p>Bruce Oppenheimer, <i>Vanderbilt University</i> David Rohde, <i>Michigan State University</i></p>
		24-9	<p><u>FLOORING IT: RULES AND PROCEDURE IN CONGRESS</u></p>
		Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30
		Chair	Charles R. Shipan , <i>University of Iowa</i>
		Paper	<p><u>Why Do it on the Floor when we can Do it in the Rules Committee?: The Role of House Floor Waivers in Affecting Committee Turf</u> Charles J. Finocchiaro, <i>University at Buffalo, SUNY</i> Bryan W. Marshall, <i>University of Missouri, St. Louis</i> Overview: Floor waivers have become an increasingly important part of the procedural landscape of the U.S. House. Our analysis focuses on the use of three types (those related to Rule XXI, germaneness, and blanket waivers) during five post-reform congresses (97th-98th and 104th-106th). We examine the degree to which waivers affect jurisdictional battles over particular bills, amendment rights, and the ability of the originating committee to protect their products on the floor.</p>
Paper	<p><u>"Last-Minute" Pardon Scandals: Fact and Fiction</u> P.S. Ruckman, <i>Rock Valley College</i> Overview: In the aftermath of Clinton's "last-minute" pardons, a variety of "experts" appeared before congressional committees in an attempt to place the resulting "scandal" in a historical and legal context. Although no data were presented to support the notion, testimony suggested presidents previous to Clinton had generally exercised the pardoning power evenly across terms and without any particular increases in activity near the end of administrations. At the time of the hearings, all of the available empirical research on the topic (published and unpublished) suggested otherwise. That research, however, largely focused on administrations from 1789 to 1932. This paper explores "last-minute" pardons with a new, original data set on the exercise of clemency from 1933 to 2000 gathered by the author and researchers at the University of Chicago. The analysis suggests congressional committees were quite misinformed with respect to the recent use of clemency. The author then explores some possible explanations for the poor quality of congressional testimony, including: governmental policies, partisan transition in the White House and the vested interests of those participating in such hearings.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Mixed Signals: Rules' Reponse to Committee Requests, 96th-103rd Congress</u> Linda Fowler, <i>Dartmouth College</i> Overview: This paper uses a unique data set of written requests from House committee chairs to the Rules Committee for the 96th-103rd Congresses to determine the extent of collaboration in devising floor procedures for bills at a time of rapid change in party control of committees' policy agendas.</p>
		Paper	<p><u>Reassessing Procedural Choice in the House Rules Committee</u> Ken W. Moffett, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: Many researchers performed research to study the conditions under which the Rules Committee will assign open, closed and modified rules to bills. Extending data from Dion and Huber's (1996) paper through the 106th Congress, I examine these conditions as they relate to the predictions of distributive, informational, partisan and "conditional party" theories. Following the divided government literature, I also test the effect of divided government on the proportion of bills that receive restrictive rules. I use the Beck and Katz (1995) corrections to correct for problems related to cross-sectional, time series data in my dataset. Using several models with these corrections, I discover that committees that are significantly different from the floor are much more likely to have restricted</p>
Disc.	<p>Russell D. Renka, <i>Southeast Missouri State University</i> Margaret E. Stanton, <i>University of Arkansas - Little Rock</i></p>		
24-1	<p><u>THE U.S. SENATE IN AN AGE OF REFORM (Co-sponsored with Program Co-Chairs' and Politics and History, see 1-3 and 32-7)</u></p>		
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30		

	rules placed on their bills. Also, I find no evidence to support the predictions of distributive or informational theories.				
Paper	<u>Minority Rights in the House of Representatives</u> Kevin A. Roust , <i>California Technology Institute</i> Overview: The House of Representatives reserves several rights for the minority. One such right is the motion to recommit, which is guaranteed to be the final amendment to a particular bill. Further, the motion to recommit is protected against restriction by most simple majorities. Why does a majoritarian body choose to protect these minority rights? A model incorporating the motion to recommit is developed and tested.				
Disc.	Glenn R. Parker , <i>Purdue University</i> John D. Wilkerson , <i>University of Washington</i>				
24-20	<u>PARTISANSHIP IN LEGISLATURES</u>				
Room	BURNHAM 5, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30				
Chair	Andrea C. Campbell , <i>University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign</i>				
Paper	<u>Analyzing Congressional Party Communication Operations from a Formal Perspective</u> Daniel W. Lipinski , <i>University of Tennessee</i> Overview: In order to fully understand contemporary congressional policymaking and electoral politics – particularly the importance of parties in these arenas— it is essential to develop better ways to examine partisan communication strategies. In this paper I develop a more formal approach for studying congressional party communication operations. I show how these operations have institutionalized and how the principal-agent model works well to explain the relationship between party communication leaders and congressional partisans				
Paper	<u>Learning to Govern: The Texas Experience</u> Timothy O'Neill , <i>Southwestern University</i> Tiffany Barnes , <i>Southwestern University</i> Overview: On January 14, 2003, the first Republican controlled Texas House of Representatives in 130 years was sworn into office. The session that followed was the most contentious in the last two decades. The Texas House had traditionally operated as a mildly bipartisan rather than a partisan legislature, unlike the US House of Representatives. What caused the disruption in the new Republican controlled House? We use a combination of participant- observation and elite interviews to explore how fundamental norms, procedures, and rules changed as the Republican Party became accustomed to be the majority party and the Democrats became accustomed to being the minority party.				
Paper	<u>Congress in Dynamic Equilibrium: Institutional Development and the House of Representatives 1890-2000</u> Thomas J. Raven , <i>Cornell University</i> Overview: This project is motivated by two relatively straight forward historical observations about the institutional development of Congress from 1890-2000. The first is that the organizational structure in the House of Representatives throughout this period, like a pendulum, has swung back-and-forth between the strong party/strong Speakership model and the weak party/strong committee model. The second is that this transition toward either centralization or decentralization in organizational form has proceeded throughout the century within both the Democratic and Republican parties at the same time. That is, both the Democrats and Republicans, whether in the majority or minority, have both pushed party organization and chamber practices in the same direction. Far from considering the trajectory of institutional development outlined above as an accident of history, this paper will argue that this is precisely the pattern of institutional change one should expect in Congress both in the past and future.				
Disc.	Andrea C. Campbell , <i>University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign</i> Holly Brasher , <i>University of Alabama, Birmingham</i>				
25-101	<u>ROUNDTABLE: FINANCING THE 2004 ELECTION: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF MCCONNELL V. FEC, FEC RULEMAKING, AND THE REMNANTS OF BCRA</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30				
Rndtbl.	David B. Magleby , <i>Brigham Young University</i> Diana Dwyre , <i>California State University, Chico</i> Gary Jacobson , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> John Green , <i>University of Akron</i> Michael Malbin , <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: David Magleby has assembled a panel of leading experts on this topic who will comment on both presidential and congressional campaign finance, the impact on the parties and interest groups, and the impact on elections and democracy more generally. Included in the panel are such distinguished experts on campaign finance as Gary Jacobson, Michael Malbin, Diana Dwyre, John Green and Thomas Mann. The panel participants will explore what impact the new rules will have on candidates, parties, interest groups, the media, and voters.				
26-1	<u>POLITICS OF THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURTS</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30				
Chair	Lauren Bowen , <i>John Carroll University</i>				
Paper	<u>Cómo Decide?: Decision Making by Latino Federal Judges</u> Kenneth L. Manning , <i>University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth</i> Overview: This research seeks to determine if Latino judges in the federal courts exhibit decision-making differences vis a vis their non-Latino colleagues. While some prior research has touched upon this question, such research has been limited in its methodology and scope of analysis. This study utilizes unique, wide-ranging data looking at judges appointed by presidents over a multi-year period. Inferences will be drawn about how powerful the judicial attribute of ethnicity is in predicting case outcomes.				
Paper	<u>The Legal Model and Daubert's Effect on Trial Judges' Decisions to Admit Scientific Expert Testimony</u> Jeremy Buchman , <i>Long Island University</i> Overview: In <i>Daubert v. Merrell Dow Pharmaceuticals</i> (1993), the Supreme Court reaffirmed the trial judge's role as a "gatekeeper" responsible for determining the admissibility of expert scientific evidence. In so doing, the Court supplanted an earlier admissibility standard based on scientific consensus. This paper presents a logit analysis that isolates the effect of Daubert on federal trial judges' decisions to admit scientific expert testimony in tort cases from 1983 to the present.				
Paper	<u>Jurisdiction Without Borders - Human Rights Cases in U.S. Courts</u> Jeffrey J. Davis , <i>University of Maryland, Baltimore County</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the legal, political and institutional factors that determine whether U.S. federal courts hear causes of action arising from alleged human rights abuses abroad. The research addresses the role of the executive branch, interest groups and multinational corporations in addition to the ideological and institutional setting of the federal bench, in studying judicial behavior in these cases.				
Paper	<u>How Justice is Served: The Influences Behind U.S. Attorney Decision Making</u> Colin L. Provost , <i>Stony Brook University</i> Overview: This paper is an analysis of the constraints U.S. attorneys face when deciding how to prosecute a criminal case. I examine the ideological impact of the Attorney General, District Court judges as well as state citizens on whether federal criminal cases are prosecuted to the full extent of the law or whether they are plea-bargained.				
Disc.	Lauren Bowen , <i>John Carroll University</i> Herbert Kritzer , <i>University of Wisconsin</i>				

27-9	<u>THE RULE OF LAW REVISITED</u>				activity since World War II in Massachusetts, Maryland, and Texas.
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30				
Chair	Dennis Goldford, <i>Drake University</i>	Paper			<u>Conflict and Coalitions in the Transforming U.S. South: Roll Call Votes in Georgia Across Time</u>
Paper	<u>The Rule of Law: An Indispensable Concept?</u> Daniel N. Hoffman, <i>Johnson C Smith University</i> Overview: Different elaborations of "the rule of law" have different normative and empirical strengths and weaknesses. The question remains whether any version of the concept is satisfactory, and what would be the implications of a negative answer.				Matthew L. Gunning, <i>Emory University</i> Overview: Paper examines roll call vote patterns over time in Georgia as the electoral environment is reshaped by major reapportionment, African-American enfranchisement and the rise of two-party competition.
Paper	<u>Learning from the Great Council of Revision Debate</u> Jeffrey H. Anderson, <i>United States Air Force Academy</i> Overview: Scholars have long neglected the Constitutional Convention debate over a proposed council of revision - mentioning it often in passing but without exploring it in detail or without appreciating its full present-day relevance. In the midst of today's contentious disagreements about the proper limits of judicial power, it is crucial to examine the Supreme Court's present-day exercises of power in the light of the delegates' heretofore neglected debate.	Paper			<u>From Universalism to Hyper-Partisanship: Tracking Party Discipline in the California Assembly, 1900-2000</u> Seth Masket, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper utilizes a dataset consisting of every roll call cast in the California Assembly during the 20th century to track legislators' responses to various institutional changes. The data show floor voting to be multidimensional and weakly polarized during the first half of the century but unidimensional and very strongly polarized today. This sharp increase in partisanship began with the demise of cross-filing in the 1950s.
Paper	<u>Federalism by Convenience: The Supreme Court on the Death Penalty and States' Rights Controversies</u> David Niven, <i>Florida Atlantic University</i> Kenneth Miller, <i>Arizona State University</i> Overview: The Supreme Court's conservative leadership has sought to quell Court scrutiny of state Death Penalty laws and practices, reasoning that the states should be left to exercise their own judgment. The Court's embrace of states' rights, fundamental to its position on the Death Penalty, is noticeably absent in controversies in which deferring to the states would amount to deferring to a liberal agenda. We explore the implications of the Court's selective embrace of States' Rights	Disc.			Sarah M. Morehouse, <i>University of Connecticut</i> Malcolm Jewell, <i>University of Kentucky</i>
Paper	<u>Culture Trumps Correlation: Understanding the Confounding Persistence of Law Myths</u> Paul E. Parker, <i>Truman State University</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the persistence of three myths regarding law and courts despite academic evidence to the contrary. After substantiating the existence of myths of strict construction justices, a litigation crisis, and a rising crime rate that is deterred through harsher penalties, the academic evidence that undercuts each is discussed. Finally, I analyze the manners in which the myths are transmitted and the political functions they serve.				
Disc.	Robert Bradley, <i>Illinois State University</i> William McLauchlan, <i>Purdue University</i>				
28-10	<u>LEGISLATIVE ROLL CALL VOTING</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30				
Chair	Peverill Squire, <i>University of Iowa</i>				
Paper	<u>Patterns of Roll Call Voting in America's Legislatures</u> Gerald C. Wright, <i>Indiana University</i> Tracy Osborn, <i>Indiana University</i> Jon Winburn, <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: This paper explores a dataset consisting of all roll call votes cast in every state legislature and the U.S. Congress in the 1999-2000 sessions. We compare the roll call votes in these chambers in terms of frequency, dimensionality, levels of conflict, and degrees of party cohesion and polarization. The differences among these chambers, we find, allow for comparative analyses of existing theories of legislative politics and suggest new lines of legislative research.	Paper			<u>Evaluations of New Orleans' Urban Public Transportation: Extending Research--from Paper to Practice</u> Rosalind B. Cook, <i>University of New Orleans</i> Jerod McCann, <i>New Orleans Regional Transit Authority</i> Overview: The success of any municipal service lies within the perceptions of its stakeholders. The public transportation system of New Orleans is responsible for meeting the daily travel needs of locals and tourists. This analysis of the transportation system addresses the issue of evaluations of services using survey data.
Paper	<u>Political Party Competition and Redistribution in the American States</u> Andrew Karch, <i>University of Texas at Austin</i> Benjamin Deufel, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This paper develops an innovative strategy to investigate a classic question in political science: what is the relationship between inter-party competition in the American states and redistributive public policies? Most investigations correlate state spending data to state-level measures of inter-party competition but do not examine the mechanisms that are hypothesized to link competition to redistribution. We examine these mechanisms directly by tracing redistributive legislative				<u>Public Opinion, Policy Outcomes and Issue Redefinition</u> Richard Hula, <i>Michigan State University</i> Adrian Hemond, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: This paper explores the role of public opinion in the redefinition of environmental policy. Evidence is presented that Michigan policy makers were successful in bringing together several disparate policy themes in ways that reinforced a redefined environmental agenda for the state. This effort permitted the creation a diverse coalition supporting brownfield redevelopment

Paper	<p><u>A Cascade and Concordance of Municipal Statements and Records</u> Christopher D. Newman, <i>Elgin Community College</i> Christopher Hafer, <i>Roosevelt University</i> Overview: This paper uses the TEXT analysis capabilities of MySQL, which can hold documents of almost unlimited length, to analyze phraseology and imagery in State of the City addresses of mayors of sixty-five large U.S. cities (>25% of the cities with populations greater than 100,000 per the 2000 census).</p>	<p>public administration training and the democratic education of the burgeoning nonprofit and third sector of employment. Third sector employment will surpass government employment within fifteen years. Such a sea-change in public employment must lead to deeper thinking about the role of non-profits in democracy, and to a deep rethinking of the relevancy and revision of public administration training itself.</p>
Disc.	Christine H. Roch , <i>Georgia State University</i>	
30-3	<p><u>NATIVE AMERICANS POLICY AND POLITICS (Co-sponsored with Race, Class and Ethnicity, see 16-18)</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30 H. Paul Friesema, <i>Northwestern University</i> Reading Policy: Implementation and the Shaping of Navajo Resistance to Relocation Kristin E. Mattson, <i>Creighton University</i> Overview: The paper employs a case study analysis of the Navajo Hopi Land Settlement Act (Public Law 93-531) to examine the relationship between policy problem definition, implementation and resistance. The paper examines the way policymakers gained successful passage of their preferred policy solution by redefining the policy problem they confronted. While the political climate at the time supported this redefinition of the policy problem, this redefinition produced contradictory actions from implementing institutions and ironically shaped and empowered Navajo resistance.</p>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30	
Chair	H. Paul Friesema , <i>Northwestern University</i>	
Paper	Reading Policy: Implementation and the Shaping of Navajo Resistance to Relocation	
Paper	<p>Constructing Democracy in America: New Institutions for Consultation with American Indian Tribal Governments Lauren M. Morris MacLean, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: While Indian gaming has focused the media spotlight on conflicts between tribes and states, health policy issues have recently spurred some examples of unprecedented collaboration. This study examines why some state governments consult more than others with American Indian tribes on health care policy from 1970 to the present. The project contributes to understanding how to create and sustain democratic institutions that facilitate the participation of poor and marginalized groups or ethnic minorities, both in the U.S. and elsewhere.</p>	
Paper	<p>Tribal Use of Public Relations to Shape Public Policy Jeffrey S. Ashley, <i>Eastern Illinois University</i> Karen L. Jarratt-Ziemski, <i>Northern Arizona University</i> Overview: While traditional approaches to policy change have proven to be a mixed-bag for Indian nations, public relations and problem definition might offer a pro-active approach for tribal governments that could lead to more favorable policies. This study, examines tribes' perceptions of the importance of public relations as a political tool for shaping public policy and the extent to which tribes are actively engaged in utilizing public relations as a political strategy.</p>	
Paper	<p>American Indian Political Mobilization: Turnout and Vote Choice Richard C. Witmer, <i>University of Northern Iowa</i> Overview: This paper examines the political mobilization and political incorporation of American Indians in South Dakota over time.</p>	
Disc.	Steven A. Light , <i>University of North Dakota</i>	
31-201	<p><u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: A RENEWED THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION AND TRAINING</u> TBA, TABLE 6, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30 Our Relevancy at Risk: The Third Sector and the Need for a Renewed Theory of Democratic Administration and Training Chris R. Hamilton, <i>Washburn University</i> Overview: The essay thoroughly redefines basic directions for a renewed theory of democratic administration, for the role of</p>	
Room	TBA, TABLE 6, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30	
Inf. Rnd.	Our Relevancy at Risk: The Third Sector and the Need for a Renewed Theory of Democratic Administration and Training	
Chair	Chris R. Hamilton , <i>Washburn University</i>	
Paper	Overview: The essay thoroughly redefines basic directions for a renewed theory of democratic administration, for the role of	
31-202	<p><u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PAUL LIGHT'S - THE NEW PUBLIC SERVICE</u> TBA, TABLE 7, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30 The New Public Service Vidu Soni, <i>Central Michigan University</i> Overview: TBA</p>	
Room	TBA, TABLE 7, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30	
Inf. Rnd.	The New Public Service	
Chair	Vidu Soni , <i>Central Michigan University</i>	
Paper	Overview: TBA	
34-4	<p><u>TEACHING PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION</u> TBA1, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30 John H. Parham, <i>Minnesota State University</i> A Confrontation Between Teaching and Learning Vicki Clarke, <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: In the classroom, we control the teaching of our students, though not necessarily their learning. By giving students the opportunity to study politics and power through service, we provide a key to learning that goes beyond the classroom. By definition, service learning is the integration of formal study with hands-on activities outside the classroom involving a partnership between the academic institution and the community. With a dialog between practice-to-theory and theory-to-practice, service learning engages students with hands-on learning techniques that are supported by classroom theory.</p>	
Room	TBA1, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30	
Chair	John H. Parham , <i>Minnesota State University</i>	
Paper	A Confrontation Between Teaching and Learning	
Paper	<p>Using Stories to Teach Public Administration Theories and Models Gerald T. Gabris, <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: This paper investigates the characteristics of using stories to teach public administration theory more effectively by blending practical experience with abstract models.</p>	
Paper	<p>Teaching State and Local Government: A Comparison Dina M. Krois, <i>Lansing Community College</i> Overview: This presentation will compare my experiences teaching state and local government online and in a traditional lecture course. I will focus on the differences among syllabi, lectures, discussion requirements, online participation and other course requirements. Additionally, the presentation will focus on measurable results, such as the comparisons of exam scores (the exams are the same for both formats) and the quality (and sources of research) for course papers.</p>	
Disc.	Jerold J. Duquette , <i>Central Connecticut State University</i>	
37-2	<p><u>LAW, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, AND THE LGBT INDIVIDUAL</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30 Steve Sanders, <i>University of Michigan</i> The Politics of Transgender Identity Wally Bacon, <i>University of Nebraska at Omaha</i> Overview: Among GLBT political groups, the least known and understood is the politics of the transgendered. This paper is an initial attempt to identify the relative importance of being transgendered to a range of political behaviors and beliefs.</p>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30	
Chair	Steve Sanders , <i>University of Michigan</i>	
Paper	The Politics of Transgender Identity	
Paper	<p>Unconventional Partners: Exploring Different Outcomes for Same-Sex Marriage Movements in Vermont and Hawaii Adam P. Kradel, <i>University of Wisconsin - Madison</i> Overview: The purpose of this project is to investigate social movements that occurred in Hawaii and Vermont attempting to establish legal rights, tantamount to marriage, for same-sex couples. This paper seeks to explain how those in favor of same-sex unions were able to mount a successful campaign and explores the more generalizable question of: how do scholars explain differences in the outcomes of different social movements?</p>	
Paper	<p>Bug-chasers, Gift-givers and the Criminal Law: Regulating Behaviour in the Age of Epidemic Michael Orsini, <i>University of Ottawa</i></p>	

Overview: This paper examines recent controversies involving the application of the criminal law to deal with the transmission of HIV infection. Drawing on important Canadian cases, it argues that renewed calls to introduce HIV-specific legislation are part of a growing attempt to regulate behaviour in the age of epidemic.

Disc. **Martin Dupuis**, *Western Illinois University*

39-301 **POSTER SESSION: EMPIRICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THEORETICAL MODELS I**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 1:30

Poster **Pre-Electoral Coalition Formation: Theory and Empirics**

Sona N. Golder, *New York University*

Overview: Most political parties in parliamentary democracies who wish to exercise executive power are typically forced to enter some form of coalition. They either form an electoral coalition prior to election or they compete independently and form a government coalition afterwards. Using a bargaining model, I generate hypotheses concerning the probability of pre-electoral coalition formation and subject them to several tests using a new dataset containing information on potential coalition dyads in 21 democracies from 1946 to 1998.

Poster **Leaders, Sequences, and Contexts: Modeling Government-Dissident Interactions**

Stephen M. Shellman, *The College of William & Mary*

Overview: The project tests empirical implications from a theoretical decision-making model which focuses on government and dissident leaders' tactical choices while engaged in contentious interactions. The author explains how leaders' individual motives transpire into macro-observable conflict and cooperation in Chile, Venezuela, Afghanistan, and Israel. A system of equations captures leaders' sequential responses to one another and when estimated produces coefficient estimates consistent with many of the hypotheses derived from the model.

Poster **An Empirical Study of Linkage Bargaining in the UNSC**

Songying Fang, *University of Rochester*

Overview: In this paper, I empirically test equilibrium predictions derived from a noncooperative bargaining model, which compares the outcomes of linkage bargaining and non-linkage bargaining in international institutions. Using the voting records of the UN Security Council, I test the hypothesis that linkage bargaining is conducive to reaching agreements in international institutions.

Poster **Transaction Costs, Endogenous Rules, and Pivotal Politics**

Gregory Koger, *University of Montana*

Overview: I revise Keith Krehbiel's pivotal politics model (1998) to incorporate transaction costs and institutional endogeneity. These additional features help explain both historical variation in obstruction and the absence of filibusters in cases when we would expect to see them. Most interesting, this research suggests that institutional endogeneity influences outcomes even in the absence of institutional change.

Poster **Regularized Rioting: Mechanism Design for Authoritarian States**

Peter L. Lorentzen, *Stanford University*

Overview: This paper considers a formal model of the role of protests in authoritarian regimes. By rewarding citizens for engaging in costly protest activities, the government both diverts them from regime-challenging revolutions and gains a "fire alarm" signal that enhances its ability to monitor its agents. The theoretical model is contrasted with other formal and informal theories in its empirical implications for the case of contemporary China.

Poster **Voter Choice and Party System Diversity: An Agent-Based Approach**

Matt Golder, *New York University*

Overview: Agent-based model examining party system diversity and voter choice.

Poster **A Systemic Approach To Democratic Peace: Multilevel Analysis of International Politics**

Wonjae Hwang, *Michigan State University*

Overview: This paper highlights the importance of empirical evaluation of theoretical models. Inappropriately specified models cannot properly account for a theory. On the other hand, well-defined statistical models can make a theoretical argument sharp and distinct. In this regard, this paper contributes to theory testing and development. Specifically, it provides a way of testing systemic or structural theories in international politics. This paper provides an adequate test of these theories and shows how the behavior of states changes as the structure of the international system changes. Recognizing the importance of international norms, the paper also contributes to the arguments of constructivism. It demonstrates the manner in which international norms become effective in changing the behavior of states in the international political arena.

Poster **Electoral Uncertainty and Political Corruption**

Eric C.C. Chang, *Michigan State University*

Overview: The current empirical research on the causes of political corruption uses an aggregated index of perceived corruption at the cross-national level and is thus incapable of explaining what factors drive individual politicians to engage in politically corrupt activities. This paper seeks to fill this vacuum by hypothesizing and testing empirically whether the increase of electoral uncertainty pushes candidates to seek illegal rents.

Poster **Destiny Unbound: Modeling and Testing Progressive Ambition and District Selection**

Michael W. Tofias, *Duke University*

Overview: A model is developed that formalizes progressive ambition using Banks and Kiewiet (1989) and Groseclose (2001) to develop a dynamic strategic game with a base office available for generating "political capital" in order to compete as a "higher quality" candidate for a target office. The conditions under which a particular base office (or district) is chosen and the implications for identifying "feeder districts" which attract candidates that are progressively ambitious are considered.

Thursday, April 15 – 3:30 pm – 5:15 pm

2-2 VOTING BEHAVIOR: TURNOUT, ABSTENTION AND EVALUATION

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Chair Raymond Duch, *University of Houston*

Paper Supranational Membership and Voter Turnout: A Test of the European Union

Geoffrey D. Peterson, *University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire*

Mark W. Rasmusson, *University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire*

Overview: An examination of the impact of supranational organizations on voter turnout in national elections.

Paper Ideology, Economics, and Voter Abstention: Evidence from the European Democracies

Erik R. Tillman, *Emory University*

Overview: This paper examines the effects of ideology and economic perceptions on voter abstention in cross-national perspective. The central argument is that the effect of economic conditions is conditioned by the ideology of the incumbent government and the citizen. Hypotheses will be tested using election study data from several European democracies.

Paper Party System Configuration and Its Effect on Economic Voting: Reexamination of 'Clarity of Alternative' thesis

Jin Seok Bae, *The University of Texas at Austin*

Overview: This paper aims to examine the enabling and constraining conditions of economic voting, focusing on party system configuration and the ideological disposition of incumbent parties and voters. Unlike conventional wisdom that economic effects should be stronger when the number of effective parties – available alternatives – is smaller, this paper shows that there is no big difference of the effects between two-party systems and multi-party systems. Rather, under certain conditions, the two-party system reduces the economic evaluation on voting behavior.

Paper Democratic Norms and Governance: Ideological Congruence and Winners/losers

Myunghee Kim, *Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville*

Overview: This project explores the relationships among ideological congruence, winner/loser status, and the public's support for a political system. The proposed research focuses on nine advanced democracies during the late 1990s to explore democratic governance. The mass survey, the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems 1996-2000, provides appropriate datasets to perform statistical analyses.

Disc. Michael Wolf, *Indiana University Purdue University, Ft. Wayne*

2-8 POLICY CHANGE AND ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Chair Debra Holzhauer, *Coe College*

Paper Who's the Chef? Allocation of Rights over Macroeconomic Policy in Coalition Governments

Lucy M. Goodhart, *Columbia University*

Overview: This paper tests who controls macro-economic policy in coalition governments using the logic of Alesina's rational partisan theory. According to the theory, real economic outcomes will change only when there is an unexpected change in the agent setting macro-economic policy. Therefore, by correlating cabinet turnover with economic outcomes, we can infer the responsible party. The analysis is implemented via an extension to Alesina's model and estimated using data in Woldendorp, Keman and Budge (2000).

Paper Socio-Economic Policy and Performance: A Comparative Analysis of Sweden and the United States

Thomas S. Nessel, *University of Wisconsin-Green Bay*

Overview: The purpose of the paper is to precisely describe the differences in Swedish and American economic security and income redistribution policies and then to examine their relative effectiveness and their socio-economic effects. Key questions addressed include the following: Why is anti-poverty policy in Sweden so much more effective than the U.S.? What socio-economic strains has Sweden faced? What socio-economic

policy changes have been implemented since the early 1990s? What key interdisciplinary questions does Sweden's socio-economic performance raise?

Paper The Legacy of Equality: Documenting and Understanding Changes in Wage Inequality in Advanced Industrial Democracies (1970-2002).

Rebecca J. Oliver, *Northwestern University*

Overview: This paper examines changes in wage inequality in 18 advanced industrial democracies using new data covering the 1980 to 2002 time-period (OECD 2002), (LIS 2001). Drawing upon extensive field work in Italy and Sweden, the work introduces three new variables: the presence of wage indexation practices, wage scales, and the type of confederal groupage - the way in which union members are grouped into confederations, either by ideological/religious affiliation or by occupational-type- in order to help us to better understand these changes.

Paper Government Spending and Economic Growth in Divergent Political and International Contexts: A Cross-National Analysis of Sixteen OECD Countries, 1960-2000

Sung Ho Park, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

Overview: How government spending influences economic growth in the OECD countries is still an unsolved question. This study gives an answer based upon two innovative attempts. First, effects of government spending will be tested in different formats of domestic political institution and global economic integration. Second, the simultaneous equation model will be utilized in a pooled time-series analysis to deal with the simultaneous equation bias coming from two-way causality between government spending and economic growth.

Paper Political and Societal Vetoplayers in Regulatory Reform: The Transformation of Telecommunications in OECD-Countries

Volker H. Schneider, *University of Constance*

Johannes Bauer, *State University of Michigan*

Frank Haeghe, *University of Constance*

Overview: The paper describes the regulatory reform in the telecommunications sector of OECD countries and tries to explain the varying speed and extent of transformation by institutional and other political and economical variables.

Disc. David Rueda, *Binghamton University, SUNY*

3-1 PATTERNS AND OUTCOMES OF CIVIL SOCIETY ENGAGEMENT IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Chair Richard Stahler-Sholk, *Eastern Michigan University*

Paper Territorial Conflict, Civil Society and the State: The Case of Awastingni

Craig W. Auchter, *Butler University*

Overview: This paper focuses on the organizing efforts of the Sumu Mayangna indigenous community of Awastingni and its allies to: (1) win recognition by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and the state of Nicaragua of its customary rights to communal, (2) promote and respond to the promulgation and impact of Law 445 governing the demarcation of indigenous territories and the Regulatory Decree for Law # 28 defining the terms of enforcement for the country's 1987 Autonomy Statute, and (3) resolve the territorial conflicts affecting Awastingni in the immediate aftermath of the formal presentation of the land survey diagnostic study of July 2003.

Paper Civil Society and Social Capital in the Central American Context

John A. Booth, *University of North Texas*

Patricia B. Richard, *Ohio University*

Overview: Using public opinion survey data from six Central American nations during the early and mid 1990s, the paper employs examines a model of social capital formation derived from the work of Robert Putnam and other scholars. The model posits that levels of social capital (interpersonal trust, diffuse support for the regime, democratic norms, and political participation) are a function of civil society engagement (activism in voluntary organizations) The possible intervening effects of demographic factors and sociopolitical context are

Paper	taken into account. Empirical findings modestly support the key hypothesis implicit in the model. Other factors are more powerful than civil society in forming social capital.	
	<u>Legitimacy and Civil Society in Costa Rica</u> Mitchell A. Seligson , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> John A. Booth , <i>University of North Texas</i> Overview: Using 2002 public opinion survey data from Costa Rica, the paper explores the structure of democratic legitimacy and how it is related to civil society activism. Confirmatory factor analysis is employed to examine the dimensionality of legitimacy in the Costa Rican case, and to examine whether and to what extent civil society engagement either predicts or is predicted by legitimacy.	
Paper	<u>Civil Society Consultation by the Inter-American Development Bank: Stakeholder Participation in Central American Regional Development Projects</u> Rose J. Spalding , <i>DePaul University</i> Overview: This paper explores the civil society consultation process developed by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), focusing on consultations surrounding Plan Puebla-Panamá, an IDB-financed regional development initiative covering southern Mexico and Central America. Drawing on IDB reports and survey data collected at seven Central American civil society workshops in 2002, supplemented with information from the author's 2003 interviews with consultation participants in Nicaragua, this paper analyzes the process from the standpoint of representativeness, engagement, and program impact.	
Disc.	Richard Stahler-Sholk , <i>Eastern Michigan University</i>	
3-3	<u>REPRESENTATION AND ELECTORAL COMPETITION IN LATIN AMERICA</u>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30	
Chair	Michelle Taylor-Robinson , <i>Texas A&M University</i>	
Paper	<u>Coattail Effects in Brazilian Election: A Municipal Level Analysis</u> Eduardo L. Leoni , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: My contribution in this paper to the debate about presidential and gubernatorial coattails in Brazil concerns the use of more appropriate data and statistical methods to examine the relationships between presidential and legislative voting in Brazil.	
Paper	<u>Explaining Electoral Success and Failure in Chile and Uruguay: The Cases of PDC, UDI, MPP, and the PC-PN Partisan Family</u> Juan Pablo Luna , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: Drawing on survey research and extensive fieldwork in fifteen electoral districts in Chile and Uruguay, this paper describes and analyzes partisan success and failure in the context of two institutionalized Latin American party-systems that followed widely divergent development routes in the post-transitional period.	
Paper	<u>Bankers, Peasants, or Just Leftists? Analyzing Voting Behavior in Post-Authoritarian Uruguay</u> Rosario Queirolo , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: This paper analyzes a case of left-wing party victory in main national elections: the electoral change in Uruguay. By looking at public opinion data collected right before the four post-authoritarian democratic elections (1984, 1989, 1994 and 1999), it explains the changes in the determinants of the vote through time.	
Paper	<u>Legislative Reelection and Incumbency Advantage: Evidence from Brazil and Colombia</u> Lucio R. Renno , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: The purpose of this paper is two-fold. First, it assesses the extent to which Brazilian and Colombian legislatures are populated by career politicians. Second, it analyzes the effects of institutional features of the electoral system on the politician's ability to get reelected.	
Paper	<u>Electoral Competition in Large Multimember Districts: Evidence from the Colombian Senate</u> Juan Carlos Rodríguez-Raga , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Juan Gabriel Gómez-Albarello , <i>Washington University</i>	
	Overview: We present a model of strategic electoral competition in a quasi-single non-transferable vote (SNTV) electoral system and large multimember districts. Using evidence from elections to the Colombian Senate, this paper shows how the interplay between electoral institutions and the underlying socio-political structure accounts for the substantial rates of regional variation in the patterns of competition.	
Disc.	Allyson L. Benton , <i>CIDE</i>	
3-26	<u>THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CONTEMPORARY CHINA</u>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30	
Chair	Dali Yang , <i>University of Chicago</i>	
Paper	<u>Applying a Comparative Analysis Framework: Chinese Administrative Reforms Revisited</u> Kaifeng Yang , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: At present, comparative public administration studies suffer from the lack of a solid theoretical framework for conducting comparative analysis between industrialized countries and developing countries such as China. This paper proposes a comparative analysis framework emphasizing five basic relationships inherent in public administration literature. With this framework, it illustrates that, in different context, similar reform strategies have different managerial concerns, political purposes, and social consequences.	
Paper	<u>Fiscal Decentralization Is Trickling Down? An Empirical Study of County Governments In China</u> Jianfeng Wang , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Overview: Using the latest dataset, this article tests a series of hypotheses about the fiscal decentralization at county governments in China. It shows that fiscal decentralization happened to the locality in the 1990s. It also studies regional differences, which deepens the comprehension of the intergovernmental fiscal relations in China.	
Paper	<u>Runaway Development in China: Multinationals and the Local State</u> Roselyn Y. Hsueh Romano , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Disparate and runaway development across regions in China is both fueled by transnational corporations' desire to tap into China's fledgling domestic markets as well as an outcome of localities' increasing practice of economic decision-making. Consequently, China's economic system is a distinct variety of capitalism, with few residual practices that echo a socialist past and more that leave us in no man's land with much left to be claimed.	
Paper	<u>Reflecting Automobile Industry Policy: A Case Study of China</u> Yukyung Yeo , <i>University of Maryland - College Park</i> Overview: In this paper, I will focus on two issues. One is that I will attempt to explore whether there is the "Chinese style" in pursuing industrial policy, like Japan or South Korea. If there is, what makes it distinctive? Another is the impacts of joining the WTO on the Chinese auto industry will be discussed.	
Disc.	John Kennedy , <i>University of Kansas</i>	
4-3	<u>TRANSNATIONAL DEMOCRACY PROMOTION</u>	
Room	TBA1, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30	
Chair	Francois Gelineau , <i>University de Montreal</i>	
Paper	<u>Searching for a Democratic Regime in the Americas: Some Evidence from the 1990's.</u> David M. Goldberg , <i>Beloit College</i> Overview: In this work, I attempt to bridge the gap between regime theory at the systemic level and the spread of democratic norms throughout the hemisphere. I examine the empirical support for such a claim by focusing on the cases of Peru 1992 and 2000, Guatemala 1993, Dominican Republic 1994 and Paraguay 1996. All of these countries experienced varying threats to nascent democracy throughout the 1990's. I utilize realist, liberal and social constructivist theoretical approaches to explain the strengths and weaknesses of the regime in each of the cases. In some of the cases, the presence of an international democratic regime appears to have influenced the outcome,	

while in the remaining cases competing concerns minimized its influence

Paper **Reassessing External Influence on Democratization: A Cross-Regional Approach**
Chih-Chieh Chou, *SUNY at Buffalo*
 Overview: This study examines the international effects on the process of democratization and attempts to provide coherent and systematic accounts for why there are different external influences and how they have affected at different phases of democratization through a cross-regional comparison between East Asia and Central Europe.

Paper **Evaluating Election Monitoring in the Americas**
Lean F. Sharon, *University of California, Irvine*
 Overview: Beginning in the 1980s, states, international organizations and non-governmental organizations have become increasingly involved in efforts to assist democracy by improving the quality of electoral processes in democratizing and newly democratic states. The practice of election monitoring raises interesting questions about democratization and the role that international actors can play in domestic political transition. This paper presents analysis of data gathered in a comprehensive survey of election monitoring in 23 countries of Latin America between 1982-2002.

Paper **The Democracy Promotion Sector: Shaping and Universalizing Contentious Politics in Semi-Authoritarian Regimes**
Klara Sogindolska, *Johns Hopkins University*
 Overview: The paper discusses the role of the US-led democracy promotion sector in enhancing and shaping opposition mobilization in several (former) semi-authoritarian countries in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. The resulting creation of a new culture and repertoire of "electoral-contentious" mobilization, and its transnationalization in the late 1990 is then discussed.

Paper **A Democratic Norm for the Western Hemisphere?**
Dexter Boniface, *Rollins College*
 Overview: Through the adoption in June 1991 of the "Santiago Commitment" to democracy, the Organization of American States (OAS) renewed its pledge to protect democracy in the region and established the institutional mechanisms for doing so. To discern how deep and consequential the organization's normative commitment to democracy is, this essay examines OAS action (and inaction) to democratic crises in Latin America from 1991 to the present. Utilizing both qualitative and quantitative data, the essay generalizes about when the OAS is most likely to intervene on behalf of democracy and assesses the impact intervention has had on democratic quality and sustainability in the region.

Disc. **Orlando J. Perez**, *Central Michigan University*

5-3 **THE EUROPEAN UNION: THE SOURCES OF DECISION**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30
Chair **Lori M. Poloni-Staudinger**, *Indiana University*
Paper **End of an Entente? Franco-German Skirmishes at the Nice Summit**
Iain R. Bolton, *University of Connecticut*
 Overview: This paper conducts an in-depth analysis of French and German negotiations at the Nice Summit of the European Union in December 2000. This paper illustrates the difficulties French and German negotiators faced in finding an agreement. While subsequent events have shown that the Nice Summit did not herald the end of the Franco-German entente, the negotiations surrounding the Nice Summit revealed many of the changing dynamics in this bi-lateral relationship. The analysis concludes that the outcome of the Nice Summit is not exceptional in the history of European integration, but it does reveal a renewed emphasis in German foreign policy on maintain a delicate balancing act between domestic and international pressures since the end of the Cold War.

Paper **The Constitutional Economics of European Monetary Integration**
Nathan D. Griffith, *Belmont University*
 Overview: The process of economic and monetary union has proven difficult for current theories to explain. Yet if one considers European integration to be an extended exercise in constitutional design, then constitutional economics, offers itself as a particularly promising tool for explaining the genesis of a constitution among sovereign states. This paper tests the application of this theory to the particular circumstances of economic and monetary union.

Paper **The Effect of Procedural Reform in the European Union**
JeongHun Han, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: The procedural reform of the Amsterdam Treaty resulted in significant relative legislative power shift among EU institutions. The institutional reform can be assessed from the advance of EU democratization. While the EU decisions could be more admissible to its citizens by the reform, new challenges make the relative power relation among EU institutions still vulnerable to a potential reform.

Paper **Mainstreaming Muslims? Rethinking Integration Policies in France and Germany**
Sylvia G. Maier, *Georgia Institute of Technology*
Stefanie Wayco, *Georgia Institute of Technology*
 Overview: We explore how the terror attacks of September 11 and their aftermath have led policymakers in France and Germany to effect a fundamental reorientation of their integration policies. This reorientation, we argue, is characterized by a return to an assimilationist approach of integration supplanting cautious attempts at legal/political multiculturalism that had supported the adjustment of key policies and laws to reflect the needs of a growing religious minority, which will have an adverse affect on state-minority relations.

Paper **The Institutional Integration of an Expanded EU or How 'New' European Actors Fit into 'Old' European Institutions**
Amie Kreppel, *University of Florida*
Gaye Gungor, *Florida International University*
 Overview: This research investigates the impact of the influx of new EU-level political actors from the Central and Eastern European countries on the internal structure and functioning of EU institutions, particularly the European Parliament. This includes an examination of existing norms and organizational structures within the EP and the CEEC legislatures including party discipline/voting cohesion, internal hierarchy, committee influence, role of ideology and inter-institutional relationships to determine the similarities and differences that may lead to conflict, change or dysfunction in the EU institutions as a large numbers of CEEC representatives join their ranks.

Disc. **David L. Ellison**, *Grinnell College*

6-301 **POSTER SESSION: POLITICS OF COMMUNIST AND FORMER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30
Poster **Institutional Chaos: Yugoslavia**
Branislav Seslija, *University of Illinois at Chicago*
 Overview: This paper examines the relationship over time between formal and informal institutions. The central hypothesis tested is that formal institutions suppress but do not change informal institutions (Pejovich, 1999). The relationship between formal institutions and informal norms is examined with data on inter ethnic marriages from Yugoslavia during the period 1952 to 2000.

Poster **Ideology and Institutions in Chinese Politics**
Zhiyue Bo, *St. John Fisher College*
 Overview: Ideology has declined in Chinese politics in the past five decades. It has also experienced substantial changes very recently: ideology is no longer a personal trade mark. It has become institutionalized. Only those who officially represent the Party can interpret the ideology of the Party.

7-2 NEW METHODS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (Co-sponsored with Methodology, see 21-11)

Room TBA2, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Chair M. Rodwan Abouharb, *Binghamton University*

Paper **The Similarity of States: A Multidimensional Indicator of Dyadic Interest Similarity**

Kevin J. Sweeney, *Ohio State University*

Omar M.G. Keshk, *Ohio State University*

Overview: Several leading international relations theories argue that relative military power and the degree of interest similarity are important determinants of dyadic international conflict and cooperation. While generally accepted multidimensional operational measures of relative military power are currently in use, no such parallel measure of interest similarity exists. In this paper we develop a multidimensional interest similarity measure that taps key economic, cultural, and security components which utilizes Signorino and Ritter's (1999) S algorithm.

Paper **Unifying War Selection and Duration**

Daniel S. Morey, *University of Iowa*

Fred Boehmke, *University of Iowa*

Megan L. Shannon, *University of Iowa*

Overview: Duration of interstate conflict has long been a topic of interest for students of international relations. However, until recently, no statistical technique has accounted for both selection into war and war duration. We improve upon past research by using a maximum likelihood technique to model war selection and duration.

Paper **What's the Size? Does It Have Any Power? Questions About Hypothesis Tests in Selection Models**

Patrick T. Brandt, *University of North Texas*

Christina J. Schneider, *University of Konstanz*

Overview: Commonly used tests for selection in discrete choice models perform poorly. This paper compares their performance and offers guidance for testing the presence of selection in political analysis.

Disc. Kevin Clarke, *University of Rochester*

Branislav L. Slantchev, *University of California, San Diego*

7-13 UNDERSTANDING CIVIL WAR

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Chair David Sobek, *Binghamton University*

Paper **The Escalation Process from Political Instability to Civil War**

Scott Gates, *PRIO*

Haavard Strand, *University of Oslo*

Mark P. Jones, *Michigan State University*

Overview: This paper examines the escalation process from political instability to armed conflict to civil war. More particularly we examine the choices made by political leaders that lead them to organize against the state and escalate to armed violence or not. We also examine the cases of political transformation (democratization as well as other forms of political change) where conflict is avoided.

Paper **Rebel-Military Integration and Civil War Termination**

Katherine Glassmyer, *Yale University*

Nicholas Sambanis, *Yale University*

Overview: We consider the integration of rebel combatants into the government military at the end of civil war as a potential peace-keeping mechanism. We analyze the conditions under which such a solution will prevail and explore regional differences in the adoption and implementation of rebel-military integration agreements in an attempt to understand the mechanisms through which integration may promote peace. Using both case-study and statistical analyses, we analyze the determinants and effectiveness of rebel integration.

Paper **My Enemy's Enemy: Cooperative Arrangements Among Groups Engaged in Intra-state Conflict**

Scott Edwards, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Overview: This paper explores the possibility of a research program focused on inter-faction alliance behavior in intra-state conflict. Specifically, this behavior is between groups seeking

to defend or replace an incumbent government ranging from informal but meaningful cooperation to formalized or even codified agreements amounting to "alliances". Among consideration is the value of importation of IR models of bandwagoning and alliance behavior, specifying actors and preference assumptions, and possible empirical limitations of available data.

Paper **Unequal Burdens: The Impact of Different Combinations of Power Sharing Arrangements on Post-Civil War Conflict Management**

Eric H. Hines, *University of Iowa*

Overview: I expand upon earlier research on how power sharing institutions can best ensure a successful transition to peace following a negotiated end to civil war. I use survival analysis to examine the impact of different combinations of power sharing arrangements on the endurance of peace.

Disc. Stephen M. Saideman, *McGill University*

8-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: GLOBALIZATION AND WELFARE STATE IN ASIA

Room TBA, TABLE 1, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Inf. Rnd. **Globalization and Welfare State in Asia**

Jungkeun Yoon, *Claremont Graduate University*

Overview: This paper tests arguments of Avelino, Brown, and Hunter (2002) and Kaufman and Segura (2001) based on Latin America in an Asian context that globalization is a complex process and that trade openness has a negative impact on social spending, while financial openness has a positive impact. Unlike their arguments, this paper shows that both trade and financial openness have a strong, positive effect on social spending in Asia and that globalization has a different "regional" impact.

8-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE EFFECTIVE CONSTITUENCY IN (RE)DISTRIBUTIVE POLITICS: ALTERNATIVE BASES OF DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATION, GEOGRAPHIC VERSUS PARTISAN

Room TBA, TABLE 2, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Inf. Rnd. **The Effective Constituency in (Re)Distributive Politics: Alternative Bases of Democratic Representation,**

Geographic versus Partisan

Robert J. Franzese, *University of Michigan - Ann Arbor*

Irfan Nooruddin, *Ohio State University*

Overview: We conceive the potential bases of democratic representation as a continuum from the interests of the policymaker's geographic constituency, her electoral district, d, to those of her party's supporters, her partisan constituency, p. The effective constituency, c, to which policymakers respond is thus a convex combination of these partisan and geographic extremes, with the partisan weight summarized by the degree to which parties are able to act as strategic units and receive their electoral support as units, i.e., of party unity, u: $c = up + (1-u)d$. We show how to model this conceptualization, and several extensions thereof, empirically estimably and directly.

8-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: TOWARD A COHERENT GLOBAL ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE STRATEGY

Room TBA, TABLE 3, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Inf. Rnd. **Toward a Coherent Global Economic Governance Strategy**

Emmett N. Lombard, *Oakland University*

Overview: The central theme is that the current economic paradigm supporting free trade and multilateralism needs to be viewed in the broader context of trade-economic growth-labor rights- environment and sustainable development. I assess aspects of the U.S.-led economic order over the past fifty years and demonstrate how labor and environmental safeguards in developing countries are discounted in the current trade regime.

I discuss a more integrated development policy model for reconciling trade, labor, and environmental concerns that is more sensitive to current economic, social, political, and administrative conditions in developing regions, and to human and natural resource values and endowments of future generations.

9-3 REGIME TYPE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Chair Sean Ehrlich, *University of Michigan*

Paper Holding Out for Concession: Bargaining Tactics for International Agreements

Catherine C. Langlois, *Georgetown University*

Jean-Pierre P. Langlois, *San Francisco State University*

Overview: Bargaining models typically assume that the bargained outcome will be implemented. We show that a small modification of Rubinstein's alternative offers bargaining model to incorporate the likelihood of implementation in the negotiator's objective function opens up new bargaining tactics in equilibrium. Our investigation of bilateral international bargaining situations suggests that negotiators tend to finalize a bargaining position and hold to it, waiting for the other side to concede. This is what our model would predict.

Paper Domestic Preferences, Regime Type, and International Cooperation

Jon Pevehouse, *University of Wisconsin*

Edward Mansfield, *University of Pennsylvania*

Helen Milner, *Columbia University*

Overview: We argue that both regime type and the distribution of preferences within those regimes is important to the process of cooperation. Our expectation is that divergent preferences within domestic institutions will lessen the amount of cooperation between states (e.g., divided government, veto players). Using a new data set of PTAs covering 1950-2000, we show that democracies are more likely to cooperate by joining PTAs, yet that divided government lowers the probability of joining these agreements for all states.

Disc. Sean Ehrlich, *University of Michigan*

10-4 NATO AND TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Chair Neal Jesse, *Bowling Green State University*

Paper History's Rhyme: A Re-Evaluation of Trans-Atlantic Relations Prior to the Iraq War

James A. Thompson, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: NATO is as relevant as ever. The alliance was originally established in order to use American power to balance against potential European hegemony. When Germany, along with France, attempted to dictate European foreign and security policy to the rest of Europe with regard to Iraq, other European states rallied around the US in order to balance against this effort, a course of action made possible by the existence of NATO.

Paper TransAtlantic Security after NATO's and E.U.'s Enlargements

Marco Rimanelli, *Saint Leo University*

Overview: European security and TransAtlantic relations have been recently reshaped both by NATO's 1999 and 2002 Enlargements, followed by the E.U.'s one in 2002-04, as by "Out-of-Area" operations in the Balkans and Afghanistan. This essay examines how the membership of ex-Communist East European states in both NATO and the E.U. will help or hinder NATO's "Out-of-Area" operations and U.S. leadership, while their parallel membership in the E.U. will affect also the debates on ESDI/P and "E.U.-Caucasus". However, U.S. reliance on the new Allies to bypass Franco-German opposition in NATO and the E.U. to specific common interventionist policies will also be short-term, as the East Europeans remain a small, limited and marginal bloc of supporters, compared to the unavoidable diplomatic need to compromise and reengage France and a post-Schroeder Germany (soon given the country's economic woes) into a truly commonly-shared TransAtlantic security vision and

operating guidelines for post-Cold War interventions (including some limited form of shared leadership responsibility). Otherwise the U.S.A. will have to wait the next 4 years for the current German and especially French administrations to fade away due to electoral turn-over (Schroeder within 1 year likely, and Chirac for term-limits by mid-2006).

Paper What Options Made Available by the Constitution Should and Should Not be Chosen in Order to Enhance Transatlantic Security Relations?

Borek Lizec, *University of Cincinnati*

Overview: The objective of this paper is to identify the possible implications of current developments in the area of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) in particular. The major focus is the implications relevant from a transatlantic perspective; that is, how does the development of European Union security structures affect EU-United States relations? The emerging European Constitution will provide a new framework for future decisions strategically important for the transatlantic future. Convention and Intergovernmental Conference discussions, upcoming shifts in the influence of individual members as well as established coalitions, and not least parallel events and initiatives (e.g. the April mini-summit and Solana's Security Strategy) will serve as a basis for the assessment of what results are likely to be produced by this framework. The paper will inform a larger theoretical examination of the dynamics between power and institutions.

Paper Turkey and the U.S.: NATO Members on Divergent Paths?

Nick L. Beatty, *University of Missouri - Columbia*

Balkan Devlen, *University of Missouri - Columbia*

Overview: The long term political ramifications of the U.S./U.K. deposition of Saddam Hussein in early 2003 are unclear. What is clear is the stress that such an action had on direct U.S.-Turkey relations and U.S.-Turkey relations vis-à-vis NATO. The 'alliance politics' that took place prior to the U.S. invasion of Iraq are key in understanding the changing nature of the relationship between the U.S. and Turkey as well as the larger U.S.-Turkey-NATO picture. This paper provides a better comprehension of pre and post-war 'alliance politics' by examining Turkey's domestic politics, the decisions made by its policymakers and the potential reasons behind those decisions in the face of intense U.S. pressure to allow the stationing of its troops on Turkey's southern border with Iraq. A combination of interviews with Turkish MP's, reviews of pertinent pre & post-war literature and official U.S. action/reaction will prove to be an adequate means to enhance the aforementioned comprehension. Furthermore, the paper will not only demonstrate the 'looseness' of the NATO alliance in the current era it will also address the degree to which the U.S.-Turkey relationship has shifted to a realm somewhere between an alliance and an alignment. This will be most easily accomplished with an examination of the 'systemic context of alliance' as outlined by Glenn Snyder (1997), in which the structure, relationships, interactions and units are all taken into account. This will open the door for future research into the 'alliance politics' of NATO in general and U.S.-Turkey in particular, in the wake of the second Gulf War as issues of entrapment and abandonment continue to cloud U.S. relations with its allies.

Paper Polish Role In Iraq

Jacek Lubecki, *Millikin University*

Overview: The paper will discuss the Polish governments decision to militarily and politically support the United States during the 2003 crisis and war in Iraq and to provide the most substantial (after Great Britain) allied military force for Iraq's subsequent occupation. I will illuminate especially Polish domestic debates and the intra-European context of the Polish decision and argue that it was a logical consequence of Poland's conceptualization of its national interest and the country's foreign policy experience in the 1990s.

Disc. Neal Jesse, *Bowling Green State University*

11-8 CAMPAIGNS, CANDIDATES, AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Chair Francis Neely, *San Francisco State University*

Paper Context and the Consequences of Concurrent Campaigns on Learning

Jennifer Wolak, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

Overview: I examine the degree to which the dynamics and intensity of presidential campaigns shape voter learning and evaluation of concurrent congressional and gubernatorial campaigns, relying on survey data from the National Election Studies. The research informs both how context shapes learning, and how concurrent campaigns compete or interact to shape how people learn about candidates at multiple electoral levels.

Paper The Electoral Consequences of Ambivalence: Ambivalence, Abstention and Third Party Candidate Support

Gregory W. Gwasda, *Ohio State University*

Overview: This paper explores the relationship between ambivalence, abstention, and third party candidate support in presidential elections. These relationships are tested with both NES data and original experimental analysis.

Paper The Dynamics of Negativity in the 2000 Presidential Campaign

Lee Sigelman, *George Washington University*

Erik Voeten, *George Washington University*

Emmett H. Buell, *Denison University*

Overview: Using daily opinion data from the 2000 National Annenberg Election survey and data media coverage data from our content analysis of the New York Times, we analyze the extent to which the mass public accurately perceived, on a daily basis, attacks by the two main competing sides during the 2000 presidential campaign.

Paper The Accuracy of Stereotypical Judgments: The Surprising Role of Education

Mark R. Joslyn, *University of Kansas*

Overview: This paper examines the determinants of stereotypic accuracy about political parties. A measure of stereotypic judgments developed by Judd and Downing (1995) is used to test the hypothesized linkage between education and stereotypic accuracy. Findings are clear and strongly support the hypothesis: The most educated respondents are the least accurate - hence most stereotypical - in their judgments about political parties.

Disc. Paul Goren, *Arizona State University*

12-27 CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS I

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Chair David Peterson, *Texas A&M University*

Paper Campaign Organizational Strength and Campaign Effects

Brian J. Brox, *The University of Texas at Austin*

Overview: This paper looks at the campaign effects associated with campaign organizations - both party and candidate organizations - in elections from 1994 to 2002. Using the framework developed by the Party Transformation Study, organizational strength scores for party and candidate organizations are used in aggregate- and individual-level models of turnout and vote choice.

Paper Ads, News, and Vote Intention: The Ideodynamic Model in State-Space Form

Richard Johnston, *University of British Columbia*

Mark Pickup, *University of British Columbia*

Overview: This paper represents David Fan's "ideodynamic" model in state-space form, estimates it using Bayesian analysis, and applies the Kalman filtering algorithm to predict day-to-day variation in intentions for the 2000 US presidential vote, using vote intention data from the 2000 National Annenberg Election Study as the outcome variable and content analyses of news coverage and campaign ads as explanatory variables.

Paper Television and the Incumbency Advantage in US Elections

Erik C. Snowberg, *Stanford University*

Stephen D. Ansolabehere, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

James Snyder, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Overview: Since its discovery, the increase in the incumbency advantage in US elections has been one of the most studied topics in American Politics. While studies have documented the extent of this increase, there have only been loose characterizations of its causes. One such characterization has revolved around the influence of television; our study exploits the state blind nature of media markets to rigorously examine what effect, if any, television has had on the incumbency advantage.

Disc. David Peterson, *Texas A&M University*

13-1 CONNECTIONS BETWEEN MICRO- AND MACRO-OPINION

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Chair Casey A. Klostad, *Harvard University*

Paper The Underdog-Effect of Pre-Election Poll Reporting: Theoretically and Empirically Underexposed

Laura Castiglioni, *University of Zurich*

Sibylle Hardmeier, *University of Zurich*

Overview: this paper analyses theoretically and empirically the underdog effect referring to some experimental evidence collected through a research on the reaction of Swiss voters to the publication of result forecast during referendum campaigns

Paper Information, Public Discourse, and the Evolution of Public Opinion: The Health of Health Care Opinion

Ben Highton, *University of California*

Ryan L. Claassen, *University of California, Davis*

Overview: This paper analyzes how public discourse influences the magnitude and type of information effects in public opinion. We do this by examining the micro-level determinants of public opinion and simulating fully informed collective preferences on health care from 1984 to 2000, a period during which elite and media discourse underwent significant change.

Paper Where Do Polling Questions Come From, and with What Effect?

Adam Simon, *University of Washington*

Overview: Poll question creation is understudied but possibly decisive political act. Conventional wisdom has pollsters following elite discourse, presumably in three steps: agenda-setting, question framing and response framing. Yet if elites are in competition, how do pollsters respond? Framing effects seem to occur question by question, but do pollsters produce cumulative effects? Are pollsters biased; unintentionally, favoring some formulations over others. Data comes from over 8000 national questions tied to samples of media and political discourse.

Paper Information Effects in Collective Preferences: A Methodological Artifact?

Ken W. Moffett, *University of Iowa*

Eric W. Manning, *The University of Iowa*

Overview: Many researchers have performed research to determine whether information effects bias survey respondents' answers to public opinion surveys. Extending data from Althaus's (1998) article and Delli Carpini and Keeter's book (1996) through the 2000 elections, I test whether the public will have different collective opinions about various issues if members of the public have more information about these issues. I will use different methodological techniques to test this hypothesis that diverge from previous pieces on the subject. First, I will correct for missing data problems that plague significant parts of the literature. Second, I will perform a difference in means test to determine whether information effects exist, not just compare differences between simulated and actual public opinion like Althaus (1998) does. Employing several models that use these techniques, I discover that the public will not have different aggregate opinions about several issues if the public has more information about these issues.

Disc. Martin Johnson, *University of California, Riverside*

13-12 PUBLIC OPINION AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Chair Paper	<p>Nathalie J. Frensfley, <i>University of Texas at Austin</i> <u>American Public Opinion toward China--Policy Gaps between Leaders and Citizens</u> Tao Xie, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: Our study examines the opinion gaps between leaders and citizens with regard to China. China is salient enough for most Americans to have meaningful attitudes. And there exist excellent survey data collected by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. We first look at the aggregate trend of elite and general public opinion over a 28-year span, particularly the size and direction of policy gaps. Then we choose a single year (1998) to conduct individual-level analysis, hoping to pin down the determinants of individual opinion. Finally we discuss our findings and their policy implications.</p>	16-5	<p><u>NEW PERSPECTIVES ON IDENTITY AND RACE</u> Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30 Chair Vincent L. Hutchings, <i>University of Michigan</i> Paper <u>Identity, Perceptions of Discrimination, and Policy: The Causes and Consequences of Reactive Ethnicity among Latinos</u> Deborah J. Schildkraut, <i>Oberlin College</i> Overview: This paper examines the causes and consequences of reactive ethnicity among Latinos in the United States. In particular, it examines the links among (1) perceptions of discrimination against oneself and/or one's group, (2) whether one self-identifies in national (i.e., "American") or ethnic terms, and (3) general political outlooks and opinions on specific policies related to ethnicity and immigration.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Place of Foreign Policy at the Border – Borderline Attitudes or Deep-Rooted Social Orientations?</u> David J. Levin, <i>University of Texas at El Paso</i> Tony Payan, <i>University of Texas at El Paso</i> Overview: A survey of El Paso, TX residents tests the following counterintuitive hypotheses: (1) that those who make border crossing a daily part of their lives are the most likely to hold essentially isolationist attitudes; (2) that knowledge of foreign policy is unrelated to knowledge about U.S.-Mexican affairs; (3) that affinity for Mexicans and Mexico is inversely related to general cooperative-internationalist attitudes; and (4) those most politically active and media-consuming will be the most economically protectionist.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Adversity in Diversity? Weighing Pan-ethnic Identity and Attitudinal Differences among Latinos</u> Helena A. Rodrigues, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: Measuring the extent of a pan-ethnic Latino identity, and the consequences of a presence or absence of a strong pan-ethnic Latino identity, is the objective of this paper. I will examine Latino sentiments toward one another in the United States, and more specifically, will model Latino responses to questions ascertaining how much as a group they feel they have in common with each other. My expectations include that socioeconomic status, length of time in the United States, and language proficiency will play a role in sorting those Latinos who see their fate linked to other Latinos. In addition, I expect demographic circumstances will influence perceptions of a pan-ethnic identity, as well as political behavior and issue preferences. Data for my analysis come from the May 1999 National Survey on Latinos in America, compiled by the Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard University Survey Project. The implications of my findings should suggest that the development of a strong pan-ethnic identity among Latinos is a more complex process than imagined by some politicians or the media. While organizations such as the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) demonstrate that cooperation among different sub-nationalities is both desired and achievable, increasing immigration and evolving contextual and demographic differences among Latinos urge continued study of this process.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Public Opinion and World War II</u> Adam J. Berinsky, <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Overview: Considering its importance in American history, we know surprisingly little about the public's reaction to World War II. This lack of research exists despite the fact that there is a great deal of data concerning the public's view of the war effort and other major issues of the day. In this paper I examine this data using current theories of how the public reasons about issues of war and employing modern data analytic techniques.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Black Elites and the Stability of Black Group Identification</u> Harwood K. McClerking, <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: The purpose is to analyze Black elite opinion on the inclusion of multiracial classification schemes for the 2000 US Census. Much debate centered on how mixed-race people with a Black heritage background racially identify. Thus, we looked at how Black elites portrayed the advantages and disadvantages of the multiracial category to the Black community, particularly in Black newspapers. The observation shows that Black elites were more accepting of people identifying as multiracial on a personal level and were greatly opposed to doing such on official documents.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Structure of Attitudes towards Members and Leaders of International Community</u> Julia Rabinovich, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: The study analyzes the structure of people's attitudes toward international political actors and the use of this information as a heuristic in forming foreign policy preferences. Our analysis shows that Americans' views of the world are stable over the years and attentive to the changes in the world map. Moreover, they play an important independent role in explaining specific foreign policy preferences.</p>	Paper	
Paper	<p><u>Dog-Eat-Dog World Revisited: Public Trust in Other Nations during the 1990s</u> Paul Brewer, <i>University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee</i> Overview: This study uses data from surveys conducted by the Pew Research Center to examine the nature, causes, and consequences of generalized trust in other nations during the 1990s. The results are compared and contrasted to findings from surveys conducted in the year following September 11, 2001.</p>	Paper	
Disc.	<p>Nathalie J. Frensfley, <i>University of Texas at Austin</i></p>	Disc.	<p>Vincent L. Hutchings, <i>University of Michigan</i></p>
15-102	<p><u>ROUNDTABLE: CATHOLIC FEMINISM: OXYMORON OR POLITICAL VISION?</u> Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30 Chair Eloise A. Buker, <i>Saint Louis University</i> Rndtbl. Wynne Moskop, <i>Saint Louis University</i> Eileen Hunt Botting, <i>Notre Dame University</i> Joanna Vecchiarelli Scott, <i>Eastern Michigan University</i> Laurie E. Naranch, <i>Providence College</i> Overview: These papers explore an understanding of justice that draws from contemporary feminist political theory and from Catholic social thought. The papers ask, "Is Catholic feminism an oxymoron or a new type of political vision?" The roundtable hopes to create a dialogue between feminist theory and Catholic social thought.</p>	17-4	<p><u>EXPLORATIONS IN COMPARATIVE POLITICAL THEORY</u> Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30 Chair Cary J. Nederman, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Paper <u>States of Nature: Political Theory Meets Anthropology</u> Sarah Etheridge, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: My paper argues that political theory has much to learn from the inquiry of anthropology into the early development of political societies and governments and the rules and regulations arising therefrom. Hence, I hope to bring the work of anthropologists and the study of political theory into a fruitful dialogue that has been thus far nonexistent.</p>
		Paper	<p><u>Chinese and Japanese Political Philosophy: The Double Walk</u> James Wray Goulding, <i>York University</i></p>

Overview: This paper explores the political and philosophical origins of an East Asian communicative body through Daoism and both Chinese and Japanese Buddhism, especially in the Qing Dynasty and the Tokugawa Shogunate.

Paper **An Aristotelian Approach to Democratization: Some Preliminary Conclusions**
Jennifer S. Holmes, *University of Texas at Dallas*
 Overview: I present two alternative paradigms of democratization. The first paradigm is the dominant approach in contemporary comparative politics and is exemplified by the work of Robert Dahl. The proposed alternative paradigm moves beyond procedure by drawing upon Aristotelian traditions to create an explicitly normative concept.

Paper **Anglo-American Radicalism and the Written Constitution**
Jason S. Maloy, *Harvard University*
 Overview: The idea of a written constitution received its first articulation in the West not only in the famous Civil War radicalism of seventeenth-century England, but concurrently and more fully in the earliest colonies of New England, where the old idea of accountability to law was married to the newly revived idea of accountability to the people. Equally for radicals on either side of the Atlantic, the written constitution, conceived as a trust-deed between the people and their government, arose in response to an institutional state of nature to establish the reign of *vox populi, vox dei*. The distinctive legal culture of England inflected this approach to founding and stabilizing new regimes at various points, and written constitutions were not be found in the American colonies of England's European rivals. Notwithstanding its privileged, foundational position, the relevance of this classic anglophone constitutionalism to the problems of democratization in the twenty-first century is open to question.

Disc. **Fred R. Dallmayr**, *University of Notre Dame*

17-16 **PLATO AND THUCYDIDES**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30
Chair **Thornton Lockwood**, *Assumption College*
Paper **Thucydides and Historicism: The Case for a Non-Metaphysical Political Philosophy in the Archaeology**
Borden Flanagan, *American University*
 Overview: A reading of Thucydides' *Archaeology* suggests a middle way between historicist and essentialist approaches to political phenomena. Thucydides claims universal validity but then calls attention to his dependence on his time. He overcomes this problem through an historical/dialectical account of political psychology. The development of our political psychology has a history with an "end" or culmination, in the love of glory. Liberal theory is undermined by its failure to account for this phenomenon.

Paper **The Downfall of Athens Last Tyrant: A Game-Theory Perspective**
Eleni Panagiotaraku, *Concordia University*
 Overview: The focus of this paper is the downfall of Athens last tyrant, Hippias in 510 BCE, from the methodological framework of game theory. This paper examines the strategic interactions employed by Hippias, such as i) his interaction with Aristogeiton, the protagonist of an unsuccessful coup d'etat that resulted in the assassination of Hippias' brother, Hipparchos, and ii) the question of whether or not Hippias reacted excessively in his suppression tactics following that assassination.

Paper **Learning by Accident: Plato's Hippias Dialogues and the Importance of the Beautiful in Teaching**
Arcelia M. Rodriguez, *University of Maryland at College Park*
 Overview: This paper examines the Hippias dialogues by Plato, in relation to good teaching practices and in-class political philosophy discussions. It discusses the difficulties we confront in conducting small discussions that are rewarding to students and instructors, the general utility of reading Plato's dialogues, translating the classroom experience into practical knowledge.

Disc. **Thornton Lockwood**, *Assumption College*
Jason R. Jividen, *Northern Illinois University*

18-8 **THE LEGACY OF ROUSSEAU**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30
Chair **Gayle McKeen**, *University of the South*
Paper **The Shores of Saint-Pierre: Rousseau, Deep Ecology, and the Perils of Transformative Politics**
Keith Shaw, *Watson Institute for International Studies*
 Overview: Deep ecologists never explicitly invoke Rousseau, but their philosophy mirrors his with striking fidelity. I argue that deep ecologists fear the totalitarian directions Rousseau's thought takes, but their own movement displays the same tendencies, and for the same reasons. If they wish to avoid anarchy on one hand and despotism on the other, deep ecologists would do well to engage Rousseau as clarifying their central problems, and take up his cross of looking for solutions.

Paper **Rousseau's Foucauldian Legacy**
David L. Williams, *University of Wisconsin--Madison*
 Overview: Rousseau has always been understood as an enormously influential philosopher. This essay, however, focuses on lessons Rousseau taught, but have not been properly understood. Employing an understanding of Rousseau as a theorist of transcendent norms, the author argues that his intellectual descendents (Marx and Foucault) have been unfaithful in the most important respect.

Paper **Moral Choices: Montesquieu vs. Rousseau in Contemporary Politics**
Edmond D. Hally, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: This paper critically examines notions of morality in the works of Rousseau and Montesquieu, especially in how they may relate to government and tries to determine which philosopher influenced the Framers more about morality.

Disc. **Gayle McKeen**, *University of the South*

19-6 **CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON HABERMAS**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30
Chair **John F. Sitton**, *Indiana University of Pennsylvania*
Paper **Discourse Ethics and the Relations of Production: On the Material Lacuna in Habermas' Discourse Theory**
Keith R. Haysom, *New School University*
 Overview: This paper will explore the relationship, in Juergen Habermas' work, between communicative action and the social relations of production in a capitalist economy. At chief issue will be the distinction Habermas has repeatedly drawn between labor (and the material reproduction of society generally) and interaction (and communicative action generally). I will argue that what this abstract divide leaves behind as the excluded middle is important for the internal logic of his argument itself.

Paper **Autonomy and Solidarity: Democratic Rights in Context**
Timothy C. Luther, *California Baptist University*
 Overview: In order to critically assess the problems of democratic politics today, the tools and conceptual framework of critical theory must be able to grasp and contest the egalitarian dynamics of democratic politics. The deliberative democratic model, as it stands, is hindered by an insufficiently critical appraisal of power. A new understanding of political interaction is necessary in order to address both the different dimensions of social conflict and the obstacles to democratic opinion and will formation processes.

Paper **The Reason of Common Sense**
Gregg D. Miller, *Lewis & Clark College*
 Overview: In the absence of extra-worldly normative referents, political judgment takes place against a background of common sense. The concept of common sense plays an important role in Gadamer's hermeneutics, and in the 1970s, Habermas defended a form of ideology critique against the apparent hermetic seal of a concept of understanding which (despite the figure of a fusion of horizons) could fall back for its judgments only on the common sense of its own tradition. Since that set of debates, Gadamer's view shifted to incorporate criticism as an internal component of hermeneutic enquiry, and Habermas has incorporated a hermeneutic sensibility into lifeworld processes, but has insisted that the norms governing the practice of speech answer to democratic form, and are therefore inoculated, as it were, from any particular substantive tradition. This latter,

Disc.	expresses and predicts the probability of a nuclear military incidence in a military-security crisis. Patrick Egan , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i>				Overview: This paper studies the impact of public opinion on presidential decision-making in foreign policy. Decision-making is conceptualized as a five-stage process and a distinction is made between public attentiveness to crisis and non-crisis foreign policies. While the public tends to be highly attentive throughout all stages of a crisis, non-crises produce a selectively attentive public. These differing patterns of public attentiveness determine the stage at which public opinion influences decision-making.
22-2 Room Chair Paper	LOBBYISTS AND POLICY MAKING TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30 Michael T. Heaney , <i>University of Chicago</i> The Professionalization of Interest-Group Lobbying Rogan T. Kersh , <i>Syracuse University</i> Overview: Traces the ongoing professionalization of interest-group lobbying, still an occupation viewed dubiously by many members of the U.S. public and political officials.			Paper	Rethinking the Evasion Hypothesis Randall D. Smith , <i>University of Illinois at Chicago</i> Overview: This study examines the hypothesis that Presidents can evade Senate influence in foreign policy by utilizing executive agreements instead of treaties. This investigation critiques previous work, most notably Lisa Martin's <i>Democratic Commitments</i> (2000). This investigation models important treaties and executive agreements, between 1949 and 1996, as explained by relevant independent variables. Through appropriate application of the negative binomial logit model, this study finds the President incapable of evading Senate input on important foreign policy.
Paper	Procurement Lobbyists Anthony J. Nownes , <i>University of Tennessee</i> Overview: Researchers and citizens alike pay a great deal of attention to government spending. They pay a lot less attention to government purchasing. This is surprising. The federal government alone procured over \$200 billion in goods and services last year. Utilizing data from interviews with procurement lobbyists at all levels of government, this paper will illuminate the role of procurement lobbyists in government purchasing. Procurement lobbying is a multi-million dollar business that has been virtually ignored by academics. This paper will examine what procurement lobbyists do, what makes them effective, and ultimately, will examine the role of procurement lobbyists in the democratic process.			Paper	Operation Iraqi Freedom: Two-Sided Messages and Public Support for the President's War Dunia Andary , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: With so many voices competing for the public's attention and support, how successful are presidents in influencing public opinion for their foreign policies? I address this question by looking at public support for Operation Iraqi Freedom in three separate stages. I hypothesize that the fewer countervailing foreign policy messages transmitted to the public, the higher the support for the president's war in Iraq, controlling for international events.
Paper	Organized Interests' Response to Unorthodox Lawmaking Loree Bykerk , <i>University of Nebraska at Omaha</i> Overview: How have organized interests adapted to unorthodox lawmaking in the U.S. Congress? How do lobbying input, techniques, and outcomes compare to lobbying in the textbook process? Data drawn from CIS, on-site observations, and elite interviews address these questions.			Disc.	Samuel B. Hoff , <i>Delaware State University</i>
Paper	Child and Family Advocacy Strategies in State Politics William T. Gormley , <i>Georgetown University</i> Helen Cymrot , <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: This paper advances a threat response framework and an enlightenment opportunity framework for understanding the behavior of public interest groups. Data from 50 child advocacy groups active in state government are used to test the utility of these frameworks.			24-5	THE LEGACY OF '94: CONGRESS AFTER THE REPUBLICAN TAKEOVER
Disc.	Kevin W. Hula , <i>Loyola College in Maryland</i>			Room Chair Paper	TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30 Larry Schwab , <i>John Carroll University</i> Subcommittee Government After the Republican Revolution John Baughman , <i>Bates College</i> Overview: The Republican reforms of the 104th Congress changed the formal role of House subcommittees of authorizing committees substantially. No longer did they have referral rights, staff or even permanent status guaranteed. What is unclear is what impact the reforms had on their influence. This paper examines the effect of these reforms on legislative success. Is the era of subcommittee government over? What impact do subcommittees and their members have on moving legislation in the House?
23-6 Room Chair Paper	THE PRESIDENT AND FOREIGN POLICY TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30 Samuel B. Hoff , <i>Delaware State University</i> The State of Emergency: Global War and the Rise of the Crisis Presidency Benjamin Ponder , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: The crisis presidency is posited as a leadership framework employed by presidents to react to, inflate, or invent crises within the cultural climate of institutionalized crisis--the state of emergency-- that has persisted since the Great Depression in large part because of the destructive threat of global war.			Paper	Republicans, Roll Calls and Rifle Shots: Policy Making through the Appropriations Process Jason A. MacDonald , <i>Kent State University</i> Overview: By examining the use of, and support for, policy riders on House appropriations legislation, this paper examines the appropriations process to assess explanations of control over policy-making in Congress.
Paper	The Dynamics of Advice and Consent: A Duration Analysis of the Treaty Ratification Process Jeffrey S. Peake , <i>Bowling Green State University</i> Glen S. Krutz , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: Using duration analysis we examine the politics surrounding the treaty ratification process in the Senate from 1949-2000. We test hypotheses related to the importance of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, political variables related to party and ideological polarization, and presidential efforts on behalf of the treaty. Our paper provides new insights on a previously understudied process, altering our general understanding of treaty politics.			Paper	Party Pressure and Legislative Voting on the Contract with America Stacy B. Gordon , <i>University of Nevada, Reno</i> Casey Gillham , <i>University of Nevada, Reno</i> Overview: In this effort, we attempt to separate out the effects of similar interest/constituencies and leadership pressure--two variables that are often conflated in studies of legislative voting behavior. To this end, we develop a model of individual-level voting behavior and apply it to each of the bills relating to the Republican Contract with America in order to compare the determinants of voting across the various Contract bills. We expect to find that the predictors of behavior on those Contract bills where party pressure is significant will be different from those on which the party decided that they would not pressure party members.
Paper	Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: The Stages of Presidential Decision-making Thomas Knecht , <i>University of California, Santa Barbara</i> Stephen Weatherford , <i>University of California, Santa Barbara</i>				

Paper **The Republican Revolution and the Dynamics of Environmental Policy Voting**
Brian W. Smith, *St. Edward's University*
Joseph Gershtenson, *Eastern Kentucky University*
William Mangun, *East Carolina University*
 Overview: This paper examines how the institutional change following the 1994 elections affected Congressional support for environmental legislation. We extend examine environmental voting patterns in the Congress by examining relationships between partisanship and member support for environmental legislation from 1992 to 2002. Using LCV scores we examine whether changes in environmental support is a function of changing majority control and incorporate voter partisanship and demographic factors into a model of legislator support for environmental policy.

Disc. **Roger P. Rose**, *Benedictine University*
Larry Schwab, *John Carroll University*

25-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNING IN CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS**

Room TBA, TABLE 4, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Inf. Rnd. **Does Presidential Campaigning in Midterm Elections Matter? The Effects of Presidential Campaigning on the 1998 and 2002 House Elections**
Brandice Canes-Wrone, *Northwestern University*
J. F. Godbout, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: Little is known about the influence of presidential campaigning on the outcomes of House midterm elections. This study examines the extent which presidential campaigning affected House races in the elections of 1998 and 2002. Instrumental variables analysis is employed to account for the fact that a president's decision to campaign for a candidate will likely be affected by the anticipated closeness of the race.

Inf. Rnd. **Rewards or Punishments: Presidential Campaigning in Midterm Senate Elections**
Justin S. Vaughn, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: In this paper, we test the contending explanations for presidential campaigning in midterm elections. The key explanations under examination include Neustadt's reward/punishment hypothesis, the presidential popularity hypothesis put forward by Cohen, Krassa, and Hamman (1991), and the view that presidents act in a prospective manner geared toward optimizing results of future presidential elections. Following statistical analysis, we expect to uncover the conditions that determine whether a president campaigns in a given Senate election.

25-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE ART AND SCIENCE OF CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING**

Room TBA, TABLE 5, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Inf. Rnd. **The Politics of Nastiness: Re-examining the Electoral Impact of Negative Advertising Using New Data**
Costas Panagopoulos, *New York University*
 Overview: Nearly every study that examines the impact of negative advertising uses data produced either by experiments or by coding a sample of ads broadcast during election cycles. A new, comprehensive dataset of all political ads broadcast on behalf of federal candidates during the 1998 cycle compiled by the Competitive Media Analysis Group [CMAG](in the top 100 markets) allows researchers to study the impact of negative advertising in unprecedented ways. This study will examine the electoral impact of negative advertising using the CMAG dataset.

Inf. Rnd. **The Political Geography of Campaign Advertising Strategies in Congressional Elections**
Brian F. Schaffner, *Western Michigan University*
 Overview: In this paper, I examine how candidates, political parties and interest groups strategically allocate advertisements in media markets and congressional districts across the United States. My analysis indicates that advertising strategies are affected by both district and media market characteristics. In addition, I find that candidates, parties and interest groups often

follow very different advertising strategies with regard to the allocation and content of the ads.

26-16 **JUDICIAL RECRUITMENT AND THE JUDICIAL CAREER**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Chair **Charles S. Lopeman**, *University of West Georgia*

Paper **Merit Selection Revised: The New Politics of Judicial Selection in Florida**
Rebecca Mae Salokar, *Florida International University*
D. Jason Berggren, *Florida International University*
Kathryn A. DePalo, *Florida International University*
 Overview: This paper examines the impact of changes to the merit selection process of trial and appellate judges in the state of Florida during Governor Jeb Bush's tenure (1998 to present). The changes, crafted by the legislature, sought to give the executive branch more influence over the judicial nominating commissions. We ask whether these changes had any impact on the type of persons appointed by the governor to the bench.

Paper **Promotion of District Court Judges to the U.S. Courts of Appeals: the Influence of Voting for the Government**
Karen Swenson, *Eastern Illinois University*
 Overview: In seeking to fill openings in the U.S. Courts of Appeals, there is a trend for presidents to elevate district court judges. This study attempts to explain what factors predict whether a district court judge will receive a promotion. In particular, I hypothesize that among district court judges of the president's party, the frequency with which a judge votes in favor of the U.S. government predicts the likelihood of the judge's promotion.

Paper **Taking it to the Nex Level: The Elevation of District Judges to the US Courts of Appeals**
Donald R. Songer, *University of South Carolina*
Elisha C. Savchak, *University of South Carolina*
 Overview: Much of the study of public law is dedicated to the investigation of judicial selection to the federal courts. In the US, as in many common law countries, a large number of appellate court vacancies are filled by elevating a judge from the court below. Therefore, an interesting question arises: how can we predict the likelihood that any given judge will be elevated when such a vacancy occurs? In other words, are there systematic patterns associated in elevating federal judges to a higher court? Our paper explores this compelling and important question.

Paper **Presidential Strategies in Supreme Court Justice Selection**
Tony L. Hill, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: Paper presents a model evaluating the strategies presidents used from 1937 to 1994 in choosing Supreme Court nominees. The model looks at four basic strategies that followed from consideration of 1) whether the president was interested in changing the court ideologically; and 2) the climate in the Senate at the time of the nomination. Deviating from the ideal strategy (per the model) increased the likelihood of rejection by the Senate. The model could be applied prospectively as well.

Disc. **Charles S. Lopeman**, *University of West Georgia*
Nancy Scherer, *University of Miami*

28-15 **THE GRID: FEDERALISM AND PUBLIC POLICY**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Chair **Richard Feiock**, *Florida State University*

Paper **Using Spatial Analysis to Test Theories of Interstate Influence and Geographic Diffusion in Public Policy Making**
William D. Berry, *Florida State University*
Brady Baybeck, *University of Missouri - St. Louis*
 Overview: Empirical tests of theories of interstate influence in policy determination generally have assumed that each state influences all its neighbors equally. We illustrate the role that spatial analysis and geographic information system software can play in testing theories recognizing that the amount of influence a state exerts on its neighbors depends on the location and size

Paper	<p>of populations within the states, by testing the welfare “race to the bottom” thesis and a model of interstate lottery diffusion.</p> <p><u>Measuring Devolution Through Third Party Federalism</u> Michael W. Hail, <i>Morehead State University</i> Overview: Thomas Anton has identified a range of pseudo-public organizations he termed the institutions of Third Party Federalism. These organizations engage the policy process at all levels of the intergovernmental system, and provide a barometer of federalism. As such, this research evaluates devolution through Third Party Federalism in a longitudinal comparative policy study. The results validate the policy impact of devolution among state and sub-state institutions and a set of future research questions is developed.</p>	<p>organizations in Los Angeles. The paper aims to uncover the ways these organizations frame environmental justice and how they have impacted local environmental policy-making in metropolitan Los Angeles. The paper concludes with a series of lessons that can be drawn from the Los Angeles case studies for similar organizations in other American global cities.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Politics of Intergovernmental Oversight</u> Neal D. Woods, <i>University of South Carolina</i> Overview: This paper provides a systematic empirical assessment of the determinants of federal oversight of state agencies implementing federal laws. Drawing several different hypotheses from the descriptive literature on federal oversight, it tests them across two regulatory policy arenas. It is hoped that this study will shed light on the determinants, and thus the success, of federal oversight of implementing agencies at the state level.</p>	<p><u>Rediscovering Community: Ancient Political Philosophy and New Urbanism</u> Steve G. Hartlaub, <i>Frostburg State University</i> Jelmer Richard, <i>Grand Valley State University</i> Overview: This paper explores the understanding of "community" in ancient political philosophy and New Urbanism. Surprisingly, many of the recommendations found in New Urbanism echo advice given by Plato and Aristotle in constructing a good community. New Urbanist critiques can be expanded and deepened by integrating the understanding of community found in ancient political philosophy.</p>
Paper	<p><u>State and Local Government Actions on Homeland Security: Explaining Variation in Preparedness Efforts</u> David B. Cohen, <i>University of Akron</i> Brian J. Gerber, <i>Texas Tech University</i> Kendra B. Stewart, <i>Eastern Kentucky University</i> Overview: By investigating how information, expertise, and resources sharing is proceeding between local governments and their state and federal counterparts, we examine the implications of shared authority across a federal system for homeland security policy generally and preparedness efforts in particular. We address these issues by analyzing data collected from an original survey of local officials in 200 cities across the nation.</p>	<p><u>A War of Words: The Heresthetics of Creating Regional Government</u> Jered B. Carr, <i>Wayne State University</i> Linda S. Johnson, <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: The most controversial avenue to regional government is the consolidation of the county and one or more city governments. Consolidation is the most controversial because it is the most comprehensive, involving the creation of an entirely new government and in the process, the rewriting of two or more local government constitutions (Fleischmann, 2000; Johnson, 2000). Consolidation may not result in a single metropolitan-wide government, but it can move the community substantially down the path toward regional government in a single large step. Regional governance may also be achieved by a variety of smaller steps, such as entering into interlocal agreements, creating regional planning districts, and selectively consolidating services with significant scale economies or external effects (Savitch and Vogel, 1996). We propose there are at least three broad categories of heresthetical strategies seen in consolidation campaigns. The first approach (used by both sides) is to strategically introduce a number of dimensions to disrupt support for the proposed change or the status quo. The second strategy (typically used by opponents to consolidation) is to offer alternative proposals that may split the supporting forces. A third strategy (used by both sides) is to seek to win by controlling the decision-making process. We illustrate this process with an empirical analysis of the heresthetical maneuvers utilized in the consolidation campaigns in 33 communities. The analysis is based on data from a survey of 33 communities holding consolidation referenda from 1987 and 1999 (Carr and Feiock, 2002). These survey data offer a unique opportunity for comparative analysis in an area of the local government reform literature that has relied almost exclusively on case studies. This paper will examine the use of three different types of heresthetical strategies in city-county consolidation: the use of arguments used by supporters and opponents to strategically frame the debate over consolidation, introductions of alternative proposals to split existing coalitions, and manipulation of the decision rules governing the production of the city-county charter and the referendum.</p>
Paper	<p><u>National Guard Dedication to Homeland Defense: A Needed Emphasis in a Storm of Conflict</u> Brett E. Morris, <i>University of Alabama</i> Overview: The Bush administration emphasis on deploying the military reserve and especially the National Guard under USC Article 32 flies in the face of sound, bipartisan council and study. This preempts clear needs for Homeland Security initiatives at the federal, state, and local levels. Further, it presents long-term limitations connected to drastically reduced retention and recruitment for the reserve component in the wake of an increasingly unpopular "war".</p>	<p><u>Little Leviathans: Monopoly Power and Local Low-Income Housing Policy</u> Michael C. Craw, <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: This paper evaluates the impact of a community's racial composition and monopoly power on policies towards low-income housing development through a comparative analysis of four Indiana cities.</p>
Disc.	<p>Craig Volden, <i>Ohio State University</i></p>	<p><u>And the Poor Get Poorer--When the Demand for Redistribution Disappears</u> Jill L. Tao, <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Brietta N. Lynch, <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: This study examines two potential explanations for a lack of demand from the poor: 1) a lack of sufficient political representation; and 2) the endogenous structuring of policy preferences for policymakers. This is accomplished by examining office holders and their policy behavior over a twenty-five year period at the local level of government in areas</p>
29-4	<p><u>DEVELOPING COMMUNITY IN URBAN AMERICA</u></p>	
Room	<p>BURNHAM 5, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30</p>	
Chair	<p>Lewis Randolph, <i>Ohio University</i></p>	
Paper	<p><u>Working Class Environmentalism In A Global Metropolis: Grassroots Organizations And The Politics of Environmental Justice in Los Angeles</u> Armando X. Mejia, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: How do poor minorities living in American global cities define environmental concerns? How do poor immigrants and racial/ethnic minorities mobilize to educate themselves about and contest environmental injustices? And, how do these groups impact urban environmental planning and policy-making? These are the questions driving this paper. While the research on environmental justice has grown over the last decade, there is still a great need to understand how environmental justice issues are differentially interpreted by marginalized populations. Moreover, current research needs to be expanded to take into account how organizing in global cities compares to organizing taking place in rural or small city locations. Building on the works of sociologists Robert Bullard, David Pellow, Andrew Hurley, Bunyan Bryant, and Paul Mohai, this paper develops a typology of environmental justice organizing that draws from interviews and participant observation of four grassroots environmental justice</p>	

where demand for redistributive policies should be present. Preliminary findings indicate the structuring of policy preferences by the state is important in determining how policymakers respond to the needs of the electorate, but that the issue of representation plays a far more important role, thus providing evidence that as long as political barriers to entry remain in place, the assumption of self-interested demand driving policy remains far-fetched.

Disc. **Kathy Cramer Walsh**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

30-4 **SCHOOLS: CHOICES, CHARTERS AND CHILDREN**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Chair **Michael J. Licari**, *University of Northern Iowa*

Paper **Charter Schools and Social Capital**

Mark Schneider, *Stony Brook University*

Jack Buckley, *Boston College*

Overview: The paper, based on an ongoing study of parents enrolled in Washington DC charter schools and traditional public schools, focuses on how charter school enrollment affects school based and broader political activities. The longitudinal panel design allows us to identify the extent to which effects are transitory, which are cumulative, and which never appear at all. In addition, we interviewed children of the parents in our sample. These student data measure the effect of schools on student political attitudes and community participation, controlling for parental factors.

Paper **Social Capital, Educational Capital and the Consequences of School Choice**

Kent L. Tedin, *University of Houston*

Greg Weiher, *University of Houston*

Overview: Using measures of general social capital, education-related social capital and a sample of charter school parents and tradition school parents, we investigated the extent to which school choice increase education related social capital.

Paper **School Choice, No Child Left Behind, and the Problem of Measurement**

Scott F. Abernathy, *University of Minnesota*

Overview: Using original survey data collected from Minnesota public school principals in the fall of 2003, I examine the bureaucratic responses to both school choice and No Child Left Behind. I focus on the problems of using aggregate measures of student performance in educational reform, whether that means parents shopping for good schools or governments sanctioning troubled ones.

Paper **Predicting When School Choice Policies Will Succeed: The Importance of Funding**

Peter K. Enns, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Overview: I examine the effects of private revenue and expenditure on student performance in Texas charter schools. I find that Texas charter schools may indeed respond to competitive pressures, as the school choice advocates predict. However, state-funding levels may be insufficient to allow schools to respond to competitive market-like pressures for increased student achievement

Disc. **Christine H. Roch**, *Georgia State University*

30-17 **EVALUATION AND IMPLEMENTATION**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Chair **Robert F. Rich**, *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*

Paper **Personal Reemployment Accounts: Simulations for Planning Implementation**

Christopher J. O'Leary, *W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research*

Overview: The Back to Work Incentive Act of 2003 proposed personal reemployment accounts (PRA) of up to \$3,000 for buying reemployment services. The proposed PRA combines several innovative features including: 1) a cash reemployment bonus, 2) a grant to individuals for choosing publicly or privately provided employment, training, and supportive services, and 3) eligibility determined by statistical profiling models. This paper provides a simulation analysis to guide states in planning for implementation of PRA.

Paper **State Regulation of Trucking: The Policy Impact of Differential Speed Limits**

Grant W. Neeley, *Ball State University*

Lilliard E. Richardson, *University of Missouri*

Overview: To reduce traffic fatalities and injuries, states use a variety of traffic safety policies, including several aimed at commercial trucks. Using cross-sectional time series methods for state data from 1975 to 2000, we assess whether such policies reduce fatalities. We include variables for traffic safety laws, vehicle miles traveled, population density, percent of young adults, per capita income, climate, percent of cars with airbags, mix of vehicle types, per capita alcohol consumption, and enforcement efforts.

Paper **The Development of America's Postwar Active labor market Policies: The Demise of the Two Bang Theory**

Hugh A. Wilson, *Adelphi University*

Overview: The predominant explaining the creation of the American Active Labor Market Policy holds that it was created by two bangs: a brief one under the Employment Act of 1946 and a more prolonged one in the 1960's with passage of the Area Development Act and the Manpower Development and Training Act. The literature saw a fallow period between 1946 and 1961. We analyze the federal legislative acts of public investment that directly and indirectly affected the labor market during this so called fallow period. The paper finds that federal labor market policies were more substantial than the literature details and was characterized by continuity rather than two bangs.

Paper **Information Dynamics: Explaining the pattern of information in policy debates**

Erin de la Mare, *University of Washington*

Overview: Policymaking is a path-dependent process, and an important key to the path taken during a critical event is the information present in the policy network at that time. The question is: What determines the information available in a policy debate? Comparing three policy areas—telecommunications policy wildfire policy, and economic sanctions policy—this paper tests competing theories of path-dependence to identify the causal mechanisms that influence the nature and pattern of information in policy debates.

Disc. **Heidi Koenig**, *Northern Illinois University*

31-1 **GOVERNMENTS, MARKETS, AND SERVICE PROVISION**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30

Chair **E.S. Savas**, *New York University*

Paper **Prisoner Reentry Programs: What are the Common Variables that Predict Implementation Success Among Various Delivery Methods?**

Craig S. McClure, *Miami University*

Overview: Offender reentry programs are intended to aid offenders in leaving the state prison system and return to society. There are various state and local means by which these programs are being implemented. At the state level, these programs are partnerships between executive branch corrections officials and not-for-profit agencies, while at the local level the vehicle of problem solving courts that apply the concept of therapeutic jurisprudence are being used. These local reentry courts combine judicial, executive, and not-for-profit agencies in a structured and supervised reentry process. My paper examines state and local partnership programs in four states (DE, FL, IN, OH) and asks the fundamental question, "How are reentry program partnerships being organized and implemented at the state and local level?" My paper will contribute to public administration partnership studies, policy implementation theory, and current program practice by defining how administrative agencies that combine judicial, executive, and not-for-profit functions and actors overcome, or fail to overcome, administrative, legal, and operational hurdles to deliver justice, accountability, and effective public administration and criminal justice policy to the offender and community.

Paper **Do Consultants Erode Government Capacity?: Evidence from a State Department of Transportation**
Leisha DeHart-Davis, *University of Kansas*
Dara O'Neil, *Georgia Tech Research Institute*
Gordon Kingsley, *Georgia Institute of Technology*
 Overview: Popular efforts to increase public-sector privatization have triggered questions about potential impacts on the quality and cost of government services. These queries have largely ignored the impacts of privatization on public agencies and their employees, particularly employee morale, core competencies, and public service. This paper seeks to explore these potential impacts for the increasingly common agency practice of hiring consultants to perform agency services. The data for the exploration come from a survey of public managers in a highly privatized state transportation agency.

Paper **Examining Financial Behavior in Special Purpose Entities**
Robert J. Eger III, *Georgia State University*
 Overview: In theory, special purpose entities are entities whose compositions are corporate in structure and are established or chartered by the national, state, or a sub-unit form of government. In infrastructure provision, the mass transit authority is a special purpose authority that is established to provide the market-oriented service of transit operations. To understand the financial behavior of these providers of transportation infrastructure, this paper seeks to evaluate the "corporate-like" behavior of transportation authorities.

Paper **"Efficiency" in Public Administration**
Maurice C. Sheppard, *Alma College*
 Overview: This paper reviews the conceptualization and use of efficiency in recent public administration and management literature. The literature identifies efficiency as an explanatory variable for increasing privatization of the public sector. Unfortunately, conceptualization and use of efficiency in this literature appears inconsistent at times because of a lack of precision concerning similar but distinct meanings of efficiency. This paper untangles and clarifies these conceptualizations and uses of efficiency in the administration and management literature.

Disc. **John H. Parham**, *Minnesota State University, Mankato*
Jack H. Knott, *University of Illinois*

32-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE FEDERALIST SOCIETY IN AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**
Room TBA, TABLE 6, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30
Inf. Rnd. **The Federalist Society in American Political Development**
Peter N. Ubertaccio, *Stonehill College*
Matthew Flynn, *Stonehill College*
 Overview: The Federalist Society has received little attention by political scientists. This informal roundtable will outline the growth and development of the Federalist Society and will also explore the impact it has had on the development of executive power and the law in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

33-1 **CHRISTIANITY AND AMERICAN POLITICS, PAST AND PRESENT (Co-sponsored with Foundations of Political Theory and Philosophy, see 17-18)**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30
Chair **Ted G. Jelen**, *University of Nevada - Las Vegas*
Paper **The Role of Spirituality in the Examination of Latino Political Practices**
John F. Burke, *University of St. Thomas*
 Overview: I will focus on the paucity of scholarship on the role of religion and spirituality in examining Latino political attitudes, practices, and culture. In turn, I will suggest the salience of Latino spirituality for the type of communitarianism being pursued by figures such as Robert Bellah and Putnam.

Paper **Toleration and Identity in the Public and Private Realms**
Emily Gill, *Bradley University*

Overview: The classic understanding of toleration is failure to interfere with beliefs or behavior that one finds distasteful, wrong, heretical, etc. The more modern understanding is broader, and many think that "mere" toleration is a grudging stance (cf Steven Kautz) in comparison to positive affirmation, often of the identities of those who seek this. I myself have argued, in fact, that toleration can (though it need not) function as a cover for a "love the sinner, hate the sin" sort of condescension towards others. I want to explore this tension through discussion of one public and one private issue that are attracting a good deal of current discussion: same-sex marriage, and the Episcopal Church's endorsement of an openly gay bishop.

Paper **Moral Decline, Divine Punishment, and American Slavery**
Andrew R. Murphy, *Valparaiso University*
 Overview: Americans were shocked and outraged when Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell suggested that the September 11 attacks were the result of God's anger at a degenerate American morality. When we move from these ill-timed remarks to reflect more broadly on the history of American political rhetoric, we find that moral decline and divine punishment are recurrent themes and hardly arise de novo with Falwell's reflections on 9/11. I support this claim by examining antebellum debates over slavery and the Civil War, showing how concepts of divine punishment, national theology, and social morality have combined to form a powerful theological explanation of cataclysmic events in American history.

Paper **The Impact of the Clerical Sex Abuse Scandal on Catholic Influence**
Mary C. Segers, *Rutgers University, Newark*
 Overview: This paper discusses the implications of the sexual abuse scandal for the American Catholic church's public agenda. With its hospitals, orphanages, shelters and other agencies, the church is the largest provider of social services in the United States. However, as church leaders struggle to deal with internal disarray, energy and resources may be diverted from the provision of social services. The loss of episcopal credibility may undermine the efforts of the church to shape public policy on matters such as abortion, euthanasia, stem-cell research and cloning, school vouchers, and the death penalty, as well as broader issues of just war and economic justice for the poor. For example, in Massachusetts the church is campaigning heavily against the state's possible legalization of same-sex marriage. However, Catholics and non-Catholics alike tend to dismiss what church officials say because of the hierarchy's internal mishandling of clerical sex abuse. The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops invoked just war theory to criticize the government's buildup to the war in Iraq. But such official statements of the American Catholic bishops received little public attention as the nation went to war. The proposed paper explores examples such as these in an attempt to determine the impact of the scandal on Catholic political influence in the United States.

Disc. **Thomas R. Rourke**, *Clarion University*

34-3 INSTITUTIONAL INITIATIVES TO IMPROVE COLLEGE TEACHING

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, THUR 3:30
Chair **Linda G. Lopez**, *American Political Science Association*
Paper **The Impact of PFF in Chicago**

Dick W. Simpson, *University of Illinois at Chicago*
 Overview: As part of the Preparing Future Faculty Program at the University of Illinois at Chicago the Department of Political Science has taken a number of new initiatives. This paper reports on the results of those changes and the process of institutionalizing the PFF program.

Paper **The Next Generation: Thinking Beyond Current Graduate Development Models**

Susan E. Clarke, *University of Colorado at Boulder*
 Overview: This paper reports on a pilot project developing a model for undergrad/grad training centered on vertically integrated research and teaching groups. Collaboration between faculty, (post-docs), graduate students, and undergraduates is

Friday, April 16 – 8:30 am – 10:15 am

1-101 ROUNDTABLE: GETTING PUBLISHED AND REVIEWING POLITICAL SCIENCE JOURNALS

Room PDR 9, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30
Rndtbl. **William G. Jacoby**, *Michigan State University*
Kim Q. Hill, *Texas A & M University*
Jan E. Leighley, *Texas A & M University*
Lee Sigelman, *George Washington University*
 Overview: A roundtable of journal editors intended to provide members of the profession (particularly advanced graduate students and junior faculty) with useful information about professional journals in the discipline, including the advice on submitting manuscripts, guidelines for effective reviews, and responding to an editor's decision.

2-3 THE WELFARE STATE AND WELFARE STATE RETRENCHMENT

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30
Chair **Volker Schneider**, *University of Constance*
Paper Comparing Welfare States in Australia and Canada: A Party Competition Theory of Welfare State Development
Jingjing Huo, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*
 Overview: The paper takes advantage of the dispute between the directional and Downsian theories of issue voting to propose a party competition theory of welfare state development and with it explains the difference between the Australian and Canadian welfare states during the Golden Age. A more polarized party system in Australia led to parties adopting more directional policy strategies in social policy; a less polarized party system in Canada led to Downsian strategies in social policy.

Paper Restraining the Iron Lady: The Limits of Welfare State Retrenchment in the UK
Laura B. Stephenson, *University of Western Ontario*
 Overview: This paper examines the constraints that influenced Margaret Thatcher's welfare state reforms in the 1980s. Specifically, it focuses on the role of popular and cultural preferences for social service provision, both within society and the Conservative Party, in taming the extent of liberalization reforms.

Paper Political Choice, Public Policy, and Distributional Outcomes in the United States
Nathan J. Kelly, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*
 Overview: The question of this paper is whether the ideological tone of U.S. government policy influences distributional outcomes and, if so, through what mechanisms? I utilize time series data from 1947-2000 to show that that leftward shifts in policy increase income equality through two mechanisms. First, movement toward the left equalizes pre-tax-pre-transfer income inequality. This is the manipulation of economic opportunity. Second, left policies increase the equalizing effect of redistributional programs. This is explicit redistribution.

Paper European Employment Strategy, Childcare and Welfare State Redesign
Nicole Richardt, *Northwestern University/University of Bremen*
 Overview: The paper explores how the emerging "European childcare strategy" implemented via the European Employment Strategy can influence the provision of childcare nationally. The paper compares the influence of European childcare targets on the "Third Way" model of childcare provision in the UK and the "Neo-Familialist" model of childcare provision in Germany. Theoretically, the paper draws on two sets of literature: varieties of capitalism and gender research on the redesign of welfare states.

Disc. **Gunther M. Hega**, *Western Michigan University*

3-5 STATE-LOCAL RELATIONS IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30
Chair **Kathleen Dowley**, *SUNY, New Paltz*

Paper Three-Level Games: Central-Regional-Local Relations in Developing Countries

J. Tyler Dickovick, *Princeton University*

Overview: Can federalism and decentralization work against one another? I argue that central governments often use municipal decentralization to weaken intermediate levels of government. In a "three-level game", central governments decentralize to the local level in order to strengthen the center's position vis-à-vis the states/regions/provinces. I demonstrate this with three case studies: Brazil, South Africa, and Peru. In each case, increases in the electoral strength of opposition parties at the intermediate level triggered moves towards municipalization.

Paper Between the Formal and Informal: Bureaucracy, Networks, and Institutional Change

Huisheng Shou, *University of Missouri, Kansas City*

Overview: How to achieve a balance between macro political stability and incentives for change associated with fragmentation within bureaucracy? The case of local electoral reforms in China shows that a network employed by reformist coalition to circumvent their opponents operates within the constraints of formal bureaucratic structures. Accommodation between informal and formal institutions helps reconcile some of the policy differences within bureaucracy and keeps the reforms progressing in a restrained manner while avoiding political disruption.

Paper Political Meddling or Critical Instruction?: The Impact of Central-Local Relations on Local Government Performance

Gina M.S. Lambright, *Indiana University*

Overview: This paper examines the effects of different patterns of central-local relations on institutional performance in Uganda following decentralization. Using OLS regression and qualitative data analysis of data from 45 local governments and three case study districts, I find that central-local relations do matter for successful local government performance. Evidence presented in this paper also reveals that Uganda's central government attempts to exert political control over local governments, often informally through the distribution of resources.

Paper Partisan Inducements and Constraints and the Composition of Subnational Government Spending

Alejandra Armesto, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: This paper examines the determinants of the composition of subnational public spending –pork, patronage, and public goods- where the provision of local public goods takes place under decentralized arrangements. Recent research on the composition of public spending looks at political institutions, e.g., system of government, electoral rules, structure and size of the legislature, but disregards partisan factors. This paper suggests that the choice among alternative combinations of policy is shaped by the partisan constraints and inducements faced by subnational politicians: party competition, partisan control of government and the level of party system centralization. The paper looks at two Latin American cases, Mexico and Argentina, and argues that under mechanisms of partisan political centralization, the proportion of spending on public goods increases in subnational units governed by opposition parties –vis-à-vis the national executive. On the other hand, in the absence of mechanisms of partisan political centralization, the proportion of spending on public goods depends on the level of party competition at the subnational level. The study tests the hypotheses in a cross-section time-series analysis of the composition of subnational government spending in Mexico and Argentina in the period 1980-2000.

Paper The Governor's Backyard: National Crises, Reactive Reforms, and Political Survival in the Argentine Provinces

Ernesto F. Calvo, *University of Houston*

Juan Pablo Miccozzi, *Universidad de Buenos Aires*

Overview: This paper provides evidence of the strategic behavior of governors confronted with negative externalities from national level coattail effects.

Disc. **Kathleen Dowley**, *SUNY, New Paltz*

3-101 **ROUNDTABLE: MISSING OR COHERENT LINKS: PUBLIC OPINION, CIVIL SOCIETY AND INSTITUTIONS IN THE ARAB WORLD**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair Mark Tessler, *University of Michigan*
 Rndtbl. Michael Herb, *Georgia State University*
 Amaney A. Jamal, *Princeton University*
 Ellen Lust-Okar, *Yale University*
 Jillian Schwedler, *University of Maryland*

Lisa Wedeen, *University of Chicago*

Overview: Several Arab monarchies have held reasonably free elections to parliaments. Some observers argue that these parliaments, despite their limited powers, are important steps toward democracy; others assert that they merely perpetuate authoritarian rule by giving it a veneer of legitimacy. On this roundtable we compare the Arab monarchies with monarchies in other parts of the world, including both those that made a successful transition from constitutional monarchism to democracy and those that did not. From this we derive a set of prerequisites, potential pitfalls, and expected stages in the monarchical path toward democracy. We compare the parliamentary experience of the Arab monarchies against this yardstick, and conclude that in several important respects the Arab parliamentary experiments hold some promise for further democratization.

4-4 **ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF DEMOCRACY AND AUTHORITARIANISM**

Room TBA1, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair Jose Cheibub, *Yale University*

Paper **Democratization and Economic Growth: Interrupted Time Series Evidence**

Uk Heo, *University of Wisconsin Milwaukee*

Trevor P. Rubenzer, *University of Wisconsin Milwaukee*

Overview: Few previous studies have examined the relationship between democratization and economic growth. In this paper, we investigate how democratization affects economic growth using an interrupted time series technique. Using the data for the "second" and "third" wave of democratization by Huntington, we test how democratization influenced economic growth. Findings of this study will help us understand the democratization-growth nexus.

Paper **Differing Determinants and Effects of Different Human Rights**

David S. Yamanishi, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: Contrary to the normative presumption that different human rights are mutually reinforcing, I show that different human rights have different determinants and different effects.

Paper **The Impacts of Natural-Resource Intensity on the Economic Performance under Democracy and Authoritarian Regimes**

Chin-en Wu, *University of Michigan*

Overview: The paper argue that natural-resource curse are more salient in authoritarian regime than in democratic regimes. The reason for the structural difference is most likely due to the fact that in democracies political leaders are required to gain the support of a majority of voters to stay in power. Abundant natural-resource revenues are sufficient for autocrats to allocate to their supporters but are not sufficient to please a majority of voters in democracies. In contrast, when levels of natural-resource intensity is low, both regimes are likely to perform well for there are not too many resources available to allocate to their supporters and the only way for leaders in both regimes to increase wealth for themselves or to reward supporters is by pursuing economic development.

Paper **Should I Bribe or Should I Go? The Practices of Corruption as an Information Problem in Italy and Russia.**

Gergana Yankova, *Harvard University*

Overview: The paper casts corruption as an information problem. It seeks to explain the mechanism of distribution of public procurement contracts, and is designed as a comparative case study of the municipal elites in Italy and in Russia. The paper hypothesizes that municipal officials take decisions

whether to embark on illegal practices, based on their perception of the likelihood that they will be punished for the corrupt acts. They receive this information from three main sources- the media, successful court litigations against corrupt officials, and informal association. The paper operationalizes each of these three factors and traces their effect on the perception of the municipal elites.

Disc. Sybil D. Rhodes, *Western Michigan University*

4-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POST-TRANSITION VIOLENCE**

Room TBA, TABLE 1, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Inf. Rnd. **Democratization in the Third Wave: Political Violence as a Transition Tactic**

Lindsey J.H. Lupo, *University of California, Irvine*

Overview: Much of the transition literature touts the peaceful nature of the third wave. This paper seeks to explore the issue of political violence as it relates to the transition process. Specifically, does political violence hinder the democratic transition process? Instances of political violence that occur during the transition period are as important to study as instances of peaceful transition; to understand only one type of transition is to misunderstand the idiosyncratic nature of transitions.

Inf. Rnd. **Democratization and Nationalist Conflict: Culture and Elite Manipulation in Serbia, 1988-1999**

Lisa Kissopoulos, *University of Cincinnati*

Overview: Using the case of Serbia from 1988 to 1999, this study synthesizes ethnic hatred and elite persuasion theories to explain the rise of ethno-national conflict. Instead of the elite persuasion theory, which sidelines culture and focuses on populist appeals to one ethno-nationalist group, this study explains how elites persuade through their manipulation of cultures. Ethnic nationalist conflict is not only caused by elite persuasion but by elite manipulation, including cultural appeals and cultural suppression.

4-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE IMPACT OF WAR ON DEMOCRATIZATION**

Room TBA, TABLE 2, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Inf. Rnd. **Does Inequality Determine Institutions? What History and (Some) Data Tell Us**

Ronald Rogowski, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Duncan C. MacRae, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: Political institutions vary with inequality; but do the institutions cause the (in)equality, or does inequality constrain institutions? Unlike most political scientists, we argue that inequality constrains institutions. We present several historical cases and contemporary empirical analyses of voter turnout and franchise extension. In every case we observe changes in inequality before changes in political institutions. The sources of these exogenous changes in inequality include: military technology, trade, disease, and information technology.

Inf. Rnd. **Explaining the Transition to Women's Suffrage**

Victor Asal, *University at Albany, SUNY*

Jennifer J. White, *University of Maryland, College Park*

Overview: Democracy has been characterized as being made up of two components: contestation and inclusion. For most of history, however, the level of political inclusion has been circumscribed by gender. One of the key transition points for the widening of this inclusion was the change in the scope of suffrage such that women were included as voters. This paper examines the relationship between modernization and war to the transition from a gender-exclusive to a gender-inclusive electorate.

4-203 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: IS ISLAM COMPATIBLE WITH DEMOCRACY?**

Room TBA, TABLE 3, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Inf. Rnd. **Christianity, Islam and Political Culture: Lessons from Sub-Saharan Africa in Comparative Perspective**

Robert A. Dowd, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: Many theorists have argued that Western Christianity and Islam affect political culture in different ways, and that Western Christianity is essentially more conducive to a democratic political culture than Islam. I find that the effect of religious involvement on political actions and attitudes depends less on whether one is a Christian or a Muslim than on where one is a Christian or a Muslim. I find that Christians and Muslims who are more religiously involved in the most religiously diverse settings are more politically active and supportive of democracy than Christians and Muslims who are just as religiously involved in less religiously diverse settings. Even more strikingly, I find that, in religiously diverse settings, religious involvement is often a more powerful predictor of political actions and attitudes than other factors usually thought to be more important, such as gender, age, education and income.

Inf. Rnd. Islam and Democracy - Compatibility and Survival in Pakistan and Bangladesh

Shuchi Wadhwa, *Marquette University*

Overview: The examination of religion (Islam) and democracy become an important issue especially in the 21st century when many developing countries are trying to make the transition towards democracy. The two cases I will be presenting are that of Pakistan and Bangladesh, one in which democracy has not been established and one in which it has, respectively. The variable I will examine is that of divided society and its impact on religion, which also then has an impact on democracy. Ultimately I will show that Islam and democracy are compatible, and it is the role of divided society that creates the instability within predominately Islamic societies.

5-301 POSTER SESSION: EUROPEAN POLITICS

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Poster A Green Constituency?: Examining the Effect of Third Party Strength on European Environmental Policy

Brian S. DiSarro, *University of Iowa*

James Krueger, *University of Iowa*

Overview: This study is a comparison of the relative level of environmental-friendliness in several European countries prior to the rise of the Green Party/other pro-environmental parties with the level of environmental-friendliness after the rise of the Green Party/other pro-environmental parties. The objective is to see if the presence of such parties has a positive effect on increasing the level of environmental-friendliness, and if stronger parties--or stronger public support for such parties--lead to higher levels of environmental-friendliness, and greater enactment of pro-environmental public policies.

Poster Quantifying the Study of the Political Leader Using Computer-Assisted Text Analysis: A Data-Based Approach to British Prime Ministers

Stephen B. Dyson, *Washington State University*

Overview: This paper takes advantage of the development of social-scientific textual analysis computer software, capable of processing vast amounts of material (Laver, Benoit and Garry, 2003; Young, 2000), in order to generate extensive data on the last 11 British Prime Ministers. The paper will be of interest to those who study executive operations and decision making, individual political leaders, British politics and foreign policy, and those involved in the emerging "words as data" approach.

Poster European Enlargement: The Problem of Koenigsberg Region Still Has to Be Resolved

Darius Furmonavicius, *University of Bradford*

Overview: The present status of the Koenigsberg / Karaliaiuius / Kaliningrad region is not defined well at the international level. The Soviet Union broke an agreement of the Potsdam Conference, namely its undertaking not to mark its western borders and not to incorporate Koenigsberg and the adjacent area into the USSR in advance of the peace settlement, which, in fact, never took place. The international community, particularly the European Union, whose economic aid to Russia totaled more than €1,1b [\$1b], must apply the principle of conditionality to this aid to require that Russia withdraws its army and allows the people of the region to decide their own future in a referendum.

Poster Problems Associated with the Incorporation of the European Convention of Human Rights into British Law: Threatening Britain's Parliamentary Sovereignty?

Rollin F. Tusalem, *University of Missouri - Columbia*

Overview: My research project will examine the policy implications of the passage of the Human Rights Act of 1998 into British law. By far this represents a radical legal revolution in Britain that can lead into a weakened parliament. By granting citizens rights to life, liberty, free speech, freedom of assembly, the right to disseminate hateful or rhetorical seditious speech, and prohibitions against torture, slavery and institutional discrimination-- centuries of existing British law will be called into question, disputed and amended through the courts that can weaken parliamentary supremacy and empower the role of unelected judges.

Poster One Accent in Peacekeeping?: A Content Analysis of the Transatlantic Perspectives

Oya Dursun, *University of Texas at Austin*

Overview: This paper presents a content analysis on how the European Union and the United States converge (or diverge) in their respective approaches toward the peacekeeping operations Bosnia and Herzegovina, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Disc. Donald Schaefer, *University of Washington*

7-14 TRADE, DEMOCRACY AND WAR

Room TBA2, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair **Dennis Foster**, *Pennsylvania State University*

Paper The Impact of Economic Interdependence on US-China Relations

Mary M. McCarthy, *Columbia University*

Overview: In this paper, I apply the theoretical debate on the relationship between economic interdependence and international conflict to the specific case of US-China bilateral relations. I hypothesize that growing economic interdependence has decreased conflict in the US-China relationship. In cases where conflict has been initiated, economic interdependence has increased the likelihood of peaceful settlement, as opposed to escalation. In order to test my hypotheses, I conduct a time series analysis examining US-China relations from 1978-2000.

Paper Neo-Kantian States and Issue Politics: Specifying Applicability of Triangulating Peace vis-a-vis Territorial Issues

Johann Park, *University of Missouri-Columbia*

Overview: The liberal peace research program has been predominant in the field of IR. Most recently, Oneal and Russett (2003; Russett and Oneal 2001) have tried to triangulate peace with three Kantian variables: democracy, economic interdependence, and international organizations. However, what is missing in that research program is issues over which states contend over, which make us to still take a pose to accept the triangular peace as Rosetta Stone for international relations. As Diehl (1992:333) argued over ten years ago, taking into account issues and their salience is fundamental to explain interstate conflict without such considerations, there may, in most cases, be inherently limits to [the] ability to explain and predict national conflict behavior. In this regard, I argue it is the very appropriate time for IR students to consider the issues involved in interstate conflict in order to expand and specify our understanding of such phenomena. I assert that the type of issue produce more nuanced effects than Kantian variables. More specifically, do the preceding results with respect to the liberal peace hold up for especially contentious issues such as territory? I test this assertion by adding issue-related variables from ICOW territorial data set to the conventional conflict model found in the liberal peace program (Russett and Oneal 2001; Oneal and Russett 1999). From cross-sectional, time-series empirical analysis with general estimating equation (GEE) method (and also Beck et (1998), I find that the issue-related variables have significant explanatory power in predicting MID involvement in territorial claims whereas the three Kantian variables do not play important role to constrain territorial disputants from escalating their contention over territory into militarized disputes.

Paper	<p><u>Rationalist Explanations for Peace</u> Erik Gartzke, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: I develop a set of explanations for interstate peace from Fearon's (1995) bargaining framework and then distill likely causes of the special dyadic democratic peace. I find that interests, markets, and borders better explain the peace than democracy.</p>	8-3	<p><u>THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CAPITAL CONTROLS</u> Room Chair Paper TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30 Christopher R. Way, <i>Cornell University</i> <u>The Political Economy of Postal Savings, Capital Controls and Financial Development: A Conceptualization</u> A. Maria Toyoda, <i>Villanova University</i> Jennifer Amyx, <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> Overview: This paper conceptualizes and tests how postal savings systems have affected financial development. We also look at how capital account liberalization affects the political dynamics of reforming or dismantling postal savings systems.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Perilous Politics? Regime Transition and Conflict 1950-2000</u> Ursula E. Daxecker, <i>University of New Orleans</i> Overview: This research builds on existing models of democratization and conflict by including a more fully specified vector of conflict variables and by using an updated set of cases. Employing a generalized estimating equation with logit and poisson specifications, the results show that change towards democracy decreases the probability of involvement in militarized inter-state disputes. However, uneven transitions are found to increase conflict likelihood. In addition, I show that the impact of power and contiguity on conflict is substantially altered if states are in a regime transition.</p>	Paper	<p><u>International Volatility and the Sequencing of Capital Account Liberalization in Emerging Economies</u> Kara Heitz, <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: While reducing or moving capital controls does have long-term benefits in terms of growth and investment, integration into the international economy can also leave a country open to the volatility of global financial markets. This volatility is especially problematic for emerging markets, whose states may not have the resources necessary to provide an adequate social welfare cushion to its citizens. If the legal framework and rule of law crucial to investor confidence are in place prior to the implementation of financial liberalization, then developing countries will not be as susceptible to volatility effects from the international economy (even when cushioning from government welfare spending is not available). I test this hypothesis on a set of emerging market countries from 1985-2002.</p>
Disc.	<p>Charles R. Boehmer, <i>University of Texas, El Paso</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Office Seeking Executives, Markets, and Capital Account Policymaking</u> Clint Peinhardt, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: Almost universally, capital account policymaking occurs within the executive, and the tenets of positive political economy suggest that leaders should use this policy tool for their own benefits. Simultaneously, leadership stability affects market forecasts of investment return, with higher returns on average in the more stable polities. Until now, few have tied these two strands of thought together. In this paper, I test the predictions of a formal model that integrates leaders' actions with those of investors in a strategic setting. Investors must overcome the uncertainty involved in determining leadership strength, but as the results of this test shows, the uncertainty involved in predicting political change is a formidable obstacle to the risk differentiation predicted by economic theory.</p>
8-2	<p><u>ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY</u> Room Chair Paper TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30 Adrian S. Petrescu, <i>University of Toledo</i> <u>Non-Binding Commitment? Policy Interests of Countries in Environmental Cooperation in Northeast Asia</u> Esook Yoon, <i>Kent State University</i> Overview: Environmental Cooperation in Northeast Asia can be characterized as progressing through non-binding commitment without clearly described official commitments to compliance or legal restrictions for non-compliance. This paper explores the ecological, economic and political interests of regional countries and concludes that current non-binding cooperation is a policy choice of them.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Legislatures, Central Banks, and Capital Account Regulation</u> Scott L. Kastner, <i>University of Maryland</i> Chad Rector, <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: A growing literature in political economy identifies the number of government veto-players as an important variable helping to determine the likelihood of policy change. Veto-players theory has been applied to a number of issue areas, and in our earlier work we have shown that countries with a greater number of government veto-players are less likely, ceteris paribus, to alter their capital controls policies (in either the liberalizing or the restricting directions). In this paper, we propose to refine the veto players hypothesis with regard to capital controls policy changes, hypothesizing instead that the effects of veto player parties in government on capital controls policy changes are themselves partially contingent on the broader institutional framework within a particular state.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Making of the Environmental Foreign Policy of the Reagan Administration: Focusing on the Concept of Relative Gains</u> Kyung Joon Han, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper, with the question of "which elements determine the making of the environmental foreign policy?", has tried to analyze two cases in the period of Reagan administration of the United States; the ozone layer depletion and acid rain. This paper presents a hypothesis as follows: in the process of forming the environmental foreign policy in the Reagan administration, the decision makers focused on the relative economic gains.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Globalization Makers and Takers: Financial Globalization and the Dynamics of Security Market Reform</u> John Echeverri-Gent, <i>University of Virginia</i> Radoslav Iliev, <i>University of Virginia</i> Overview: This paper combines econometric and comparative case study methods to investigate the differential impact of financial globalization on countries with different levels of economic development. It contends that international capital flows create a three-tiered global market. Developed countries are globalization makers who largely determine global standards for reform. Some developing countries are globalization takers</p>
Paper	<p><u>Some Lessons from the Oceans: Why and How do Nations Cooperate?</u> Aslaug Asgeirsdottir, <i>Bates College</i> Overview: The paper contributes to the study of international cooperation by analyzing how nations have used the Law of the Sea to achieve cooperation over more than 200 overlapping areas of the ocean.</p>		
Paper	<p><u>Global Pollution Havens?</u> Monika A. Klimek, <i>University of Missouri-Columbia</i> Overview: Proponents of global environmental standards argue that global trade liberalization creates a 'race to the bottom' where countries relax their air pollution standards in order to entice foreign investment. To test for a global race to the bottom, this paper examines foreign investment in a sample of 104 countries, controlling for the level of economic development and political regime in 1980. The contribution of this study is an examination of a global race to the bottom model on air pollution levels within countries, not performed in previous studies. The results of an OLS regression analysis indicate that countries do compete for foreign investment, and sidestep air quality, as they are byproducts of pollution havens. Ultimately, the results of this paper suggest that many countries are racing to the bottom.</p>		
Disc.	<p>Adrian S. Petrescu, <i>University of Toledo</i></p>		

Disc. Christopher R. Way, *Cornell University*

Room BURNHAM 5, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair **John R. Freeman**, *University of Minnesota*

Quan Li, *Pennsylvania State University*

Paper **International Institutions and Foreign Capital: The Effects of International Monetary Fund Agreements on Foreign Direct Investment Inflows**

Nathan Jensen, *Washington University in St. Louis*

Paper **Varieties of Capitalists? Foreign Direct Investment and Economic Policymaking in Transition Economies**

Layna Mosley, *University of Notre Dame*

Paper **Dictators and Democrats: The Political Sources of Success
in Attracting Foreign Direct Investment**

Oksan Bayulgen, *University of Connecticut*

Jeffrey W. Ladewig, *University of Connecticut*

Disc. John R. Freeman, *University of Minnesota*

Room TBA. TBA FLOOR. FRI 8:30

Chair **Marc R. Rosenblum**, *University of New Orleans*

Fodei J. Batty, *Western Michigan University*

Kiragu Wambuii, *Western Michigan University*

Chris Ebsch

governments, to determine if their activity is more effective for getting U.S. foreign assistance than other factors that form the official criteria for receiving this assistance such as good governance, democracy, respect for the rule of law and observation of human rights. A better understanding of FIG activity potentially holds the key to providing answers to questions about U.S. support for undemocratic regimes and, consequently, her unpopularity abroad.

Overview: Why did Germany join other members of the

international community as they became bystanders to the Rwandan genocide? A dense network of ties between the two states, their governments, and non-governmental organizations, as well as the German commitment to human rights policies, might suggest otherwise. The paper explores the context of German foreign policy in the early 90's, media coverage of the genocide and its role on the agenda of political elites and provides an explanation of Germany's bystander role.

Benjamin Ponder, *Northwestern University*

Overview: Through a close reading of four separate public hearings of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, this paper probes the underlying logic of American ambivalence toward international courts across the 20th century.

Jennifer M. Ramos, *University of California, Davis*

Dana Zartner Falstrom, *University of California, Davis*

Disc. Marc R. Rosenblum, *University of New Orleans*

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair Audie Klotz, *Syracuse University*

Paper **What's So Different about the Po**

Michael J. Bosia, *Northwestern University*

Overview: Through research on AIDS activism in France and the U.S., I “bring interests back in” to explain how the politics of cultural difference is part and parcel of the politics of citizenship.

Audie Klotz, *Syracuse University*

124

instability in Zimbabwe, depend on whether new non-racial and African identities can be accommodated in foreign policies (as well as in domestic arenas).

Paper **Itinerant Nationhoods: Identity Formation Among Ecuadorian Immigrants in the United States**

Amalia Pallares, *University of Illinois at Chicago*

Overview: This paper studies the ways in which Ecuadorian immigrants construct their social and political identities in the U.S. in relationship to their country of origin.

Paper **Do Transnational Social Actors Have Identities (If Not Now, Then Some Day)?**

Evalyn Tennant, *University of Chicago*

Overview: This paper investigates the roles of international instruments and organizations in the creation of transnationally-organized collective actors--such as those named as sustainable development "stakeholder" groups at the Rio Earth Summit--and evaluates the senses in which, and contexts in which, such heterogeneous and categorically-defined actors can usefully be understood to have "identities" prior to, or in the absence of, social contexts that foster self-definition.

Disc. **Norma Moruzzi**, *University of Illinois at Chicago*

10-5 **CIVIL WAR AND INTERVENTION**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair **J. David Singer**, *University of Michigan*

Overview: TBA

Paper **Opening Up the Black Box of Civil War**

Jordan M. Miller, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Overview: This paper attempts to fill a void in the international relations literature by analyzing a number of different yet related topics concerning the intra-war dynamics of civil wars. Specifically, the paper addresses five topics: the outcome/duration of civil wars; the decision of governments of civil war states to militarily escalate civil wars; the decision of rebel groups to militarily escalate civil wars; the question of when, on which side, and at what level third-party states are likely to intervene in a civil war; and the decision of a third-party intervener to escalate its involvement in a civil war.

Paper **Civil Wars, Military Victories, and Enduring Peace: A Test of the "Wagner" Hypothesis**

Caroline A. Hartzell, *Gettysburg College*

Overview: Little is known empirically about how military victory works as a means of ending civil wars. This study focuses what happens to the military organization and leadership of armed opponents following the end of civil wars in an effort to identify the factors that help to produce an enduring peace. The study employs a survival analysis of all civil wars ended between 1945 and 1999.

Paper **Analyzing Third Party Interventions Using Propensity Scores**

Erin M. Simpson, *Harvard University*

Overview: How do third-party interventions affect the duration of civil wars? While a growing literature has addressed this topic, none have been able to address the problem of selection effects (which is caused by states not randomly choosing where to intervene from among the population of civil wars). Using a the method of matching with propensity scores can resolve this problem, allowing researchers to better understand the effects third parties have on civil war duration.

Paper **Contracting Out Security: State-Rebel Group Alliances in Central Africa**

David Cunningham, *University of California, San Diego*

Overview: Why do weak states ally with rebel parties from neighboring civil wars? I argue that rebel groups provide a potential domestic security benefit for leaders of weak states by giving them an opportunity to contract out security in the face of internal insurrection. A case study of the varying responses of Central African states to the civil war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo provides strong support for this theory.

Disc. **J. David Singer**, *University of Michigan*

10-10 **REVOLUTION, CIVIL WAR, AND AFTER**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair **Renee Agress**, *Sparta, Inc*

Paper **The Politics of Revolution and Violence**

Ribhi I. Salhi, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: This paper studies four revolutions that took place in the last century: the Russian Revolution (Bolshevik) 1917, The Chinese in 1949, The Cuban in 1958, and The Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979.

Paper **How To Protest: A Note on the Choice of Protest Activity**

Rupayan Gupta, *Iowa State University*

Overview: In Gupta (2003a) we examined the effect of leadership type and the type of the occupier (Controller) in determining the nature of protest movements in regions under dispute. While the qualitative aspects of the act of protest were not examined in the earlier model, in this paper we extend that model so that the nature of a protest depends on violence and intensity level of the movement. The questions analyzed in the earlier model (namely the effect of leadership type and the type of the controller on the nature of the movement) are re-examined in the modified framework. It is seen that we can characterize equilibria, in which the level of violence advocated by an intrinsically more non-violent leadership group, is more than that by one less so. Analysis of these conditions help us identify the change in the nature of protest, in case an input of protest distinct from violence is available to the protestors. We also identify ways in which a change in the 'attitude' of the controller affects the equilibrium in this extended model.

Paper **"Everything They Ever Wanted": A NetLogo Case Study of a Model of Rebellion in the Tobacco Dark Patch of**

Tennessee and Kentucky

Christopher D. Newman, *Elgin Community College*

Overview: The course of the Dark Patch Tobacco War during the period 1904-1909 is examined using NetLogo, a computer modeling environment in which agents are allowed to interact using simple behavioral rules. The impact of success on the theory of Relative Deprivation is analyzed in this case study.

Paper **The Origins of the Greek Revolution 1821-1829**

Vassilios Damiras, *Loyola University - Chicago*

Oksana Koltko, *Elgin Community College/Ivan Franko National University, Ukraine*

Overview: The paper will discuss and analyze the origins of the Greek Revolution and its significance to European affairs during that time period. In addition will present the Russian involvement regarding the Greek uprising.

Paper **What's So Civil About War? Empirical Research on Post-Conflict Reconstruction**

William J. Josiger, *Georgetown University*

Overview: Successfully reconstructing a state after a civil war is a difficult process. Reconstruction strategies should be tailored for each individual conflict, but there are some broad guidelines. Building on previous studies, I argue that reconstruction plans should take into account the domestic level of hostility, the domestic capacities available for the reconstruction effort, and the degree of international involvement. I use an existing dataset of 125 civil wars since 1945 and employ logistic regression to test a model built around these three factors against several different definitions of reconstruction success. I find that democratization is dependent on hostility, domestic capacities, and international involvement, but that the level of hostility is the best indicator for merely ending the civil war. I also find that UN intervention is positively correlated with democratization, but has no impact on ending a civil war. Taken together, these two observations suggest that even the most underdeveloped state can successfully transition away from war, but it will be extremely difficult for that state to democratize without international involvement. I hope to provide greater understanding of the impact that these three factors have on reconstruction so that policymakers can adopt appropriate strategies.

Disc. **Renee Agress**, *Sparta, Inc*

11-3 **SOCIAL CAPITAL, TRUST, AND COMMUNITY**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair Pamela C. Carriveau, *Portland State University*

Paper **Inequality and Isolation: How Economic Stratification Harms Social Capital**

Alina R. Oxendine, *University of Minnesota, Twin Cities*

Overview: Income inequality predicts social capital using time-series and aggregate, cross-sectional data. Not only do changes in income inequality over time predict shifts in social capital, but states and communities high in income inequality are also those low in trust and community involvement. Although researchers have established this relationship exists, they have not yet probed to learn exactly how and why income inequality depresses social capital. In what ways do people living among inequality think and behave differently from those living in a more egalitarian environment? What is it about income inequality that causes people to lose trust in others and to feel disconnected from their communities? Does income inequality primarily affect the poor, or does it cause richer groups to retreat from community life, as well?

In recent decades, two disturbing trends have emerged in American society. Income inequality has been growing steadily over the past 25 years. And our society has been suffering from a decline in social capital, with people becoming more and more isolated from each other and their communities. Although scholars have established empirical evidence of a connection between income inequality and social capital, they have not analyzed how or why this relationship exists. This project explores specific ways that economic stratification contributes to America's seclusion. Using a combination of community-level demographic information and individual-level survey data, in conjunction with a quasi-experimental community comparison, this project explores the mechanisms underlying this consequential relationship

Paper **Un-Muddying the Conceptual Water: Social Capital and its Antecedents**

Dari E. Sylvester, *Stony Brook University*

Overview: A wealth of previous literature has focused on the consequences of social capital, such as increased civic voluntarism and governmental participation. However, as more scholars have employed the social capital concept in their work, a muddying of conceptual clarity has taken place; social capital has become tantamount to a residual term capturing unexplained variance in levels of political activity.

Paper **Individual-Level Economic Behavior, Risk and Social Trust: I Shop Online, Therefore I Trust?**

Diana C. Mutz, *University of Pennsylvania*

Overview: In this study I examine the relationships between social trust, perceived risk and consumer behavior. Drawing on results from experimental and survey data, I argue that there is another, largely unexplored, explanation for why social trust and strong economic performance tend to go together. The supra-local economic transactions that characterize well developed economies are not just the consequence of trusting populations; they also serve to create higher levels of social trust.

Disc. John E. Transue, *Duke University*

11-12 **MEASUREMENT CONCERNS: INTEREST, TRUST, CONSERVATISM, AND POLICY ATTITUDES (Co-sponsored with Public Opinion and Political Participation, see 13-11)**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair Eric N. Waltenburg, *Purdue University*

Paper **Disentangling Moderate, Ambivalent, and Indifferent Policy Attitudes**

Dennis L. Plane, *Gallaudet University*

Overview: Public opinion research continues to have difficulty distinguishing between moderate, ambivalent, and indifferent policy attitudes—often lumping them all into the midpoint of policy preference continua. I argue, however, that this “muddle

in the middle” masks important differences between these attitude attributes. Taking advantage of design features in the 2000 NES, this paper disentangles these attitude attributes.

Paper **Understanding the Meaning(s) of Political Interest**

Debra A. Horner, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Overview: How well do we understand the concept of political interest? Political interest pops up as a powerful explanator in many models of political behavior and attitudes—from voting to political sophistication to media effects. Yet this widely used variable has few concrete referents and no common definition. In this paper, I explore what respondents and researchers mean by political interest and develop a more nuanced understanding of what interest is and how to measure it.

Paper **Chasing Cherished Superstitions About Conservatives**

James Lindgren, *Northwestern University*

Overview: Some of the claims that are made about conservatives in parts of the political psychology literature are not well supported by evidence. Instead of using student samples, I analyze data from over 75 national samples from 19 countries, totaling over 85,000 subjects. Among the issues examined are whether conservatives resist change, express more intolerant views, have less education, believe in superstitions, express more traditionally racist views, and prefer job security over advancement.

Paper **Measuring Political Trust: An Alternative to the NES Items**

Stacy G. Ulbig, *Southwest Missouri State University*

Overview: The proposed paper explores concerns about the traditional NES political trust measure by using original data collected in a two-wave public opinion survey to compare an alternative political trust measure to the standard NES item. The alternative item expands the response options and offers a bipolar choice set. Responses to the different items will be compared to one another as well as key correlates of political trust.

Disc. Susan Tabrizi, *Bucknell University*

12-4 **PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS IN THE U.S.**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair Clifford W. Brown, *Union College*

Paper **Citizen Participation in Presidential Campaigns: Responsiveness to Changes in the Political Environment, 1952-2000**

Ryan L. Claassen, *University of California*

Overview: In this study I test the hypothesis that activists strategically become more active when the political environment portends well for their candidate, thus structuring election outcomes in ways that are correlated with changes in the macro political context. I posit responsive activists provide a link between floating voters, who tend to score poorly on political knowledge indices, and a collectively rational electorate that rewards and punishes incumbent parties in presidential elections.

Paper **See Spot Run: The Rise of Advertising, the Decline of News, and the American Public's Perceptions of Presidential Candidates, 1952-2000**

Martin Gilens, *Princeton University*

Lynn Vavreck, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Martin Cohen, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: In this paper we challenge convention wisdom that bemoans the perceived deterioration of the “presidential election information environment.” We acknowledge the much lamented decline in both news quality and viewership, but argue that the rise in paid political advertising has served as a substitute information source. Consequently, presidential voting decisions are as firmly based on knowledge of the candidates and as much oriented toward policy (as opposed to character) considerations now as 50 years ago.

Paper **Presidential Campaign Content and Voting Behavior**

Lynn Vavreck, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: I detail the content of modern presidential campaigns with an eye toward the differences between mediums (speeches versus ads versus news coverage) and explain how this content translates into effects among voters. Especially interesting is the fact that media coverage of presidential

campaigns is not always about what the candidates talk about in their speeches and ads. This difference gives me leverage on the question of whether voters respond to what the candidates are talking about or what the news is reporting.

Paper
Identities of Competitive States in U.S. Presidential Elections: Electoral College Bias or Candidate-Centered Politics?

Bonnie J. Johnson, *University of Kansas*

Overview: This study examines the consistency with which the same states have been competitive states (where candidates win by 5% or less of the state's popular vote) in U.S. presidential elections from 1844 to 2000. A statistical analysis shows the identities of competitive states have become more unpredictable over time. As opposed to biases associated with the Electoral College, the decrease in consistency seems to coincide with the rise of candidate-centered politics.

Paper
The New Geography of American Elections

Theodore J. Eismeier, *Hamilton College*

Overview: This paper reports the results of an ongoing research project about the political consequences of the dramatic demographic changes that have occurred in the United States in the last several decades. The paper tries to untangle the conflicting arguments that have been made about the electoral consequences of our new political geography and uses county level data about elections and campaign finance to add the discipline of empirical evidence to this debate.

Disc. **Clifford W. Brown**, *Union College*

12-6
SPLIT-TICKET VOTING

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair **Thomas Brunell**, *Northern Arizona University*

Paper
Split Ticket Voting and Issue Elections

Stephen C. Brooks, *University of Akron*

Rick Farmer, *University of Akron*

Overview: This paper examines split ticket voting in an election with multiple tax issues, comparing an ideological model with an information processing model to determine which provides the better fit. The results are useful for those with an interest in voting behavior for ballot issues, those curious about split ticket voters and those designing campaigns for ballot issues.

Paper
Split-Ticket Voting and the Realignment of the South

Justin M. Buchler, *University of California, Berkeley*

Matthew G. Jarvis, *University of California, Berkeley*

Overview: Split-ticket voting increased in the 1960s because Southerners started voting for Republican presidential candidates, but still voted for Democratic congressional candidates because there were no viable Republicans lower down the ticket. Ticket-splitting evened out as the Republican Party developed in the South, giving Southerners the option of a straight Republican ticket.

Paper
The Sophisticated Voter and Split Ticket Voting

William T. Horner, *University of Missouri-Columbia*

Overview: An examination of the connection between political sophistication and deliberate split ticket voting.

Disc. **David Darmofal**, *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*

Thomas Brunell, *Northern Arizona University*

12-8
PARTISAN REALIGNMENT AND DEALIGNMENT

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair **William J. Crotty**, *Northeastern University*

Paper
The Partisan Dealignment Debate: The Changing Nature of Party Identification in American Politics

Russell J. Dalton, *University of California, Irvine*

Overview: Despite its auspicious beginnings in The American Voter studies, for the last two decades scholars have debated the continuing relevance of party identification to American electoral behavior. Using data from the 1952-2000 cumulative surveys of the American National Election Studies, this research examines the evidence of dealignment and the interaction of these trends with realigning forces in American politics. We find that even though party identification remains a key variable

in understanding American electoral politics, it is also true that its role is systematically weakening in a manner consistent with the dealignment theory.

Paper
Issues, Ambivalence and Partisan Attitudes in the United States, 1972-2000

Michael J. Ensley, *Indiana University*

Edward G. Carmines, *Indiana University*

Overview: Successfully reconstructing a state after a civil war is a difficult process. Reconstruction strategies should be tailored for each individual conflict, but there are some broad guidelines. Building on previous studies, I argue that reconstruction plans should take into account the domestic level of hostility, the domestic capacities available for the reconstruction effort, and the degree of international involvement. I use an existing dataset of 125 civil wars since 1945 and employ logistic regression to test a model built around these three factors against several different definitions of reconstruction success. I find that democratization is dependent on hostility, domestic capacities, and international involvement, but that the level of hostility is the best indicator for merely ending the civil war. I also find that UN intervention is positively correlated with democratization, but has no impact on ending a civil war. Taken together, these two observations suggest that even the most underdeveloped state can successfully transition away from war, but it will be extremely difficult for that state to democratize without international involvement. I hope to provide greater understanding of the impact that these three factors have on reconstruction so that policymakers can adopt appropriate strategies.

Paper
Regional Realignments? Sub-national Trends in Partisan Identification in the United States

Delia N. Goolsby, *University of Central Florida*

Overview: Scholars have recognized that disaggregating national data is beneficial to understanding changes that have taken place in the electorate, for focusing on national data alone may obscure more subtle partisan changes that are occurring in different areas of the country. This paper utilizes the generational replacement hypothesis to test further that whites residing in two distinct regions--the South and Northeast--are undergoing secular realignment(s) in terms of their partisan identification, but in opposite directions

Paper
The Role of Political Parties in Creating an Electoral Cleavage

JungHwa Lee, *University of Michigan*

Overview: Theoretically, this paper raises the question why Duverger's Law does not apply at the national level in these countries, of which electoral rule is single member simple plurality system—or its variant—, and where a chief executive position exists as a plausible incentive for a high level of party aggregation. In an attempt to explain cross-sectional and over-time changes in the number of effective parties at the district, regional, and national level, as well as changes in the level of regional concentration of party votes, this project employs a hypothesis that political parties can create an objective condition for a potential electoral cleavage, and more importantly, mobilize the latent cleavage through framing the campaign agenda and adopting particular electoral strategies.

Disc. **Jay Barth**, *Hendrix College*

William J. Crotty, *Northeastern University*

12-301
POSTER SESSION: ELECTIONS AND VOTING BEHAVIOR

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Poster
The Changing Catholic Voter: Trends in the Political Behavior of American Catholics

Stephen T. Mockabee, *University of Cincinnati*

Overview: This paper examines data from the National Election Studies to assess the determinants of the "Catholic vote" in 2000, and of long-term changes in Catholics' political behavior. A complex combination of forces including generational differences, religiosity, ideological polarization of the parties, and various policy attitudes account for shifts in alignment. The decline in Democratic partisanship among Catholics has less to

do with changes in issue attitudes than with changes in the parties' positions on issues.

13-2 **FRONTIERS IN COMPARATIVE PUBLIC OPINION**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair Elizabeth Zechmeister, *University of California, Davis*

Paper Public Opinion in Chile and the Iraq War

Carolina Valencia, *Florida International University*

Astrid Arraras, *Florida International University*

Overview: This paper studies how public opinion in Chile influenced Chile's decision to oppose the War in Iraq. We hypothesize that public opinion was a constraining force, limiting Chile's available options but not determining Chile's final decision.

Paper Globalization, Economic Insecurity, and Voter Transition: A Markov Chain Approach

Hyeok Yong Kwon, *Cornell University*

Overview: This paper examines the effects of increasing economic insecurity on voter transition. The paper provides a theoretical framework and individual-level evidence that suggest a systematic voter transition to Left parties when faced with economic insecurity. The heterogeneity of voter transition stems from different income scale and sectoral exposure to world markets. A robust mixed-effects estimation of British and German panel data finds evidence that supports theoretical predictions of the paper.

Paper Forms of Social Discourse in the Image of Power

Irene Vladimirovna Wolfson, *Saratov State University*

Overview: Forms of discourse strongly depend from the social contents of Power. After the fall of the Soviet system political scientists faced the difficulty even in giving a name to the groups taking part in policy. The most suitable was the notification as national political minorities, which was fare but politically incorrect. That is why our research combines ethnic and democratic attitudes to the study of language representations (discoursia) of political actors of modern Russian political field.

Paper Attitudes Towards Privatization in Mexico: Elite Responsiveness and Mass Opinion

Elda L. Becerra Mizuno, *Duke University*

Marco A. Fernandez Martinez, *Duke University*

Overview: This paper addresses the determinants of public opinion, at elite and mass levels, towards the privatization of the electric sector in Mexico. Issues such as responsiveness, party identification and socioeconomic characteristics will be analyzed.

Disc. Dennis Patterson, *Texas Tech University*

13-3 **GENDER AND RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN PUBLIC OPINION**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair Regina Branton, *Rice University*

Paper Thinking and Feeling the Gender Gap in Party Identification

Barry C. Burden, *Harvard University*

Overview: This paper conducts original empirical analysis to understand the gap between the theory and measurement of party identification. Whereas the original Michigan theory of partisanship focuses on affect, survey questions ask respondents to "think" about their party identifications. A survey experiment shows that questions emphasizing affect reveal an electorate with more female Republicans and a smaller gender gap.

Paper Mobilizing Support for Welfare Reform: Clarifying the Role of Racial Attitudes

Joe Soss, *University of Wisconsin - Madison*

Danielle LeClair, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Overview: By 1996, large segments of the American public had come to view welfare as a pressing national problem. Did this concern reflect building frustration in the decade prior to reform or a fleeting mobilization of public support? Did it reflect a "race neutral" shift in mass perceptions or a "mobilization of

racial bias"? Finally, in explaining white welfare opinion, should scholars focus narrowly on the black laziness stereotype or look to broader racial attitudes?

Paper Explaining Gender, Explaining Race

Nancy Burns, *University of Michigan*

Donald R. Kinder, *University of Michigan*

Overview: The purpose of our paper is to explore the extent to which Americans' explanations for gender and race differences ? or, in another vocabulary, their ?theories? of gender and race ? have consequences for their views about the problems that gender and race pose to society and what, if anything, government should do about such problems.

Paper Changing Agendas: The Impact of Feminism on American Politics

Kristin A. Goss, *Georgetown University*

Theda Skocpol, *Harvard University*

Overview: This paper explores how American women's associations have shifted their focus from broad social reform to feminism and the implications that shift has had for the national policy agenda, particularly over the past 30 years.

Paper Revisiting the Heterogeneity Hypothesis: The Racial Basis of Support for the Welfare State

Vesla M. Weaver, *Harvard University*

Traci R. Burch, *Harvard University*

Overview: This paper examines the extent to which individual support for social spending depends on minority concentration. We measure the effects of minority concentration and percent of the poor on support for fourteen types of spending among non-Hispanic whites. The results indicate that the effect of heterogeneity on spending preferences is a function of minority percent of the poor and depends on the type of policy, with a distinction between spending on the poor and non-poor.

Disc. Laura Stoker, *University of California, Berkeley*

14-3 **THE MASS MEDIA & LOCAL ISSUES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair Glenn W. Richardson Jr., *Kutztown University of Pennsylvania*

Paper When Do Candidates Attack? A Study of Negative Campaigning in a Big-City Mayoral Election

Timothy B. Krebs, *University of New Mexico*

David B. Holian, *University of North Carolina, Greensboro*

Overview: This paper explores the incidence of attack speech in a nonpartisan mayoral election. Two dependent variables, one based on newspaper coverage and a second on television advertising, are used to examine the timing of negative tactics.

Paper The View from the Hinterlands: Political News Content in Two Small Cities

Janet L. Donovan, *University of Wisconsin - Madison*

Overview: This paper explores the content of local media, looking for story frames, sources, and mobilizing information that may enable and empower citizens to participate in politics. To this end, daily and weekly newspapers and local television news in Duluth, MN and Green Bay, WI are analyzed, with data collected in February and July 2003, respectively. These two cases were chosen because both cities have very high levels of participation relative to the national average.

Paper Does Seattle Matter? An Empirical Analysis of Media Reports Surrounding the Protest of the World Trade Organization

Marcus E. Hendershot, *Washington University in St. Louis*

Overview: This paper offers a times series analysis of press coverage of the World Trade Organization before and after the protests at the Seattle Ministerial Conference.

Paper Media and Local Elections: The Case of the Des Moines Mayoral Election

Arthur Sanders, *Drake University*

Overview: This paper explores the interplay between newspapers, television and the Internet in local political campaigns using the 2003 Des Moines Mayoral election as a case study. It focuses on whether or not the Internet can live up to its purported potential to revitalize democratic practices.

Disc. John Comer, *University of Nebraska*

15-7 **GENDER AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT**

Room TBA0, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair Pamela Paxton, *Ohio State University*

Paper **See Jane Run: Women Candidates as Political Role Models for Adolescents**

David E. Campbell, *University of Notre Dame*

Christina Wolbrecht, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: Do more women candidates and officeholders lead to greater political interest among adolescent girls? Building on a theoretical literature that describes a "role model" effect, we hypothesize that it does. More precisely, we hypothesize that the salience of women candidates facilitates greater political interest among female youth. Using two datasets largely untapped by political scientists, we are able to test this hypothesis across both time and space.

Paper **Present but Not Accounted For? Gender Differences in the Translation of Church Activity into Civic Resources and Participation**

Paul A. Djupe, *Denison University*

Christopher P. Gilbert, *Gustavus Adolphus College*

Overview: Using a unique study of 1,600 congregation members in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) and the Episcopal Church, we investigate differences in how women and men take advantage of church resources that have been shown to promote political activity.

Paper **Social Networks and the Gender Gap in Vote Choice: The Case of the 2000 Canadian Election**

Elisabeth L. Gidengil, *McGill University*

Bonnie H. Erickson, *University of Toronto*

Allison Harell, *McGill University*

Overview: This paper examines the impact of social networks on the gender gap in vote choice in the 2000 Canadian Election. There are at least two reasons to anticipate that the composition of social networks will affect vote choice. The first relates to women's enhanced autonomy, while the second suggests that a preponderance of same-sex ties will serve to reinforce political views that tend to be associated with a voter's own sex.

Paper **Gender and the Activation of Cognitive Effort in Electoral Campaigns**

Cindy D. Kam, *University of California, Davis*

Overview: This paper explores the ways in which various aspects of campaigns can encourage different kinds of citizens to engage effortful thinking. The paper draws upon survey data and experimental evidence in examining the ways in which men and women differ in their cognitive reactions to political campaigns.

Paper **The Role of Gender in the Politics of Female and Male Protestant Clergy**

Laura R. Olson, *Clemson University*

John C. Green, *University of Akron*

Sue E.S. Crawford, *Creighton University*

Melissa M. Deckman, *Washington College*

Overview: In this paper, we employ path analysis to test several hypotheses about how gender affects politics among an increasingly important set of activists: clergy in the major Protestant denominations. We examine the relationships among demographic, theological, personal, and contextual variables and political alignment and participation. We use data from a major new survey of clergy in twenty-two religious traditions to test our hypotheses.

Disc. Heidi J. Swarts, *Syracuse University*

17-11 **COMMUNITY, NATION, AND GLOBE**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair Stephen F. Schneek, *Catholic University of America*

Paper **Lincoln's Nationalism and Secession**

Spencer Davis, *Peru State College*

Overview: This paper first surveys recent works on Lincoln's constitutional and political thinking. It then presents a case for considering Lincoln's nationalism as prudential and utilitarian rather than religious, ethnic, or historical.

Paper **National Identity and Eros in Shakespeare's Henry V**

Constance C. T. Hunt, *Michigan State University*

Overview: In Shakespeare's Henry V, Henry's military exceptionalism and martial prowess are repeatedly demonstrated in the play. Henry's military successes at Harfleur and Agincourt seem to be peaks in the action of the play. This military success depends, in part, on Henry's management of an ethnically diverse group of soldiers. The play explores the development of a sense of citizenship among this diverse group of soldiers. In crafting this national identity, Henry builds on his own insight into the force of erotic longing and his understanding of that potential in others. Shakespeare's presentation of citizenship underscores not only duties and rights, but also erotic longing for greatness and remembered achievements.

Paper **Dilemmas of Justice: Montesquieu Between Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism**

Peter M. Levine, *National-Louis University*

Overview: Montesquieu cosmopolitanism prescribes that principles of equal justice and reciprocity should be incorporated into state policy. Montesquieu's nationalism that encourages citizens to love their country in order to improve its chances of preservation is based on a principle of justice that has preservation as its end. The principle of moderation holding that the political good is found between two limits applies to cosmopolitanism and nationalism. Both ideals should be taken into account in moderate policies.

Paper **Nostalgia and the Local in an Age of Globalization**

David K. Moore, *University of Northern Iowa*

Overview: This paper is part of a project in which I examine the impacts of economic globalization on democratic thought and practice and the predominant responses among democratic theorists to the changes produced by globalization.

Disc. John Burke, *University of St. Thomas*

18-3 **THE PROMISE OF EARLY MODERN LIBERALISM**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair William A. Galston, *University of Maryland*

Paper **A Classical Liberal Theory of Law**

Steven Kautz, *Michigan State University*

Overview: "A Classical Liberal Theory of Law" is a defense of the liberal view that political philosophers say what the law ought to be and judges say what the law is. These are fundamentally different tasks. I argue that the legal pragmatism of Posner and the rights-based jurisprudence of Dworkin are illiberal understandings of the law; both Posner and Dworkin abandon the liberal understanding of law by blurring the line between political philosophy and legal reasoning.

Paper **The Merits of Early Modern Liberalism -- Tocqueville's Response to Kautz**

Louis J. Hebert, *Brown University*

Overview: I explain why Tocqueville accepts modern liberal democracy on the basis of a view of human nature differing importantly from that of early modern liberals. I show how his concern for "sublime" virtues of the soul causes him to re-evaluate and re-interpret the liberal idea of rights based in self-interest, and how it causes him to take a different stance toward religion than that of early modern liberalism.

Paper **From Hobbes to Nietzsche: Richard E. Flathman's Search for a More Vigorous Liberalism**

Peter Busch, *Villanova University*

Overview: This paper examines Richard E. Flathman's Willful Liberalism and Freedom and its Conditions in hopes of understanding why, in his view, contemporary liberal theory needs to reconsider the political philosophy of Hobbes -- and also to go beyond it, supplementing it with key ideas drawn from Nietzsche.

Paper **Competing Reincarnations of Early Modern Liberalism: Virtue and Security in the Thought of Kautz, Galston, and Berkowitz**

Thomas F. Powers, *University of Minnesota -Duluth*

Overview: I examine the work of political theorists Steven Kautz, William Galston, and Peter Berkowitz, three writers who have developed arguments about liberalism rooted in a

perspective that relies in important ways on the thought of early modern liberalism for guidance and inspiration. The divergences among these three writers is perhaps as interesting as the broad areas of agreement among them. Must liberalism choose between security and virtue, or can these things be combined?

Disc. **Paul O. Carrese**, *United States Air Force Academy*
William A. Galston, *University of Maryland*

19-18 TOPICS IN ANCIENT POLITICAL THEORY

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair **Arlene Saxonhouse**, *University of Michigan*

Paper **Sophoclean Liberalism? Gender and Autonomy in Readings of the Antigone**

Gal Gerson, *University of Haifa*

Overview: In this paper, I take interpretations of Sophocles' Antigone - and of Hegel's reading of the play - as a reference point from which to advance the values of individual choice and autonomy, and hence the liberal language of legal rights. Antigone had been read by Hegel as the place where the principle of civil organization overcomes kinship and nomos takes control of physis. Later scholars, like Nussbaum and Hutchings, have pointed out that Hegel's reading does not exclusively indict kinship or favour civil law: on the contrary, it enables the critique of both oppositions for their refusal to acknowledge the other and their rejection of dialogue. Commenting on Hegel, however, Judith Butler argues that the play reveals a mismatch between the protagonists' assigned sides within the physis-nomos and kinship-city divide, and the way that their action unfolds in the play. Antigone herself, Butler claims, does not represent and is not reducible to any principle, as she transgresses all recognizable principles. While Butler's argument is attractive, it omits the idea of choice and individuality. Antigone is irreducible to either kinship or civil discipline because she is an autonomous agent, the only one among Sophocles' characters who succeeds in carrying out a plan according to her own desire. Acknowledging this does not mean that the earlier readings of the play have to be contradicted. On the contrary, this interpretation may provide a clue with which to reconcile them to one another: the vocabulary of autonomy, agency and rights may function as a mediator between the otherwise mutually incommensurate demands of family and civil law. The dialogic element that Hegel and later commentators have found lacking in the characters' actions may find a place within the liberal outlook that favours individuality and choice.

Paper **The Vocabulary of Changing Moods in Thucydides**

Glenn Perusek, *Albion College*

Overview: An important but often neglected element of Thucydides' account is the attention he pays to the collective mood of the citizens of the Athenian assembly. The paper examines in depth the original vocabulary Thucydides uses throughout his account to describe these changing moods.

Paper **The Spirit/Form Tradition in Political Thought**

Michael T. Rogers, *Wabash College*

Overview: In the history of political thought, there is a discernible tradition that has long made a distinction between the form and spirit of government. This paper will first reconstruct the core content of this tradition and then demonstrate the value of this tradition to political science.

Paper **Aristotle's Rhetoric of Nature: On the Role of "Nature" in the Politics**

Kathryn Sensen, *Harvard University*

Overview: What is the basis for Aristotle's political evaluations and prescriptions? A number of prominent remarks in the Politics suggest that the standard for his political science is that of nature. But by examining Aristotle's references to (and omissions of) "nature" in the Politics, I conclude that his use of nature is highly rhetorical. Nature is not the appropriate standard for political life, in Aristotle's view. However, it does have some important implications for political life.

Disc. **John Wallach**, *Hunter College*

19-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLES: POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE FOUNDERS

Room TBA, TABLE 4, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Inf. Rnd. **Vindicating Alexander Hamilton**

Kevin Portteus, *University of Dallas*

Overview: An examination of the political principles of Alexander Hamilton, and how he applied those principles to American government. Hamilton was committed to creating a government based in the natural law, an energetic government properly empowered to protect its citizen's rights, a government durable enough to withstand threats foreign and domestic, yet sufficiently limited to prevent it from threatening rights. Alexander Hamilton was a republican and a defender of American Founding principles.

Inf. Rnd. **Benjamin Franklin's Politics: Social Contract Theory and Private Property**

Kevin Slack, *University of Dallas*

Overview: Contrary to recent scholarship, Benjamin Franklin's political theory is in fact founded upon natural rights doctrine and social compact theory, placing him closer to Locke than Hume in his understanding of the origins of just government. His political theory is based upon immutable political and economic principles rather than utilitarianism. Consequently, his understanding of representation, property rights, and the limitations of what can be defined as public exigency must be understood within that same framework.

20-7 FORMAL MODELS OF U.S. LEGISLATURES

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair **Paul Johnson**, *University of Kansas*

Paper **The Constitutional Theory of Legislative Bargaining: How the Senate and President Affect the Balance of Power in the House**

Arthur Lupia, *University of Michigan*

Gisela Sin, *University of Michigan*

Overview: Do the President and Senate affect the House's balance of power in the House? We answer "Yes." We base our answer on a model that shows how constitutional requirements to build lawmaking coalitions with the Senate and President affect House decision making. We prove that shifting the ideal point of a single non-House actor, while holding constant the ideal point of all House members, can alter the balance of power within the House. We also explain why preference outliers hold privileged positions in the House.

Paper **Contestable Leaderships**

Matias J. Iaryczower, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: I present a model of policy determination in which two political parties - composed by a set of heterogeneous legislators and a (potentially) influential party leadership - interact in a central legislature. I argue that: (i) the control of party resources is not a good indicator of the power of the party leadership when the position is highly contestable and that (ii) the "party effect" is more significant the more heterogeneous the party is.

Paper **A Model of Protectionist Pressures in a Legislature with Heterogeneous Constituency Sizes**

William R. Hauk, *Stanford University*

Overview: This paper examines the impact upon protectionist pressures that arise from a legislative body, such as the U.S. Senate, in which the constituencies represented have varying sizes. The major theoretical proposition of the paper is that industries which are concentrated in smaller states will have a better chance at lobbying their representatives for tariff protection. Empirical tests are derived to check this basic proposition.

Paper **Party Organization**

Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, *Washington University*

Scott Ashworth, *Harvard University*

Overview: We present a formal model of party discipline, candidate affiliation, and elections that addresses a range of empirical regularities: (1) U.S. Congressional party leaders have greater control over legislation than they had prior to 1970; (2)

roll call voting is more cohesive within congressional party caucuses today than before 1970; and (3) parties are more cohesive in Parliamentary than in Presidential systems. Our model also addresses the main criticisms of the conditional party government thesis. First, by endogenizing membership and discipline the model jointly explains the ideological composition and strength of parties, rather than using homogeneity to explain party strength. Second, there are testable comparative static results---more legislative control of policy and more competitive elections lead to both more homogeneous parties and more discipline. Third, we show that it is possible to understand both historical variance in the power of U.S. parties and comparative variance in the power of parties across different institutional structures within a unified theoretical framework.

Disc. **Sebastian M. Saiegh**, *University of Pittsburgh*
Paul Johnson, *University of Kansas*

20-9 **FORMAL MODELS OF THE COURTS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair **Jay K. Dow**, *University of Missouri*

Paper **The Design of Optimal Complementary Institutions**

Jenna Bednar, *University of Michigan*

Overview: To induce cooperation, institutional designers must trade off punishment severity and ability to deter minor deviance. However, if we expand our analysis to the joint performance of multiple institutions acting simultaneously, we find that when institutions are complementary, overall efficiency is increased. The model focuses on several factors to aid in the design of complementary institutions, and the results indicate some counter-intuitive pitfalls that can create lumpy shifts in behavior as institutions are shifted smoothly.

Paper **Delegation and Public Law Litigation**

Sven Feldmann, *University of Chicago*

Anthony Bertelli, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: We present a two-dimensional, spatial delegation game to uncover strategic legislative response to potential imperfect judicial enforcement of their statutory mandates through "public law litigation" involving interest group plaintiffs. We show that when preferences are stable and the legislature can freely select an agent, the legislature can achieve its ideal outcome. When the executive chooses agency directors, there is limited conflict and the legislature can no longer implement its ideal choice. Nonetheless, the executive choice of agency director is strategic and the statute is litigation-proof. When preferences change exogenously, as in the case of a change in executive administration, litigation may occur, depending on its costs to the plaintiff interest group, frustrating legislative intent. Surprisingly, the legislative gains from rewriting relevant statutes are generally minimal (second-order), with first-order utility gains possible only with high litigation cost. When the agency has control over both dimensions, uncontrollable agency drift, as studied in the formal delegation literature, occurs. Alternatively, if only one dimension is available (as when one dimension has strong budgetary implications), the agency chooses an illegal policy and invites suit, strategically colluding with the plaintiff that gives it the best outcome and frustrating legislative intent.

Paper **Control of Elected Prosecutors**

Ken Shotts, *Stanford University*

Brandice Canes-Wrone, *Northwestern University*

Overview: We develop a model of an elected prosecutor with private information who must decide whether to take a case to trial. In a trial the public learns much more about the defendant's guilt or innocence than it will learn if the case is not brought to trial. The public and the prosecutor both dislike Type 1 errors (convicting a guilty person) as well as Type 2 errors (setting an innocent person free). Although the prosecutor dislikes both types of errors, his preferences may differ from those of the voters, so that he is either too aggressive or too passive. The voters, who seek to ensure that future prosecutorial decisions will follow their preferences, want to re-elect prosecutors whose preferences are similar to their own.

Paper **Constrain or Replace? A Model of the Interaction Between Ex Ante Limits on Discretion and Ex Post Evaluation with an Application to Oversight of Trial Court Judges**

Gregory A. Huber, *Yale University*

Sanford C. Gordon, *New York University*

Overview: Numerous agency relationships in politics are characterized both by ex ante constraints on an agent's discretion and ex post review of their behavior. What methods insure greater affinity between agent behavior and the preferences of its principal? How do these methods interact? We develop a simple formal model that considers these tradeoffs in the context of oversight of trial court judges.

Paper **Has Section 5 of the Voting Rights Outlived Its Usefulness?**

David Epstein, *Columbia University*

Sharyn O'Halloran, *Columbia University*

Overview: We present a two-dimensional, spatial delegation game to uncover strategic legislative response to potential imperfect judicial enforcement of their statutory mandates through "public law litigation" involving interest group plaintiffs. We show that when preferences are stable and the legislature can freely select an agent, the legislature can achieve its ideal outcome.

Disc. **Jay K. Dow**, *University of Missouri*

Tracey George, *Northwestern University*

21-301 **POSTER SESSION: METHODOLOGY**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Poster **Mismeasuring Political Reality: How Means Can Mislead**

Robert P. Jones, *Prairie View A&M*

Overview: This methodological paper explores the limitations of using standard statistical measures of central tendency and variability for non-normal distributions such as states by population or families by income or wealth. For grossly non-normal or multimodal distributions, the mean and standard deviation are meaningless and misleading measures. For several variables of interest, the "average state" is a statistical artifact that researchers should avoid.

22-3 **INTEREST GROUPS AND POLICY MAKING**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair **Beth L. Leech**, *Rutgers University*

Paper **Interest Group Coalitions and the Spatial Theory of Choice: A Spatial Model of Group Participation on Amicus Curiae Briefs**

Richard A. Almeida, *Southeast Missouri State University*

Overview: Spatial theory, coalitions, interest groups, lobbying **Advocacy Groups, Think Tanks, and the Economic Programs of Liberals and Conservatives**

Mark A. Smith, *University of Washington*

Overview: Liberals have relatively strong advocacy groups but weak think tanks; the reverse is true for conservatives. The paper traces this pattern to the strategic decisions of foundations and then examines the consequences. Over the last thirty years, the decline of unions and the relative weakness of liberal think tanks has hindered the ability of liberals to advance a set of coherent and compelling economic messages.

Paper **Partisan Change and Consequences for Lobbying**

Charles S. Bullock, *University of Georgia*

Karen Padgett, *University of Georgia*

Overview: This paper provides an assessment of the impact of partisan change and divided government on lobbying activities in a state that had been controlled by one party for generations. Data were gathered through interviews with lobbyists and legislators.

Paper **The Structure of Opposition in Public Policy Debate**

Marie Hojnacki, *Pennsylvania State University*

Overview: This research investigates the type, scope, and intensity of opposition that characterizes the debates on different issues as a function of the characteristics of the issues at stake (e.g., recurring versus non-recurring; small, medium, large scope of proposed change), and their institutional and political contexts (e.g., regulatory versus legislative venue; partisan versus bipartisan). How opposition varies across the

different types of organized interests involved in these debates (e.g., business/economic versus citizen, peak versus externality) also is examined.

Disc. Kevin M. Esterling, *University of California, Riverside*

24-3 NEW RESEARCH ON PARTY POLARIZATION

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair Nolan McCarty, *Princeton University*

Paper The Continuing Polarization of Congressional Parties: The

Role of Fundraising and Leadership Transitions

Eric S. Heberlig, *University of North Carolina, Charlotte*

Marc J. Hetherington, *Bowdoin College*

Bruce A. Larson, *Fairleigh Dickinson University*

Overview: Ideological extremists are able to use their fundraising ability to win leadership positions in the U.S. House. They are then able to appoint other ideological extremists to party posts. This allows the ideological medians of the parties to continue to polarize even after the regional ideological sorting of the parties identified by Rohde (1991) has stabilized.

Paper Explaining the Ideological Polarization of the Congressional Parties in the Postwar Era

Gary C. Jacobson, *University of California, San Diego*

Overview: Why has Congress become increasingly polarized since the late 1960s? Students of Congress reflexively favor exogenous explanations (e.g., changes in electoral coalitions and constituencies), but theories of conditional party government and insiders' observations suggest that endogenous events and developments have also driven the parties apart. I examine legislative and electoral data to assess the relative contributions of changes in electoral constituencies, legislative turnover, and forces endogenous to Congress to partisan and ideological polarization.

Paper Polarized Parties vs. Centrist Faction: the Case of the Senate New Democrat Coalition during the 107th Congress, 2001-2002

Jungkun Seo, *University of Texas at Austin*

Overview: What explains the case of the Senate New Democrat Coalition, a moderate faction, in the wake of polarized partisan politics? Relying on the concept of "electoral connection" and "swing votes," this paper tries to explain why some Senate Democrats join the moderate faction during the 107th Congress, with their party becoming more ideologically polarized and whether they act as a cohesive voting bloc for critical legislative choices in the Senate.

Paper Interparty and Intraparty Partisanship in the Postwar US House

Daniel L. Singer, *University of Oxford*

Overview: This paper examines partisanship in the Postwar US House looking at both institutional and individual level factors. While institutional changes, most notably the House reforms of the 1970s, are responsible for some of the shifts in partisanship, we do not believe that these changes can be wholly parsed from the underlying shifts among the members and their districts.

Paper The Changes in Legislative Procedures and their Impact on Party Polarization

Sean M. Theriault, *University of Texas at Austin*

Overview: It's quite possible that the parties haven't polarized or that the individuals in Congress are more ideological than they were before. Because the legislative process has changed so much over the last 30 years, moderate legislators have fewer opportunities to flex their moderate muscles.

Disc. Nolan McCarty, *Princeton University*

Shawn Treier, *University of Georgia*

25-7 USING HISTORY AS A LABORATORY TO STUDY CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair John H. Aldrich, *Duke University*

Paper Dynamics of Candidate Ideology in House Primaries, 1956 - 2000

David Brady, *Stanford University*

Hahrie Han, *Stanford University*

Jeremy Pope, *Stanford University*

Overview: It is well established that representatives out of step with their districts are more likely to face general election challenges and also more likely to lose their position. But it still an open question as to whether or not the outcome of primary elections influence member behavior—specifically their ideological location. In line with Fenno's contention that members have different types of constituencies, we suggest that members will to some degree change their behavior for each of their constituencies.

Paper Congressional Redistricting and Candidate Emergence in Nineteenth Century U.S. House Elections

Jamie L. Carson, *Florida International University*

Erik Engstrom, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

Jason M. Roberts, *Washington University in St. Louis*

Overview: This paper utilizes a newly created dataset of candidate quality for nineteenth century House races to examine whether experienced or quality challengers are more likely to emerge in districts that are altered during the redistricting process. Beyond examining important issues of institutional choice and the balance of power over time, our analysis also provides an ideal opportunity to employ history as a "laboratory" to test contemporary theories of congressional elections in a broader historical context.

Paper Direct Primaries, Sore Losers, and the Openness of the Two-Party System, 1904-1910

Michael H. Crespin, *Michigan State University*

Overview: Using returns from the 1904-1910 congressional elections, this paper develops and tests an empirical model to determine the effect of the direct primary on the openness of the two-party system. The findings suggest that certain rules adopted concurrently with the primary reforms did little to encourage outsiders from leaving their third parties to seek a major party nomination.

Paper Senate Elections and the Consequences for Pivotal Politics

Craig Goodman, *Rice University*

Overview: I examine whether senators alter their roll call behavior during their final two years in office by treating senators during the congress immediately preceding reelection as unique legislators and compare their roll call behavior to their previous four years in office for all senators between 1914 and 1996.

Disc. Gerald Gamm, *University of Rochester*

John H. Aldrich, *Duke University*

26-3 ACTIVISM AND INDEPENDENCE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30

Chair Galya B. Ruffer, *DePaul University*

Paper Cleavage, Conflict, and Courts: A Cross-National Study of Judicial Independence

Nickolas E. Jorgensen, *University of Michigan*

Overview: This paper addresses the effect of socio-political cleavages such as economic inequality and ethnic polarization on judicial independence. Using a dataset covering 122 countries, I examine the relationship between prior cleavages based on income and ethnicity, political instability, and judicial independence. The results of this paper provide support for the argument that paper guarantees of judicial independence are insufficient guarantees of court autonomy and that building a credible judicial system and promoting the rule of law are parts of a much larger project of building inter- and intra-state stability and socio-political trust.

Paper The Emergence of an Effective Judiciary: Fragmentation of Power and Judicial Decision-Making. Evidence from the Mexican Supreme Court, 1994-2002

Julio Rios-Figueroa, *New York University*

Overview: In this paper, I argue that the probability for the Judiciary to become effective increases as the fragmentation of power in the other organs of government also increases. I show that this is the case of the Mexican Supreme Court from 1994 to 2002, where the probability of voting against the PRI increased

- from .07 to .44 to .52 as the PRI lost the chamber of deputies in 1997, and then the presidency in 2000.
- Paper** **Judicial Review in Unconsolidated Democracies: The Turkish Constitutional Court in Comparative Perspective**
Hootan Shambayati, *Bilkent University*
 Overview: In unconsolidated democracies democratically elected institutions have to share power with unelected guardians. The political empowerment of the courts in these countries is part of an attempt by the guardians to protect their interest after turning power over to the democratically elected officials. Although this encourages judicial activism, the activism is to protect the interest of the guardians at the expense of democratic consolidation and the protection of constitutional freedoms.
- Paper** **Judicial Activism in South Africa**
Shannon I. Smithey, *Westminster College*
 Overview: In its first nine years, South Africa's Constitutional Court has been activist in asserting its own authority, but it has also tended to support the legitimacy of the new regime.
- Disc.** **Vanessa Baird**, *University of Colorado*
Jason L. Pierce, *University of Dayton*

27-3 **IMPLEMENTING CONSTITUTIONAL DECISIONS**

- Room** TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30
Chair **Gerald Rosenberg**, *University of Chicago*
Paper **Discovering the Prescriptive Power of Brown v. Board of Education: A Delayed-Process Theory of Judicial Impact**
Vincent James Strickler, *Stanford University*
 Overview: I propose a "delayed-process theory of judicial impact" to explain the decade of continued segregation that followed Brown v. Board of Education. Based on a content study of over 400 U.S. District Court cases, I conclude that the lower federal courts did following the mandates of Brown and its progeny, and, as a result, served an important, independent role in ending segregation. This conclusion bolsters the claim that the courts can bring about social change.
- Paper** **Direct versus Representative Democracy: State Judicial Review**
Jolly Emery, *California State University, Los Angeles*
Wendy L. Martinek, *Binghamton University*
Christine Nemacheck, *The College of William and Mary*
 Overview: State court of last resort judges may exercise judicial review over both traditional legislatively-enacted statutes and enactments of the people via direct democracy. Given the principles of democratic theory, this exercise of judicial discretion merits careful attention but we know little about how judicial review in the former case compares with judicial review in the latter. In this paper, we use a hierarchical modeling strategy to examine this question by analyzing and comparing the exercise of judicial review by state high courts with regard to both direct legislation and republican lawmaking.
- Paper** **Affirmative Action and the Federal Trial Courts: Strict Scrutiny Applied**
Francis J. Carleton, *University of Wisconsin at Green Bay*
 Overview: This paper looks at how the federal trial courts have been applying the legal standard of strict scrutiny to government-sponsored, race-based affirmative action programs from 1979 to the present.
- Disc.** **Donald Downs**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

27-102 **ROUNDTABLE: EXPLAINING THE REHNQUIST COURT**

- Room** TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30
Chair **Harold Spaeth**, *Michigan State University*
Rndtbl. **Judith A. Baer**, *Texas A&M University*
James R. Stoner, *Louisiana State University*
Tom Keck, *Syracuse University*
Andrew Martin, *Washington University, St. Louis*

28-4 **MEDICATING MEDICAID: CONTAINING COSTS**

- Room** TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30
Chair **Carol Weissert**, *Florida State University*
Paper **Why States Choose (or Refuse) Medicaid Managed Care**
Jennifer M. Jensen, *University at Albany, SUNY*
Ethan M. Bernick, *University of Illinois - Springfield*
 Overview: What factors have influenced some states to move quickly to managed care by submitting federal Medicaid waivers, while others have chosen to maintain traditional fee-for-service Medicaid programs? Using data drawn from federal and state sources, we present a 50-state event history analysis of the submission of Medicaid federal waivers allowing for managed care programs.
- Paper** **Policy Diffusion of Medical Malpractice Reform in the United States**
Korok M. Biswas, *West Virginia University*
 Overview: This paper will examine policy diffusion of medical malpractice reform in the United States from 1976 to 1995. The probability of a state passing the \$250,000 cap is a function of a state's abortion rate, unemployment rate, political competition index, and geographic proximity to neighboring states. Results show that states that neighbor one another are more likely to adopt this specific medical malpractice reform relating to the \$250,000 cap on non-economic damages.
- Paper** **Federal Mandates and State Policy Change: The Case of Medicaid Nursing Facility Reimbursement**
Edward A. Miller, *Yale University*
 Overview: This study uses pooled cross-sectional time series techniques to predict state adoption of Medicaid nursing facility reimbursement policy changes. In doing so, it examines the relative influence of external factors consisting of federal policy changes related to the Boren Amendment along with prior adoptions by neighboring states, in addition to internal factors consisting of a particular state's economic and political circumstances. Results show that the federal government influenced states' reimbursement policy choices, though not always as intended.
- Paper** **Variations in Medicaid Cost-Containment Strategies Among New York Counties**
Marilyn E. Klotz, *Indiana University*
Glenn Gravino, *CCSI*
Anne Wilder, *CCSI*
James Fatula, *SUNY - Brockport*
 Overview: New York counties finance approximately 17-18% of total Medicaid expenditures. While counties have little discretion over eligibility criteria and payment rates, they can influence program administration. Advocates of devolution argue that offering local governments the discretion and opportunity to innovate promotes better policy outcomes by tailoring implementation to specific community circumstances. We conclude that counties can influence Medicaid expenditures on the margins through better program administration.
- Disc.** **Mark Carl Rom**, *Georgetown University*
- ## 28-14 **INTEREST GROUPS, LOBBYING AND STATE POLICY**
- Room** TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30
Chair **Anthony Nownes**, *University of Tennessee*
Paper **"Healthy Interests": Mobilization and Counter-Mobilization of Health Care Interests in the States**
Virginia Gray, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*
David Lowery, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*
Jennifer Wolak, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*
Erik K. Godwin, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*
 Overview: We explain variation in state health reform in terms of state interest group structure, to inform why health industry groups have been much less successful in blocking reform at the state level than at the national level. We study the structure of the health interest group community in each of the fifty states, employing our population ecology model, the Energy-Stability-Area (ESA) Model, to explain the density and diversity of

	health care groups as compared to groups at the national level and in other state-level guilds.				participation. Previous research has not considered how each dimension of urban life and their interactions influence individual political participation. Specifically we expect the effect of density and to a lesser extent diversity to reverse the negative effect of size on participation.
Paper	<u>Lobbying for Higher Education in the American States</u> Clive S. Thomas , <i>University of Alaska, Juneau</i> Overview: This paper provides initial findings from the first comprehensive study of the higher education lobby in all fifty states. It will provide a profile of: (1) the development, (2) the make-up/composition, (3) the operating techniques and (4) the effectiveness/influence of the higher education lobby in the states. The paper argues that these four elements are shaped by the administrative structure of the higher educational system in a state: whether it is centralized, decentralized or a hybrid system.			Paper	<u>The Citizen Input Process -- Does Input Equal Participation?</u> Heidi O. Koenig , <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: The ability of local governments to ensure that the processes of participation result in useable information for the governance process depends on several factors. The most obvious of these, and the most studied, are citizens willing to participate. There are, however, other factors. One significant other factor is the response of local government administrators to information gained through participation. These responses along with citizen perceptions about the processes are studied here.
Paper	<u>Representing the Interests of the Intergovernmental Lobby: Organizational and Environmental influences on State and Local Government Officials' Organizations in Washington.</u> Jack McGuire , <i>Washington State University</i> Overview: This paper examines the influence of organizational and environmental factors on the representation of the interests of State and Local Government Officials Organizations' (SLGOO's) in Washington. This examination of the intergovernmental lobby relies on a new and unique data set collected by the author. These data were gathered via a survey and drawn from more than two hundred "generalist" and "specialist" associations of the intergovernmental lobby. This paper contributes to our understanding of interest groups generally, but, more specifically to our knowledge about SLGOO's organizational structure, group environment, and political interests concerning public policies, and political disposition toward the federal government.			Disc.	Vicki Clarke , <i>Northern Illinois University</i>
			30-18 Room Chair Paper		<u>ADVANCES IN POLICY ANALYSIS</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30 Jack H. Knott , <i>University of Illinois</i> <u>Networks, Social Capital, and the Emergence of Cooperation in Regulatory Enforcement Games</u> John T. Scholz , <i>Florida State University</i> Cheng-Lung Wang , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: We develop an agent-based model in the Axelrod tradition to investigate the impact of alternative network structures on the emergence of cooperation between regulatory agencies and regulated firms in regulatory enforcement games.
Paper	<u>Oklahoma Tobacco Policy Making</u> Michael S. Givel , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: Of primary concern in this paper is why Oklahoma has not adopted more vigorous tobacco control legislation and programs that benefit the public health. This study will examine tobacco industry and health groups' political tactics and policy making to ascertain why vigorous and effective tobacco control legislation and programs and improved public health trends in Oklahoma have not occurred.			Paper	<u>The Political Foundations of Economic Valuation</u> Carol L. Silva , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Since the 1970's, the Benefit Cost Analysis (BCA) framework has been a critical component of the authoritative allocation of value, and has been the foundation for many public policy decisions. This paper looks at the appropriateness of the BCA framework for making controversial environmental policy decisions. We take into account equity concerns, the appropriateness of reliance on public opinion for decision making, and deontological views on the estimated value of public goods.
Disc.	Frederick J. Boehmke , <i>University of Iowa</i> Donald Haider-Markel , <i>University of Kansas</i>				
29-5	<u>POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN AMERICAN CITIES</u>				
Room Chair Paper	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30 Karen Kaufman , <i>University of Maryland</i> <u>Crossover Voting and the Impact of Crisis on Local Elections</u> Eric S. Zeemering , <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: In 2001, despite heavy Democratic Party identification in New York City, the Republican candidate for mayor won with just over 50 percent of the vote. In this paper, I ask did the September 11 terrorist attacks increase the probability of cross-over voting in the 2001 New York City mayoral election? New York Times survey data will be used for analysis. This study adds to our understanding of how crisis impacts public opinion and local electorates.			Paper	<u>Managing Uncertainty: Using Macroeconomic Forecasts to Measure Agency Propensities for Accepting Risk</u> J. K. Corder , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Overview: Are government macroeconomic forecasts unbiased? efficient? This paper examines the performance of macroeconomic forecasts using tools developed in the macroeconomics literature -- tests for forecast bias and efficiency -- and, more importantly, offers explanations for why forecast performance varies across agencies.
				Paper	<u>Democratizing Professional Policy Analysis: The Analytic Contract Model</u> Mark E. Tompkins , <i>University of South Carolina</i> Philip H. Jos , <i>College of Charleston</i> Overview: This paper describes a model of professionalized policy analysis, designed to respond to the growing concern over the politicization of the analytic process and its products.
Paper	<u>Political Participation in American Cities</u> Clyde Brown , <i>Miami University</i> Overview: The Twenty-sixth Amendment became part of the U.S. Constitution in July 1971. As a result over eleven million 18-to-20-year-olds, including 347, 000 Iowans, gained the right to vote. This study examines the impact the newly enfranchised young people had on the November 1971 municipal elections in the college towns of Ames, Cedar Falls and Iowa City. The November 1971 election was the first test of voting strength of the new voters.			Paper	<u>Defining Choice, Defining People</u> C. Eric Schulzke , <i>Brigham Young University</i> Overview: Building on William Riker's heresthetics, this paper suggests a model for how advocates try to frame ambiguous policy making moments at the elite level. Using the 1997 tobacco settlement as a case study, I isolate two tactics used to shape perceptions of ambivalent elites. The first is character-based, connecting the current choice to the target's existing vulnerabilities. The second is cohort-based, surrounding the target with other elites who lean in the preferred direction.
Paper	<u>Political Participation in an Urbanized Society</u> Robert M. Stein , <i>Rice University</i> Johanna Dunaway , <i>Rice University</i> Gavin Dillingham , <i>Rice University</i> Overview: In this paper we attempt to untangle the effects of community size, density and, diversity on individual political			Disc.	Barry S. Rundquist , <i>University of Illinois at Chicago</i>

30-19	<u>FAITH BASE INITIATIVE</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30				
Chair	Susan Stabile, <i>St. John's University</i>				
Paper	<u>Government, Churches, and Contracts: An Application of Principal-Agent Theory to the Government-Faith Based Organization (FBO) Contracting Relationship</u> Joyce M. Keyes Williams, <i>SUNY-Albany</i> Overview: The trend towards devolution—that is, the transfer of power from federal to states to counties to private providers—has increased significantly since the early 1990s as the “reinvention movement” pushed forth the ideas of “privatization” and “contracting out” government services. A further extension of this trend is the landmark federal welfare reform legislation of 1996, which contains the “Charitable Choice” provision outlining the goals and rules that oversee the contracting relationship between government and community/faith-based organizations. Despite the clearly stated goals and rules of Charitable Choice, providing government services through contracts with private organizations raises traditional management and accountability concerns. Utilizing general agency theory, I examine the government-faith based organization contracting relationship.				
Paper	<u>Social and Religious Factors Affecting Participating in Charitable Choice Among Religious Denominations</u> Ronald E. Matthews, Jr., <i>Kent State University</i> Nisha Harinath, <i>Kent State University</i> Overview: Survey data from the Pew Center for People and the Press (1996 & 2000) was analyzed using multiple regression and probability simulations/Clarify software (King, et al 2000). This research provides an empirical argument about religion and political participation and hopes to capitalize on recent studies that indicates regular churchgoers devote more time than others to volunteer organizations-in church affiliated groups and through the broader community- thus generating increased social capital through civic engagement. Through this generation of social capital, religious individuals can play a vital role in the implementation of faith-based social service delivery programs.				
Paper	<u>Partnering the Sacred and the Secular in Government Initiatives</u> Lourdes C. Rassi, <i>Florida International University</i> Overview: This paper will address the roles that religion and faith based organizations have played in politics and in the provision of social services. It will offer examples of successful associations between government and religious or religiously affiliated groups. Further, an evaluation faith-based initiatives implemented since President Bush’s executive orders will be provided.				
Paper	<u>Of Little Faith: President Bush's Faith-Based Initiative at the Close of His First Term: Legislative, Administrative, and Judicial Perspectives</u> Amy E. Black, <i>Wheaton College</i> Douglas L. Koopman, <i>Calvin College</i> David K. Ryden, <i>Hope College</i> Overview: This paper will provide an update of President Bush's faith-based initiatives since the legislative failure of his proposal in December 2002. It will reprise the 2001-2002 story, and update the legislative statement, administrative movement, and judicial impacts, since that time. The paper will conclude with some discussion of the proposed means to resolve some of the religious/political questions raised by the initiative.				
Disc.	Kevin R. denDulk, <i>Grand Valley State University</i>				
31-13	<u>MANAGING FEDERAL AGENCIES: POLICIES AND POLITICS</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30				
Chair	Joel D. Aberbach, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i>				
Paper	<u>Sifting Immigrants: The Political and Historical Roots of Administrative Failure in the I.N.S.</u> Rebecca Bohrman, <i>Yale University and Miller Center</i> Overview: Immigration administration is at the center of American politics, affecting everyone from legal and undocumented immigrants to workers and employers, yet Immigration and Naturalization Service has been troubled since its inception. My project explains why the INS has been an agency in disarray, by answering the question: why has Congress so rarely tried and even more rarely succeeded in giving the INS greater administrative capacity?				
Paper	<u>Evaluating the Impact of the Administrative Dispute Resolution Act of 1996</u> Tina Nabatchi, <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: This paper applies the convergent insights of institutional and resource dependence perspectives to explore the implementation and evaluate the impact of the Alternative Dispute Resolution Act (ADRA) of 1996 in federal agencies. Using data collected from interviews with program administrators, agency reports, academic articles, and web materials, the paper finds that several obstacles exist to evaluating the impact of the ADRA on the federal government.				
Paper	<u>Organizational Structures by Types of Federal Agencies: A Policy Approach to Bureaucracy</u> Yoonho Kim, <i>Cornell University</i> Overview: This paper seriously questions the traditional Weberian style bureaucracy, which argues a single best form of organizational structure, and suggests that the structures of federal agencies differ depending on their policy (i.e., regulatory, distributive, redistributive, and constituent policy) environments and policy goals: 1) the different types of federal agencies face different (policy) environments and in turn adopt different kinds of structures (e.g., redistributive agency has the high proportion of clerical workers in order to process citizen’s demands effectively); 2) policy (or agency) goal leads to different organizational structure (e.g., since regulatory agency’s one of primary goals is to control the behaviors of citizens, it has the high proportion of law professionals).				
Paper	<u>The Institutionalization of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission</u> Mitzi Ramos, <i>University of Illinois at Chicago</i> Overview: This project offers the first attempt to address the transformation of the EEOC from the 1965 legislative-created organization to the fully entrenched institution seen today. This study employs Huntington’s four dimensions of institutionalization (adaptability, complexity, autonomy, and coherence) and Squire’s professionalization model (permits examination of how bureaucrats provide clients services) in examining the institutionalization process. Multiple indicators are employed to examine the development of the EEOC from 1965 to 2002.				
Paper	<u>Bureaucratic Discretion and Accountability: Complements or Substitutes</u> Laura Langbein, <i>American University</i> Overview: This paper provides evidence regarding the actual consequences of legislative delegation on the work of U.S. government employees. Agency discretion appears to directly reduce both employee discretion and productivity, but the indirect effect, by reducing discretion, enhances productivity.				
Disc.	James L. True, <i>Lamar University</i> Maurice Sheppard, <i>Alma College</i>				
32-1	<u>FOUNDING PRINCIPLES: THE POLITICS OF CONSTITUTION MAKING (Co-sponsored with Foundations of Political Theory and Philosophy, see 17-17)</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30				
Chair	Melvin C. Laracey, <i>University of Texas at San Antonio</i>				
Paper	<u>Republican Ideology and National Security in America: Issue of Militia Reform During the Constitutional Debates and the First Federal Congress 1787 - 1791</u> Hassan Bashir, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper analyses the debates regarding militia reform in the United States on the lines of a standing army during the period 1787 and 1791. Main objective of the paper is to show that arguments on opposite sides of the debate were derived from a common Republican ideology. This presents an interesting puzzle and enhances our appreciation of the great				

difficulty in understanding issues that underlie translation of ideology into policy in the early national period in America.

Paper **The Re-Definition of Freehold Suffrage during Virginia's Constitutional Convention of 1829-1830**
Christopher M. Curtis, *Iowa State University*
 Overview: By the end of the Jeffersonian era, new political and social visions challenged the preference for a republican polity based upon the ownership of land in the Virginia Commonwealth. Between 1829 and 1833, Virginians engaged in a series of prolonged, and often divisive, debates over the fundamental nature of law and government in a modern republic. This paper examines the effort to bring about democratic reform in the Commonwealth during the Constitutional Convention of 1829-1830.

Paper **Rejecting Organic Change: Formal Amendment and Fixed Constitutions in Early American State Constitution-making**
Darren P. Guerra, *Claremont Graduate University*
 Overview: This paper will examine how the founding generation created state constitutions that explicitly rejected the British model of organic change in fundamental law, as it operated in the 18th century, and embraced notions of a fixed constitution with formal modes of amendment. The implications of this historical analysis on the contemporary debate over the need for a formal amending process, as the norm in alterations to the United States Constitution, will also be addressed.

Paper **Madison's Opponents and Constitutional Design**
David B. Robertson, *University of Missouri - St. Louis*
 Overview: This paper provides the first systematic analysis of James Madison's opponents at the Constitutional Convention. Skilled politicians such as Roger Sherman engineered fundamental changes in the Virginia Plan that protected the policy autonomy and influence of the relatively disadvantaged states that lay between Virginia and Massachusetts. These opponents ensured that the Constitution, among other arrangements, gave the national government the tools of economic sovereignty while the states retained most of the tools of economic management.

Disc. **Keith E. Whittington**, *Princeton University*

36-2 **PLATONIC POLITICS**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 8:30
Chair **Jacob Howland**, *University of Tulsa*
Paper **Dreaming of the True Erotic: Nietzsche's Appropriation and Transfiguration of the Character of Socrates**
Jeffrey Church, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: This paper explicates Nietzsche's view of Socrates, focusing primarily on *The Birth of Tragedy*. The portrait of Socrates that Nietzsche develops is (and must be) much more complicated than many commentators allow. I propose that Nietzsche understood Socrates through Plato's *Symposium* as tremendously multifaceted: as a music-maker, as an erotic, and as a theoretical optimist.

Paper **Socratic Statesmanship**
Catherine Zuckert, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: In the *Gorgias* Socrates claims to be the only person at his time in Athens who is even trying to practice the true art of politics. This paper examines what that "true art of politics" or "statesmanship" is. The true art Plato shows Socrates practicing turns out to be very different from the understanding of Platonic politics that most readers over the ages have derived from the *Republic*.

Paper **Midwifery in Context**
Paul Stern, *Ursinus College*
 Overview: The *Theaetetus* comprises an ultimately aporetic examination of three definitions of the meaning of knowledge. The first of these, that knowledge is perception, occupies fully half of the dialogue. But *Theaetetus* offers this definition only after a lengthy discussion, occupying eight Stephanus pages, between Theodorus and Socrates, and eventually *Theaetetus*. The dominant theme of this discussion is teaching and learning, culminating in Socrates' introduction of the famous midwife image describing his pedagogical activity. In this paper I examine this discussion both with a view to its bearing on the

subsequent discussion of knowledge but also as Socrates' studied presentation of his own philosophic activity. My chief concern is to determine why Socrates' philosophic endeavor requires midwifery

Paper **The Limits of Philosophical Legislation in Plato's Laws**
Jill Budny, *Marquette University*
 Overview: TBA

Disc. **Jacob Howland**, *University of Tulsa*
Evanthia Speliotis, *Bellarmino University*

Friday, April 16 – 10:30 am – 12:15 pm

1-107 ROUNDTABLE: PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PERSONAL LIFE: FINDING A BALANCE

Room PDR 9, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30
Chair **Kristen Monroe**, *University of California, Irvine*
Rndtbl. **Judith Baer**, *Texas A&M University*
Joanna V. Scott, *Eastern Michigan University*
William D. Morgan, *Midwest Political Science Association*
Sue Davis, *Denison University*
Catherine E. Rudder, *George Mason University*
 Overview: Panelist discuss practical ways to balance one's career and personal life. *Refreshments Served

2-4 GOVERNMENT MANIFESTOS AND POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30
Chair **Christian B. Jensen**, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Paper **Globalization and the Renovation of the Latin American Left: Strategies of Ideological Adaptation in Brazil and Mexico**
Katleen Bruhn, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
 Overview: I would like to answer two questions in the paper. First, have strategies of ideological moderation preceded recent electoral advances of the left, as some suggest, or do we still see neoliberalism by surprise, as others argue--campaigns run on leftist platforms (regardless of what politicians do later), with ideological shifts post-dating periods of left parties in power.

Linking Popular Preferences to Public Policy: Median Voters, Median Parties, and Central Government Size

Paper **Ian Budge**, *University of Essex*
Hans Keman, *Vrije University*
 Overview: Comparative policy research has created problems for traditional justifications of democracy as being uniquely responsive to popular opinion. There seems little party convergence on majority opinion in practice. Few governments rest on spontaneous popular majorities.

A Comparative Perspective on Dynamic Representation in Western Europe

Paper **Michael Clark**, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
Lawrence Ezrow, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
 Overview: We use the concept of dynamic representation developed by Stimson et al. to analyze parties' policy programmes, and election outcomes, in Western European democracies. Specifically, we explore two questions: 1) Do parties shift their policy programmes in response to shifts in public opinion?; 2) Do parties' vote shares systematically change when public opinion shifts?

Mandates Without Counted Majorities

Paper **Michael D. McDonald**, *Binghamton University, SUNY*
 Overview: We investigate two versions of electors conferring a mandate without coming together to form a counted majority. First, following on reasoning articulated by William Riker (1982), political scientists have been keen to take up his conclusion that electors could hold governments to account retrospectively by judging them on what they had done in office. Parties can be voted out by a majority, even if a majority cannot be mustered to vote them in. A second possibility sees elections as pointing governments in the direction voters would like to see policies move. The communication comes principally from the position occupied by the median voter.

Disc. **Orit Kedar**, *University of Michigan*

2-103 ROUNDTABLE: FEDERALISM: ELECTORAL OUTCOMES AND PUBLIC POLICY

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30
Chair **Lynn M. Maurer**, *Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville*
Rndtbl. **Gunther M. Hega**, *Western Michigan University*
Elisabeth B. Muhlenberg, *University of Illinois at Chicago*

Christopher A. Palazzolo, *Emory University*,
 Overview: Panelists in this roundtable will consider the effects of federalism, in conjunction with a number of ideological, institutional, structural and election-specific factors, on electoral outcomes and public policy outputs.

3-6 ELECTIONS IN HYBRID REGIMES

Room BURNHAM 5, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30
Chair **Matthew R. Cleary**, *University of Chicago*
Paper **Searching for the Origin of Delegative Democracy in 19th and Early 20th Century Argentina**
Julia Albarracin, *University of Florida*
 Overview: This paper explores the origins of delegative democracy in Argentina and tests O'Donnell's contentions that: a) delegative democracies are related to populist regimes; and b) delegative democracies are found in countries affected by serious and recurrent economic and political crises, and corporatist interests easily challenge economic stabilization attempts.

Understanding Women's Political Rights and Status

Paper **Feryal M. Cherif**, *New York University*
 Overview: Though most countries have accorded women political rights, namely, the rights to vote and stand for election, there has been little meaningful manifestation of these rights. Gender inequality in the political landscape remains a significant problem. Existing literature has focused on identifying the determinants of representation; however, quantitative studies reveal a significant degree of variance. Accordingly, this paper reexamines the determinants of representation and questions which states are best at promoting women's political rights

Fraud, Mass Elections, and the Disappointing Performance of New Democracies

Paper **Alberto Simpser**, *Stanford University*
 Overview: Electoral fraud is commonplace and it can be decisive, yet we don't currently have a clear theory about it. The standard view is that fraud makes most sense when elections are close. I develop a theory that incorporates the role of expectations about fraud on voting behavior. Through a simple model I show why we often see fraud when elections are not close, and why fraud might be profitably publicized rather than hidden.

Disc. **Steven Wuhs**, *University of Redlands*

3-23 STATE STRENGTH, CAPACITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30
Chair **Kisangani N. Emizet**, *Kansas State University*
Paper **Tolerating Corruption: An Analysis of the Sources of Support for Corrupt Regimes**

Carole J. Wilson, *University of Texas at Dallas*
Luigi Manzetti, *Southern Methodist University*
 Overview: During the 1990s, the issue of corruption has been increasingly at the center of the political debate worldwide. This paper analyzes the reasons for why electorates continue to support regimes even when they perceive them as corrupt. We find that support for such regimes is a function of individual's location in the economic structure and and the regime's economic and social policies.

Human Rights and State Strength Since the Cold War: A Time-Series Cross-Section Analysis

Paper **Neil A. Englehart**, *Lafayette College*
 Overview: Although we commonly associate the abuse of human rights with strong, repressive states, since the end of the Cold War state failure has emerged as the most important cause of human rights abuse. This paper develops the theoretical argument for treating state failure (and inversely state capacity) as a cause of human rights abuse, and then tests the argument empirically with a time-series cross-section analysis of seventy countries covering the period 1976-1996.

Measuring Institutional Capacity: An Examination of Different Approaches

Jonathan Hanson, *University of Michigan*

	early stages of the democratic transitions in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Slovakia. Constitutional courts are often assigned the task of interpreting constitutional limits on government power, a role essential to democratic transitions. (Schwartz, 2000) I choose these four cases, because of the different levels of success achieved by the courts in these countries, so as to better examine the diffusion of the constitutional court concept from Western Europe to these countries.		
Disc.	Monika Anna Nalepa, <i>Columbia University</i>		
5-4	<u>THE EUROPEAN UNION: THE VARIOUS IMPACTS OF INTEGRATION</u>		
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30		
Chair	Michael Levy, <i>Encyclopedia Britannica</i>		
Paper	<u>Coping with Money: European Monetary Integration and the Resurgence of National Corporatism</u> Byoung-Inn Bai, <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: Corporatism has been resurging among European countries in the 1990s. Faced with this, many have pointed out the putatively positive impact of European monetary integration on the resurgence of national corporatism. The exact relationship between them, however, remains unclear. This study explores the impact of macroeconomic regime on corporatism using 14 OECD countries' data to verify that the resurgence of corporatism in the 1990s has been due to the European monetary integration process.		
Paper	<u>Politics and the Environment in Central Europe</u> David L. Ellison, <i>Grinnell College</i> Overview: This study will examine the effects of policy diffusion on the development of constitutional courts during the early stages of the democratic transitions in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Slovakia. Constitutional courts are often assigned the task of interpreting constitutional limits on government power, a role essential to democratic transitions. (Schwartz, 2000) I choose these four cases, because of the different levels of success achieved by the courts in these countries, so as to better examine the diffusion of the constitutional court concept from Western Europe to these countries.		
Paper	<u>How the Soft Pressure from Above Transforms the Bottom: Member States' Social Policy, National Policy-Making Processes, and Europeanization.</u> Mariely Lopez-Santana, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: The purpose of this paper is to answer the following question: How non-binding European regulations on the area of social policy affect existing policy-making processes and welfare policies at the national level? It presents data gathered in Spain, Belgium, and Sweden. Furthermore, this work seeks to contribute to the literature on: a) the effect of non-binding agreements (soft-law) on domestic settings, b) Europeanization, and c) comparative policy-making processes.		
Paper	<u>Nationalist Without Borders: The Growth and Development of Regional Nationalist Networks in the European Union</u> Devashree Gupta, <i>Cornell University</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the relationship between the European Union and transnational networks of nationalist groups. It argues that the EU has a variable impact on transnational nationalists, based on the nature of the network (e.g., illicit or licit). Licit groups benefit somewhat from the EU, but have not been able to use their networks to achieve significant policy goals. Illicit networks, however, have been deeply affected by the EU, and their policy ambitions blocked.		
Paper	<u>Reputation & Anticipation: The German Bundestag, the Federal Constitutional Court, and the European Court of Justice</u> Tracy H. Slagter, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: This paper examines the extent to which the European Court of Justice impacts Bundestag decisions, and how the Bundestag weighs the sometimes-differing demands placed upon it by both the supranational and national judicial systems.		
Disc.	Robert Pahre, <i>University of Illinois</i>		
6-4	<u>PARTY COMPETITION IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE FORMER SOVIET UNION</u>		
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30		
Chair	Irina Tomescu, <i>Ohio State University</i>		
Paper	<u>Macedonian Post-Communist Elite</u> Ivica Bocevski, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: The paper will focus on the analysis of the Macedonian political elite. The qualitative analysis will focus on the leadership patterns in the Macedonian political parties and the impact of these leadership patterns on the Macedonian governance and the development of a democratic regime in the country. The Macedonian political parties are authoritarian and monocratic, the party structures are weak and don't serve as a medium for debate, aggregation of the political interests and control of the party leadership. The parties don't represent a compact ideology or specific social and political interests. These developments center the decision-making in the leaders of the political parties, hindering the processes of further democratic development. This specific model of leadership encourages corruption, nepotism, cronyism and it also creates obstacles for reforms.		
Paper	<u>Explaining Moderation In Post-Communist Ethnic Party Systems: A Cross-National Investigation In The Balkans</u> Paula M. Pickering, <i>College of William and Mary</i> Overview: What are conditions that contribute to a rare outcome in ethnic party systems: the election of a party with a moderate position on inter-ethnic relations? I investigate why voters of the small, impoverished, and ethnically fragmented states of Bosnia and Macedonia, which share the same electoral system, elected parties with divergent positions on inter-ethnic relations in 2002. Using multiple methods, I demonstrate the influence of founding elections, campaign strategies, and international intervention on electoral outcomes.		
Paper	<u>Incentives For Coalition-Making in Post-Communist Democracies</u> Mikhail Filippov, <i>Washington University</i> Overview: The paper argues that party system development in new democracies is best conceptualized as a complex process of forming (dissolving) coalitions among political and economic elites. Not only parliamentary electoral rules, but various aspects of formal rules of a political game could affect the nature and direction of such coalition-building. The paper seeks to show how different systems of formal political institutions generate incentives for politicians to build and maintain coalitions during the initial stages of party system development.		
Paper	<u>An Explanation of Electoral Popularity for Far Right Reactionary Parties in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union</u> Scott T. Nissen, <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: This research will explain the electoral popularity of far right reactionary parties in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.		
Disc.	Robert Hislope, <i>Union College</i>		
7-4	<u>RETHINKING INTERNATIONAL REGIMES</u>		
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30		
Chair	Theresa M. DeGeest, <i>University of Maryland, College Park</i>		
Paper	<u>The Political Economy of Climate Policy: Explaining Patterns of Support for an International Climate Mitigation Regime</u> Paul Bodnar, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: The paper analyses patterns of support for a binding international regime to combat global climate change, an issue of growing importance in international relations which has received little attention in the literature thus far. It begins by testing three variables that should predict the preferences of states: fossil fuel endowments, concentration of carbon-intensive industries, and expected impact of climate change on the country. The paper shows that these variables cannot explain state preferences on climate policy, and examines how political institutions can play an important role in determining national policies defended at international negotiations.		

Paper **Framework Convention for Tobacco Control (FCTC): Non-Governmental Actors and International Tobacco Control Regime**

Hadii M. Mamudu, *West Virginia University*

Overview: Adopting a neo-liberal – constructivist perspective, this paper seeks to examine the evolution of the FCTC between 1960 and 2003 using a case-study approach. The paper aims at exploring two main issues: (1) what accounted for the emergence of the tobacco control regime? (2) What role(s) did non-governmental actors played in the emergence of the regime? Like Meyer et al (1997), the paper expects to find the spread of norms and activities of non-governmental actors as critical in the emergence of the regime. In the end, answers to these questions will ultimately help us to better understand the contemporary global system and the behavior of states within them.

Paper **South Africa, AIDS and International Regimes**

Jeremy R. Youde, *University of Iowa*

Overview: The South African government has received almost universal condemnation for its failure to adopt and its open questioning of the international AIDS control regime. Most attempts to understand these actions focus only on the domestic or international side. I argue that we must use a multi-level integrative approach to fully comprehend the government's actions and to add explanatory power to the study of international regimes.

Disc. **Theresa M. DeGeest**, *University of Maryland, College Park*

7-15 **ECONOMICS AND TRADE IN ASIA**

Room TBA2, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30

Chair **Bridget L. Coggins**, *Ohio State University*

Paper **Japan's Role as a Regional Leader**

Timothy J. Haas, *San Francisco State University*

Overview: Japan is a nation that has been misunderstood by its western counterparts. Indeed, the popular notion that the Japanese are in this world but not of this world? may not be far off the mark. Among political scientists, it is often concluded that Japan lacks the will and ability to become a strong leader in world affairs. Let us examine Japan's leadership by other means.

Paper **U.S.-China Trade Relations: U.S. Trade Deficit Issue**

Enbao Wang, *University of Hawaii at Hilo*

Overview: The paper examines the U.S. trade deficit incurred from U.S.-China trade. It reviews the different export and import data provided by the U.S. and China authorities, the contribution of Foreign Direct Investment in China to the U.S. trade deficit and how a high exchange rate of renminbi may be another factor for U.S. trade deficit.

Paper **Ideas and Institutions: Japan's Foreign Aid Policy**

Yukiko Kuramoto, *George Washington University*

Overview: This study explored theoretical explanations for the continuity in Japanese foreign economic policy outcomes despite significant changes in international and domestic politics. This research applied the role of ideas to analyze the cause of the policy continuity and the unique Japanese economic development approach in Asia. The empirical studies demonstrated that the ideas were carried out through the continuity of personnel, were institutionalized through organizational routines, and enforced by an unchanged bureaucratic political system.

Paper **Security Dilemma and Economic Interaction between China and ASEAN**

Lin Liu, *National University of Singapore*

Overview: The relative research questions for the paper are as follows: Is there security dilemma between China and ASEAN countries since 1978? If so, can security dilemma be reassured by increasing bilateral economic cooperation or further developing their economic relationship? What are the major factors that determine regional security from different perceptions between China and ASEAN and even different perceptions within the ASEAN states? This thesis will focus on the major and most influential ASEAN-5.

Paper **How Does Trade Affect the War?: Comparative Analysis between Europe and Asia**

Jaechul Lee, *University of Missouri - Columbia*

Overview: Based upon comparative perspective, this study attempts to answer whether economic interdependence between countries increases or decreases the incidence of war in two different regions: Europe and Asia. In fact, few scholars have attempted to explore this subject in comparative perspective. As a result, to date, little is known whether the different history and culture on specific regions are related to the argument that trade affects the initiation of war.

Disc. **Rashida Hussain**, *Wright State University*

7-301 **POSTER SESSION: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30

Poster **Regional Trade Agreements and Rivalries: Liberal Mitigators or Realist Power Tools**

James P. Klein, *University of Arizona*

Stuart Rodgers, *University of Arizona*

Overview: We seek to specify the conditions under which liberal and realist theories of institutional effects on conflict and cooperation in rivalry hold. Liberal and realist theories suggest seemingly competing hypotheses. We seek to demonstrate that theses in both schools of thought are appropriate under certain conditions.

Poster **Does the Amount of Defense Expenditures Influence that Amount of Conflict? A Study of Defense Spending and Conflict Following the Cold War**

Cyrus D. Karimian, *College of Wooster*

Overview: I will be conducting a cross-sectional study of countries and determining if the amount of defense spending draws a correlation between the amount of conflict the following year. My data will include the MID's (Militarized Interstate Disputes) and SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute). By the end of my study I hope to draw a conclusion about the correlation between the two variables: defense spending and conflict.

Poster **Committments: Long-Term U.S. Troop Deployment and Democratization**

Shawn H. Williams, *University of North Texas*

Overview: Can the United States, through the employment of the tactic of military deployment, be used to promote a general strategy of democratization in developing countries? To date, most studies have attempted to answer this question by focusing on short-term interventions and their affect on the level of democracy in host countries. This study seeks to broaden this analysis by asking whether the length or size of a deployment could affect democratization.

Poster **Ending the Debate: Re-evaluating the Causes of Refugee Flows**

Tiffany O. Howard, *University of Michigan*

Overview: This analysis examines the types of conflicts that produce refugee flows and the nature of the conflict i.e. widespread violence as opposed to isolated incidents. Furthermore, this analysis deviates from previous studies regarding the influence economic factors have on refugee flows.

Poster **Contending Approaches to International Regimes: Moving the Debate Forward**

Shah M. Tarzi, *Bradley University*

Overview: This study profiles major contending schools of thought in international relations regarding the meaning of regimes, why state conform with regimes and what the consequences of international regimes are for states' behavior. In order to move the theoretical debate forward, this study highlights how and why each approach can draw on the insights of other schools in order to fill the gap in the larger puzzle regarding the role of international regimes. The study uses international trade, the role of 'norm entrepreneurs' as examples in order to facilitate the search for a synthesis.

Poster	<p><u>Perception, Signaling, and War: A Noisy Information Model of Crisis Bargaining</u> Shuhei Kurizaki, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper examines a simple crisis bargaining model with noisy information, in which a Bayesian player may fail to process information rationally. Because signals are noisy the receiver is uncertain about whether its perceptions of signals are correct, thereby creating the possibility of misperception on the receiver's side. The results show that signals can be completely informative in the noisy information environment, whereas signals can be only partially informative without noise.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Declining Risk, the Advent of Liberalization, and State-Multinational Bargaining: Japanese Investments in Asia</u> Ali M. Nizamuddin, <i>Emory & Henry College</i> Overview: This study examines the bargaining interaction between host governments in the developing world and multinational corporations from the developed world. A two stage model is developed that incorporates the variables of market risk and market openness. Power is conceptualized in terms of dependence. Japanese automobile investments in Asia are presented as case studies.</p>
Poster	<p><u>Steps to War and Qualitative Comparative Method: The Necessary and Sufficient Conditions of Interstate War</u> Brandon Valeriano, <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Victor Marin, <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Overview: This project will evaluate the steps to war research program using the qualitative comparative method. With this method, I can delineate the paths to war, rather than the steps to war. Territorial issues, rivalry, escalating bargaining demands, hardliners in power, alliances, and arms races are both probabilistic necessary and sufficient conditions for some types of interstate war.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Multinationals, Human Capital Investment and Human Development in Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America</u> Rita Duarte, <i>University of Arizona</i> Lindsay L. Sims, <i>University of Arizona</i> Overview: There are many factors that contribute to the human development of a nation. Several prominent theorists suggest that the influx of investment, foreign through multinational corporations and domestic through human capital as well as multinational corporations, are important in the analysis of human development. For this study we will investigate three regions, Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America to see what affects multinational corporations and human capital have had on human development rates.</p>
Poster	<p><u>International Justice in Domestic Contexts: The International Tribunals for Sierra Leone and Cambodia</u> Lilian A. Barria, <i>Eastern Illinois University</i> Steven D. Roper, <i>Eastern Illinois University</i> Overview: This paper examines the creation of institutions for international human rights in Sierra Leone and Cambodia in order to understand the goals of the international community in establishing them as well as the differences between these tribunals and the earlier tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Military Securities: US Capital Flows and Military Presence Abroad</u> Andrea M. Little, <i>University of Colorado at Boulder</i> Uri Fisher, <i>University of Colorado at Boulder</i> David A. Leblang, <i>University of Colorado at Boulder</i> Overview: Scholars interested in the link between economic interests and national security have asked whether "trade follows the flag." While informative, this formulation of economic interests neglects a vital--and extremely significant--aspect of US economic power: financial capital. Using panel data from 1950 to the present for the United States we determine whether the military follows the money or vice versa.</p>
Poster	<p><u>The Foreign Aid Puzzle: Bilateral Versus Multilateral Development Assistance</u> Carew E. Boulding, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: Why do countries give aid both bilaterally and multilaterally? Why do some countries give a greater share multilaterally? I argue that countries that are more open to the world economy have an incentive to favor multilateral aid. I test this and competing theories using a data set of the amount and type of foreign aid given by OECD member countries from 1960-2001. The empirical results provide strong support for the importance of trade openness.</p>	Disc.	<p><u>Layna Mosley</u>, <i>University of Notre Dame</i></p>
Poster	<p><u>Western Alliance Through the Prism of Military Action in Iraq</u> Sevara Sharapova, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: The study will try to determine the factors that played the most significant role in effecting German and British foreign policy decision toward Iraq: domestic consequences including public opinion, economic interests, and influence within EU. The study was based on the data from the polls in Britain and Germany and analytical literature.</p>		
8-4	<p><u>WHERE DO MNCS GO? WHAT ARE THEIR EFFECTS?</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30 Layna Mosley, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> <u>A Comparative Analysis of International Investment Decisions</u> Michael J. Popovic, <i>Washington University in St. Louis</i> Overview: Transitional and developing countries have a distinctly different capital influx pattern than highly industrialized countries by relying heavily on remittances and diaspora investment. This analysis focuses on the incentive structures of diasporas in their investment decision with a special focus on non-economic considerations such as identity and transnationalism for the case of Croatia, the broader implications for a better understanding of international capital flows, and the generalizability for other, mainly Central-Eastern European, countries.</p>	8-17	<p><u>GLOBALIZATION: NEW PERSPECTIVES AND CASE EVIDENCE</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30 Henry J. Farrell, <i>University of Toronto</i> <u>Contested Forces? Globalization and Political Responses to Regional Inequality in East Asia</u> Megumi Naoi, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: Does globalization strengthen the bargaining power of provinces more integrated with the international economy? In contrast to existing demand-side theories, this paper develops a new supply-side argument that globalization increases the political uncertainty of incumbents about their political survival, which affects how politicians choose to distribute globalization gains. The argument is tested using an original data set of provincial-level economic openness, incumbent turnover, and central government transfers in four East Asian states.</p>
Room		Paper	<p><u>Market Liberalization, Social Programming, and Stability in Latin America: Are They Compatible?</u> Gretchen Grabowski, <i>University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: This paper draws from research on the tenets system stability in 18 Latin American countries to determine not only the characteristics of stable societies but also their causes. It will largely refute the claim that liberal, open markets are alone conducive to greater levels of Latin American stability. Instead, the paper attempts to demonstrate that only those Latin American societies that successfully combine economic reforms with substantial government social programming can achieve maximum system stability.</p>
Chair		Paper	<p><u>Globalization, Inequality and "Vulnerable Societies"</u> Sherrow O. Pinder, <i>Marymount Manhattan College</i> Overview: Why is "globalization" proceeding selectively, including and excluding segments of economies and societies in and out of the networks of wealth and power that characterize the new dominant system. Is there a new form of</p>
Paper			

colonization/imperialistic domination in place? With these questions in mind, this study will examine "globalization" within the framework of the theory of the state. The inequalities that "globalization" reveals will continue to prevail in poor nations.

Paper **Globalization and Inequality: A Critical Review of the Role of the World Trade Organization**

Yukyung Yeo, *University of Maryland - College Park*

Overview: Although inequalities are not really novel issues around the world, their relevance has become newly visible with the end of the Cold War and the following economic globalization. This ideology competition is replaced by the omnipresence of various North-South clashes. The enormous concentration of power and wealth in some parts of the world would coexist with the marginalization of other countries and people. This paper will pursue the causes and consequences of these global inequalities between nations in terms of international institutions or organizations.

Paper **Globalization, EU Accession, and Diffusion Effects: The Case of Regulatory Reform in Telecommunications in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia**

Kirsten L. Rodine, *University of California, Berkeley*

Overview: TBA

Disc. **Henry J. Farrell**, *University of Toronto*

9-5 **DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS IN ASIA**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30

Chair **Scott Kastner**, *University of Maryland*

Paper **How Can China and South Korea Avoid a Diplomatic Dust-Up with Each Other?: A Game-Theory Approach to the North Korean Refugee Problem**

Dongwook Cha, *University of Southern California*

Choong-Nam Kang, *State University of New York at Buffalo*

Overview: 'North Korean-refugee' problem is one of the best critical cases to be studied for understanding the making and implementation of China's two-Koreas policy and examining China's role in the shaping of a new international order in Northeast Asia and foreign policy-making in Beijing. This paper proposes a non-zero-sum, two-person game to model the behavior of Chinese government and South Korean government in handling the 'North Korean refugee' problem.

Paper **Taiwan's Procurement Decision Making in Transition: The Kidds Acquisition Controversy**

Roger S. Chen, *National Defense University*

Overview: This paper closely examines Taiwan's policy making in the purchase of the Kidd-class destroyers from the US Navy. Given the growing number of civilian policy actors in the area of Taiwan's defense policy, an acquisition process cannot be streamlined unless its policy legitimacy is secured.

Paper **Sino-U.S. Relations in The Early 21st Century: Issues and Implications**

Xun Liu, *University at Buffalo, SUNY*

Overview: This paper aims to examine the most recent development of Sino-US relations and try to foresee the general trend of Sino-US relations in the early 21 century. The two countries' foreign strategies are compared; US war on Iraq, China's accession into WTO and the SARS crisis are examined. Conclusion is drawn that Sino-US relations will witness a rough road, alternating between conflicts and co-operation in the early 21st century.

Paper **Japan's Foreign Policy toward North Korea Since 1990**

Melanie Kintz, *Western Michigan University*

Overview: This paper analyses the foreign policy approach by Japan towards North-Korea since 1990. It argues that this approach has changed and that this change is due to major changes on the domestic level, such as the end of the dominance of the Liberal Democratic Party, the decline of the Japanese Socialist Party and the establishment of coalition governments. These changes have led to a more nationalistic, militaristic foreign policy approach by Japan.

Disc. **Scott Kastner**, *University of Maryland*

10-6 **TERRORISM**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30

Chair **Brett Morris**, *University of Alabama*

Paper **Criminal-Terrorist Safe Havens and International Community: Analyzing the Importance of Solving a Growing Security Problem.**

Bartosz H. Stanislawski, *Syracuse University*

Amanda J. DiPaolo, *Syracuse University*

Overview: This work analyzes the existence, importance, and impact on international security of the so-called black spots criminal and terrorist sanctuaries present in various parts of the world. These are the areas characterized by very weak or non-existent state control, usually located in the vicinity of international borders. As such, they offer comfortable conditions to various criminal and terrorist groups as safe havens, locations of organizational headquarters, and planning grounds for future operations.

Paper **Sacrificing Ishmael: Youth Martyrdom and Hamas**

Gerald R. Pace, *University of Denver*

Overview: This paper asks, how does Hamas transform youth into self-martyring suicide bombers? By examining Hamas' recruitment techniques and literature, as well as the indoctrination process, the paper offers a glimpse of how self-martyring youth are "cultivated," and what their strategic and symbolic roles are

Paper **Rationalizing International Jihadism: Investigating al-Qaida's Strategic Objectives for 9/11?**

Walid A. Phares, *Florida Atlantic University*

Overview: This paper is an attempt to explain the reading by the Jihadi international movement of US policy and world politics during the 1990s and an identification of al-Qaida's three major objectives sought by the 9/11 attacks

Paper **U.S Foreign Policy: Exporting Democracy**

Leon Newton, *Jackson State University*

Overview: This paper argues that any attempt at exporting democracy to Iraq Afghanistan and other Islamic nations will be problematic and costly in terms of lives and resources because Islam is a way of life that do not separate church and state. Exporting democracy will challenges the values and practices of Islam. Since religion is the core of a community's value system it will be difficult to impose democratic institutions that support democratic values when there is a long-standing anti-Western sentiment in these countries. The misperception of the West is that fundamentalist movements are a threat to the West when in reality it is more of a reaction to Globalization. The fundamentalist movements could engage the West in an endless and futile war that at best the West can try to contain. The Islamic fundamentalist view their core values, as absolute truth like the Christian fundamentalists in the United States. The United State Supreme Court decisions that were heard before the court that challenged the State on religious issues. The West labeling all religious fundamentalist as terrorists set up global-level phenomenon that will be on going and the cost in lives and resources will be astronomical to the West and a major political nightmare. The security of the West can not rest on their advance technological war machines, imposed democratic regimes and ethnocentric foreign policy because of the concerns over consent, majority rules and legitimacy.

Paper **Globalization and the Rise of International Terrorism: A Study in Terrorist Target Selection**

David J. Haimsky, *San Diego State University*

Overview: This paper will examine the impact of globalization on international terrorism originating in the Middle East. It will specifically assess the effects of globalization on threat perception in the region and the extent to which it has contributed to the selection of secular targets (as opposed to cultural/religious ones) by Islamic fundamentalist terrorist organizations.

Paper **Dealing With New Threats to International Security: Finally Fitting the "New" Terrorism into Existing Theories of International Relations**

Amanda J. DiPaolo, *Syracuse University*

Bartosz H. Stanislawski, *Syracuse University*

Overview: This paper shows how realism fails to explain new terrorism as a threat to international security. We examine current theories of asymmetric threats (that new terrorism relies on for methods of attack) which currently are not applied to non-state actors. We examine the accuracy of current asymmetric threat theories. It is our contention that existing theories of asymmetric threats alone do not appropriately explain why the weak can defeat the strong. Therefore, we will examine terrorist attacks committed by Al Qaeda, using our theory of asymmetric threats that will stem from the synthesis of two existing theories. Finally, we will offer a modification to realism by suggesting that while states remain the dominant actor on the international arena, the role of the violent non-state actors must be acknowledged, eventually leading to policies effectively counteract and combat the asymmetric threats posed to international security.

Disc. **Brett Morris**, *University of Alabama*

11-10 RALLY EFFECTS, RACE, AND PUBLIC ATTITUDES IN THE AFTERMATH OF 9/11

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30

Chair **John A. Clark**, *Western Michigan University*

Paper **Critical Takes on American Identity: Poor and Minority Citizens Respond to September 11, 2001**

Erin O'Brien, *Kent State University*

David Rothstein, *Kent State University*

Overview: How did Americans respond to September 11, 2001? The bumper sticker seemingly tells it all: "United We Stand." One reading of this view is that most Americans developed group consciousness around their "American" identity and did so regardless of other in-group memberships like race, class, and gender. This paper uses in-depth interviews that were conducted with low-wage service workers immediately before, and after, 9/11 to empirically evaluate this claim.

Paper **"One Nation, Indivisible...": Racial Differences in Reactions to the Terrorist Attacks On America**

Darren Davis, *Michigan State University*

Brian Silver, *Michigan State University*

Overview: TBA

Paper **A Psychological Explanation of Rally Effects**

Chappell Lawson, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Sarah M Sled, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Overview: The magnitude and endurance of the increase in public approval for President Bush following the events of September 11th have sparked renewed interest in rally effects, the sudden surges in presidential approval which accompany some international crises. We provide an alternative psychological mechanism to explain how certain national events result in opinion change. Through experimental results and survey data we examine the definitional scope of a rally and further delineate the characteristics of individuals who rally.

Paper **Beyond the Rally: Public Opinion, Emotion, and the September 11 Rally**

Hannah Goble, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Overview: This paper examines public opinion, most dramatically the increase in presidential approval but covering other political figures and institutions, in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. In contrast to the traditional explanation of a "rally 'round the flag" phenomenon, I posit that the changes in opinion can be explained more accurately by considering the role and influence of emotion—in this case, of a feeling of patriotism.

Disc. **Suzanne L. Parker**, *Purdue University*

12-11 REGISTRATION AND PARTICIPATION

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30

Chair **Gary Segura**, *University of Iowa*

Paper **Competition or Corruption?: Restrictive Voting Laws in the Northern and Southern United States**

David Darmofal, *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*

Overview: This paper employs an event history analysis to identify the influence of political competition and political

corruption in the enactment of restrictive voting laws in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Standard political history accounts argue that political corruption was the primary motivation for such laws in the Northern United States, while political competition was the primary motivation for such laws in the Southern United States. The paper examines the relative importance of competition and corruption in the enactment of four voting laws (personal registration laws, the Australian Ballot, the poll tax, and the literacy test) in each of the two regions.

Paper **Registration and Voter Turnout**

Daniel Stevens, *University of Miami*

John Transue, *Duke University*

Overview: This paper takes a comprehensive look at turnout among registered members of the electorate over time. We examine whether there has been any trend toward lower turnout among the registered and the implications the absence or presence of a trend has for campaigns.

Paper **Examining the Participation Habits of Early and Late Registrants**

Daron R. Shaw, *University of Texas*

James G. Gimpel, *University of Maryland*

Joshua J. Dyck, *University of Maryland*

Ann M. Leonetti, *University of Maryland*

Overview: In this paper the authors examine rarely studied voting lists to ask a question that has not been raised in previous research: Are early registrants more likely to vote, and vote more regularly in subsequent elections, than those who register late? Since the decision to register to vote is not unlike the decision to go to the polls on election day, we suspect that some of the same characteristics of late deciding voters are also true of late registrants -- namely that they have less interest in political activity than those who register early. The project will also examine voter lists and histories where same-day registration is in place.

Paper **Can We Reform Our Way to Higher Turnout? Analyzing Registration Reform and Electoral Participation in the American States**

Melanie J. Springer, *Columbia University*

Overview: This paper analyzes the relationship between electoral reform and changes in voter registration and turnout in the American states.

Paper **Who Registered? Who Voted?: Michigan and Minnesota in 2000 Presidential Election**

Uisoon Kwon, *Western Michigan University*

Gang-Hoon Kim, *Western Michigan University*

Overview: This study examines how different registration laws in different states affected lower class people when they registered and how much lower class people actually turned out in the 2000 presidential election.

Disc. **Meredith Rolfe**, *University of Chicago*

Gary Segura, *University of Iowa*

12-17 WHY PEOPLE DO (OR DON'T) VOTE IN THE U.S. AND CANADA

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30

Chair **Moshe Haspel**, *Spelman College*

Paper **Does Low Turnout Matter? Evidence From the 2000 Canadian Federal Election**

Daniel Rubenson, *University de Montréal*

André Blais, *University of Montreal*

Elizabeth Gidengil, *McGill University*

Neil Nevitte, *University of Toronto*

Patrick Fournier, *University of Montreal*

Overview: Low turnout is frequently cited as threat to the quality and strength of democracy. Voters are assumed to differ radically from non-voters. However, this argument is rarely backed up with empirical evidence. We test the assertion that policy preferences differ between voters and abstainers using data from the 2000 Canadian Election Study. We also simulate election outcomes under universal turnout in order to evaluate the claim that mobilizing non-voters would appreciably alter the political landscape.

- Paper** **Motivation, Turnout, and Midterm Elections**
John W. Patty, *Carnegie Mellon University*
 Overview: Voters who perceive a greater divergence between the Democratic and Republican parties are more likely to turnout and vote in national elections. In presidential elections, this effect is symmetric in the sense that perceived distance favoring the president's party has the same effect as perceived distance favoring the other major party. This effect is ameliorated during midterm elections for voters who favor the President's party. This finding is consistent with the "midterm phenomenon".
- Paper** **Electoral Participation and the Character of Elections**
Mark New Haven Franklin, *Trinity College Connecticut*
 Overview: Voter turnout is affected by the character of elections, with more competitive elections yielding higher turnout. In a pooled study of multiple US presidential elections, we find that the effects of individual-level independent variables are conditioned by the character of elections. So past studies of political participation have been mis-specified through the omission of such variables.
- Paper** **The Deactivated Voter and Attitudinal Ambivalence**
Jangsu Kim, *SUNY at Stony Brook*
Hye-Jin Oh, *SUNY at Stony Brook*
 Overview: How do people change voting decisions? We challenge previous literature on both methodological and substantial ground. Utilizing nested logit estimation with a unified dependent variable, we show that attitudinal ambivalence is correlated with deactivation, resulting in deactivated abstention or defection—voting for the opposite party candidate. Specifically, results show that those with ambivalent attitude toward two major parties are more likely to dampen the role of party identification on a voting determinant.
- Disc.** **Laura Langbein**, *American University*
Moshe Haspel, *Spelman College*

13-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS**

- Room** TBA, TABLE 1, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30
Inf. Rnd. **Could You Spare A Dime? Better Make It \$10,000...Contributions to Clinton's Legal Expense Trust**
Israel S. Waismel-Manor, *Cornell University*
Shelley L. Conroy, *Cornell University*
 Overview: Using a survey of contributors to the Clinton Legal Expense Trust, we seek to analyze who these contributors are, why they made a donation, how do they differ from electoral campaign donors, and the effects of solicitation on contributions. We employ matching and propensity scores in our analysis to reduce the observed differences between treated and nontreated individuals in our sample.
- Inf. Rnd.** **A Further Examination of Trends in Partisan Contributions, 1952-2000**
William J. Claggett, *Florida State University*
Phillip H. Pollock III, *University of Central Florida*
 Overview: A previous paper demonstrated that the percentage of people contributing to candidates and political parties has not significantly varied since 1956 if comparable questions are employed to measure contributions, despite increasing affluence and changes in campaign finance laws. In this analysis we disaggregate contributions by party to determine if this surprising lack of variation in political giving is true for both parties or results from combining dissimilar trends for the two parties.

13-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARDS GENETICALLY MODIFIED FOODS**

- Room** TBA, TABLE 2, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30
Inf. Rnd. **Knowledge, Communication and Opinion Formation: Comparing Attitudes Regarding GM Foods**
Jeffrey A. Karp, *Texas Tech University*
Susan A. Banducci, *Texas Tech University*
Gregg Murray, *University of Houston*

Overview: Survey research indicates that Europeans are mixed, at best, in their support for genetically modified (GM) food and crops, yet there is substantial variability in support for these products by country (Gaskell, Allum, & Stares, 2003). The contentious debate about GM food and crops is often framed in terms of perceptions of their benefits versus risks (Shanahan, Scheufele, & Lee, 2001). Further, a number of factors have been found to be associated with support for biotechnology, particularly issue engagement and confidence in the pertinent actors (Gaskell et al., 2003). Both the salience of how the issue is framed and these factors imply a significant role for issue knowledge in attitudes toward GM products. The objective of this research is to evaluate the role of knowledge on attitudes toward GM food and crops. More specifically, using Zaller (1992) as a theoretical basis, how does specific information about GM products affect support? And what is the role of political knowledge and engagement in this question?

Inf. Rnd. **Explaining European Attitudes Toward Genetically Modified Foods**

- Stephen Ceccoli**, *Rhodes College*
William Hixon, *Lawrence University*
 Overview: Though supportive on the whole, European citizens have vastly different preferences regarding the risks associated with GM foods. Previous research has shown that political, geographic and religious/cultural explanations figure prominently in explaining the varying attitudes. This paper seeks to expand on this literature by developing an alternative, cognitive-based explanation. To test our propositions, we develop and estimate a series of logistic regression models using data derived from several Eurobarometer Surveys.

13-203 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: SOPHISTICATED PUBLICS**

- Room** TBA, TABLE 3, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30
Inf. Rnd. **Testing the Homogeneity Assumption of Public Opinion**
Craig S. Gordon, *Georgia State University*
Gary T. Henry, *Georgia State University*
 Overview: The purpose of this paper is to test the plausibility of the homogeneity or parallel publics hypothesis (Page & Shapiro, 1992) using the agenda-setting model as a framework.
- Inf. Rnd.** **Deliberation and Political Sophistication**
Michael A. Xenos, *University of Washington*
 Overview: In this paper I advocate and explicate a deliberative conception of political sophistication. I begin with a critical review of traditional approaches to, and measures of, political sophistication and their underlying assumptions about ideal democratic governance and citizenship. The bulk of the critique offered stems from a thought-experiment designed to explore the likely character of politics in the United States if everyone were a political sophisticate by these traditional standards. As an alternative, I then explore the same hypothetical scenario under counterpart assumptions drawn from deliberative democratic theory. In doing so, I compare the two scenarios directly on three dimensions. These dimensions include: policy development and stability, legitimacy of outcomes, and incentives for political participation. Based on this comparison, I contend that a deliberative approach to ideal citizenship is preferable to those traditionally deployed by political scientists, and conclude with a discussion of ways in which deliberative political sophistication may be measured and analyzed.

13-204 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PARTY COMPETITION**

- Room** TBA, TABLE 4, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30
Inf. Rnd. **Polarization as Evolution: Opinion Change in Mass Parties, 1972-2002**
Christopher R. Ellis, *University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill*
 Overview: I use the framework of issue evolution to explain the polarization of issue preferences of parties-in-the-electorate. Although issue evolution was developed to explain mass alignment on "new" issues, it is principally an elite-driven, party-centric theory, and is thus relevant to any situation in

which party elites have undergone an important, widely-perceived change. Using macro- and micro-level analysis, I find that the elite party polarization—not other region- or context-specific factors—is driving mass party polarization.

Inf. Rnd. Sub-National Party Competition and Policy Performance: Evidence from European Regions

Endre M. Tvinnereim, *Harvard University*

Overview: The paper draws on theories of party competition from the literature on US states, and applies them to the regional level in selected European countries.

15-8 GENDER AND THE PATH TO THE STATE LEGISLATURE

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30

Chair **Michele L. Swers**, *Georgetown University*

Paper **The Status of Women in Illinois Politics**

Barbara Burrell, *Northern Illinois University*

Andrew Schott, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: This paper assesses the status of women in Illinois politics. It analyzes recent trends in the presence of women in state legislative office; analyzes the qualifications and backgrounds of state legislators; examines the relationship between gender and the pathways to the legislature; and analyzes the role of parties and interest groups in candidate recruitment for the legislature.

Paper **The Status of Women in Iowa Politics**

Dianne Bystrom, *Iowa State University*

Overview: This paper assesses the status of women in Iowa politics. It analyzes recent trends in the presence of women in state legislative office; analyzes the qualifications and backgrounds of state legislators; examines the relationship between gender and the pathways to the legislature; and analyzes the role of parties and interest groups in candidate recruitment for the legislature.

Paper **The Status of Women in Florida Politics**

Susan A. MacManus, *University of South Florida, Tampa*

Overview: This paper assesses the status of women in Florida politics. It analyzes recent trends in the presence of women in state legislative office; analyzes the qualifications and backgrounds of state legislators; examines the relationship between gender and the pathways to the legislature; and analyzes the role of parties and interest groups in candidate recruitment for the legislature.

Paper **The Status of Women in Ohio Politics**

Kira Sanbonmatsu, *The Ohio State University*

Overview: This paper assesses the status of women in Ohio politics. It analyzes recent trends in the presence of women in state legislative office; analyzes the qualifications and backgrounds of state legislators; examines the relationship between gender and the pathways to the legislature; and analyzes the role of parties and interest groups in candidate recruitment for the legislature.

Disc. **Debra L. Dodson**, *Rutgers University*

16-6 RACE, ETHNICITY AND PUBLIC OPINION I

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30

Chair **Armando X. Mejia**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Paper **Who Gets What Information? An Information Processing**

Model of Whites' Attitudes toward Affirmative Action

Jaesung Ryu, *University of Texas at Austin*

Overview: TBA

Paper **Forest from the Trees: An Examination of Asian and Latino Racial Policy Preferences**

Tatishe M. Nteta, *University of California, Berkeley*

Overview: Using the 1992-94 MCSUI and the 1994-2002 pooled LACSS, I examine the suitability of group position, racial resentment, and political theories in accounting for the racial policy preferences of Asians and Latinos. I argue that the existing models that purport to account for White racial policy preferences have difficulty accounting for the preferences of Asians and Latinos I point to the inability of any of the existing models to adequately account for the unique position that

Asians and Latinos hold in the racial hierarchy and the lack of incorporation of salient independent variables in these models which include: ethnicity, nativity, length of residence, and skin color for this inability to explain opposition to racial policies. In response to the inadequacies of existing theories of White racial policy preferences relative to Asians and Latinos, I argue that both the assimilation (both classic and segmented) and racial triangulation theories better account for opposition to racial policies among Asians and Latinos.

Paper **Releasing the Pressure: Race, Talking Heads, and Reverse Social Desirability**

Tasha S. Philpot, *University of Texas at Austin*

Ismail K. White, *University of Michigan*

Overview: This study allows us to explore the dynamics and boundaries of social desirability using an example individuals encounter in everyday life. Moreover, this study illustrates the role the media play in enabling individuals to express their true beliefs.

Paper **White Racial Attitudes as a Form of Political Identity: A Constructivist Account**

Scott B. Blinder, *University of Chicago*

Overview: In this paper, I argue that aggregate patterns in white Americans' racial attitudes stem from the social construction of race in two ways. On one hand, white Americans learn from an early age to view African Americans as a "problem," in DuBois' terms. On the other hand, white Americans also learn early in life to view themselves—individually and collectively—as firmly anti-racist. From this framework, I develop a model of white racial attitudes as expressed in public opinion surveys.

Disc. **Regina P. Branton**, *Rice University*

17-6 PUBLIC REASON: EPISTEMOLOGY AND POLITICS

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30

Chair **Steven Vanderheiden**, *University of Minnesota, Duluth*

Paper **Must Democracy Be Reasonable? A Critique of Cohen's**

Account of Deliberative Democracy

Thomas Christiano, *University of Arizona*

Overview: Joshua Cohen has argued for an account of deliberative democracy founded on the idea that in a well-ordered democracy, reasonable citizens are willing to defend and criticize institutions in terms that other reasonable citizens, as free and equal, have reasons to accept given the fact of reasonable pluralism. In this paper, I critique the arguments Cohen offers for holding the principle of reasonableness. I will conclude the paper with the worry that Cohen's conception of democracy brings with it some potentially serious costs.

Paper **Private and Public Reason: Democratic Deliberation and the Political Conception of the Person**

John Christman, *Pennsylvania State University*

Overview: Relying on Rawls's views in his later works ("Public Reason Revisited") and in the challenge to political liberalism made by Habermas and those influenced by him, I consider the requirement of an overlapping consensus for the establishment of liberal legitimacy in political liberalism. In the end, I claim that political liberalism must be seen as an ongoing project of solidifying and continuously redefining values (of autonomy, toleration, equality and respect for pluralism) rather than a static philosophical theory

Paper **The Case for Supermajority Rules Under One Form of Deliberative Democracy**

Gerald F. Gaus, *Tulane University*

Overview: Drawing on Buchanan and Tullock-type analysis, I argue in this paper that under plausible conditions decision rules that maximize net deliberative benefits are the same that maximize gross benefits. I also show that, given the preferred understandings of public reason and voting, the best voting rule lies between majority rule and unanimity.

Paper **Dilemmas of Public Reason: Pluralism, Polarization, and Instability**

Robert B. Talisse, *Vanderbilt University*

	Overview: Rawlsian public reason places constraints upon both the kinds of reasons citizens may offer in public deliberation and the kinds of topics about which citizens may publicly deliberate. These constraints are justified by Rawls via an appeal to political stability. In this paper, I challenge the Rawlsian case for such constraints.	
Disc.	Jon Anomaly , <i>Tulane University</i> Steven Vanderheiden , <i>University of Minnesota, Duluth</i>	
17-7	<u>POLITICAL THEORY GOES TO THE MOVIES</u>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30	
Chair	Anne M. Manuel , <i>University of Michigan</i>	
Paper	<u>On Saving Private Ryan and Saving Athens: Ancients vs. Moderns on the Public vs the Private</u> Kenneth M. De Luca , <i>Hampden-Sydney College</i> Overview: The conflict between the public and the private is as old as the hills, or if Thucydides is to be believed as old as Periclean Athens. In this paper, by means of a careful study of the film <i>Saving Private Ryan</i> and Pericles' Funeral Oration, as depicted by Thucydides, I shall explore this conflict, and the competing views offered by both. What do they have to say to one another?	
Paper	<u>Simba Meets Aristotle: The Politics of Disney's 'The Lion King'</u> Stephen Manning , <i>University of Detroit Mercy</i> Overview: An analysis of the political messages in Disney's 'The Lion King,' concluding that the film is deeply conservative and undemocratic.	
Paper	<u>Having Machiavelli for Dinner: Hannibal the Cannibal and the Corruption of Public Space</u> John S. Nelson , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: This essay explores how HANNIBAL (2001) builds on THE SILENCE OF THE LAMBS (1991) to indict the corruption of public space by the hardball politics meant to create and protect public government. The subtext of HANNIBAL presents a powerful case against the public institutions and standards evident in the United States in particular. The main perversions, it argues, stem from the republican politics first defended theoretically by Niccolò Machiavelli and later feminized by Hannah Arendt.	
Paper	<u>Duty, Power, and "The West Wing"</u> Nathan A. Paxton , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: For a show that features no sex, little violence, and lots of fast-paced dialogue about arcane political issues of the day, "The West Wing"'s appeal might appear obscure. This paper shows how TWW taps into particular American ideological narratives regarding duty, power, and their interrelation. It unwinds the interweaving of duty and power, demonstrating how TWW's creators and cast propound a theory of American politics that has deep roots in the history of our political ideology and that emphasizes familiar rhetoric while pointing to little remembered components of our shared ideological heritage.	
Disc.	Asma Abbas , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i>	
19-7	<u>DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY</u>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30	
Chair	Michael T. Rogers , <i>Wabash College</i>	
Paper	<u>Deliberative Democracy and Majority Rule</u> Juan Gabriel Gomez Albarello , <i>Washington University</i> Overview: Rawls' and Habermas' emphasis on reasonable agreement undermines the understanding of the conditions under which majority rule makes disagreements tractable. I trace the reasons of that emphasis, push a reinterpretation of the citizen orientation required in deliberative settings, and argue in favor of rehabilitation of majority rule, showing its closeness to the core of the social theory foundations, i.e. communicative action theory, of deliberative democracy	
Paper	<u>Not Open For Discussion: A Psychological Account of Democratic Deliberation</u> Emily H. Hoechst , <i>Georgetown University</i>	
	Overview: This paper critiques deliberative democratic theory from a psychological perspective, arguing that Habermas and Rawls rely on a problematic psychology in constructing their deliberative framework. Using intersubjective psychological theory from Jessica Benjamin, I argue that Rawlsian and Habermasian deliberative theory create an environment for destructively complementary thinking (good/bad, master/slave, reasonable, irrational). Benjamin suggests an alternative framework, one that I believe can be accommodated by Rawls and Habermas.	
Paper	<u>Structuration and Deliberation: A Theory of Power for Deliberative Democracy</u> Molly A. Patterson , <i>University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: This paper brings theories of power and structuration to bear on dynamics of deliberation. Viewing deliberative settings as intersections of structuring forces reveals how dimensions of social power shape deliberations without fully determining them. This suggests ways deliberations can be designed to better reflect principles of social equality and democracy.	
Paper	<u>Reconstructing the Concept of Democratic Deliberation</u> Shawn Rosenberg , <i>University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: Focusing on deliberative democratic theory, the paper critically considers the adequacy of conception of the individual and offers an alternative view of cognition, emotion and communication. In the process the intersubjective quality of reasoning and the historical quality of communication is emphasized. The implications of this alternative for the understanding of the democratic values of autonomy and equality and for the design of democratic institutions are discussed. Autonomy is viewed as an achievement as well as normative criterion and the concern for relationships of equality is supplemented with a concern for relationships of complementarity. In this context, deliberative institutions are valued and designed not only as decision-making devices, but also as pedagogical contexts for the development of autonomous citizens.	
Paper	<u>Theories of Deliberative Democracy and Knowledge Constraints</u> Eric S. Tam , <i>Yale University</i> Overview: Deliberative democrats typically assert a strong norm of publicity without considering the theoretical and pragmatic tensions such a norm might generate. This paper aims to investigate and contrast the knowledge control constraints that arise internally from three broad types of deliberative democratic theories, as well as briefly assess the degree to which such theories are compatible with external (socially generated) imperatives for controlling knowledge.	
Disc.	Thomas Ellington , <i>University of Maryland</i>	
19-101	<u>AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: IRIS YOUNG'S INCLUSION AND DEMOCRACY</u>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30	
Rndtbl.	Jim Bohman , <i>St. Louis University</i> Archon Fung , <i>Harvard University</i> Duncan Ivison , <i>University of Sydney</i> Arlene Saxonhouse , <i>University of Michigan</i> Iris Young , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview:	
20-10	<u>BEHAVIORAL FOUNDATIONS OF FORMAL THEORY</u>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30	
Chair	Eric Dickson , <i>New York University</i>	
Paper	<u>Do Political Actors Have Beautiful Minds? Counterfactual Variation and Self-Confirming Equilibria in Game Theoretic Political Science</u> Arthur Lupia , <i>University of Michigan</i> Natasha Zharinova , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: John Nash, the subject of Nasar's (1999) <i>A Beautiful Mind</i> , affected political science in important ways. His equilibrium concept and variants of it are the inferential foundation for many of game theory's contributions to the study	

of politics. But do political actors have beautiful minds? We ask this question to focus attention on whether people, such as voters, think about politics in ways that popular equilibrium concepts imply. We argue that many people do not reason in these ways. We then offer alternative means for drawing game-theoretic inferences.

Paper

Satisficing versus Optimizing

Jonathan Bendor, *Stanford University*

Kumar Sunil, *Stanford University*

David Siegel, *Stanford University*

Overview: A central idea in behavioral theories of choice is the concept of satisficing (Simon 1955). It is therefore surprising that nearly 50 years after Simon's seminal paper, several issues about this notion remain open questions. In particular, will satisficing and optimizing differ "in the long run"? I.e., if a satisficing agent repeatedly encounters the same decision problem, would s/he converge to optimal behavior? This paper addresses these questions. We formalize the related ideas of satisficing and search, and show that in a wide array of contexts a satisficer will not converge to optimizing, even in the limit. A parallel result holds for strategic contexts: a pair of satisficers will not converge to Nash in a broad set of circumstances. Moreover, both results hold when aspirations are endogenous: they do not depend on aspirations being exogenously fixed at unreasonable levels. Finally, however, we also show that satisficing has "sensible" properties in many contexts. These "reasonable" features demonstrate that it deserves the honorific label of "heuristic", in Polya's sense. As Simon conjectured long ago, satisficing---though often suboptimal---is often adaptively rational.

Paper

A Cognitive Model of Strategic Behavior - the Dynamics of Cooperation in repeated Social Dilemma Games

Sung-youn Kim, *Stony Brook University*

Charles S. Taber, *Stony Brook University*

Overview: TBA

Paper

Altruistic Punishment, the Puzzle of Human Cooperation, and the Tragedy of the Commons

Oleg Smirnov, *University of Oregon*

Overview: Using altruistic punishment as explanatory variable, the paper makes an attempt to integrate the study of cooperation and the problem of collective action in social sciences with the research on evolutionary adaptedness of altruistic behavior in life sciences.

Paper

Property Rights and Fairness in Bargaining: Experimental Evidence

Sean Gailmard, *University of Chicago*

Daniel Diermeier, *Northwestern University*

Overview: We experimentally evaluate several models of behavior (selfish-strategic play, inequality aversion, and egalitarian preferences) in a bargaining game with incentives identical to the Baron-Ferejohn and Romer-Rosenthal models. Our design manipulates the exogenous payoffs participants earn in case of group bargaining failure, and in particular, the (strategically irrelevant) reservation value of the proposer. Each benchmark model is inconsistent with our data in important respects, but assuming subjects interpret disagreement values as a primitive form of "property rights" accounts for several anomalies.

Disc.

Eric Dickson, *New York University*

21-8

GOD, SCHMOD - I WANT MY MONKEYMAN! EVOLUTIONARY MODELS (Co-sponsored with Formal Modeling, see 20-13)

Room

TBA0, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30

Chair

Paul Johnson, *University of Kansas*

Paper

Institutions and the Evolution of Cooperation: An Agent-Based Model

Mark N. Lubell, *University of California, Davis*

Overview: Uses an evolutionary model to explore the influence of institutions on the dynamics of cooperation.

Paper

Imitation, Partisan Cuing and Strategic Coordination

Walter R. Mebane, *Cornell University*

Overview: Imitative, evolutionary game models that are tied closely to NES data show that over realistic time spans a high proportion of voters do not use a strategy of coordination but instead use an unconditional voting strategy. With partisan cuing, the proportion of voters who unconditionally cast a split-ticket ballot decreases, while both the number who unconditionally vote a straight ticket for their favored party and the number who use the coordinating strategy increase.

Paper

Social Movements and Collective Action as Complex Adaptive Systems: Incorporating Relaxed Rationality and Multiple Identities into Decision-Making

Veronica L. Reyna, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Overview: This paper examines the benefits of conceptualizing social movements and collective action as complex adaptive systems (CAS). By utilizing preliminary results of a CAS computer simulation that relaxes rational choice assumptions and incorporates multiple identities in agents' decision-making, it is argued that the intricacies of social movement dynamics are better explained. The pros and cons of CAS modeling are considered, as well as avenues for bridging social movement theories in sociology and political science.

Disc.

John Freeman, *University of Minnesota*

22-4

PARTY THEORY AND STRATEGY FROM COTTER TO DOWNS TO KREHBIEL

Room

TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30

Chair

Jennifer N. Victor, *University of Pittsburgh*

Paper

The Evolution of Modern Presidential Party Leadership of Party Organizations, 1928-1968:

Denise L. Baer, *George Washington University*

Overview: This panel focuses on the contributions of Cornelius P. Cotter to the field of political parties and presidency research. It includes an excerpt from his unpublished manuscript on the role of presidents in developing party organization from the 1920s to the 1960s, and provides an opportunity to review the bulk of his contributions on areas ranging from party organizations at the state and national levels, campaigning, and presidential leadership of parties.

Paper

Reassessing Krehbiel's View of Parties

Jeffrey M. Stonecash, *Syracuse University*

John Coleman, *University of Wisconsin*

Overview: Krehbiel's notion of party, and his analytical separation of constituency, legislator ideology, and voting behavior is artificial and implausible. His work has prompted a large number of studies which have largely replicated studies done in prior years. We argue that his definition of party is little more than one situation of many that parties face, and not by any means a definition of party.

Paper

Disaggregating Party Strategies in Two-Party Systems: A Theory and the Case of the United States

Johannes Moenius, *Northwestern University*

Yuko Kasuya, *University of California, San Diego*

Overview: Analyzing parties' policy positioning strategies, this paper posits that in a two-party, single-member plurality system, two parties' positions on a given policy issue are likely to converge if the given policy issue is at stake in closely competed districts, while two parties' positions would diverge if the given issue is at stake in districts where one of the parties already has secure majority. Our regression tests using the US case are consistent with this hypothesis.

Paper

Down's Model of Political Party Competition

Allen B. Brierly, *University of Northern Iowa*

Overview: This study reconstructs the Downsian spatial model of political party competition. It does so by questioning the basic assumption of a normal distribution of votes, generalizing this criticism to a more fundamental reconceptualization of political competition. The paper will summarize and generalize Down's model, provide alternative specifications, and then synthesize Down's model with other models of political competition. The distributional findings synthesize Down's model with those based on Duverger's law, Stokes critique, and Hotelling's spatial model of competition. Implications for the

	empirical measurement of the effective number of political parties (across nations) and the degree of political party competition (across the American states) will also be discussed in the context of Downsian competition.		
Disc.	John Bibby , <i>University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee</i>		
23-5	<u>UNILATERAL POWERS</u>		
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30		
Chair	Steven A. Shull , <i>University of New Orleans</i>		
Paper	<u>Presidential Justification of Unilateral Authority</u> Adam L. Warber , <i>Clemson University</i> Overview: This paper systematically analyzes the strategies that the White House uses to justify executive orders in order to minimize institutional challenges against this unilateral power. The paper compares the strategies across multiple administrations and it determines whether the White House develops different strategies to legitimize significant executive orders apart from routine directives.	Paper	<u>Whose Line Is It? Rhetoric and Representation in the White House</u> Ken Collier , <i>Stephen F. Austin State University</i> Overview: This study uses changes in presidential rhetoric as speech drafts move through the clearance process in the White House to illustrate both the narrow political battles and broad institutional pressures that shape decision making in the White House.
		Disc.	Melvin C. Laracey , <i>University of Texas at San Antonio</i>
		24-2	<u>LEGISLATIVE STUDIES, LATIN AMERICAN STYLE</u>
		Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30
		Chair	Scott Desposato , <i>University of Arizona</i>
Paper	<u>Exercising the Power To Decree: Dictating, Dodging, or Doing What Is Possible</u> Leandro N. Carrera , <i>University of Arizona</i> Brian F. Crisp , <i>The University of Arizona</i> Overview: This paper explores the factors that lead presidents to issue decrees that have the force of law. Controlling for popularity and economic performance, we analyze data from Argentina (1983-2001) and Brazil (1988-2001) to determine the impact of the composition of the legislature on the frequency with which decree authority is used. We find that presidents are more likely to issue decrees when they face a recalcitrant or oppositional legislature.	Paper	<u>The Origins of Presidential Conditional Agenda Setting</u> Eduardo Aleman , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> George Tsebelis , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper examines the historical origins of the President's veto in 19th and early 20th century. It explains the significance of early procedures and shows why amendatory and partial vetoes give presidents wider discretion to amend bills than the more familiar block veto.
Paper	<u>Institutional Combat: Congress, the President, and the Use of Force</u> John Pevehouse , <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> William Howell , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: TBA	Paper	<u>Provincial Machine Politics and Party Government in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies</u> Mark P. Jones , <i>Michigan State University</i> Wonjae Hwang , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: In spite of the large literature demonstrating the province-based nature of Argentine politics, analysis of roll call vote behavior in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies fails to uncover any provincial (or regional) effects. We explain this disjuncture through the application of a slightly modified version of Cartel Theory (Cox and McCubbins, 1993) to the functioning of Argentine legislative politics. In doing so, we underscore Cartel Theory's potential to serve as a foundation for the development of a general theory of legislative institutions.
Disc.	Bryan W. Marshall , <i>University of Missouri, St. Louis</i>		
23-11	<u>LANGUAGE AND POWER: THE POLITICS OF PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC</u>	Paper	<u>Legislative Parties in Chile</u> John B. Londregan , <i>Princeton University</i> Cristobal Aninat , <i>Universidad de Adolfo Ibanez</i> Overview: This paper uses Chile's legislative debates over ratifying that country's special relationship with Mercosur to test two competing theories about the nature of legislative parties, Krehbiel's model of loosely organized policy mavericks, and the model of Fox and Calvert in which legislative parties are sustained by threats and promises. The data favor the latter theory.
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30		
Chair	Andrew W. Barrett , <i>Marquette University</i>		
Paper	<u>Presidential Elections As Gendered Space: The Case of 2004 Thus Far</u> Georgia Duerst-Lahti , <i>Beloit College</i> Overview: Using content analysis of major newspaper accounts, this paper analyzes gender throughout the four-year presidential election cycle. At each stage of the cycle thus far in the 2004 race, it assesses struggles over dominant masculinity and implications for women as candidates and citizens. In the context of events and key issues, campaign processes and strategies, and news framing.	Paper	<u>Party brokers and legislative discipline in the Ecuadorian Congress</u> Andres Mejia Acosta , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: I claim that even in fragmented Ecuador, presidents still prefer to negotiate policy concessions, pork and patronage with - ideologically close- party brokers who in turn whip disciplined voting from the party's rank and file. Contrary to conventional belief, Presidents do not engage in widespread vote buying, but they strategically target their efforts towards the end of the electoral calendar, especially to purchase support of legislators coming from centrist parties who represent small districts.
		Disc.	Scott Desposato , <i>University of Arizona</i>
Paper	<u>The Individual Level Determinants of Presidential Agenda Setting</u> Adam B. Lawrence , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: This paper evaluates the impact of individual attitudes on the relationship between presidential rhetoric on the public agenda. Relying on individual-level survey data collected immediately following four State of the Union Addresses delivered by four different presidents, the analysis estimates the relationship between presidential rhetoric and the public agenda as a function of exposure to the president's speech, presidential support, political predispositions, and demographic characteristics.	24-4	<u>THE HUNT CONTINUES: NEW RESEARCH ON PARTY INFLUENCE</u>
		Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30
Paper	<u>When Presidents Pander: Rhetorical Responsiveness and Political Context</u> Justin S. Vaughn , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: In this paper, I contend that presidents are more likely to "pander" in times of political threat or contestation. I test two key hypotheses: first, that presidential responsiveness varies across presidencies and over time, and second, that much of this variation can be explained by political considerations such as the election cycle and popular approval. To test these	Chair	Rose Razaghian , <i>Yale University</i>
		Paper	<u>Party Power in the U.S. Senate: Shaping the Ideological Content of the Legislative Agenda</u> Andrew A. Bargen , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: This paper examines majority party power in the U.S. Senate by studying the ideological nature of policies that the chamber passes. Using a simple spatial model, the paper makes predictions about whether the majority party would pass a predominantly liberal or conservative policy agenda. I then

	test these predictions using Senate roll-call votes from 1953-1996. This paper also employs a unique measure of the ideological direction of policy movement.				
Paper	<u>Senate Amending: Winners and Losers</u> Andrea C. Campbell , <i>University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: Couched in the theoretical debate over congressional organization, this analysis of Senate amendments looks at committee and floor amendments during the postwar Senate era to 2000. It addresses both committee and floor amendments and further distinguishes substituting amendments. By looking at the winners and losers in Senate amending game—i.e., sponsorship success rates and roll rates—the analysis sheds light on both positive and negative agenda control in the Senate.		Paper	<u>Courting Controversy: Judicial Participation and Defection in Argentina, 1976-2000</u> Gretchen Helmke , <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: According to conventional wisdom, judges who lack legitimacy avoid making politically controversial decisions. This paper questions that assumption by developing a game theoretic model based on incomplete information that accounts for why, when, and in which types of decisions judges under attack are willing to enter the political fray. Starting with the observation that judges and politicians alike are often uncertain about each others' preferences, the paper explores how judges use their decisions strategically to maximize their chances of avoiding sanctions. New data collected on the Argentine Supreme Court (1976-2000) is used to test the several hypotheses that emerge.	
Paper	<u>The Value of Majority Status: The Effect of Jeffords's Switch on Asset Prices of Republican and Democratic Firms</u> Chris Den Hartog , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Nathan W. Monroe , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: Senator Jeffords's 2001 switch from Republican to independent gave Senate Democrats majority status, without simultaneous changes in Senators' preferences—providing a unique test of competing partisan and nonpartisan legislative theories. Borrowing methodology from economics, we show that the switch in majority status exerted negative effects on stock prices of firms benefiting from Republican policies, and positive effects on stocks of firms benefiting from Democratic policies, thereby demonstrating that majority status confers benefits on party constituents.		Paper	<u>Judicial Pioneers: Litigants in the Moscow Theater Hostage Case</u> Vanessa A. Baird , <i>University of Colorado</i> Debra Javeline , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: For a liberal democracy to succeed, citizens must be willing and able to challenge their governments in court, but in developing democracies citizens have no models to emulate or socialize them to the possibility of litigation. How then does the idea to redress grievances in court first occur? Who are the pioneers in taking legal action against governments? Although one could infer from the judicial politics literature that the use of courts depends on expectations of procedural fairness rather than satisfactory outcomes, we hypothesize that the reverse is true for developing democracies where expectations of winning may be the only factor motivating some post-authoritarian citizens to take on their governments. The Moscow theater hostage case provides the perfect laboratory for testing this hypothesis. Hundreds of individuals shared a similar grievance, and some initiated Russia's first class action lawsuit while others opted out. Our results are based on surveys with 326 of the theater victims, or approximately half of former hostages and next-of-kin of deceased hostages, completed very shortly after the initial announcement of the lawsuit thanks to an NSF Small Grant in Exploratory Research.	
Paper	<u>Institutional Conflict: Party versus Governance in Congress, 1979-1998</u> T. Jens Feeley , <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: I develop and test a new theory of partisan legislative action, called Policy Ownership Theory, that focuses on governing responsibilities and institutional constraints (the bicameral nature of Congress and the procedural advantages granted the majority party) to explain variation in partisan dominance in 19 individual policy areas. I find that partisan groups in Congress act to exert ownership over specific policy areas and that their actions are generally consistent with Policy Ownership Theory. I also find that there are substantial institutional constraints on collective partisan action. Most notably, each party's ability to exert ownership over certain issues is tempered by the need to address the core functions of government, and, control of other institutions (the other chamber in Congress and the Presidency).		Paper	<u>Decision-Making in Transnational Courts: A Longitudinal Study of the British Privy Council</u> Jason L. Pierce , <i>University of Dayton</i> Overview: This conference paper begins with a longitudinal analysis of the Privy Council's tendency to overturn foreign courts during the twentieth century. Drawing upon a dataset that I assembled of all Privy Council decisions from 1900-1999 and utilizing time series analyses, the paper explores the timing and causes of variation in the Privy Council's reversal rate. In other words, what might explain variation across time? This paper concludes that key institutional and personnel changes played important roles in this variation. The second portion of the paper looks closely at those select years in which the Privy Council's reversal rates were statistically out of the ordinary. It closely analyzes the cases, the legal issues raised, and the judges who handled them. As transnational courts become more powerful and common, this paper on the Privy Council provides a valuable point of comparison for scholars studying transnational judicial systems.	
Paper	<u>Congressional Voting, Parties, and Divided Government</u> Henry A. Kim , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: This paper finds that the presence of divided government significantly affects the partisan composition of voting coalitions formed on floor. These findings are broadly consistent with the "Cartel" theory of legislative parties, but also show considerable presidential influence in legislative strategy and behavior.				
Disc.	Rose Razaghian , <i>Yale University</i> Kathryn Pearson , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i>				
26-4	<u>JUDICIAL POWER BEYOND THE AMERICAN CASE</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30				
Chair	Reggie Sheehan , <i>Michigan State University</i>				
Paper	<u>Courts of (Social) Justice: Judicial Treatment of Government Social Welfare Agencies Across Time and Nations</u> Rodelio Cruz Manacsa , <i>Vanderbilt University</i> C. Neal Tate , <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Overview: We analyze to what extent and how several national High Courts treat claims against government social welfare agencies. The Philippine and Indian Supreme Courts will be contrasted with the United States Supreme Court and, as time and data make possible, the Supreme Courts of Canada and South Africa.		Disc.	Kevin T. McGuire , <i>University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill</i>	
			27-7	<u>RACE AND JUSTICE</u>	
			Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30	
			Chair	John Domino , <i>Sam Houston State University</i>	
			Paper	<u>The Supreme Court: A Cultural, Legal and Political Analysis of the Ideology of Racism</u> Michael W. Combs , <i>University of Nebraska - Lincoln</i> Overview: The author argues that the Supreme Court has been a significant player in the shaping of the ideology of racism. The Supreme Court has been influential in delineating the privileges of whites and disparaging the opportunities of racial/ethnic minorities. America has witnessed two broad conceptions of racism—white supremacy and the biologization of culture. These broad conceptions of racism include the	

	institution of slavery, reconstruction, Jim Crow, and the eras of Broad and post Brown.				
Paper	<p><u>The U.S. Supreme Court and Latinos: Issues and Implications</u></p> <p>Christopher E. Smith, <i>Michigan State University</i> Cynthia Perez McCluskey, <i>Michigan State University</i></p> <p>Overview: Despite Latinos' emerging status as the largest ethnic minority group in the United States, issues concerning Latinos have not received sustained attention from judicial scholars in the same manner as analyses that focus on African Americans, women, prisoners, and other political minorities. This paper will explore the implications of this demographic trend by reviewing the kinds of issues and cases that currently face the Supreme Court and will likely face the Court in the future. In addition, the paper will examine implications for decision making by judicial officers and relevant policy impacts from judicial policy making.</p>				
Paper	<p><u>History, Legitimacy, and the Rehnquist Court's Civil Rights Agenda</u></p> <p>Lynda G. Dodd, <i>Miami University</i></p> <p>Overview: Part of a longer project evaluating the history of Sec. 1983 constitutional torts doctrine, this paper will address the Rehnquist Court's use of history in cases involving the state action doctrine, Congress's authority under Section 5, and state sovereign immunity. The goal is to examine the extent to which the Court's recent decisions distort the Reconstruction Congress's own views about the purpose and effects of the 14th Amendment. The paper will complement a number of possible panel themes, such as: Federalism and the Courts, the Rehnquist Court's Legacy, Progressive Constitutionalism: Liberal Originalism and the 14th Amendment, the Promise and Perils of Civil Rights Litigation, Departmentalism and Constitutional Law and the Politics of Originalism: The Supreme Court and the Uses of History.</p>				
Paper	<p><u>La plus ça change ...?: Gerrymandering in the New Millennium</u></p> <p>James E. Lennertz, <i>Lafayette College</i></p> <p>Overview: In the U.S. Supreme Court's last racial gerrymandering decision of the 1990s, the Court distinguished racial from political gerrymandering in North Carolina redistricting. Does this case -- <i>Hunt v. Cromartie</i> -- actually constitute the first decision of the new decade, portending significant change in constitutional jurisprudence? This paper will investigate the racial and political gerrymandering cases arising from the 2000 census and redistricting.</p>				
Disc.	<p>Kevin McMahon, <i>State University of New York, Fredonia</i> David Schultz, <i>Hamline University</i></p>				
28-1	<p><u>ATHLETES, ASTRONAUTS AND ARNOLD: GOVERNING THE U.S. STATES</u></p> <p>TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30</p> <p>Thomas M. Carsey, <i>Florida State University</i></p> <p><u>Governing Experience and Being Governor: Does It Matter?</u></p> <p>John A. Hamman, <i>Southern Illinois University</i></p> <p>Overview: This paper assesses whether previous government experience matters for how governors perform in office (1981 through 1994). Performance will be measured by state polling data which research has shown correlates with scholarly assessments of gubernatorial job performance (Beyle, 1995). The approval data is from the Official State Job Approval Project (JAR). Issues concerning unique properties of these data, such as the fact that they were collected by different polling firms as well as the fact that they are not randomly drawn will be handled and as described by Beyle (2002).</p>	Room			
		Chair			
Paper	<p><u>The Relationship Between the Governor and The Lieutenant Governor</u></p> <p>David W. Winder, <i>Valdosta State University</i> David Hill, <i>Valdosta State University</i></p> <p>Overview: This paper involves a study of the relationship between the governor and the lieutenant governor, focusing on the level of cooperation between the two. Cooperation may take the form of the lieutenant governor's support of the governor's</p>				
	legislative program. The chief executive may assign the lieutenant governor to head commissions or task forces. Team election of the two officials and policy initiation across a wider range of areas by the lieutenant governor are found to be associated with more cooperative behaviors between the two state executives.				
Paper	<p><u>Governors and Budgets: The Political Economy of Executive Power in the American States</u></p> <p>Shanna Rose, <i>Harvard University</i></p> <p>Overview: Using data from the fifty states, this paper answers two questions: How do institutions related to the governor's authority to propose a budget, veto the legislature's appropriations bills, and change the enacted budget shape the balance of power between governors and legislatures? Do states with more powerful governors have systematically different budget outcomes, all else equal?</p>				
Paper	<p><u>Applying the New Federalism of 1996: Governors and Welfare Reform</u></p> <p>Joseph J. Foy, <i>University of Notre Dame</i></p> <p>Overview: In this paper, I hypothesize that governors have significant influence welfare policy outcomes, and that the stronger the governor's personal and political powers the more influence they have. In order to show this, I offer a theory of gubernatorial power and its ties to policy, and use data from all fifty states over a period of four years to show just how much a governor's power acts as a determinant of welfare policy outcomes.</p>				
Disc.	Jennifer M. Jensen , <i>University at Albany, SUNY</i>				
28-102	<p><u>ROUNDTABLE: ON THE CALIFORNIA RECALL ELECTION</u></p> <p>TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30</p> <p>Caroline Tolbert, <i>Kent State University</i> Michael Alvarez, <i>California Technology Institute</i> Shaun Bowler, <i>University of California, Riverside</i> Todd Donovan, <i>Western Washington University</i> Elizabeth Gerber, <i>University of Michigan</i> Thad Kousser, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> David Magleby, <i>Brigham Young University</i> Daniel Smith, <i>University of Florida</i></p>	Room			
		Chair			
		Rndtbl.			
29-6	<p><u>COMPETING ANALYSES OF MUNICIPAL EVALUATIONS</u></p> <p>TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30</p> <p>Lynn W. Bachelor, <i>University of Toledo</i></p> <p><u>Social Capital and the Quality of Government: Evidence from Eighteen Cities</u></p> <p>Margaret R. Ferguson, <i>Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis</i> Brian Vargus, <i>Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis</i></p> <p>Overview: Steve Knack finds that certain qualities associated with social capital are correlated with better state government performance ratings, while other aspects are unrelated (see the October 2002 issue of the <i>AJPS</i>). We perform a similar study using the city as the unit of analysis. Our data comes primarily from <i>Governing Magazine's</i> city performance ratings and a recent survey conducted by the Indiana University Public Opinion Laboratory in eighteen cities.</p>	Room			
		Chair			
Paper	<p><u>Contracting Out Local Government Services to Nonprofit Organizations</u></p> <p>Hee-Soun Jang, <i>Florida State University</i> Richard Feiock, <i>Florida State University</i></p> <p>Overview: Contracting out services to non-profits may offer cost and quality advantages over government production because of high public sector labor costs, potential scale economies, and the willing of nonprofits to sometimes subsidize public efforts. However there has been little in the way of empirical studies to estimate the potential fiscal or service quality benefits that are derived from contracting with community nonprofit organizations. This research will investigate fiscal implications of local governments contracting out the delivery of services to nonprofit organizations. This</p>				

	research will contribute on the theory building of nonprofit service delivery as well as providing concrete empirical findings.				mission has become a poor relation. In part this is a function of the advance of science, but it also represents the professionalization of faculty. State governments now expect public universities to do much more in the area of economic development. Which state's have made the most progress in re-inventing their university systems? What makes reform possible?
Paper	<u>A Comparative Analysis of Illinois Park Districts to Illinois Municipal Parks and Recreation Departments</u> David N. Emanuelson , <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: Since Bollens (1959) identified special districts as a "dark continent," the number of special purpose governments in the United States has grown geometrically. During the past 40 years, political science objections to the fragmenting of metropolitan government has remained largely theoretical. This study examines one form of special district in a selected midwestern state to evaluate the effectiveness and efficiency of special districts compared to consolidated general purpose municipal government. The study's findings provide a first look into the political science's "dark continent" and have policy implications for midwestern states considering the creation or expansion of special districts' authority.			Paper	<u>Saving the Music</u> Katina R. Stapleton , <i>Syracuse University</i> Matthew Walton , <i>Syracuse University</i> Overview: Bob Morrison, the former head of VH1 Save the Music Foundation describes two conditions that have led to the decrease of music education programs in public schools as the "Perfect Storm." Condition number one is a decrease in education funding that causes hard choices to be made about which programs are essential to education. Condition number two is a "back-to-basics" movement in which education reform calls for a return to basic subjects only (such as reading math and science). This paper examines how VH1 Save the Music Foundation is trying to tame "the Perfect Storm" through its Save the Music campaign. We examine both content of the campaign and the effects of the campaign on music education policy.
Paper	<u>Using Citizens' Judgments as an Accountability Mechanism in Democratic Governance: Considering Perceptions of Personal and Collective Experience</u> Christine H. Roch , <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: This paper focuses on the critical issue of accountability in democratic governance.			Disc.	Paul Manna , <i>College of William and Mary</i>
Disc.	Cynthia Jackson-Elmore , <i>Michigan State University</i>				
30-5	<u>SCHOOLS: CHILDREN AND OTHER ISSUES LEFT BEHIND</u>			30-203	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POLLUTION POLICY</u>
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30			Room	TBA, TABLE 5, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30
Chair	Michael E. Kraft , <i>University of Wisconsin, Green Bay</i>			Inf. Rnd.	<u>The Role of State Regulatory Authorities in the Market-Based Acid Rain Program, the Clean Air Act of 1990</u> Yasuo Ikari , <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: The Acid Rain Program under the Clean Air Act of 1990 is a premier case of the economic approach alternative to the command-and-control regulation. Using sulfur dioxide emissions reduction rate at the plant level as the dependent variable, and the existence of control device and the availability of low-sulfur coal as economic explanatory variables and state policy strength as alternative regulatory explanatory variables, this study will show how regulatory authorities have roles in the economic based program.
Paper	<u>The Politics of Student Promotion Policies</u> Valentina A. Bali , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: Throughout the years, policies advocating promotion of at-risk students, and policies advocating retention of at-risk students have come and go, in an almost cyclical fashion. Currently, many states have mandates supporting an end to social promotion of students though at the district level much variation can be found. The purpose of this paper is to understand what factors, apart from student characteristics and school district resources, influence the merit promotion policies of a school district. In particular, using school district level data from California, this paper explores the impact of the school leadership and local public on the promotion policies of school districts.			Inf. Rnd.	<u>Regulatory Federalism: A Comparative Study of Safe Drinking Water Policy Implementation in British Columbia, Canada, and Washington, USA</u> Carey A. Hill , <i>University of British Columbia</i> Overview: What happens when governments regulate governments within a federal state? This paper examines the contrasting Canadian and American federal models with respect to environmental policy, with drinking water policy as a specific case. Intergovernmental relations at federal-state-municipal levels are examined using six case studies. The paper examines the hypothesis that while intergovernmental relations will be worse in a top-down model, a regulatory federalism framework in which one level of government regulates another offers better protection for public health.
Paper	<u>No Child Left Behind? A Rural Perspective on the Legislation</u> Sharon L. Wrobel , <i>Western Illinois University</i> Overview: Major interest group participation in the confirmation processes of federal judges is a relatively new phenomenon. Recently it can be traced to two Supreme Court nominations in which major campaign style organizations were setup on each with dozens of advocacy groups utilizing structured coalitions, strategies and tactics. In this paper, I propose to describe interest group participation in two recent unsuccessful nominations to a United States Court of Appeals which may have taken this process to a new level.				
Paper	<u>Are Political Scientists Ignoring Education Policy at Their Own Risk? Education Reform's Negative Externalities on Colleges and Universities</u> Mary P. McGuire , <i>SUNY Cortland</i> Overview: This paper is an examination of the externalities of K-12 education reform on higher education. It traces an erosion of academic freedom within schools of education that has spread to the liberal arts. The study of education policy has been fairly limited among political scientists. As a result, broad political questions go unexamined in this policy area while analysis of the intrusion of the government on the academy through education policy reform has not been fully analyzed.			30-204	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: DRUG CONTROL POLICY</u>
	<u>Original Intent: Re-inventing University Engagement in State Economic Development</u> Roland Stephen , <i>North Carolina State University</i> Overview: As public university systems have grown and become more orientated towards pure research, the land-grant			Room	TBA, TABLE 6, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30
				Inf. Rnd.	<u>Ethical Frames for Drug Policy and the Salience of Competing Bodies of Knowledge</u> Adam J. Chacksfield , <i>Western Illinois University</i> Overview: Drug policy discourse often appears impervious to scientific research. This paper argues different bodies of policy relevant knowledge have conflicting implications for drug policy. The ethical frames of discussants influence the salience of these competing bodies of knowledge. Therefore, drug policy discourse is not resistant to scientific knowledge. Rather drug policy discourse is characterized by conflicting ethical perspectives that influence how that knowledge is interpreted.
				Inf. Rnd.	<u>The Distributive Patterns of Crime Control Funding: A Comparison of Grant Distribution under the Anti-Drug</u>

Abuse Act of 1988 and the Violent Crime Control Act of 1994

Pamela M. Schaal, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: While the debate over the determinants of federal grant allocations has been argued from the socioeconomic and the political standpoints, this study reveals that federal funding is a function of both, depending on the category of funding and the type of formula. Socioeconomic variables, alone, will explain the distributive patterns of formula grant dollars based on the particular measure of need used in the legislative formula, while political factors via committee representation will be more instrumental with discretionary grant distributions that are supplemental to specific need-based formula grant allotments.

30-205 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POLICY THEORY AND CITY STRUCTURE

Room TBA, TABLE 7, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30

Inf. Rnd. **Analyzing and Managing Reflective Public Policy**

Gerald Andrews Emison, *Mississippi State University*

Overview: This paper examines the sources of ineffectiveness for public policy analysis and management. It identifies conflicts between the conceptual challenges of public policy analysis and the applied challenges of public policy management. American pragmatism is posited as a potential means for resolving these conflicts.

Inf. Rnd. **The Structure of Local Government and its Public Policy**

Eun-Ro Lee, *University of South Carolina*

Overview: This article exams the structure of local government and its public financial policy. The previous researches used the government structure as a dummy variable without the political variables in the exam models. This paper, however, will include the political variables such as public opinion and interest groups in the analyzing of urban financial policy. The multiplicative analysis of the government structure and political variables in the interrupted time-series analysis will be addressed.

30-206 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: AIDS AND ABORTION

Room TBA, TABLE 8, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30

Inf. Rnd. **The Effects of HIV/AIDS in Developing Countries**

Haroon K. Ullah, *University of Michigan*

Overview: What are the political-economic effects of HIV/AIDS in developing countries? How will HIV/AIDS transform African governance? I concentrate on specific political institutions that condition the nature of the response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic and to whom

Inf. Rnd. **Testing Internal Determinants and Diffusion Models of Policy Adoption at the Individual Level: Legislative Voting on Abortion Issues in the House of Representative (1991-2000)**

Jongho Roh, *Florida State University*

Overview: This study examines the applicability of the internal determinants and diffusion models at the individual level by examining the voting behavior of legislators on abortion issues in the House of Representative from 1987 to 2000 (100th - 106th).

31-10 DELEGATION, DECISION-MAKING, AND OVERSIGHT

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30

Chair **Jack H. Knott**, *University of Illinois*

Paper **Whither Challenger, With Columbia: Management Decision Making and the Knowledge Analytic**

Terence M. Garrett, *University of Texas - Pan American*

Overview: The author utilizes the "knowledge analytic" to assess the Columbia shuttle re-entry decision tragedy. The paper fits well in the public administration subfields of organization theory, management decision-making or public policy-making.

Paper Bounded Rationality in the Social Security Disability Program: Determinants of Eligibility Determinations

Lael R. Keiser, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

Overview: The behavioral theory of choice posits that bureaucratic decisions can be understood not only as a function of rational decision-making, but also as a function of variables that influence decision-making due to the limitations on human's cognitive abilities to process large amounts of information under conditions of ambiguity. In this paper, I test the hypotheses that hierarchy, bureaucratic culture (mission and attachment to rules) and emotion toward claimants explains variation in street level bureaucratic decision-making using survey data from the Social Security Disability program.

Paper Uncertainty and the Evolution of Repeated Bureaucratic Decisions: Lessons from the Distributional Properties of U.S. Fiscal Projections

George A. Krause, *University of South Carolina*

Overview: How do bureaucratic agencies make decisions in a parallel redundant system through time as task uncertainty diminishes and political uncertainty varies by context? I offer a theory that predicts the extent to which agencies will make decisions that converge or diverge through time based on both types of uncertainty. I test the theoretical propositions emanating from my theory with U.S. federal agency data involving the evolution of Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and Congressional Budget Office (CBO) fiscal projections within a given fiscal year since the mid-1970's. The empirical findings that come from this study will be very informative as to how administrative agencies make decisions in an environment that contains uncertainty over their policy tasks, their political environment, but also how they behave in relation to one another when they share the same policy responsibilities.

Paper Inter-Principal Interactions and Agency Actions: An Empirical Reappraisal in the U.S. Occupational Safety Regulation

Doo-Rae Kim, *Michigan State University*

Overview: This paper extends the empirical literature on political control-bureaucratic responsiveness by modeling the effects of multilateral joint actions of principals on an agency's regulatory actions. Based on theoretical properties and empirical measures of the policy equilibrium intervals (PEI), I show that the directional change of the PEI affects the level of regulatory performance and that the size of the PEI affects the degree of autonomous bureaucratic choices.

Paper Styles of Committee Oversight

Keith W. Smith, *University of California, Berkeley*

Overview: Drawing on delegation models as well as contingency theory, this paper asks: When and how are the various methods of oversight used? Why do committees and subcommittees use one method rather than another? While scholars traditionally look to committee culture and resources or larger institutional characteristics to explain the oversight behavior of committees, the hypothesis advanced here is that characteristics of the agencies being overseen also play an important role in producing different styles of committee oversight.

Disc. **Pamela R. LaFeber**, *Northern Illinois University*

Justin J. Marlowe, *University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee*

31-101 ROUNDTABLE: THE NEXT GENERATION OF CORRUPTION CONTROL: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30

Chair **Frank M. Aneciarico**, *Hamilton College*

Rndtbl. **Lydia G. Segal**, *CUNY*

Marilyn Glynn, *U.S. Office of Government Ethics*

Verena Blechinger-Talcott, *Hamilton College*

Gwendolyn Dordick, *Harvard University*

32-6 WAR AND AMERICAN ADMINISTRATIVE STATE DEVELOPMENT

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30

Chair **McGee Young**, *Gettysburg College*

- Paper** **Police Patrols vs. Fire Alarms: Congressional oversight of CIA in the early Cold War era**
David M. Barrett, *Villanova University*
 Overview: Using never-before-published/cited historical materials, this paper compares the amount and quality of oversight performed by Congress in relation to CIA during the Truman/ Eisenhower presidencies. McCubbins and Schwartz suggested in the 1980s that legislative oversight varies in relation to events/conditons in the American political environment, and that oversight resembles a "fire alarm" process, rather than systematic police patrols. This paper shows such variation in comparing three years: 1950, 1955, and 1958, but confirms that congressional oversight in that era was not systematic.
- Paper** **From Citizen Soldier to Neutral Professional: The Birth of a Theory of Civil-Military Relations**
Darrell W. Driver, *United States Military Academy*
 Overview: Though the belief in a strict politics-administration dichotomy has largely been discredited by scholars of public administration, it finds recurring resonance in the field of civil-military relations. Such a belief faces legitimacy issues when compared to the pluralistic intentions of the founders, while dangerously isolating the sacrifices and burdens of war from the decision makers in the citizenry. This view can be traced to the critical juncture of post-bellum military professionalization.
- Paper** **War and the Health of the State: Wartime Developments of the Japanese and American Health Insurance Policies**
Takakazu Yamagishi, *Johns Hopkins University*
 Overview: The Second World War killed approximately fifty million people, while it led to policies and institutions to improve people's health. By asking why and how these events occurred, this paper will rethink the development of health insurance policies more generally. When scholars of welfare state development study the impact of war, they tend to treat war as a simple and identical exogenous shock and do not address how variations in war experiences affect policies and institutions. This paper contrasts the Japanese war with the American war in terms of a war duration, depth of mobilization, casualties, battle sequence, and war-fighting regime. It also examines how war mobilization formed and consolidated Japanese and American health insurance policies in the 1930s and the 1940s. This paper offers three contributions. First, theoretically, it makes case for including variation in war experience into analyses of social policy development. Second, empirically, it examines the origins and development of the Japanese and American health insurance system through their war experiences, cases that political scientists have not sufficiently addressed. Third, it sheds new light on a frequently asked question: Why does the United States not have a comprehensive national health insurance system
- Disc.** **Elizabeth Sanders**, *Cornell University*
Bartholomew Sparrow, *University of Texas at Austin*
- 37-101** **ROUNDTABLE: SAME-SEX MARRIAGE**
(Co-sponsored with Midwest Women's Caucus, see 35-107)
- Room** TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 10:30
Chair **Kenneth Sherrill**, *Hunter College, CUNY*
Rndtbl. **Ellen Ann Andersen**, *Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis*
Gordon Babst, *Chapman College*
Martin D. Dupuis, *Western Illinois University*
Lisa Parshal, *Daemen College*
Christopher Malone, *Pace University*
 Overview: This roundtable will discuss recent developments and long-term issues in same-sex marriage including issues of public law, political theory, public policy, and mass politics.

Friday, April 16 – 1:30 pm – 3:15 pm

- 1-103** **AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: THEDA SKOCPOL, DIMINISHED DEMOCRACY: FROM MEMBERSHIP TO MANAGEMENT IN AMERICAN CIVIC LIFE (Co-sponsored with Politics and History, see 32-101)**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Chair Suzanne Mettler, *Syracuse University*
Rndtbl. Kristi Andersen, *Syracuse University*
 J. Mark Hansen, *University of Chicago*
 Rodney Hero, *University of Notre Dame*
 Virginia Sapiro, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Laura Stoker, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Theda Skocpol, *Harvard University*
 Overview: In this book, Skocpol analyzes the role of membership-based civic organizations in American political development, and their recent demise and replacement by professionally-run advocacy groups. She argues that these transformations leave regular Americans with fewer opportunities to unite across class lines and to become involved in public affairs. Scholars representing a diverse array of substantive interests and theoretical approaches will offer their views of Skocpol's book, and address the central question: what are the implications of changes in associational life for American democracy?
- 1-104** **ROUNDTABLE: PREPARING FUTURE POLITICAL SCIENTISTS: ENRICHING GRADUATE STUDIES**
Room PDR 9, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Rndtbl. Christopher H. Achen, *University of Michigan*
 Scott Bennett, *Pennsylvania State University*
 John Coleman, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Elliot E. Slotnick, *The Ohio State University*
- 2-11** **POLITICAL PARTIES IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Chair Linda Chen, *Indiana University South Bend*
Paper **The Timing of Cabinet Reshuffles in Comparative Perspective: An Event History Approach**
 Christopher Kam, *University of South Carolina*
 Indridi H. Indridason, *University of Iceland*
 Overview: We present a theory of the influence of intra-party politics on the timing of cabinet reshuffles. We argue that cabinet reshuffles help prevent ministers from establishing a powerful position within their party. The use of cabinet reshuffles is therefore tied to the prime minister's ability to manage the cabinet and his vulnerability to challenges from within his party as determined by the institutions governing leadership selection within the party. We find that the likelihood of a reshuffle is positively correlated with these factors as well as the prime minister's, as opposed to his parties', popularity.
- Paper** **Size, Party Systems and Stability**
 Lauri A. Karvonen, *Abo Akademi*
 Carsten G.E. Anckar, *Mid-Sweden University*
 Overview: An analysis of the relationship between the size of countries, the degree of party system fragmentation, and government stability. Based on a panel data set covering the period 1960-2001 (N=350), this study examines all democracies with a parliamentary or semi-presidential form of government.
- Paper** **When a Better Deal Comes Along: How Opportunity Costs Effect the Decision to 'Exit' Party Organizations**
 Tracy Long, *Texas Tech University*
 Dennis Patterson, *Texas Tech University*
 Overview: This paper will look at the decision to exit a political party, in an attempt to determine whether the opportunity cost of remaining with a party plays a significant roll in determining when a member will exit the organization, and defect to an alternative party.

- Paper** **The British Greens at 30**
 Debra Holzhauer, *Coe College*
 Overview: As the British Green Party marks its 30th anniversary, this paper offers an examination of several aspects of the party's evolution. Topics considered include the party's emergence as an electoral force at the regional, local and European level; the relationship between recent organizational changes and the party's ideology; the question of whether or not, in terms of its policy proposals, the party remains committed to its "pure green" ideology; and the matter of the party's effectiveness in impacting upon national legislation.
- Disc.** Ulf Lindstrom, *University of Bergen*
- 3-7** **UNDERSTANDING UNCONSOLIDATED DEMOCRACIES**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Chair TBA
Paper **Toward a Theory of Public Security and Democratic Governance**
 John J. Bailey, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Crime, violence, corruption and impunity pose significant challenges to the origins or maintenance of democratic governance. The paper attempts to theorize the interrelationships of the problem clusters among themselves and in relation to regime and state.
- Paper** **Populism and Anti-Politics in Comparative Perspective**
 Robert R. Barr, *University of Miami*
 Overview: TBA
- Paper** **Political Institutions and Satisfaction with Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa**
 Wonbin Cho, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: TBA
- Paper** **Public Support and Democracy: Identifying Causal Mechanisms for the Erosion of Democracy in Latin America**
 Saika Uno, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: The article explores the relationship between public support for two closely related yet distinct objects and the stability of democratic regimes. The paper suggests when voters support democracy but lack confidence in democratic institutions, particularly political parties, they may withdraw from the act of voting or stop identifying with political parties, making the rise of antidemocratic leaders more likely. Drawing on Venezuelan public opinion and electoral data, the study illustrates without trust in political institutions democracy may be unstable.
- Disc.** TBA
- 3-9** **GLOBALIZATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Chair Eric C.C. Chang, *Michigan State University*
Paper **Development, Globalization, Political Institutions, and Social Spending, 1980-1999**
 Michelle L. Dion, *Georgia Institute of Technology*
 Overview: This paper models the effects of globalization, economic development, and political institutions on education, health and social security spending in a global sample of approximately 100 countries between 1980 and 1999.
- Paper** **The Political Economy of Hard Choices: Choosing Between Education and Health Spending**
 Irfan Nooruddin, *Ohio State University*
 Joel W. Simmons, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: This paper develops a theory of public good provision to explain government choices between education and health spending in the face of hard budget constraints.
- Paper** **Economic Human Rights: Conceptualization and Measurement**
 David L. Richards, *ETS*
 David R. Cingranelli, *Binghamton University, SUNY*
 Overview: As part of a current National Science Foundation project, this paper establishes and tests a method for measuring the degree of government effort to protect internationally recognized economic human rights. These measures are being

	developed as part of a project that will produce a human rights dataset for public distribution in 2004. The dataset will contain multiple measures of government respect for various types of internationally recognized human rights for over 160 countries from 1981 to 2002.				
Paper	<u>Determinants of Social Spending in Latin America: Globalization, Political Institutions, and Labor Market</u> Yuriko Takahashi, Cornell University Overview: Overview: Why have the governments in Latin America increased social spending in the 1990s despite a weakening of organized labor under globalization? Using time-series cross-sectional panel data for 13 Latin American countries from 1980 to 1997, I explain the social spending increase is explained by policy makers' desire to achieve the simultaneous goals of economic growth and social equity under globalization. Contrary to the influential globalization hypothesis on the OECD countries, the social policy making reflects less partisanship than concern for economic efficiency and growth in Latin America.				
Disc.	Eric C.C. Chang, Michigan State University				
3-30	<u>INSTITUTIONAL RULES AND POLITICAL OUTCOMES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES</u>				
Room	BURNHAM 5, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30				
Chair	Jose Cheibub, Yale University				
Paper	<u>Writing the Laws: Determinants of Legislative Success in Colombia</u> Maria Escobar-Lemmon, Texas A&M University Claudia N. Avellaneda, Texas A&M University Overview: Is legislating the responsibility of the executive or the legislature? We consider what characteristics make an individual more likely to get their bills passed, across branches and within congress. Using data on five Colombian congresses, we provide an empirical assessment and extension of analyses conducted on the United States. We use the analysis of factors that predict legislation likelier to be approved to assess the degree of involvement of the legislature in the policy process.				
Paper	<u>Legislative Bargaining and Government Stability in Latin America</u> Cecilia Martinez Gallardo, Columbia University Overview: This paper develops a theory of cabinet instability as the result of external shocks, the legislative authority of presidents and their political vulnerability, and tests it empirically in 12 Latin American presidential regimes. The paper uses an original dataset on the government composition and relates patterns of ministerial tenure to characteristics of the political, policy and institutional environment. The paper shows that ministers will be less stable under conditions of policy or political shocks, and in circumstances where presidents are constitutionally weak or politically vulnerable.				
Paper	<u>When Parties Make States: The Institutional Design of the Colombian Armed Forces and the Struggle for Partisan Dominance</u> Chris Cardona, University of California, Berkeley Overview: The type of state institutions that party-based elites design responds to conjunctural strategic needs, but these choices have significant path-dependent effects. The design of Colombia's armed forces offers one such example. The choice to create "weak," i.e., decentralized, army and police, may have paradoxically created a more stable regime by giving regional and local elites tools to contest power in the framework of an ongoing struggle for partisan dominance.				
Paper	<u>Delegation or Abdication? A Study of Executive-Legislative Relations</u> Juliana Bambaci, Stanford University Overview: What are the determinants of the cross-country variance in the influence of Congresses vis-à-vis Presidents on policy outcomes? This paper develops a simple theory of delegation between Congress and the President and tests its main empirical implications on cross-national data. The main gist of this paper is empirical, it proposes a novel measure of influence in the interaction between the legislative and executive powers: the degree of specificity in budget legislation.				
Disc.	Jonathan T. Hiskey, University of California, Riverside				
4-6	<u>AFTER THE TRANSITION: WHAT HAPPENS TO PARTICIPATION?</u>				
Room	TBA1, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30				
Chair	Carol S. Leff, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign				
Paper	<u>Revisiting the Issue of Political Participation in Post-Soviet Societies: What is the Meaning of Participation More than a Decade after the End of Communism?</u> Vicki L. Hesli, University of Iowa Overview: The goal of this project is twofold: first, to evaluate empirically trends in participation levels between 1991 and 2003 and to explore variations in these trends cross-nationally and, second, to discuss the theoretical implications of these trends for democratic consolidation in post-Soviet societies.				
Paper	<u>Acquiring Democratic Values: The Mass Public in West Germany</u> Jerome S. Legge, Jr., University of Georgia Overview: Utilizing the 1953 UNESCO "Social Bases of West German Politics" survey, this paper develops and test a model as to the reasons why the majority of West German citizens accepted democracy following the war. Preliminary results suggest that organizational/institution linkages between state and society go far in explaining the circumstances under which German citizens were willing to accept democracy.				
Paper	<u>Starting Off Participating: The Mobilization of Ugandans to Participate in Constitution-Making</u> Devra C. Moehler, Cornell University Overview: Immediately after democratic transitions, before patterns of participation are established, political mobilization is likely to play a larger role in determining participation than is typically the case. Statistical analysis demonstrates that Ugandans participated in their constitution-making process largely because they were pulled into the process by mobilizing elites. I argue that programs targeted at increasing the participation of disadvantaged citizens are likely to have the greatest impact when implemented soon after democratic transitions.				
Paper	<u>Political Competition and the Empowerment of the Poor: An Analysis of the Socio-Economic Composition of the Mexican Electorate, 1994-2000</u> Irina N. Alberro, Northwestern University Overview: Political participation is a key ingredient for a solid democratic system. Scholars studying consolidated democracies in the industrialized world have long concluded that higher electoral turnout is positively correlated with higher socio-economic status. However patterns of electoral participation in emerging democracies such as Mexico remain practically unexplored. This paper shows that in Mexico, lower socio-economic status constituencies are more active in electoral terms than other groups.				
Disc.	Claudia Dahlerus, Albion College				
5-5	<u>EUROPEAN PUBLIC OPINION</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30				
Chair	Raymond Duch, University of Houston				
Paper	<u>Explaining Opposition to European Integration in Britain, Denmark, and Ireland</u> Scott Piroth, Bowling Green State University Njambi T. Ouattara, Bowling Green State University Samar Abu-Ridi, Bowling Green State University Andrea Antal, Bowling Green State University Overview: TBA				
Paper	<u>Elite Consensus and Individual Opinion Formation about European Integration</u> Kenneth Scheve, Yale University Matthew Gabel, University of Kentucky Overview: Are more politically and economically sophisticated citizens more likely to form policy opinions consistent with their interests and values? Is the answer to this question sensitive to whether elite policy discourse is characterized by consensus or conflict? This paper investigates these questions by studying the effect of elite consensus and conflict about				

	European integration on individual policy opinions about integration in member states.				
Paper	<u>Does Crime Pay? An Analysis of National Support for Far Right Parties in the European Union</u> Jason M. Smith, Texas A&M University Overview: Far right parties in Europe continue to have success in national elections campaigning on issues such as immigration and unemployment. These parties also campaign on law and order issues, however the literature has failed to analyze this issue empirically. This paper analyzes crime rates and their effect on far right party support at the national level.				<u>Agency Model in Vietnam</u> Edmund J. Malesky, Duke University Overview: In this paper, I probe the first node in the micro-logic of my theory studying the impact of FDI on de facto decentralization in Vietnam. If provinces are empowered by FDI, we should find initial evidence for local economic reforms, before lobbying begins for change at the central level. FDI is tested against a measure of autonomy, derived from a content analysis of Vietnamese state owned newspapers between 1990 and 2000. Every time a province is cited for violating central laws on economic policy by engaging in reform experimentation it is recorded. Using this approach, I find strong preliminary evidence for the impact of FDI on local autonomy and economic reform.
Paper	<u>Household Context and Anti-Immigrant Party Support among German Youth</u> Jennifer L. Fitzgerald, Brown University Overview: How do household or family factors influence young persons' support of the extreme anti-immigrant right? Using German household panel data I investigate the effects of various micro- and meso-level correlates of right wing support. This paper brings together aspects of mainstream theorizing about anti-immigrant politics, such as personality and realistic threat, with insights of research areas further afield, such as social capital and family culture.	Paper			<u>Informal Responses to Formal Decentralization in China</u> Pierre F. Landry, Yale University Overview: I examine how informal institutions emerge as strategic responses to formal institutional change in the context of Chinese reforms.
		Disc.			Dali Yang, University of Chicago
Paper	<u>Attitudes Toward Income Redistribution in Europe</u> Karl Kaltenthaler, Rhodes College Stephen Ceccoli, Overview: This paper explores the sources of individual-level variation in support for income redistribution in Europe. The paper tests gender-based, economic utilitarian and political explanations of variations in support for income redistribution. The gender-based explanation seeks to build on recent research demonstrating that men and women differ in terms of the provision of economic security. The economic utilitarian explanation posits that individuals seek to maximize their potential gains from income redistribution. The political explanation posits that individuals will be conditioned by their ideological orientation when they think about supporting income redistribution. We develop a series of multinomial logistic models to test these explanations. Data are from the Social Inequalities study from the International Social Survey Programme.	7-1 Room Chair Paper			<u>NEW RESEARCH ON INTERVENTION</u> TBA2, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30 Brandon Valeriano, Vanderbilt University <u>The Consequences of Intervention</u> Kisangani N. Emizet, Kansas State University Jeffrey J. Pickering, Kansas State University Overview: Military intervention is arguably the most frequent type of force in use today. Yet, we have little understanding of the consequences of military intervention for target states. Analyzing a cross section and times series data of 140 countries from 1950 to 1996, we find that military intervention has little systematic impact on target governance structures, but it does affect economic performance and quality of life.
		Paper			<u>Is It a Matter Of Degrees? Forms of State Partisan Interventions In Militarized Disputes</u> Renato Corbetta, Grand Valley State University Overview: Non-military forms of state intervention in ongoing disputes are largely overlooked in conflict research. This paper attempts to fill this gap by introducing new data on non-military (diplomatic and economic) interventions in Militarized Interstate Disputes, and by addressing the question of what systemic and domestic factors influence the probability that states will adopt military or non-military intervention techniques.
Disc.	Erik R. Tillman, Emory University				<u>UN Intervention: Selection, Endogeneity and Authority</u> Kyle C. Beardsley, University of California - San Diego Overview: The UN strategically selects when to intervene in order to maintain its authority in the international system. Empirical tests using data from the International Crisis Behavior project reveal that UN intervention is likely to be endogenous to conflict resolution. These findings have strong implications to the previously overlooked problems of selection and omitted variable biases in studies of peacekeeping and peacemaking.
6-12	<u>ADAPTIVE AUTHORITARIANISM IN ASIA: DECENTRALIZATION, REGULATION, AND PROMOTION</u>	Paper			<u>Third Party Intervention in Civil Wars: The Relative Effectiveness of Intervention Type</u> Jacob C. Kathman, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Overview: In this paper, I address the relative effectiveness of different conflict intervention types in terms of their abilities to promptly cease the violence of civil wars. I employ an event history model to determine the effectiveness of unilateral, coalitional, and UN-sponsored interventions on all civil conflicts between 1946 and 1997. The findings indicate that there is no tradeoff between the level of international legitimacy and the relative effectiveness of intervention type, as UN interventions are found to be the most effective mode of intervention, followed consecutively by coalitional and unilateral interventions.
Room Chair Paper	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30 Courtney Jung, New School University <u>China's Soft Centralization: State Capacity and Local Protectionism, 1998-2003</u> Andrew C. Mertha, Washington University in St. Louis Overview: A recent dynamic of political and economic reform in China is the centralization of three bureaucracies governing China's economy to curb local protectionism. Centralization establishes new incentives that guide officials' behavior, creates new winners and losers, and forges new institutional arrangements that are likely to endure into the future. This analysis seeks to deepen our understanding of institutional change in China, add to the literature on decentralization, and contribute to the debate on market-preserving federalism.				<u>The Withholding and Granting of Recognition to Secessionist States</u> Bridget L. Coggins, Ohio State University Overview: Statesmen often disagree about what distinguishes a legitimate from an illegitimate claim to sovereign recognition.
Paper	<u>The Impact of the 1994 Fiscal Reform in China on County-Level Public Goods Provision</u> Victor C. Shih, Northwestern University Mingxing Liu, Beijing University Overview: The 1994 fiscal centralization in China resulted in the central government seizing a majority share in the tax base. How has this change affected the Chinese government's ability to provide public goods and to maintain legitimacy at the local level? This study uses previously unavailable county level budgetary data for the entire country in 1996 and in 2000 to comprehensively examine the impact of the fiscal centralization on county level public goods provision.				
Paper	<u>How Does Foreign Direct Investment Empower Local Leaders? An Analysis of the Micro-logic of the Domestic</u>				

	In this paper I explore the international dynamics of secession and legitimacy by analyzing great powers' recognition decisions from 1914-1993. My analysis finds distinct differences among the criteria determining great power recognition.				
Disc.	Douglas M. Gibler , <i>University of Kentucky</i>				
7-5	<u>INFLUENCE AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30				
Chair	Erik Voeten , <i>George Washington University</i>				
Paper	<u>Winning Votes: Examining How States Vote with the US in the UN, 1950-1992</u> Brian Lai , <i>University of Iowa</i> Daniel Morey , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: What influences the level of cooperation between states? How can states induce greater levels of cooperation from other states? We derive hypotheses and test what affects the likelihood that a state will vote with the US in the UN using all UN votes and a subset of votes with the US from 1950-1992. We find that aid plays a minimal role, while allies, democracies, and trade dependent states are likely to vote with the US.				
Paper	<u>Buying Friends and Influencing Countries: Voting Coincidence and the UN General Assembly and US Foreign Assistance</u> Leona Pallansch , <i>St. Mary's University</i> Overview: Examines the relationship between voting coincidence rates between the US and member countries of the United Nations General Assembly and distribution of US foreign assistance for the years 1998-2003. Coincidence rates for all plenary session votes as well as coincidence rates for "important votes" will be considered.				
Paper	<u>The Politics of Shame: The Condemnation of Country Human Rights Practices in the UNHRC</u> Erik Voeten , <i>George Washington University</i> James Lebovic , <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: This paper analyzes a new dataset on the sponsorship, voting records and content of UNHRC resolutions that condemn individual countries from 1973-2002. The analysis seeks to answer the basic questions "Who gets condemned, by whom and for what purpose?" We seek answers in the domestic characteristics of alleged rights violators and commission members and in the political, economic, and military relationships between member states and the alleged abusers.				
Paper	<u>Cooperation Under Duress: Explaining the Violation and Enforcement of International Agreements</u> Stephen B. Long , <i>University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill</i> Overview: When do we expect states to violate formal international agreements? Does the spectre of tough enforcement prevent states from breaking their agreements? By applying the findings of games of market entry, I derive predictions about whether investing in a record of enforcement can serve as a signal of low enforcement costs that deters violation. I also analyze states' responses to observations of agreement violation and consider their effects on the probability of violent conflict.				
Paper	<u>Manipulative Multilateralism: Power and Informal Influence in International Organizations</u> Michael B. Hawes , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: This paper examines the informal mechanisms for influencing policy used by powerful states in international organizations. Formal voting rights in international organizations rarely mirror the distribution of geo-political power among members, yet powerful states still participate in these organizations, and frequently capture a disproportionate share of the gains to be had through cooperation. This paper identifies various informal influence mechanisms available to powerful states, and explains the conditions for their usage in these organizations.				
Disc.	Erik Voeten , <i>George Washington University</i>				
8-5	<u>POLITICAL SOURCES OF FINANCIAL MARKET DEVELOPMENT</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30				
Chair	Susan M. McMillan , <i>Educational Data Systems</i>				
Paper	<u>Religion, Institutions, and Structure: Determinants of Islamic Development Bank Lending</u> Christopher B. O'Keefe , <i>Brigham Young University</i> Daniel L. Nielson , <i>Brigham Young University</i> Overview: Since 1980 the multilateral development banks have experienced intense pressures to focus more attention on environmental and social issues. The Islamic Development Bank has not made this shift. Nondemocratic nature of the bank's members, the influence of member states' Islamic values on state preferences, and US noninvolvement as a voting member account for this disconnect.				
Paper	<u>Financial Market Liberalization, Institutional Foundations for Investor Protection, and the Asian Financial Crisis</u> Eunyoung Ha , <i>University of California at Los Angeles</i> Overview: The goal of this paper is to examine the causes of the Asian financial crisis in 1997-98.				
Paper	<u>Linking the Rule of Law with Financial Market Development: Evidence from Brazil</u> Scott E. Schmith , <i>Washington University</i> Overview: Examines the relationship between insider trading enforcement regimes in the US and Brazil to narrow the empirical gap linking the rule of law to financial development.				
Paper	<u>The Link between Domestic Political Institutions and Asian Financial Crises</u> Jung In Jo , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: In this paper, I attempt to answer several puzzling questions on economic crises focusing on political institutions.				
Paper	<u>Public Goods and Market Convergence: The Logic Behind the Integration of Public Institutions</u> David C. Johnson , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: Both the First and Second Banks of the United States failed to have their charters renewed. The national currency created with these banks disappeared with their failure. Following the Civil War, the greenback not only survived and but eventually became an established national currency. This paper seeks to understand why the earlier national currencies failed and the later one survived. The conclusion is that technology development in the mid-1800s made a national currency necessary for trade and was supported by commercial coalitions.				
Disc.	So Young Kim , <i>Northwestern University</i>				
9-17	<u>JUDGING CLAIMS: COHESION OF POLITICAL GROUPS AND EXTERNAL VALIDATION</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30				
Chair	Katharina P. Coleman , <i>University of British Columbia</i>				
Paper	<u>Reputation Within Networks: The Consequences of Radical Elements for Networked Non-Governmental Organizations</u> Elizabeth A. Bloodgood , <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> Overview: This paper examines the effects of radical protest groups which are members of a larger non-governmental advocacy network on the credibility of the entire network in its dealings with foreign policy-makers whose opinions and policy choices the network is attempting to change. The cases of Abolition 2000 and the millennial anti-capitalism movement are examined using network theories borrowed from sociology.				
Paper	<u>Judging Claims: Cohesion of Political Groups and External Validation</u> Shelley M. Deane , <i>Dartmouth College</i> Elizabeth Bloodgood , <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> Overview: This paper considers the way in which internal factional divisions and competition within ethno-national blocs affect the ability of elites to negotiate inter-ethnic bargaining.				
Paper	<u>Judging Self-Determination Claims: Legitimate Governance and International Response</u> Anne-Marie Gardner , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: This paper examines the ways in which the degree of factionalization and the "democraticness" of a group seeking				

	self-determination affects the international community's perceptions of this group and the legitimacy of their claim for self-determination.				that political knowledge and social competence have on these various forms on "political avoidance". This paper, based on "double" in-depth interviews led in France, questions these two ideas: To what extent can politics really be considered as not important in people's daily lives? And are the notions of knowledge and competence appropriate to understand political avoidance?
Disc.	Katharina P. Coleman , <i>University of British Columbia</i>				
10-7	<u>COUNTERTERRORISM</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30				
Chair	Bill Crotty , <i>Northwestern University</i>				
Paper	<u>Learning from the Past: The Effectiveness of State Counterterrorist Strategies</u> Gregory D. Miller , <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: This paper evaluates competing views on the effectiveness of counterterrorist policies. One view posits that harsh policies lead to escalation. Another view suggests that conciliatory policies encourage further terrorism. I test these views, controlling for the motivations of the terrorist group. My contention is that the optimal policy depends upon the terrorists' motivation; groups have different goals, which influence whether they are deterred by harsh policies, or use those policies to justify their violence.	Poster	<u>The Humiliating Gift: Negative Reaction to International Help</u> Takayuki Nishi , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: States' reaction to help from other states has received scant attention. I explain negative reaction to help with two related social psychological conditions: threat to recipients self-esteem from their attribution of their need for help, and the threat to recipients' status from unreciprocated giving. These costs should be highest for major powers. I test this explanation against reactance theory and structural realism's prediction that states react negatively to help that restricts their freedom of choice.		
Paper	<u>The Use and Abuse of Deterrence for Counterterrorism</u> Robert F. Trager , <i>Columbia University</i> Dessie P. Zagorcheva , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: Many scholars and policy-makers have recently argued that deterrence strategies are an ineffective means of counterterrorism. However, many terrorist groups and elements of terrorist support networks can likely be deterred from cooperating with the most threatening terrorist groups, such as al-Qa'ida. While the use of brute force against multiple groups creates common interests between them, an appropriate strategy of deterrence could fracture global terrorist networks.	Poster	<u>Behavior A Function Of Publicity</u> Christopher W. Larimer , <i>University of Nebraska - Lincoln</i> Overview: In this paper, three variants of a dictator game are used to examine the role of anonymity in other-regarding behavior. Evidence is presented which suggests that when the level of anonymity is manipulated beyond experimenter-subject conditions, individual behavior differs significantly. This suggests that pro-social behavior is highly dependent upon the context and characteristics of individual interactions. The implications of this argument in terms of modeling political behavior are then discussed.		
Paper	<u>Chechnya's Last Resort</u> Matthew L. Bergbower , <i>Eastern Illinois University</i> Overview: Since the fall of the Soviet Union, Chechnya has engaged in a separatist movement from Russia. Recently, Chechen Guerilla soldiers have been unsuccessful in defeating the occupying Russians, resulting in Chechnya to rely on terrorist activities. Through a case study analysis of the second Chechen War, my research suggests that a state evolves into a terrorist state only after military dominance by an occupying enemy in which the only defense left is terrorism.	Disc.	David Niven , <i>Florida Atlantic University</i> Jeremy Zilber , <i>Yeshiva University</i>		
Paper	<u>Cornering the Market: U.S. Arms Transfers, National Interests, and the New War on Terrorism</u> David B. Rothstein , <i>Kent State University</i> Overview: The U.S. government, which virtually cornered the arms transfers market after the collapse of the Soviet Union, identified weapons, training, and aid transfers as a useful tool in countering terrorism as well as advancing the nation's objectives in the global and domestic economy. This study empirically analyzes this trend and uses a two-stage Heckman model to predict what international and domestic interests influence U.S. arms transfers following the collapse of the Soviet Union.	12-9	<u>VOTING BEHAVIOR IN ASIAN ELECTIONS</u>		
		Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30		
		Chair	Steven E. Galatas , <i>Georgia Southwestern State University</i>		
		Paper	<u>"Buying" Votes in Japan's Lower House</u> Matthew M. Carlson , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: Advocates of Japan's new electoral system claimed that it would foster the reduction of campaign costs and corruption, yet the reform has fallen short on all counts. I approach this puzzle by examining to what extent the financial resources candidates raise convert into votes at the election stage.		
		Paper	<u>Sophistication and Regionalism in Korean Legislative Election</u> Eunjung Choi , <i>University of Texas at Austin</i> Overview: Most Korean election studies have found that regionalism is the most important determinant of individual vote choice. However, they have ignored differences in sophistication among individuals and generational gaps. This study examines the effect of sophistication and generation in 2000 Korean legislative election. The shift of determinants of vote choice from regionalism to other issues may be an indication of the development of mature democracy in Korea.		
Disc.	Bill Crotty , <i>Northwestern University</i>	Paper	<u>Distributive Politics and Regional Voting Behavior in Korea</u> Jiyeon Kim , <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Overview: This paper searches another explanation of why regional voting pattern can be persistently sustained or becoming even stronger among electorates. I propose that regionalism, especially in Korea, be a well-calculated product of political parties' strategies, and be cultivated through distributive politics. Once a supportive region and its size are learned, this becomes useful information for a party to build efficient winning coalition in an election. Therefore, political parties have an incentive to reinforce regionalism.		
11-301	<u>POSTER SESSION: POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30				
Poster	<u>Group Dependent Preferences and Cooperation</u> Tobin Grant , <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Overview: I examine how people make decisions that involve more than one group, expanding theories of groups and public opinion by modeling group dependence—the effect that policies toward some groups have on attitudes toward policies toward other groups. The paper discusses the results of two experiments that manipulate the conditions under which subjects will cooperate in prisoner's dilemma games. I find that cooperation is dependent on both affect toward the other player.				
Poster	<u>Revisiting Political Avoidance</u> Vanessa C. Scherrer-Vignale , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: In the last decades, a growing literature has concentrated on political apathy, indifference and/or disinterest in western countries, with a specific focus on the direct effect	Paper	<u>The Impact of the New Election System for Parliamentary Representatives in Thailand</u> Kriengsak Chareonwongsak , <i>Institute of Future Studies for Development</i> Overview: Since 2001, Thailand has changed its election system for parliamentary representatives from election by constituency to election by constituency and party-list. This paper aims to study the impact of this new election system on		

	voting behavior and the behavior of political parties, by applying the quantitative method of computer simulation. The results lead to recommendations that will improve the election system.				
Paper	<u>Civic Engagement and Political Participation in Kathmandu: An Empirical Analysis of Structural Relationships</u> Udaya Wagle, <i>University of Massachusetts, Boston</i> Overview: Using data from a survey of 669 households conducted in Kathmandu in 2002/2003, this paper investigates the structural relationships between civic engagement—indicated by organizational or group memberships, participation in social functions, and participation in collective activities—and political participation—including participation in various partisan activities, voting, engaging in some form of political and policy discussions, and contacting politicians. Findings suggest that the level of civic engagement affects one's political participation and not vice versa.				
Disc.	Camela Lutmar, <i>American University</i>				
12-24	<u>VOTING AND ELECTIONS IN DEMOCRATIZING NATIONS</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30				
Chair	Maryjane Osa, <i>Northwestern University</i>				
Paper	<u>Negative Party Identification: The Case of Mexico</u> Estrada M. Luis, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: Party identification (PID) may not only increase with time, but can also decrease as a consequence of evaluation of parties' performance. These evaluations may produce negative sentiments that decrease PID, or in some cases, increase hate toward a party (negative PID). Post-Communist countries, or countries where long-ruling parties had governed but recently lost, like Mexico is an ideal context to study negative PID. I hypothesize that positive and negative feelings are determinants of PID.				
Paper	<u>What Counts as Priors in Electoral Strategizing?</u> Federico Estévez, <i>ITAM</i> Rafael Giménez, <i>ARCOP</i> Rafael Vergara, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: In devising strategic decisions concerning future electoral contests, are politicians guided by myopic or Bayesian priors concerning their districts? Using a Mexican electoral and survey data set, we test for the better predictor of expected vote shares: the standard measure of priors in the literature, namely, vote shares in the previous election, or another measure of long-term idiosyncratic risk, borrowed from finance, which summarizes district-level volatility.				
Paper	<u>Form or Substance? The Candidate Appraisal Vote in the Newly Democratic Context</u> Elizabeth Zechmeister, <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: Literature on vote choice in new democratic settings must take into account the endogenous nature of candidate trait appraisals, else risk overlooking the total substantive basis of vote choice. This paper uses data from the Mexico 2000 Panel Study to explore the effect of policy stances and performance evaluations on candidate trait appraisals, as well as the conditioning nature of sophistication with respect to these relationships and those between candidate appraisals and the vote choice.				
Paper	<u>Looking at Left and Right the Right Way: Multiple Dimensions and Electoral Outcomes</u> Florin N. Fesnic, <i>University of Illinois</i> Overview: Political conflict is often multi-dimensional. Using a single dimension for describing political competition in such circumstances is inappropriate. I present a simple model with two dimensions and three actors (constituencies) with preferences over policies associated with each of the two dimensions. I use the model to analyze the most recent presidential elections in three European countries: Romania, Ukraine, and France.				
Disc.	Ernesto Calvo, <i>University of Houston</i> Margit Tavits, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i>				
13-4	<u>INFLUENCE OF RACE/ETHNICITY ON OPINION AND PARTICIPATION</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30				
Chair	Nancy Burns, <i>University of Michigan</i>				
Paper	<u>The Color of Representation: Race and Opinion Concerning Minority Political Representation</u> Keith W. Reeves, <i>Swarthmore College</i> Overview: Using data from a cross-sectional national telephone study of voting-age adults, this paper empirically examines both demographic and attitudinal variables that influence the opinions of whites, African-Americans, and Latinos concerning important issues of descriptive and substantive minority representation.				
Paper	<u>Citizenship and Service: The Influence of Ethnicity on the Attitudes and Experiences of Soldiers in the United States Army</u> Jason Dempsey, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: This paper provides an in-depth overview of the experiences and attitudes of Latinos in the United States Army. Based on data from internal Army surveys and the results of a large-scale survey covering the bulk of the Army population, this paper provides a wealth of data and analysis that will allow us to compare the experiences of Latino soldiers with the experiences of soldiers from different ethnic and racial groups.				
Paper	<u>The Effect of Racial Heterogeneity on Electoral and Non-Electoral Political Participation in American Cities</u> Daniel Rubenson, <i>Montreal University</i> Overview: This paper analyses the effects of racial diversity on political participation in American cities. A number of recent studies argue that political participation will be lower in more diverse areas. In contrast to these, the paper argues that incentives for participation are greatly reduced by homogeneity. It is argued that heterogeneous places are characterized by more conflict over resources and more mobilized groups, leading to higher levels of political participation.				
Paper	<u>Political Inequality in America: How Much and Why?</u> John D. Griffin, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Brian Newman, <i>Duke University</i> Overview: The U.S. prizes political equality, yet citizens may not be represented equally. We test whether government officials respond unequally to the preferences of African Americans and whites. We find that African Americans' views are underrepresented in Senators' roll call voting decisions. We test the extent to which this is due to Democrats and Republicans responding disproportionately to African Americans and African Americans' lower rates of political activity.				
Paper	<u>Political Participation and Use of Ethnic vs. General-Market Media</u> Rufus P. Browning, <i>San Francisco State University</i> Overview: A fear about the non-English ethnic media is that they tend to keep immigrants separate in their own language communities—a “news ghetto,” a “Tower of Babel” that erodes a “community of discussion” essential to democracy. Analysis of survey data does not support these claims. The further question explored in this paper is whether use of ethnic vs. “mainstream” media is associated with political participation and with the attitudes and knowledge that support participation.				
Disc.	Paul S. Martin, <i>University of Oklahoma</i>				
13-16	<u>CIVIC DELIBERATION AND CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30				
Chair	Barry Burden, <i>Harvard University</i>				
Paper	<u>Citizen Dilemma and Democracy: An Empirical Assessment</u> Michael Cobb, <i>North Carolina State University</i> Overview: Most democratic theorists conclude that a healthy democracy requires citizens to actively deliberate about matters of government. John Stuart Mill, for example, argued that public discussions would encourage sensitivity to the public interest. Rather than focusing on the controversial and hypothesized superior judgments produced through deliberation,				

we investigate democratic theorists' second set of assumptions indicating that benefits to citizens and society are inherently accrued though the very acts of the deliberative process itself. Not only is deliberation with others believed to increase citizens' access to information and promote political and critical learning, but it also is suspected of fostering greater engagement in politics and increasing political efficacy, resulting in greater trust in decision-makers and the greater legitimacy of binding decisions.

Paper **The Worlds of Political Participation: Similarities and Differences in Discursive Participation and Political Behavior in the United States**

Lawrence R. Jacobs, *University of Minnesota*
Michael D. Carpini, *University of Pennsylvania*
Fay L. Cook, *Northwestern University*

Overview: This paper will analyze the first national survey designed to examine the extent, nature, and impact of civic deliberation. The survey interviewed 1,501 adult Americans in 2003. In particular, we examine what we call "discursive participation" - that is, the diverse ways in which individuals discuss policy issues affecting the local, national, and international communities in which they live -- from informal conversations to organized forums whether in person or on the internet. To appraise the significance of these activities, we compare the extent and explanations for "discursive participation" with commonly studied forms of political behavior (from voting to joining voluntary associations).

Paper **Lay Theories of Civic Talk**

Katherine C. Walsh, *University of Wisconsin - Madison*

Overview: Previous work has shown that citizens rarely have the capacity and forums seldom provide the conditions that allow ideal deliberation to occur. Nevertheless, communities around the United States are increasingly holding civic deliberative events and programs. This paper uses surveys and extensive interviews with participants and administrators of dialogue programs focused on race relations to understand how the people doing civic talk conceptualize its place in contemporary democracy.

Paper **Projection Effects in the Social Influence Process**

Christopher B. Kenny, *Louisiana State University*
Eric Jenner, *Louisiana State University*

Overview: Whether citizens agree or disagree when they have political conversations has been shown to be fundamentally important to the process of social influence and to the health of democracy. We have argued that directional theory is a useful framework for thinking about the nature of that agreement. In this paper we investigate the projection effects that may result from using main respondent perceptions of candidate (or political discussant, in our case) positions rather than the positions themselves.

Disc. **Mark Lindeman**, *Bard College*

14-10 **THE MEDIA & CANDIDATES CAMPAIGNS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30

Chair **Todd Schaefer**

Paper **Audiovisual Communication in Televised Presidential Campaign Advertising: Partisan Differences in Images and Issues, 1952-2000**

Glenn W. Richardson Jr., *Kutztown University of Pennsylvania*

Overview: This paper examines the audiovisual images in presidential televised campaign advertising for partisan differences. Ads spanning five decades are used to explore (1) whether candidates demonstrate significant differences in imagery, (2) use different imagery when attempting to communicate similar concepts (such as concern for working Americans), and (3) whether audiovisual referents changed over time. These questions bear importantly on the cognitive and emotional effects of ads and their political significance, particularly voter knowledge and preferences.

Paper **Candidates, the Media, and the Issue Agenda Tug-O-War**

Danny Hayes, *University of Texas at Austin*

Overview: This paper examines the congruence between the issue agendas of candidates and the news media during political

campaigns. Using content analyses of candidate messages and news coverage from the 2000 presidential campaign, I test the hypothesis that the agenda-setting influence of the candidates, vis-à-vis the media, fluctuates over the course of the campaign. The data allow for specific conclusions about the differences between elite and regional media, as well as television and newspapers.

Paper **Mass Media and Impression Formation: Does Television Discourage On-Line Candidate Evaluation?**

R. Andrew Holbrook, *Ohio State University*

Overview: Empirical testing of the on-line model of candidate evaluation has relied almost exclusively on print media sources of candidate information. Given that a greater proportion of the public relies on television as a source of political information, accounting for the impact of this media source on processes of candidate evaluation is warranted. This paper presents results from an experiment designed to test whether television inhibits on-line processes, a prediction consistent with an anxiety-driven model of candidate evaluation.

Disc. **Sara Margaret Gubala**, *Michigan State University*

15-301 **POSTER SESSION: GENDER AND POLITICS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30

Poster **Exploring the Impact of Women State Legislators on Health Policies**

Pamela Walsh, *Wayne State University*

Overview: The central hypothesis of this study is that states with a higher percentage of women in the legislature will be more likely to adopt legislation that address women's health issues. Regression analysis was used to test this hypothesis. The units of analysis are the states. The dependent variable is the Women's Health Policy Index, an index of eight health policy issues addressing women's health concerns that have been adopted in various states, from 1993 through 2002. The independent variables are grouped according to women political influences (percent of women state legislators, percent of women who are Democrats, women in leadership positions, specifically as chairs of three types of committees: fiscal, health and insurance and party of the committees, and presence or absence of women's groups), other political influences, state socioeconomic characteristics, and women's health insurance status.

Poster **The Marriage of Policy and Reality: The Struggle for a Divorce Law in Chile**

Tricia J. Gray, *University of Louisville*

Overview: Using the comparative model of state feminism, this paper traces the policy debates of the civil divorce law in Chile in order to assess the role of the National Women's Service (Servicio Nacional de la Mujer, SERNAM) in gendering the policy debates and achieving policy responses to gender demands. The study provides an empirical test case of the model of state feminism in a most different systems design and contributes to the empirical data on gender and politics.

Poster **Work Force Participation and the Gender Gap in Political Knowledge**

Katherine F. Scheurer, *University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*

Overview: In recent years, a wide body of research has accumulated examining variations in the levels of political knowledge between men and women. The consensus among this research is that there is a gender gap within political knowledge. When the relationship between political knowledge and gender is examined, studies tend to focus on men and women in general, without taking into account gender subgroups. This paper addresses the effect of work force participation on levels of political knowledge.

Poster **An Analysis of Differences in PAC Contributions to Male and Female State Legislative Candidates**

Lisa L. Lawrason, *Central Michigan University*

Overview: Are PACs that are more concerned with women's issues more likely to contribute to women candidates for the state legislature rather than their male counterparts? To answer this question, I systematically look at PAC giving to all

candidates in Colorado for the 1996 state legislative races. Coding each PAC by policy type, such as health, education, agriculture, crime/emergency response, etc., I examine whether the sources of campaign funds are different for men and women candidates and whether these differences are tied to perceptions of each gender's policy strengths.

- 16-8**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Chair **Claudine Gay**, *Stanford University*
Paper **Toxic Waste Permits and the Impact of Grassroots Political Activity: The Triumphs and Limits of the Environmental Justice Movement**
Dominique D. Apollon, *Stanford University*
 Overview: Using an original data set of newspaper content analysis of grassroots political activity from 1988 – 1999 in the state of California, as well as Environmental Protection Agency data on the granting or denial of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA) permits required by federal law to operate toxic waste facilities, this paper seeks to provide a new, broad understanding of what types of communities enjoy success with grassroots political activity, and in what limited, symbolic and/or expansive contexts.
- Paper** **The Impact of Affirmative Action in Employment for Black Men and Black Women in Six Florida Cities**
Kelli Moore, *University of Florida*
 Overview: There have been numerous claims about the current role and impact of affirmative action, one of the most controversial public policies. The purpose of this research is to examine data on affirmative action and black male and female employment in six representative Florida cities to see which sex benefits most.
- Paper** **Trickle-Down Representation: The Effects of Legislative and Bureaucratic Minority Representation on University Policy Outcomes**
Daniel P. Hawes, *Texas A&M University*
Alisa K. Hicklin, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: Minority representation within legislatures can result in favorable policy outcomes for minorities. Literature on representative bureaucracy suggests bureaucrats are responsive to political entities. Representation in state legislatures should trickle down to the bureaucracy resulting in active representation in the bureaucracy, which should be reflected in policy outcomes. This paper empirically tests this theory to validate whether legislative representation results in minority representation in the bureaucracy and favorable policy outcomes for minorities within American public universities.
- Paper** **Affirmative Action and the Supreme Court: 1989-present**
Ronnie B. Tucker, *Shippensburg University*
 Overview: In regards to the issue of race, class, and ethnicity, the paper discusses the policy of affirmative action as it applies to African Americans employed in State Government. The paper presents an examination of longitudinal data collected from the State Personnel Board for Arkansas. The data will assess what impact if any the Supreme Court has had on the hiring practices in the State of Arkansas.
- Disc.** **Claudine Gay**, *Stanford University*
- 16-15**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Chair **Henry Flores**, *St. Mary's University*
Paper **Emergence of Racial and Ethnic Minority Candidates in U.S. Congressional Elections**
Regina P. Branton, *Rice University*
Bradford S. Jones, *University of Arizona*
 Overview: That the United States has become increasingly diverse both in its racial and ethnic composition is not a particularly novel assertion. Yet despite this increasing diversity, we know surprisingly little about how the racial and ethnic composition of legislative districts is associated with the emergence of minority candidates in U.S. national elections. In this paper, we provide a first look at this relationship by asking

the question 'how does the racial and ethnic diversity of a congressional district influence the emergence of minority candidates in U.S. House elections?' To answer this question, we utilize a new original data set that provides information on all candidates for the U.S. House between 1992-2002 (both primary and general elections). This data set contains information on over 7000 candidates that ran for the U.S. House during the period observed. This information includes candidate race, ethnicity, sex, and previous officeholding experience.

- Paper** **Determinants of the Election of Latinos to State Legislatures and Congress**
Jason P. Casellas, *Princeton University*
 Overview: This paper examines the conditions under which Latinos are elected to select state legislatures and Congress. Specifically, this paper will assess the extent to which the election of Latinos in legislative bodies has been the result of redistricting, increasing candidate quality pools, and/or demographic growth.
- Paper** **Assimilation, Incorporation, and Ethnic Identity in Explaining Latino Electoral and Non-Electoral Political Participation**
Gary M. Segura, *University of Iowa*
Wayne Santoro, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: In this effort, we explore the determinants of electoral and non-electoral forms of Latino political participation. Using data from the 1999 Washington Post, Kaiser Foundation Survey of Latino attitudes, we argue that various indicators of assimilation and social incorporation play important, yet different, roles in determining levels of political activity across its various forms. Inter-generational differences have an important, curvilinear effect on increasing political activity. In addition, ethno-cultural identity is also an important determinant of the degree to which a respondent participates in American politics, an effect that again differs across forms of participation.
- Disc.** **Henry Flores**, *St. Mary's University*

- 17-201**
Room TBA, TABLE 1, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Inf. Rnd. **Truth and Lies in the 20th Century**
Claudia Kinkela, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: In "Truth and Lies in the 20th Century", I argue that the status of truth and lies has varied and varies according to political systems. Truth does not have the same meaning for the philosopher-king or at the absolutist court, or in an imperial despotism. It is different in the democratic, the totalitarian or the postmodern system, in the "Age of the Masses" (Ortega y Gasset) and the Information Age (Manuel Castells). I argue that the process of democratization in the 20th century has transformed our notion of truth and truthfulness in politics. This process of democratization may be described in three steps: 1. the pluralization of truth: the age of the masses 2. the totalization of truth: the descent of the state into the hearts and minds of the citizen (totalitarianism) 3. truth de-monopolized and dissolved: the ability of the citizen to leverage new technology to make the world more transparent. 4. a possible reintegration of truth?
- Inf. Rnd.** **Sleeping with the Enemy: Carl Schmitt, Chantal Mouffe and Donald Rumsfeld on Polemical Liberalism**
Kam Shapiro, *Illinois State University*
 Overview: This essay examines recent adoptions of Carl Schmitt's writings in debates surrounding the preconditions and limits of global liberalism.
- 17-202**
Room TBA, TABLE 2, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Inf. Rnd. **The Logic and Legitimacy of Hereditary Succession**
Melissa Schwartzberg, *The George Washington University*
Jennifer Gandhi, *New York University*

Overview: Under what circumstances do leaders transfer power via hereditary succession? Ancient and early modern political thought suggests that hereditary succession may be useful in establishing the beneficence and legitimacy of the throne, but how do rulers today justify turning over rule to their heirs, or refraining from doing so? We generate models of hereditary succession based on theoretical accounts, and then assess in what cases contemporary rulers choose one of these models.

18-4 POLITICS IN 19TH CENTURY LITERATURE

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30

Chair **James Simeone**, *Illinois Wesleyan University*

Paper **The Liberalism of Mark Twain: A Reconsideration of A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court in Light of Contemporary Debates**

Bernard J. Dobski, *Assumption College*

Overview: This paper proposes to highlight the relevance of Mark Twain's political thought to debates over the moral character of liberal democracy. While Twain's literary genius has long been a source of study, the power and timeliness of his political insights have too rarely been appreciated. Twain's even handed treatment of the strengths and weaknesses of democracy reveal him to be one of American democracy's best friends by way of being one of its most sure-footed critics.

Paper **Why, Bartleby?: A Democracy of Listless Souls**

Elmer Almachar, *University of California, San Diego*

Overview: This paper calls attention to the philosophical and moral problem of the will that underlies Melville's short story, Bartleby the Scrivener. The story is a powerful critique of the idea that the will is the basis for vital, meaningful human action. Indeed, it is this idea that engenders the condition of moral listlessness that Bartleby so brilliantly typifies. Finally, the paper examines the Puritan idea of moral regeneration as an alternative basis for human action.

Paper **The Accidental Abolitionist: Spartacus in Nineteenth-Century Literature**

John R. Bokina, *University of Texas - Pan American*

Overview: As part of a larger project that examines political images of Spartacus in a variety of cultural media, my paper will look at nineteenth-century, English-language literary portrayals. If there is a persistent theme in these works, it attributes--very anachronistically--Spartacus's goal in the Servile War as the abolition of slavery.

Disc. **Stephen Chilton**, *University of Minnesota-Duluth*

18-207 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LEO STRAUSS: HIS STUDENTS AND CRITICS

Room TBA, TABLE 3, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30

Inf. Rnd. **Straussian Political Philosophy and Partisan Politics in Contemporary America**

George Breckenridge, *McMaster University*

Overview: The paper traces how the second generation of Leo Strauss's students carried ideas derived from classical political philosophy into modern Republican politics via the reinterpretation of the American founding as a natural rights regime by the first generation of Strauss's students.

19-8 DEMOCRACY IN AN AGE OF GLOBALIZATION

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30

Chair **John Fremstad**, *University of South Dakota*

Paper **Disembedded Liberalism: Why Global Markets are No Substitute for Democratic Accountability**

Craig T. Borowiak, *Duke University*

Overview: In light of economic globalization, I argue that accountability to markets offers no substitute for democratic accountability. Disembedded markets fail to account for the severe social and environmental consequences that they induce. And the system logic of markets is incompatible with the deliberative contexts in which legitimate political solutions could be determined. Somehow the effects of market

accountability need to be accounted for. For this, there can be no substitute for forms of democratic deliberation.

Paper **Deviant Cosmopolitanisms: The Liberal Gaze of Suspicion and Making-Do of the Traveling Agents**

Charles T. Lee, *University of Southern California*

Overview: This paper looks at several stigmatized populations of traveling agents as examples where free movement across state boundaries is denied: polygamous immigrants, undocumented migrants, prostitutes, and terrorists. In turning to Foucault in developing the notion of the "liberal gaze of suspicion," this essay examines the ways in which these "illegitimate" traveling subjects make do with the law to evade state-monitoring, generating alternative meanings of global movement of human subjects and ways of being in liberal democracy.

Paper **Immigration and Processes of Change in Spain: Actors, Territories, and Cultures of Accommodation**

Richard Zapata, *University Pompeu Fabra*

Overview: TBA

Disc. **Gerald R. Pace**, *University of Denver*

20-4 MODELS OF PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLIES

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30

Chair **Gretchen Casper**, *Pennsylvania State University*

Paper **A Dynamic Model of Parliamentary Democracy**

Seok-ju Cho, *University of Rochester*

Overview: The paper provides a dynamic model of parliamentary democracy where three far-sighted parties engage in bargaining over one dimensional policies and distributions of government positions, and far-sighted voters participate in elections with proportional representation rule. The time horizon in the model is infinite and the policy once implemented stays as a status quo until another replaces it. We find an equilibrium in which the set of equilibrium policies virtually converges to a set consisting of three policies, and the electoral result virtually converge to a stable distribution of votes among political parties.

Paper **Voting Coalitions and Electoral Responsiveness: A Model of Government Legislative Defeat**

Sebastian M. Saiegh, *University of Pittsburgh*

Overview: I develop a formal model to understand the determinants of government legislative failure. I claim that uncertainty about legislators' support for government bills and limited governmental resources to engage in "vote buying" may lead to governmental defeats. Although the government may handle the effects of cross-voting with "deep pockets" or "big sticks," it may run out of resources if a measure commands too much opposition.

Paper **Analysing Ministerial Resignations in the UK 1945-1997**

Torun Dewan, *London School of Economics*

Keith Dowding, *London School of Economics*

Overview: Theoretical analysis of the convention of collective responsibility as a form of protection for ministers who have been censured. Provides empirical estimates of the effect of collective responsibility on the risk of individual ministers using data from the UK 1945-1997.

Paper **Why the Issue Dimensionality of Political Systems Varies**

Jesse T. Richman, *Carnegie Mellon University*

Overview: I develop and test theory about the relationship of preferences, institutions, and government policy to the dimensionality of political systems. Analyses based on roll call voting in US Congress, the US states, and cross-national data examine theory predictions concerning the dimensionality of ideological and policy spaces.

Disc. **Garrett Glasgow**, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

21-7 WHAT A HORRIBLE FUTURE WE LIVE IN!: TIME SERIES MODELS

Room TBA0, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30

Chair **Suzie DeBoef**, *Pennsylvania State University*

Paper **Wither Bureaucratic Accountability? Disentangling Sincere from Strategic Biases in Agency Decisions Across Varying**

	<p><u>Time Horizons</u> J. Kevin Corder, <i>Western Michigan University</i> George A. Krause, <i>University of South Carolina</i> Overview: In our study, we plan to advance several statistical techniques recently developed in the econometrics literature that have yet to been introduced to political science to handle the flexible estimation of loss functions. We empirically illustrate these techniques with data on U.S. government agency economic forecasts (e.g., economic growth, inflation) for the 1975-2002 period. These methods can inform our understanding of how administrative agencies balance losses and gains in their cost (utility) functions when trying to maintain a favorable reputation as policy experts.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Congress and the Construction of News</u> Patrick J. Sellers, <i>Davidson College</i> Overview: In the United States citizens often evaluate elected officials on the basis of information received from news coverage. But, the origins of this news coverage are not clear. Journalists follow a variety of routines when deciding which officials to cover and how to present their statements and actions. We know less about politicians' own independent role in the construction of news. This paper investigates the effectiveness of the congressional members' efforts to win favorable news coverage. The first part of the paper discusses how congressional party leaders and followers may interact in public relations efforts. I explain how this interaction can lead to news coverage, as well as be influenced by that coverage. In the paper's second section, I discuss the congressional and newspaper data for testing my arguments, as well as the appropriate methodology for assessing how politicians' statements and journalists' stories may influence each other. The third part of the paper documents this interaction on three prominent issues in 1997: health care, national defense, and a supplemental appropriations bill that became law in June of that year.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Running with the Bulls: Presidential Approval and the Stock Market</u> Jason Barabas, <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Overview: This study probes the dynamics of presidential approval using stock market performance data, investor sentiment surveys, and presidential approval indicators from the Gallup Organization. The preliminary findings from a series of error correction models show that presidential approval rises and falls in tandem with stock market performance and investor confidence after controlling for a range of other factors.</p>	
Disc.	<p>Patrick T. Brandt, <i>University of North Texas</i></p>	
22-6 Room Chair Paper	<p><u>COMPARATIVE PARTY COMPETITION</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30 Marjorie R. Hershey, <i>Indiana University</i> <u>Between Moderation and Extremism: Religious Parties in Chile, India, and Turkey</u> P. Pushkar, <i>Concordia University</i> Madhvi Gupta, <i>McGill University</i> Overview: Why do some religious parties become ideologically moderate and others tend toward extremism? This paper examines three different religious parties—the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) in Chile, the Hindu Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) in India, and the Islamic Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey—to account for the dual tendencies of moderation/extremism. Four hypotheses of moderation/extremism are put forward: 1) party factions and party unity; 2) electoral politics; 3) institutional factors; 4) external factors.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Intraparty Politics and Nomination Rules in the PRI</u> Dwight Dyer, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: As interparty competition increased in local elections in Mexico in the 1990s, the availability of secure governorships for PRI politicians evaporated. This led to the activation of an intraparty market for nominations and pressures to abolish centralized decision making. This paper develops a model of the political economy of institutional choice in a former dominant party in the context of democratization.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Islamist Democrats or Islamist Pragmatists? An Assessment of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey's Democracy</u> Sultan Tepe, <i>University of Illinois at Chicago</i> Overview: In the recent elections held on November 3, 2002, a brand new Islamist party, the Justice and Development Party (JDP), achieved a stunning success by capturing 34.31% of total votes. This paper argues that understanding the JDP's support in Turkish politics provides a unique analytical foundation to assess (i) the reasons for the growing popularity of religious parties and (ii) how the inclusion of religious parties into a competitive electoral process promotes or hinders liberal democracy.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>The Effects of Political Party Systems on Democratic Development: Findings from Africa and Asia</u> Michelle T. Kuenzi, <i>University of Kansas</i> Gina M. Lambricht, <i>Indiana University</i> Misa Nishikawa, <i>Ball State University</i> Overview: This paper examines the effects of party system characteristics on democratic development in Africa and Asia. We test our theoretical expectations about the relationship between these party system characteristics and democracy with pooled time-series cross-sectional analysis covering the electoral regimes in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia for the period spanning from 1990 to 2002.</p>	
Disc.	<p>Erika Moreno, <i>University of Iowa</i></p>	
22-10 Room Chair Paper	<p><u>CONGRESS AND PARTY DYNAMICS</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30 DeWayne L. Lucas, <i>Hobart William and Smith Colleges</i> <u>Where the Grass was Always Greener: The Changing Nature of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, 1990-2003</u> Raymond M. Lodato, <i>National Opinion Research Center</i> Overview: This paper will analyze the impact of the increasing conservatism of the Republican Party in Congress upon the tradition of bipartisanship in the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee. It will briefly examine the history of that tradition and how it was sustained during the period of the 1990s, when the Republican Caucus became considerably more conservative.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>A New Technique for Scaling Interest Groups</u> Amy McKay, <i>Duke University</i> Overview: While many scholars have tried to scale Members of Congress, the Supreme Court, and even the President, almost no one has extended these techniques to interest groups. In order to test hypotheses about the interest group population, the effects of lobbying on government, and the representativeness of the "pressure system," it is important to be able to measure their relative positions in ideological space. I apply the techniques of Poole and Rosenthal (1991) to some 36 interest groups and estimate their positions in two dimensions—a left-right ideological dimension, and an unexplained second dimension. I then give an example of how the scores can be used, drawing inferences about liberal and conservative groups in electoral and off-years.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Congressional Party Switchers: Who and When?</u> Dylan Scott Rickards, <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: This work attempts to predict "What Congressperson is likely to switch political parties and then attempt to run for reelection?" and "When are they likely to switch political parties?" Drawing on previous theoretical work on legislative goals and ambitions, this work creates a model of costs, benefits and constraints on switching. Using this model, this work attempts to predict House incumbent switching, using available data on roll-call votes, challenger quality, election margins, and chamber control.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>The Dynamics of Party Unity – Action-Reaction Models of Congressional Voting</u> Matthew J. Lebo, <i>SUNY Stony Brook</i> Adam McGlynn, <i>SUNY Stony Brook</i> Overview: Time series models of party unity scores in the House and Senate are used for the 1789-2000 period to study how each party responds to its opposition. The importance of</p>	

- party history, party behavior and ideological cohesion are all investigated.
- Paper** **Incentives, Resources and Context: Towards a Theoretical Understanding of Interest Group Activity in Congressional Elections**
Richard Skinner, *Hamilton College*
 Overview: A new model for understanding interest group activity in congressional elections that relies upon incentives, resources and context.
- Disc.** **Chris Den Hartog**, *University of California, San Diego*
- 23-101** **ROUNDTABLE: IN MEMORIAM: RICHARD NEUSTADT'S CONTRIBUTION TO PRESIDENCY STUDIES**
- Room** TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Rndtbl. **Bert Rockman**, *Ohio State University*
George Edwards, *Texas A&M University*
Martha Kumar, *Towson University*
John Kessel, *Ohio State University*
Betty Glad, *University of South Carolina*
Matt Dickinson, *Middlebury College*
 Overview: No scholar has had more of an impact on presidential studies than Richard E. Neustadt; his pathbreaking book, *Presidential Power* continues to influence research agendas more than 40 years after its publication. In this Memorial Roundtable, presidency scholars discuss Neustadt's contribution to political science.
- 24-6** **IDEAL POINT ESTIMATION (Co-sponsored with Methodology, see 21-10)**
- Room** TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Chair **Michael Bailey**, *Georgetown University*
Paper **The Effect of Measurement Error on the Findings of Studies Employing NOMINATE Scores**
Jeffrey B. Lewis, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Keith T. Poole, *University of Houston*
 Overview: NOMINATE scores are typically treated as variables in studies of legislative politics although they are in fact statistical estimates. In this paper, we employ bootstrap estimates of the uncertainty of the NOMINATE scores of all post-war House Members and Senators to assess the effect of ignoring this uncertainty on the inferences drawn in a number of important and well-known studies of Congressional behavior and institutions.
- Paper** **Wherever but not Whenever: Analyzing the Effects of Elections on Strategic Position Taking in the Senate**
Rene Lindstaedt, *Washington University*
Ryan J. Vander Wielen, *Washington University*
 Overview: This paper is an analysis of Senators' decision to strategically alter their policy positions over the course of their six-year terms. We develop a formal model, and test it by using Markov Chain Monte Carlo methods to fit a Bayesian model of ideal point estimation.
- Paper** **Same Principals, Same Agents, Different Institutions: Roll Call Voting in the Congresses of Confederation and the U.S. Senate, 1781-1797**
Joshua D. Clinton, *Princeton University*
Simon Jackman, *Stanford University*
Doug Rivers, *Stanford University*
 Overview: This paper examines how institutions governing the appointment of representatives affects the relationship between constituency preferences and representative voting behavior using the opportunity afforded by examining the behavior of identical representatives addressing similar issues in different institutional environments. The quasi-experiment afforded by the early American republic permits an assessment how institutional changes affect the ability of state legislatures to "control" their representatives.

- Paper** **The House and Senate Roll Call Records in Comparative Perspective**
Jason M. Roberts, *Washington University*
 Overview: Political pundits, as well as scholars often make comparisons between the House and Senate based on summary statistics from each chamber's roll call record. Most analyses that compare the two chambers' roll call records do not account for the fact that the roll call records are not generated in the same procedural context. This paper explores how the different data generating processes in the two chambers affect the inferences we draw from the roll call record using data from the 44th to 107th Congresses (1875-2002).
- Paper** **Explaining Policy Change: Conversion and Replacement**
Shawn Treier, *University of Georgia*
 Overview: This paper examines whether or not the majors changes in public policy are the result of electoral turnover (replacement) or changes in Congressmen's behavior (conversion). Policy change is a function of changes in the gridlock region, calculated from ideal point estimates that are comparable over time and across institutions.
- Disc.** **Keith Poole**, *University of Houston*
Michael Bailey, *Georgetown University*
- 24-11** **YOU MEAN THEY DO MORE THAN JUST VOTE?: INVESTIGATING LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY BEYOND THE YEAS AND NAYS**
- Room** TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Chair **John Gilmour**, *The College of William & Mary*
Paper **The Internal and External Factors that Influence Legislative Specialization and Expertise**
Scott Adler, *University of Colorado*
Cherie Maestas, *Texas Tech University*
John Wilkerson, *University of Washington*
 Overview: We measure legislative specialization using bill sponsorship and examine the factors that influence change in specialization over the course of a legislative career.
- Paper** **Moderation, Extremism, and Representation in Congress**
Stanley P. Berard, *College of Saint Catherine*
 Overview: Using NOMINATE scores, interest group ratings, and bill sponsorships, the paper examines two working hypotheses: (1) Moderation on the first dimension scores derived using Poole and Rosenthal's NOMINATE procedure is associated with distinct combinations of issue positions. (2) Even though floor voting is dominated by a single ideological dimension, patterns of representational behavior by members off the floor continue to reflect the multi-dimensional nature of constituency preferences.
- Paper** **The Role of Personal Policy Interests in Congressional Activity**
Lesli E. McCollum, *University of Oklahoma*
 Overview: Contemporary scholarship in the field understands Members as acting to maximize a variety of goals and interests, including personal policy objectives. Using both quantitative and qualitative analysis, this paper expands on existing literature explaining Member participation in Congress to demonstrate the manner and extent to which personal policy interests are manifested in the legislative activities in which Members engage.
- Paper** **Taking Context into Account: Federal Spending Across Congressional Districts, 1983-2002**
Boris Shor, *Columbia University*
 Overview: Analyses of federal spending across congressional districts have tended to ignore the institutional and geographical context in which these districts are located. This neglect biases estimates of the effect of representatives to the exclusion of other sources of political influence, such as Senators, neighboring representatives, and party leaders. A new two-decade data set of federal spending at multiple levels of analyses was collected and fitted to a Bayesian multilevel time series cross-sectional model.
- Disc.** **Wendy J. Schiller**, *Brown University*
John Gilmour, *The College of William & Mary*

25-203 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE:
CONVERSATION WITH A
SCHOLAR/CANDIDATE: REFLECTIONS
ON THE 2004 CONGRESSIONAL
ELECTIONS**

Room TBA, TABLE 4, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Inf. Rnd. **Conversation with a Scholar/Candidate: Reflections on the 2004 Congressional Elections**
Tari Renner, Illinois Wesleyan University
 Overview: An analysis of the dynamics of the 2004 congressional elections (partisan trends, issue saliency, incumbency, campaign organization, strategy, finance and fundraising) from the dual perspectives of a Political Scientist and a congressional challenger.

25-204 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE
DISCRIMINATING LEGISLATOR:
SUPPORTING CAMPAIGN FINANCE
REFORM**

Room TBA, TABLE 5, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Inf. Rnd. **The Discriminating Legislator: Supporting Campaign Finance Reform**
Pamela M. Fiber, California State University, Long Beach
 Overview: This paper explores the post-Buckley era attempts to pass campaign finance reform leading up to the 2002 Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act. Few studies have examined the continuous and heated debates over campaign finance reform spanning three decades, indicting the Herculean efforts by legislators to pass reform. Using data on support for reform, this paper explores the various contextual factors that contributed to member support for campaign finance reform during the 1980s and 1990s.

26-5 **ORGANIZED INTERESTS IN THE
FEDERAL JUDICIAL SELECTION
PROCESS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Chair Steven Puro, St. Louis University
Paper **Explaining Controversy: How Much Influence do Interest Groups Have on Making Court of Appeals Nominations Controversial at the Committee Stage?**
Amy Steigerwalt, University of California, Berkeley
 Overview: This paper determines what personal and political factors, including interest group opposition, affect Senate Judiciary Committee votes on Circuit Court nominees. I find that interest group opposition is a strong predictor of whether a nominee will receive negative votes in Committee. Additionally, personal connections to the Judiciary Committee influence votes, while upcoming elections have little effect.

Paper **Interest Group Participation in the Confirmation Processes of Judge Charles W. Pickering Sr. and Justice Priscilla Owen**
Jack E. Rossotti, American University
 Overview: Major interest group participation in the confirmation processes of federal judges is a relatively new phenomenon. Recently it can be traced to two Supreme Court nominations in which major campaign style organizations were setup on each with dozens of ad

Paper **Organized Interests, American Democracy, and Federal Appointments: Continuity or Change?**
Lauren C. Bell, Randolph-Macon College
Wendy L. Martinek, Binghamton University
 Overview: Using original survey data, we revisit Scholzman and Tierney's (1986) assessment of organized interests and their activities in the context of the appointment process for federal positions. Specifically, we hypothesize that the unique nature of the federal appointment process (as compared with the legislative process) offers these organizations incentives to participate in the selection process but also constrains the strategies and techniques that they are able to employ.

Disc. Steven Puro, St. Louis University
 Joseph Kobylka, Southern Methodist University

27-4 **CIVIL LIBERTIES: THEN AND NOW**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Chair Ronald Kahn, Oberlin College
Paper **Are Children Citizens?: What the Voting Age Teaches Us About Citizenship**
Jenny D. Cheng, University of Michigan
 Overview: In this paper, I question the extent to which it makes sense to think about American children as "citizens." Drawing on debates about the voting age, the status of children in the apportionment base, and campaign donations by minors, I explore competing concepts of citizenship and the difficulty of locating children in the political framework of liberal democracy.

Paper **Lochner's Ghost in American Constitutional Development: Path Dependency and the Construction of Modern Civil Liberties**
George Thomas, University of Oklahoma
 Overview: This paper argues that having digested the criticisms of the Lochner era, the post New Deal Court(s) followed a particular path of constitutional development in reconstructing civil liberties, revealing that ideas are crucial causal agents, shaping judicial decision-making, and not simply post hoc or intermediary variables that "fit" with a particular institutional structure.

Paper **The Consolidation of Judicial Power: Judicial Review in the Post-Civil War State Supreme Courts.**
Richard Drew, University of Virginia
 Overview: Between 1860 and 1890, state supreme courts consolidated a remarkable expansion of judicial power that had begun during the late antebellum period. The surge in court authority had begun with the development of permanent party competition. Parties empowered courts as a hedge against electoral defeat. After the Civil War, party competition still fueled judicial activism, but courts also began to achieve more autonomy from their political environments, retaining a substantial ability to act against legislatures even in states where party competition began to decay.

Paper **The Dog that Did not Bark: Civil Liberties During Nineteenth century Wars**
Mark A. Graber, University of Maryland
 Overview: This study explores civil liberties during the wars the United States fought during the nineteenth century. The argument is that presidential administrations with narrow notions of federal power did not restrict civil rights and liberties during wartime

Disc. Lawrence Solum, University of San Diego

28-2 **STATE AND LOCAL DYNAMICS IN THE
RESPONSE TO FISCAL STRESS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Chair David W. Winder, Valdosta State University
Paper **Local Public Management Capacity in the Face of Intergovernmental Aid Reductions**
Brendan F. Burke, Bridgewater State College
Victor DeSantis, Bridgewater State College
 Overview: This study explores the fiscal situation in Massachusetts municipalities with an eye toward Charles Levine's theories of effective cutback management strategies. We develop a sense of how fiscal techniques change as the crisis worsens, and we use the survey to discover the potential for sound public management practices to ease the impact of revenue reductions on public services.

Paper **Coping with Fiscal Stress: Variations in Fiscal Strategies Among Suburban Municipalities**
Rebecca Hendrick, University of Illinois at Chicago
 Overview: This study presents the results of interviews in over 60 suburban, municipal governments in the Chicago metropolitan area conducted in the spring of 2003 to document their fiscal practices and fiscal stress. It combines this information with comprehensive data on the municipalities'

Paper	<p>fiscal structure and other aspects of their financial condition and environment to offer explanations of the different strategies municipal officials pursue during times of fiscal stress.</p> <p><u>Fend-for-Yourself Federalism: The Impact of State and Federal Deficits on Cities</u> Christopher Hoene, <i>National League of Cities</i> Michael A. Pagano, <i>University of Illinois at Chicago</i> Overview: This paper argues that while we know much about the fiscal crisis at the state and federal level, the crisis at the city level has received less attention, particularly in terms of how budget deficits at higher levels of government impact local fiscal health. Seeking to fill this gap, this paper analyzes the extent of the city fiscal crisis with particular focus on the impact of reductions in city revenues received from state governments.</p>	<p><u>Paving More and Enjoying it Less: The Unintended Consequences of Technological Innovation in the West Virginia Department of Health and Human Resources</u> M. Noelle Lee, <i>West Virginia University</i> Overview: This paper examines the unintended consequences of technological innovation in the West Virginia Department of Health and Human Resources. Specifically, it examines the intent and complexities of intergovernmental public assistance programs, implementation of the Electronic Benefits Transfer card system, and an ensuing public perception problem created by recipients' use of the Mountain State Card. The final section offers recommendations for managing public perception of this issue and similar issues related to state entitlement program spending.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Local Government in a New Era of Fiscal Stress: The Causes and Implications of the Budgetary Crisis in American Counties</u> Kenneth A. Klase, <i>University of North Carolina at Greensboro</i> Overview: American's county governments have continued the difficult task of providing essential public services even as the national economy has faltered and budgets are being cut at the federal and state levels. This paper analyzes survey responses from county administrators and clerks to determine the fiscal condition of counties and the causes and implications of the current budgetary crisis in county government. In addition, this paper examines the current crisis in the context of state-local relationships.</p>	<p><u>Gradual Adoptions of State Regulatory Reforms in Local telecommunications: 1984-1998</u> Junseok Kim, <i>Stony Brook University</i> Overview: Gradual Adoptions of State Regulatory Reforms in Local telecommunications: 1984-1998 1. Introduction 2. Theories of Regulatory Slowdown in the States. 3. Telecommunication Deregulation in the States After AT&T Divestiture. 3. 1. Background 3. 2. AT&T Divestiture and Bell Doctrine 3. 3. Back to the States: Changing the Role of States in Local telephone deregulation 4. Local Telecommunication Regulation in Transition 5. Model 6. Discussion</p>
Paper	<p><u>Measuring Fiscal Stress in Wisconsin Communities</u> Craig Maher, <i>University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh</i> Steven C. Deller, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: The intent of this research is match survey data on self-reported levels of fiscal health by local government officials and secondary financial data. By assuming the self-reported data is reflective of the true levels of fiscal health we construct a family of financial measures that predict self-reported levels. Data are from 452 Wisconsin cities and villages.</p>	<p><u>Council-Manager Government in Transition: The Change to Stronger Mayor in Cincinnati</u> John T. Spence, <i>University of Cincinnati</i> Overview: A study of the Cincinnati, Ohio, council-manager government in transition based upon an analysis of elite perceptions. Findings show significant perceptual change occurred with regard to the power, roles and relationships of the mayor, council, and city manager. Despite arguments that "stronger mayor" would enhance efficiency and equity, that has not happened. This research is a unique empirical study of elite perceptions and provides support for the "convergence" argument.</p>
Disc.	<p><u>Deil S. Wright</u>, <i>University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill</i> Richard F. Winters, <i>Dartmouth College</i></p>	<p><u>CRISES AND CHALLENGES IN LOCAL POLITICS</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30 Douglas Judd, <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i></p>
28-5	<p><u>THE NEXUS OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY AND SUBSTANTIVE POLICY</u></p>	
Room Chair Paper	<p>TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30 Karen Mossberger, <i>Kent State University</i> <u>Access Denied: Federal Preemption of State Internet Access Taxes</u> David C. Powell, <i>California State University, Long Beach</i> Overview: This research explores the impacts of federal preemption of Internet access taxes. While only a small number of states currently utilize Internet access taxes, the potential fiscal impacts of eliminating these taxes will certainly be more pronounced given the fiscal crisis that many states face. In addition, the elimination of Internet access taxes may also indirectly affect the ability of state governments to apply sales and use taxes more generally to Internet sales and downloads.</p>	<p><u>Are Public Officials Prepared to Combat Right Wing Harassment?: A Survey of County Clerks</u> Eugenia K. Guilmartin, <i>United States Military Academy</i> Bret D. Wilson, <i>United States Military Academy</i> Overview: Are county clerks prepared to combat right wing harassment? This paper presents findings from a survey of county clerks in California and New York. Preliminary findings suggest that New York public officials are currently unaware and unprepared to combat "paper terrorism." California public officials, by comparison, are knowledgeable of the threat and have implemented effective strategies against paper terrorism. The findings of this paper have policy implications for those who maintain public records.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Implementing Telehealth in the American States</u> Mary Schmeida, <i>Kent State University</i> Karen Mossberger, <i>Kent State University</i> Overview: This research examines the extent of telehealth policy implementation across the states, and factors that account for differences in state policies. Telehealth is defined as the use of electronic information and telecommunications technologies to support long-distance clinical healthcare; patient and professional health-related education; public healthcare and administration (House of Representatives 2157, 2001). Telehealth could be considered as an administrative reform policy, as well as a regulatory policy. In our preliminary findings, we find legislative professionalism and interest group power as significant, positive predictors for extent of implementation, while intrastate administrative networks and other interstate networks were not statistically significant.</p>	<p><u>The Attitudes of Elected Officials Toward Term Limits in Wisconsin Towns</u> Douglas M. Ihrke, <i>University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee</i> Scott A. Sager, <i>University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee</i> Overview: The attitudes of municipal government officials toward term limits have received little attention in the urban and local government literature. The lack of scholarship seems out of place given that term limits at the municipal level are long established in comparison to the states, and for a brief period, the federal level. In this study we examine officials' attitudes towards term limits, specifically whether they believe they provide benefits to constituents in terms of responsiveness and organizational efficiency and effectiveness.</p>

Paper	<p><u>The Role of Civic Associations in the Rebuilding of the World Trade Center</u> Arielle Goldberg, <i>City University of New York</i> Overview: The rebuilding of the World Trade Center (WTC) site after 9/11 has captured the attention of a diverse group of interests and individuals. This paper examines the way civic associations have played a seminal role in maintaining and shaping public interest and, at the same time, lending credibility to rebuilding officials who claim that they have included the public in decision-making about the rebuilding process.</p>		
Disc.	Norman R. Luttbeg , <i>Texas A&M University</i>		
30-6	<u>POLLUTION, POLICY & PERFORMANCE</u>		
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30		
Chair	B. Dan Wood , <i>Texas A&M University</i>		
Paper	<p><u>Environmental Information Disclosure and Risk Reduction: The Sources of Varying State Performance in Control of Toxic Air Emissions</u> Michael E. Kraft, <i>University of Wisconsin - Green Bay</i> Troy D. Abel, <i>University of Wisconsin - Green Bay</i> Mark Stephan, <i>Washington State University, Vancouver</i> Overview: This paper examines the effects of information disclosure policies on environmental decisionmaking, specifically, actions related to control of toxic chemical emissions in the United States. We ask why some states (and the corporations within them) do more to reduce toxic chemical pollution and their public health risks than others. This is the first effort ever made to estimate state-level variables that affect risk reduction related to the federal Toxics Release Inventory.</p>		
Paper	<p><u>Regulatory Permitting: Politics vs. Law</u> David B. Spence, <i>University of Texas at Austin</i> Overview: This paper examines the influence of politics in the decisions of state regulators setting air pollution limits in individual air emission permits under the Clean Air Act. Using data from permits issued over a 30 year period, I use regression techniques to examine the relative influence of statutory mandates, firm characteristics and political oversight on the specific emissions limits regulators write into firms' Clean Air Act permits. I find that statutorily-mandated factors (law) play a larger role than short term political considerations in explaining variation in these emission limits.</p>		
Paper	<p><u>Public Participation and Bureaucratic Decision-Making: Citizen Groups and the Environmental Protection Agency</u> Dorothy M. Daley, <i>University of Wisconsin Madison</i> Overview: This paper explores the role of citizen groups on remedy selection at hazardous waste sites and citizen satisfaction bureaucratic decision making. It relies upon secondary data and survey research to understand the impact of active citizen groups on bureaucratic decision making.</p>		
Paper	<p><u>A Multi-period Analysis of A Carbon Tax Including Local Health Feedback</u> Jennifer C. Li, <i>IFPRI</i> Overview: This paper assesses whether by capturing the local health effects of reduced conventional pollutants as an ancillary effect of greenhouse gas mitigation, and by allowing this benefit to feed back into the economy, the desirability of policies aimed at greenhouse gas mitigation will change, from the standpoint of macroeconomic and welfare indicators. The health benefits addressed are particularly relevant to middle-income countries; the methodology is illustrated through an application to the country of Thailand.</p>		
Paper	<p><u>Profit at the Expense of Compliance? Assessing the Impact of Ownership Type on Compliance with the Safe Drinking Water Act</u> Shaylisa M. Hurte, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: This study examines water systems that have violated provisions of the Safe Drinking Water Act and assesses the impact of ownership type on number of violations incurred. Privately owned violators in four sample states are more likely to incur violations than publicly owned violators, yet an equal number of states show precisely the opposite relationship. An assessment of control variable impact is generally supportive of prior research.</p>		
Disc.	Jill L. Tao , <i>University of Oklahoma</i>		
31-203	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC AND NON-PROFIT INVESTMENT PROJECTS</u>		
Room	TBA, TABLE 6, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30		
Inf. Rnd.	<u>Economic Analysis of Public and Non-Profit Investment Projects</u> Dogan Koyluoglu , <i>Eastern Michigan University</i> Overview: This paper proposes a new course for the students of public administration, especially at the State and Local level, and of non-profit organizations. The course, Economic Analysis of Public and Non-Profit Investment Projects, will introduce the student to the concepts of time value of money, proper bases of comparison for public projects, the process of decision making with respect to these projects, cost of capital, bonds and calculation of annual and retirement costs of bonds, and capital budgeting. Student will also be introduced to benefit/cost and cost-effectiveness analysis, cost estimating, replacement analysis, and decision making under risk and uncertainty. Introduction and application of relevant software will be an integral part of the proposed course.		
31-204	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLES: TREATMENT OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS AT AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES IN THE ERA OF THE PATRIOT ACT</u>		
Room	TBA, TABLE 7, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30		
Inf. Rnd.	<u>Treatment of International Students at American Universities in the Era of the Patriot Act</u> Robert M. Sanders , <i>University of West Georgia</i> Overview: An analysis of the treatment of foreign students applying to American universities regarding acceptance, rejection or deportation based on correlations between student's demographic characteristics; race age, nation of origin, area of study and religion, along with basic entrance criteria. Civil liberties will be discussed focusing on Muslim, Middle Eastern students studying engineering or physics.		
31-205	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE INFLUENCE OF STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS IN THE FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS</u>		
Room	TBA, TABLE 8, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30		
Inf. Rnd.	<u>The Influence of State of the Union Address in the Foreign Policy Process: Who listens and what do they hear?</u> Eben J. Christensen , <i>University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee</i> Lara Grusczyński , <i>University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee</i> Overview: Borrowing elements from Kingdon's multiple streams approach and Baumgartner and Jones' theory of punctuated equilibrium, this paper examines the relationship between the role of the State of the Union address from 1968-2000 and congressional responses to the president's foreign policy proposals, specifically international trade. The results indicate that presidents are able to increase the level of issue salience for their policy proposals.		
33-2	<u>RELIGION, CULTURE, AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR</u>		
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30		
Chair	Mark J. Rozell , <i>Catholic University of America</i>		
Paper	<p><u>Taking the 'Fun' out of Fundamental: Religious Fundamentalism and American Politics a Century Apart</u> Alison D. Dagnes, <i>Shippensburg University</i> M Beth Jones, <i>Gonzaga University</i> Overview: The American fundamentalists of the early 20th Century lived an exclusively religious life, apart from the world of politics and secular concerns. In sharp contrast, the contemporary American fundamentalists are politicized and activist, true believers who range from the zealous to the violent. This paper examines the shift of the Religious Right into politics and the implications of this shift for government, policy, and civility.</p>		

Paper **The Political Tactics of Mainline and Evangelical Clergy: Toward a Typology**
Daniel Hofrenning, *St. Olaf College*
 Overview: It is often claimed that clergy are active politically in different ways, yet few studies have systematically appraised the different forms of politics. This study seeks to build upon a broadening tradition (Jelen, Olson, Guth et. Al., Djupe and Gilbert) of work on clergy politics by highlighting the empirical reality that different types of pastors engage in different kinds of political acts. The paper uses a factor analytic model to develop a typology of political tactics.

Paper **Religion and Political Behavior in South Korea**
Jung Hyoun Kim, *University of Tennessee*
 Overview: What is the role of religion in South Korean political development? What is the relationship between Koreans' religious affiliation and their political behavior? The research focuses on the relationship between religion and politics in South Korea by using empirical tests based on a survey data.

Paper **Religion and Civic Engagement in Heterogeneous Communities: Assessing the Influence of Community Context and Religious Commitment**
Franklyn C. Niles, *John Brown University*
 Overview: Preliminary results suggest that in racially heterogeneous communities, social networks established in neighborhoods and in churches (such as in small groups) foster the development of trust (a measure of social capital) and informal volunteering but seem to have little impact on membership in social service organizations. On the other hand, skills acquired while serving in a church and membership in "inter-faith" ministries seem to promote organizational membership. Interestingly, when social networks are controlled, clergy cues have little influence on promoting civic engagement among parishioners in heterogeneous communities. Clergy cues are, however, effective mobilizing agents in churches in racially homogeneous communities, while social networks outside of one's neighborhood seem to matter little. Further analysis will examine how religious pluralism (and competition) within a community affects these relationships.

Paper **The Resurgence of Religion as a Determinative Factor in American Political Behavior: The Effects of Postmodernism**
Robert K. Postic, *Wayne State University*
 Overview: This paper examines the effects of postmodernism on political behavior. It attempts to demonstrate that postmodernism with its rejection of foundationalism has led, in the United States, paradoxically, to a culture that is on the one hand more secular and on the other hand more likely to see religion as a more salient variable in determining political behavior.

Disc. **Paul A. Djupe**, *Denison University*

34-1 **HANDS-ON AND ON-LINE: THE NEW POLITICAL SCIENCE CLASSROOM**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Chair **William W. Riggs**, *Texas A&M University*
Paper **Learning Tolerance: The Impact of Comparative Politics Courses on Levels of Cultural Sensitivity**
D. Christopher Brooks, *St. Olaf College*
 Overview: In addition to exposing students to basic concepts, theories, and ideas, teachers of comparative politics often aim to foster and promote values of tolerance through exposure to the histories, cultures, and societies of cases from around the world. This paper examines the impact of comparative politics courses with an area studies focus on students' levels of cultural sensitivity in two separate courses, one taught at St. Olaf College and the other in Prague, Czech Republic.

Paper **Problem-Based Learning in a Political Science Classroom: Perspectives of a Professor and an Undergraduate Student**
Angela High-Pippert, *University of St. Thomas*
Lisa Lyttle, *University of St. Thomas*
 Overview: This paper examines the use of problem-based learning in an introductory course, from both a professor's and undergraduate student's perspective. The professor's perspective includes learning objectives, methods of

assessment, overcoming resistance to group work, and student reactions to the projects. The undergraduate student's insights into how students actually work together to develop learning issues and seek solutions to the problem will add a dimension that is often missing from articles on teaching and learning strategies.

Paper **Techniques for Addressing Issues of inequality and Deprivation in the Political Science Classroom: Role-playing, Empathy and Experimentation in Teaching Civil and Political Rights**
Mark Sachleben, *Western New England College*
Kevan M. Yenerall, *Clarion University*
 Overview: This paper explores and reports on different techniques used in teaching about the issues surrounding civil and political rights. The paper outlines strategies that the authors have used, as well as the interactions they have had with other scholars and students. It also discusses the methods employed. The paper serves as a preliminary report on how their students have received techniques such as films, role-playing, research, and observation.

Paper **Teaching Public Administration Online: What Links Work, How, and When?**
Eric E. Otenyo, *Illinois State University*
 Overview: Paper examines use of supplementary URLs as additional reading materials in online and web enhanced public administration courses.

Paper **Teaching with Technology: Using On-line Discussions to Help Students Think Critically**
Rebecca E. Deen, *University of Texas at Arlington*
Zoe M. Oxley, *Union College*
 Overview: In this paper, we examine student participation in a structured on-line discussion group in Women in Politics courses that spanned three universities. We will determine whether these expectations of pedagogical benefits are met using this classroom technique. Specifically, we will explore the nature of the on-line discussion in terms of student interaction, facility with course material and evidence of critical thinking and writing. Having measured student performance over the course of the semester, both in the newsgroup assignments and in other coursework, we will explore the dynamic of student learning over time. For example, do students who participate more than others on the newsgroup evidence an accelerated acquisition of critical thinking skills? Does this vary across universities, sex, or previous academic performance? Are there other ways in which the content of the posts of these engaged critically thinking students differs from their peers?

Disc. **Elizabeth T. Smith**, *University of South Dakota*
John R. Phillips, *Springfield College*

35-104 **ROUNDTABLE: THE PROFESSIONAL AND THE PERSONAL: STRIKING A BALANCE IN YOUR LIFE**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30
Chair **Lynne E. Ford**, *College of Charleston*
Rndtbl. **Elizabeth A. Bennion**, *Indiana University South Bend*
Christine L. Day, *University of New Orleans*
Alesha E. Doan, *Cal Poly University*
Kathleen Dolan, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
Valerie Hunt, *Southern Methodist University*
Barbara Presnall, *Texas Woman's University*
 Overview: This roundtable will discuss many issues related to finding a balance between one's personal life and one's professional life. Members of the roundtable will bring a wide variety of personal and professional experiences involving dual-career relationships, long-distance relationships, maternity, stopping the tenure clock, and maintaining boundaries - to mention but a few topics.

40-2 **CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON AMERICAN POLITICS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 1:30

Chair **Alan Draper**, *St. Lawrence University*

Paper **If it Weren't for Ralph Nader we Wouldn't be in this Mess: Explaining the Nader 2000 Vote**

James R. Simmons, *University of Wisconsin*

Solon J. Simmons, *University of Wisconsin - Madison*

Overview: The panel will examine the practical prospects for the American Left in the upcoming 2004 elections through vehicles such as third-parties, independent candidacies, engagement within the major parties, pressure group activities and protest.

Paper **Beyond 2004: The Future of the US Greens**

John C. Berg, *Suffolk University*

Overview: The US Greens began with a focus on state and local elections, but gained national prominence when they nominated Ralph Nader for President in 1996 and 2000. Following the 2000 election they were seen by many of their potential supporters as having tipped the election George W. Bush to win. Given the depth of anti-Bush sentiment among potential Green voters, the 2004 election presents the Green party with a major challenge. This paper will explore the strategic situation faced by the Greens, the alternatives available to them, and the likely outcomes of each, as well as reporting on developments within the Greens through March 2004.

Paper **Neoconservatives, Federalism and the Defense of Inequality**

Donald J. Matthewson, *California State University, Fullerton*

Shelly R. Arsneault, *California State University, Fullerton*

Overview: This paper critically examines the neoconservative argument for a type of federalism that promotes decentralization of government functions and urges close government cooperation with some segments of the private sector. We demonstrate that the type of federalism envisioned by neoconservatives increases social and economic inequality. Employing the example of welfare reform, we demonstrate that the neoconservative view is non-sustainable over time precisely because it leads to less, not more, democracy.

Paper **Why the Devil Couldn't Beat Daniel Webster: Absolutes, Contradictions, and the Transfer of American Legal Institutions**

Tracy L. R. Lightcap, *LaGrange College*

Overview: In this paper I use a critique of a popular American literary text, Steven Vincent Benet's "The Devil and Daniel Webster" (1936), as a tool to reveal the nature and depth of the basic contradiction in American legal culture between constitutionalism and democracy. I present a discussion of how the absolutes and contradictions in American legal culture help explain how it works and some conclusions about difficulties attending efforts to transfer American legal institutions.

Disc. **Hugh Bartling**, *DePaul University*

41-101 **ROUNDTABLE: REPORT ON THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON CIVIC EDUCATION AND ENGAGEMENT OF THE APSA**

Room TBA, FRI 1:30

Rndtbl. **Stephen Macedo**, *Princeton University*

Yvette Alex-Assensoh, *Indiana University*

Jeffrey Berry, *Tufts University*

David E. Campbell, *University of Notre Dame*

Luis Fraga, *Stanford University*

William A. Galston, *University of Maryland at College Park*

Margaret Levi, *University of Washington*

Meira Levinson, *Boston Public Schools*

Richard Niemi, *University of Rochester*

Wendy Rahn, *University of Minnesota*

Rob Reich, *Stanford University*

Katherine Cramer Walsh, *University of Wisconsin at Madison*

Robert Putnam, *Harvard University*

Archon Fung, *Harvard University*

Todd Swanstrom, *St. Louis University*

Chris Karpowitz, *Princeton University*

Michael Brintnall, *American Political Science Association*

Sid Verba, *Harvard University*

Overview: This roundtable will discuss the draft Report of the Standing Committee on Civic Education and Engagement of the APSA (see www.princeton.edu/~apsaciv/ for the report and the list of authors and participants) and seeks to articulate a political science of citizenship by addressing the following questions: How do public policies and political institutions other than those directly concerned with formal education and schooling influence patterns of civic engagement and the capacities of citizens to act in politics and civic life? How successfully does political science help us understand the ways in which policy choices and the design of institutions either encourage or discourage desirable forms of citizen activity and civic capacity? We explore the ways in which political choices shape civic dispositions and foster or inhibit political activity, civic engagement, and civic virtue in order to support and augment the work of more direct civic educators. The task of forming capable and engaged citizens is a broadly political project. What does political science tell us about institutional and policy reforms that might improve the overall levels, the equitable distribution, and the inclusiveness of civic activities and identities? We give particular attention to policies and institutions that are amenable to reform. The three substantive areas on which we are focusing are electoral processes, metropolitan areas, and the voluntary and not-for-profit sectors.

Friday, April 16 – 3:30 pm – 5:15 pm

2-6 **THE EU AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Chair **Martin Gruberg**, *University of Wisconsin*

Paper **Explaining Member State Compliance with Decisions of the European Court of Justice**

Robert A. Mikos, *University of California, Davis*

Overview: The European Court of Justice and United States Supreme Court have played critical roles in promoting the central governments of their respective multi-state systems. However, states have reacted to the courts in dramatically different ways: American states defied early Supreme Court decisions limiting their sovereignty, while European states quietly complied with similar ECJ rulings. This paper suggests the ECJ encountered less opposition because it announced its most significant legal rulings in relatively low-stakes, mundane litigation.

Paper **How the Soft Pressure from Above Affects the Bottom: Member States' Social Policy, National Policy-Making Processes, and Europeanization.**

Mariely Lopez-Santana, *University of Michigan*

Overview: The purpose of this paper is to answer the following question: How non-binding European regulations on the area of social policy affect existing policy-making processes and welfare policies at the national level? It presents data gathered in Spain, Belgium, and Sweden. Furthermore, this work seeks to contribute to the literature on: a) the effect of non-binding agreements (soft-law) on domestic settings, b) Europeanization, and c) comparative policy-making processes.

Paper **Open Skies? The EU, the US and Civil Aviation Liberalization**

Joseph F. Jozwiak, *Texas A&M-Corpus Christi*

Overview: The creation of Open Skies over the EU would increase the competencies of the Commission in a functionally specific way, spur integration through the establishment of EU-wide rules governing civil aviation, and allow the Commission to represent the EU at the global level through its representative function in the major international organization overseeing aviation. The paper will argue that the Commission, with the assistance of crucial rulings by the ECJ, has acceded to the desires of the member states and the air carriers for liberalization in the hopes of spurring efficiency through its initial offerings of negative coordination (Scharpf, 1997). However, the Commission is positioning itself for future positive integration by positioning itself both institutionally and legally to be a stronger regulatory body in the future. The paper will argue that the Commission, with the assistance of crucial rulings by the ECJ, has acceded to the desires of the member states and the air carriers for liberalization in the hopes of spurring efficiency through its initial offerings of negative coordination. However, the Commission is positioning itself for future positive integration by positioning itself both institutionally and legally to be a stronger regulatory body in the future.

Paper **Asymmetric Federalism, Public Perceptions, and Support for European Integration**

Charles W. Lyon, *University of Pittsburgh*

Overview: This paper explores how the asymmetric nature of European federalism frames individual-level support for European integration. Two questions are addressed. First, to what extent do specific and diffuse evaluations drive support for integration? Second, to what extent are these evaluations framed by the fragmented nature of integration? These questions are answered through a multilevel analysis that pools data from four Eurobarometer surveys to create a dataset of 60 national-level and approximately 58,000 individual-level cases.

Disc. **Nathan D. Griffith**, *Belmont University*

3-8 **NATURAL RESOURCES AND INTERNAL CONFLICT**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Chair **Will Reno**, *Northwestern University*

Paper **Blood, Diamonds, and Taxes: Lootable Wealth and Political Order in Africa**

Ravi Bhavnani, *University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign*

Richard Snyder, *Brown University*

Overview: This paper examines cases of conflict and peace in the face of lootable resources and argues that the probability of state collapse in countries with lootable mineral wealth depends on (1) the availability of non-lootable resources; (2) how the extraction of lootable resources is organized (what we call the mode of extraction); and (3) government spending. We formalize the conceptual framework with a model that examines how revenue-optimizing rulers achieve and maintain political order under resource, extraction, and revenue constraints.

Paper **Latin America's Civil Wars: Violence and Institutional Choice**

Caroline A. Hartzell, *Gettysburg College*

Uzma Sheikh, *Gettysburg College*

Overview: Latin America has been the site of fourteen civil wars during the post-World War II era. This study undertakes a systematic comparison of these wars in an effort to explore the impact civil conflict has had on governance and development in the region. It does so by focusing on the role civil wars, and more specifically the manner in which they have been resolved, has played in shaping institutional choice in these Latin American countries.

Paper **The Puzzle of Natural Resources in Internal Wars**

Patrick Johnston, *Northwestern University*

Overview: In this paper, I investigate the relationship between natural resources and violent intrastate conflict.

Paper **Jihadism and Political Islam as War-Making and Mass Political Participation: Choice-Theoretic and Sociological Modeling in Muslim Contexts**

Anas Malik, *Xavier University*

Overview: Recent commentary on political developments in the Muslim world has focused on "jihadism" and "political Islam". Scholarship typically treats the pragmatic, preference-ordered decision-making by such groups as wholly subservient to ideology. The result is a conceptual blind spot that has discouraged fruitful comparative analysis. The paper describes this problem and seeks to bridge the gap by depicting jihadist groups as embryonic state organizations and political Islamists as self-promoting actors in a politics of mass participation.

Disc. **Will Reno**, *Northwestern University*

3-14 **THE MILITARY AND AUTHORITARIAN POLITICS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Chair **Neil Englehart**, *Lafayette College*

Paper **Latin Rhythms: Coup Cycles In The Americas**

Erika Moreno, *University of Iowa*

Michael Lewis-Beck, *University of Iowa*

Jacque Amoureux, *University of Iowa*

Overview: We suggest that coup activity has not received adequate scholarly attention. We offer that a thorough statistical analysis over an extended time series (1950-2000) provides an ideal means to test hypotheses about the periodicity of coup behavior. Specifically, we draw on previous studies and posit four alternative trajectories of Latin American coups: steady, increasing, decreasing, and decreasing with a cycle (see Dean 1970; Dix 1994; Fossum 1970; Needler 1968; Nordlinger 1975; Putnam 1967; Wiarda 1978). We model the structural time dynamics of coup behavior across nineteen countries, from 1950-2000, using regression techniques, ARIMA modeling, smoothing techniques, and spectral analysis. The results demonstrate quite clearly that coup activity remains vigorous. What is more, that activity manifests itself, to an important degree, in predictable patterns, or cycles.

Paper **Civil-Military Relations in Latin America: A Case Study of Public Opinion in Ecuador and Paraguay**

Orlando J. Perez, *Central Michigan University*

Raymond C. Whitney, III, *Central Michigan University*

Overview: This paper addresses post-Cold War civil-military relations in Latin America. Using public opinion surveys from

	<p>Ecuador and Paraguay the paper examines the determinants of an authoritarian political culture by focusing on the following issues: (1) Civilian attitudes toward military coups; (2) Civilian attitudes toward the military and other institutions; and; (3) Effects of civilian attitudes toward the military on democratic values.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Explaining the Unintended Consequences of Violent Exclusionary Politics</u> Suzanne E. Fry, <i>New York University</i> Overview: Political leaders act as if violent exclusionary politics help maintain rule. Yet survival analysis of political systems whose governments have killed outgroup members produces the opposite finding: killing outgroup members diminishes system survival. I survey the identity and outgroup discrimination literatures for possible hypotheses to explain why such practices are counterproductive.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Determinants of Authoritarian Durability</u> Lisa A. Blaydes, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: Conventional wisdom holds that countries that derive the majority of government revenue from oil exports are fundamentally different from countries without such a resource base. In this paper, I test the empirical validity of the theory of the rentier state, which argues that countries that derive their revenue from sources external to the domestic economy tend to be more long-lived than their tax-dependent counterparts.</p>	
Disc.	<p>Neil Englehart, <i>Lafayette College</i></p>	
4-301	<p><u>POSTER SESSION: DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION AND CONSOLIDATION</u></p>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30	
Poster	<p><u>The Evolution of Democratic Consolidation</u> Gretchen Casper, <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Kyle Joyce, <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Overview: While other scholars have focused on the effect of elite behavior on the successful installation of democracy after an authoritarian regime, we investigate elite behavior across a series of political crises that occur after the transition to democracy has succeeded. In this way, we show how elite learning allows some countries to consolidate while the absence of learning leads other countries to remain flawed democracies or to become unstable.</p>	
Poster	<p><u>Structural Conditions and Regime Change: The Prospects of Democracy in the Arab Middle East</u> Charity D. Butcher, <i>Indiana University</i> Noha Shawki, <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: This paper considers which combination of structural characteristics within the Middle East is most conducive to regime change in general, and democratization more specifically. These structural conditions include both traditional variables such as modernization and oil rent, as well as more recently introduced factors such as the nature of authoritarianism. To explore these relationships, we combine case studies with statistical analysis and draw on different theoretical traditions to provide a more complete analysis.</p>	
Poster	<p><u>Political Institutions and Exclusion in a New Democracy: Cross-National Evaluation of Nepali Institutions Using a Majoritarian-Consensus Framework</u> Mahendra Lawoti, <i>Western Michigan University</i> Overview: The paper investigates the inclusiveness of political institutions in Nepal, a culturally plural society where minorities are facing extreme political exclusion. It uses Lijphart's majoritarian-consensus framework. Following Lijphart, I measure all the ten political institutions in Nepal and compare them to the institutions from Lijphart's 36 established democracies. The Nepali institutions are majoritarian, showing that they are not inclusive. Thus, the study recommends institutional reforms for Nepal to include its minorities for consolidating democracy.</p>	
Poster	<p><u>East Asian Democratization and Economic Voting: Comparing Japan, South Korea and Taiwan</u> Wen-Chia Shen, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: TBA</p>	
Poster	<p><u>Resource "Cursed" Economies: A Divergent Democratic Path?</u> Kimberly R. Perez, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: This paper demonstrates an alternative causal mechanism underlying the anti-democratic effect of resource endowment. Given the acknowledged positive correlation between economic development and democracy, oil rich countries defy democratic consolidation through the puzzling "resource curse." The resource curse asserts that oil endowment leads to political and economic inequality, which in turns causes increased poverty despite the external revenue largesse. In this study, the hypothesis is as external oil revenue increases, concentration of wealth increases and democracy declines. The study conducts an empirical analysis examining the theoretical linkage among the gini coefficient, annual oil price, and levels of democracy. This is a timely research topic given the current shift in American foreign policy to rely more on newly-found oil sources in African countries. Thus, this paper hopes to contribute to the resource curse literature in the under-researched African context by examining Nigeria's decades-long struggle finally resulting in its tenuous four-year democracy. The Nigerian case study may be applied to newly-found oil sources in African countries with similar contentious ethnic, religious, economic, and political cleavages.</p>	
Poster	<p><u>Postwar Behavior and Regime Type: Foreign Depositions 1800-2000</u> Carmela Lutmar, <i>American University</i> Overview: show in this paper that regime type is a powerful explanatory variable in accounting for variation in the way different states behave in post-war periods. I present findings based on a new data set on deposed leaders in the last 200 years (1800-2000). I show that democracies will be more likely to install dictators because dictators survive in power longer on average than democratic leaders, thus allowing for a longer period of favorable policy implementation. Following the same line of reasoning I show that victorious dictatorships are less likely to install puppets than democracies because once they fight they prefer to get resources rather than influencing policies.</p>	
5-6	<p><u>EUROPEAN UNION: POLICYMAKING AND IMPLEMENTATION</u></p>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30	
Chair	Donald D.A. Schaefer, <i>University of Washington</i>	
Paper	<p><u>Traffic Safety Policy in the European Union: The Role of Interest Groups</u> Kelly B. Shaw, <i>University of Missouri</i> Lilliard E. Richardson, <i>University of Missouri</i> Overview: What is the impact of interest groups on traffic safety policy in the European Union? A survey of interest groups focused on traffic safety policies in the EU examines the attitudes of these policy elites on the problem definition for traffic safety, the proper role of government, and the preferred level of government action on the issue. We test explanatory models on the impact of political culture, ideology, trust in government, and sociodemographic characteristics.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Social Policy in the European Union: Negotiation to Implementation</u> Allyson M. Lowe, <i>Chatham College</i> Overview: There has been an increase in the number and importance of policies made outside of traditional legislative channels of the European Union. Little research has been conducted on this policy negotiation process or the outcomes of it: directives that must be implemented by member states excluded from the directives' creation. This research evaluates the process of negotiation among three formally recognized interest groups on its outcomes (the form, substance and implementation of resulting directives).</p>	
Paper	<p><u>An Attempt to Explain Implementation within EU: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Time-Series Analysis</u> Isa Camyar, <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: Although the actualization of the project of the integration depends on putting EU laws into practice, the</p>	

	implementation stage of the policy process in EU has not received the attention that the agenda-setting, policy formulation and policy-making stages of the general policy process have commanded. Drawing attention to the implementation stage, the study seeks to show that the implementation stage is crucial for the EU integration, and could determine its success or failure.				findings based on the construction of women which have revealed links between patriarchy and post-communist constructions of individuals.
Paper	<u>Constrained by Maastricht? The Implementation of Environmental Regulations Across European States.</u> James S. Krueger , <i>University of Iowa</i> Brian Disarro , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: This paper investigates the degree to which member states comply with European Union regulations. Specifically, compliance rates among EU states with regard to environmental regulations are explored. The degree of state compliance is measured through an analysis of environmental noncompliance suits filed with European Court of Justice and the adoption of environmental law in accordance with or in excess of EU regulations for each state. Our objective is to offer an understanding of the differences in compliance with the Union between member states. Possible explanations include individual state characteristics such as the presence of a strong environmental lobby and the degree of support for the EU present within each state.			Paper	<u>East-Central Europe's New Security Concern: Foreign Land Ownership</u> Lynn M. Tesser , <i>Loyola University Chicago</i> Overview: This paper explains why foreign land ownership has been highly controversial in post-Cold War East-Central Europe.
Paper	<u>The European Union's Committee of the Regions: Opinions, Representation, and Subsidiarity</u> William E. Carroll , <i>Sam Houston State University</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the Committee of the Regions (COR) of the EU. It does so at three levels: in its opinion issuing capacity; its role in representing local and regional authorities institutionally in the EU; and how the COR manifests or embodies the principle of subsidiarity in the EU. Analyzing COR opinions by policy area and by national rapporteur, the paper concludes that the COR has definite priorities but that these can and do reflect "national" differences. The paper also relates national government type to support for or opposition to an expanded COR role, which may be at odds with their own local and regional representatives on the COR.			Paper	<u>Civil Society and Democratic Transition in Putin's Russia</u> Yung-Fang Lin , <i>National Chengchi University</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the origins, formation, strengths, and weaknesses of civil society in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia. It argues that the development of Russian civil society has been shaped by the prior regime type, political opportunity structure, a new set of property rights and social relations, and institutional arrangements unique to the national context in which this third sector is embedded. It uses a framework of opportunities and constraints to explain and analyze the dynamic pattern of Russia's civil society within the context of changing state-society relations. Political context matters for the development of Russian civil society in terms of the timing of its collective action, the outcomes of its activity, and the form of its organizations.
Disc.	<u>Donald D.A. Schaefer</u> , <i>University of Washington</i>			Disc.	<u>Joel M. Ostrow</u> , <i>Benedictine University</i> <u>Paula M. Pickering</u> , <i>College of William and Mary</i>
6-6	<u>DEMOCRATIC AND AUTHORITARIAN TRENDS IN POST-COMMUNIST POLITICS</u>			7-6	<u>ALLIANCES AND STRATEGIC BEHAVIOR</u>
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30			Room	TBA1, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30
Chair	Irina Khemlko , <i>Indiana University</i>			Chair	Kevin Sweeney , <i>Ohio State University</i>
Paper	<u>Flexible Authoritarianism: How International Norms Reshape Post-Soviet Rule</u> Eric M. McGlinchey , <i>Iowa State University</i> Overview: In contrast to authoritarian continuity hypotheses, my paper suggests an alternative causality for today's post-Soviet autocracies. I argue that these regimes do not simply reflect the legacy of Soviet rule, but rather, are shaped, paradoxically, much as transitions theorists predicted they would be—by new international norms of democracy. These norms, though, have not created democracies. Instead, they have created a regime type that many in comparative politics thought impossible—flexible autocracies.			Paper	<u>The Effect of Location on Signaling Commitment to Alliance Partners</u> Anessa L. Kimball , <i>Binghamton University</i> Overview: This paper examines what signals asymmetric alliances send to third parties and whether or not alliances that involve low levels of commitment are more likely to be tested by conflict.
Paper	<u>Media Freedom, Economic Development and Civil Society in the Former Soviet Union</u> Andrew C. Konitzer-Smirnov , <i>Baylor University</i> Overview: In order to explore the origins and prerequisites of media freedom in the post-socialist milieu, the author examines the relationship of a set of socio-economic, political and demographic variables to a complex measure of media freedom in each of Russia's 88 federal subunits. While economic diversification and development are key prerequisites for a free media, other factors, like a more liberal political culture and the nature of Russia's asymmetrical federal structures, play a small role.			Paper	<u>Not All Friends Are Created Equal: The Effects of Alliance Type on Dyadic Trade Flows</u> Justin H. Magouirk , <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: Alliances often vary in purpose and magnitude. I argue that differences in alliances may have noticeable effects on trade flows between allied states. Using a combination of game theory and time series empirical work, I provide justification for my theory that alliance type as well as dyadic state capabilities strongly effect positive externalities and increase trade flows between allied states.
Paper	<u>Millennial Masculinity: Constructions in the Hungarian Press</u> Melinda Kovács , <i>Concordia College, Moorhead</i> Overview: This paper investigates the constructions of masculinity in the Hungarian press in an effort to contextualize			Paper	<u>Sending the Wrong Signal: Alliances, Information, and International Mistakes</u> Erik Gartzke , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: Signaling theories offer an explanation for the communication of information, but signaling should also lead to mis-communication. I explore this possibility empirically through alliance formation.
				Paper	<u>The Way We Were: Explaining Decisions to Terminate Alliances</u> Brett Ashley Leeds , <i>Rice University</i> Burcu Savun , <i>Rice University</i> Overview: Why do states terminate existing alliance relationships? We build an argument that links changes in specific factors internal and external to the alliance to the decision to abandon sunk costs and end a cooperative relationship. We evaluate the argument empirically on alliances formed between 1815 and 1989.
				Disc.	<u>Brian Lai</u> , <i>University of Iowa</i>
				7-7	<u>RATIONALIST APPROACHES TO WAR</u>
				Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30
				Chair	Daniel Norton , <i>Binghamton University</i>
				Paper	<u>Pvrrhic Peace: Modeling Governance Costs and War Initiation</u> Laura Wimberley , <i>University of California San Diego</i>

	<p>Overview: This model of war initiation and post-war compliance includes three players - an aggressive state, a defending state, and the population of the defending state. Because the victor must monitor, reward, and sanction compliance with and resistance to the policy they impose, as a population's internal organizational capacity and level of grievance with the victor's policy increases, so do governance costs. Expectations of higher governance costs lead states to not initiate or to moderate demands.</p>				<p>external rivals may be offset by bargains struck with internal rivals. Thus, the paper considers the impact of pressures from both above and below that lead to changes in state extractive capacity. A series of pooled, cross-sectional time-series analyses allow us to examine the effects of internal and external rivals on tax revenue in the context of state development in Latin America from 1948-2000.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Speak Softly and Carry a Big Stick: Public versus Private Threats in Crisis Diplomacy</u> Shuhei Kurizaki, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: Can secret signals ever be credible? This paper examines a simple crisis bargaining game with two-sided domestic audiences, where the sender can choose to send private or public signals. There exist two equilibria: a public equilibrium and a private equilibrium. The public equilibrium captures a conventional audience cost story, where only public threats can credibly reveal information. Conversely, in the private equilibrium, private threats can be credible and peaceful outcomes are possible under broader conditions than in the public equilibrium. The equilibrium logic suggests a rationale for secret diplomacy.</p>		Paper	<p><u>Presidents, Parties, and Foreign Policy: Domestic Institutions and Interstate Cooperation</u> Randall Parish, <i>Texas A&M International University</i> Overview: A wave of regional integration included virtually every country in the hemisphere after the mid-1980s, but the success of different projects varied substantially. I use time series, cross sectional analysis to explore the impact of domestic institutional arrangements on the outcome of cooperative initiatives, finding that interstate cooperation was significantly more likely with strong presidencies and party systems.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Favoring a Foe: Mediator Bias in Coercive Mediation</u> Katja I. Favretto, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper models coercive mediation in international crises and disputes. The model predicts mediator bias to have an impact on the outcome of mediation because it provides information on whether or not the mediator is resolved to enforce a settlement by military means. When bias is high, a peaceful outcome is more likely because there is greater certainty regarding the mediator's resolve. Negotiations are most inclined to fail when the degree of bias is middling.</p>		Paper	<p><u>U.S. Drug Policy in the Central Andes</u> Moises Arce, <i>Louisiana State University</i> Stella Rouse, <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: What are the consequences of U.S. drug policy in the Central Andes? Most studies on this subject rely on qualitative and historical accounts of past and current expenditures to measure the impact of U.S. drug policy on coca production. There has been little quantitative research done on the subject; especially a study that focuses not only on the relationship between anti-narcotics assistance and production of drugs, but also one that looks at important ancillary factors such as economic and social influences in the region. This paper examines U.S. drug policy in the three most prolific drug-producing countries in Latin America: Colombia, Bolivia, and Peru. A comparative analysis of U.S. drug policy sheds some light on the successes and limitations of the policies currently in place. What are the consequences of U.S. drug policy in the Central Andes? Most studies on this subject rely on qualitative and historical accounts of past and current expenditures to measure the impact of U.S. drug policy on coca production. There has been little quantitative research done on the subject; especially a study that focuses not only on the relationship between anti-narcotics assistance and production of drugs, but also one that looks at important ancillary factors such as economic and social influences in the region. This paper examines U.S. drug policy in the three most prolific drug-producing countries in Latin America: Colombia, Bolivia, and Peru. A comparative analysis of U.S. drug policy sheds some light on the successes and limitations of the policies currently in place.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Biased for Peace? Commitment Problems, Impartiality, and the Effectiveness of Third-Party Guarantees</u> Holger Schmidt, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: Rationalist bargaining theory suggests that third-party monitoring and enforcement can play a critical role in helping disputants avoid bargaining failures resulting from the presence of a commitment problem. Disagreement exists, however, concerning whether third parties need to be neutral to perform this role. This paper develops a formal model that seeks to resolve these disagreements by distinguishing between different types of commitment problems.</p>				
Paper	<p><u>Repetition and Information in Crisis Bargaining Models: A Study in Diplomatic History</u> Robert W. Walker, <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: This paper examines the role of costless communication in models of crisis bargaining by focusing on the role of repetition and information transmission. The paper shows, with one-sided messaging, that repetition is necessary to generate influential cheap talk in equilibrium. The paper continues to study two-sided settings and examine the subtle ways that communication can matter even in opposing interest settings.</p>				
Disc.	<p>Ahmer Tarar, <i>Texas A&M University</i></p>		Disc.	<p>Andrew J. Schlewitz, <i>Wabash College</i></p>	
7-20	<p><u>INTERAMERICAN RELATIONS IN AN AGE OF GLOBALIZATION</u></p>		8-6	<p><u>FINANCIAL AND MONETARY INSTITUTIONS: INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC PERSPECTIVES</u></p>	
Room	<p>TBA2, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30</p>		Room	<p>BURNHAM 5, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30</p>	
Chair	<p>Jennifer S. Holmes, <i>University of Texas at Dallas</i></p>		Chair	<p>Beth Simmons, <i>Harvard University</i></p>	
Paper	<p><u>Rivalry and State Building in Latin America</u> Cameron G. Thies, <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: This paper seeks to understand the relationship between rivalry and state building in Latin America. Previous studies of the region find no relationship between war and state building, contrary to the predatory theory of the state derived from early modern European experience. While war is a relatively rare phenomenon in Latin America, I argue that the abundance of interstate rivalries that have developed in the absence of war are able to produce the type of external pressure necessary to increase extraction from domestic society. However, increases in extractive capacity brought about by</p>		Paper	<p><u>The Real Effects of Central Bankers' Preferences: Central Bankers' Careers, Labor Market Institutions, and Unemployment</u> Christopher Adolph, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: Using a new measure of central bank conservatism based on central bankers' career paths, this paper investigates the interaction of labor market institutions and central bank conservatism. Career-induced conservatism, central bank independence, and wage bargaining centralization jointly determine unemployment rates in a panel of 15 countries.</p>	
			Paper	<p><u>Fixed Exchange Rates, Electoral Laws, and Fiscal Activism in OECD Countries</u> William R. Clark, <i>New York University</i> Joseph Gochal, <i>New York University</i> Overview: This paper uses data from 21 OECD countries to determine whether and how fiscal activism is related to the choice of exchange rate regime. By helping us better to understand the way survival-maximizing incumbents view the substitution of fiscal and monetary policy, this paper will help</p>	

us better understand the political motivations behind the choice of monetary institutions.

Paper **In or Out? Central Banks and Regulatory Responsibility Around the World**
Mark S. Copelovitch, *Harvard University*
David A. Singer, *Harvard University*
 Overview: This paper argues that the choice of assigning bank regulatory responsibility to the central bank or to a separate agency is a political choice rooted in the trade-off between price stability and bank stability. We argue that the structure of domestic financial markets drives politicians' choices, and we test our hypotheses on data for 80 developed and developing countries.

Paper **The Diffusion of Bilateral Investment Treaties: An Empirical Analysis**
Beth Simmons, *Harvard University*
Zachary Elkins, *University of Illinois*
Andrew Guzman, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: This paper looks at the spread of bilateral investment treaties over time and argue that their diffusion can be accounted for by competitive dynamics. Our competitive model is consistent both with data on dyadic interactions and domestic institutions.

Paper **Commitment Institutions at Work: Taming Inflation in Eastern Europe and Central Asia**
Cristina Bodea, *University of Rochester*
Kalina Popova, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: This paper uses unexplored data from Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union to test theories of inflation. We place our analysis in the dynamic context of ongoing politics, incorporating changes in political ideology and constraints, as well as changes in monetary institutions. We also argue that exchange rate stabilization is conditional on whether countries had unified or multiple exchange rates and seek to differentiate between the effect on inflation of government statements versus government actions.

Disc. **Robert J. Franzese**, *University of Michigan - Ann Arbor*

9-7 **DOMESTIC POLITICS AND DECISIONS OF WAR**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30
Chair **Jon Pevehouse**, *University of Wisconsin*
Paper **Power Projection and the National Security Strategy**
Michael J. Arnold, *United States Military Academy, West Point*
 Overview: The Global War against Terrorism has given the US a unique opportunity to address transformation issues and make meaningful changes in how our military operates. Part of the formula in addressing this change must focus on the logistical application of transformation and how power projection capabilities will help bridge the gap between the increasingly interconnected logistical/strategic and combat/tactical role. The logistical aspects of transformation, which will allow the United States to effectively operate its national security strategy in the twenty-first century, is the focal point of this research.

Paper **Parties as Links: An Analysis of Nationalist Parties and Armed Conflict**
Ann Fishback, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*
 Overview: This paper makes a twofold contribution. First, it explores circumstances under which the hard-line leader theory of interstate conflict is most useful. This paper uses the argument that if the chief executive is a hard-line nationalist, he or she will represent a nationalist political party in order to explore this theory of interstate conflict. This paper's second contribution is that it serves as a quantitative test of the role nationalism plays in interstate war proneness.

Paper **Days of Decision: Media Framing, Transnational Social Movements & Public Opposition for Use of Force Abroad**
Hector Perla, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: This paper examines when the American public supports the use of force abroad and under what conditions it opposes it. In contrast to previous International Relations explanations, which focus on the primary policy objective

(Foreign Policy Restraint or Internal Political Change) of the policy as the independent variable to explain support or opposition for the president's policy, I argue that this is an inadequate measure. The primary policy objective is inadequate because it fails to recognize that while the President may attempt to define the objective of his policy, this framing may be challenged by other political actors. Instead I hypothesize that the American public will: 1) support the use of force abroad when the President's framing of the policy is unchallenged, and 2) oppose the use of force abroad when the President's framing of the policy is contested in the media. However, in contrast to elite-driven theories of public opinion I hypothesize that grassroots social movements can and do play an important role in the formation of public opinion. I use US-Central American relations under the Reagan Administration as a critical case study to test my hypotheses by conducting a media content analysis of all stories related to the conflict found in the NYT during the 1980s.

Disc. **Jon Pevehouse**, *University of Wisconsin*
 Overview: With the continued importance of the Kantian Peace research agenda, the study of International Governmental Organizations (IGOs) has received greater scholarly attention over the past decade. Along with democracy and trade, IGOs are considered to be a theoretically important element for peace. Existing research, however, has shown only mixed empirical results. One reason for this may be the fact that extant research treats IGOs as a homogenous group and thus assumes that all IGOs have the equal ability to promote peace between states. This panel will address the issue of IGO heterogeneity and the implications of relaxing the assumption that all IGOs are the same. Roundtable participants will discuss various theoretical motivations for differentiating IGOs and how these motivations suggest dimensions along which scholars may expect heterogeneity. Additional issues to be addressed include the empirical ramifications of IGO heterogeneity and how the study of other international processes such as trade may also be affected by differentiating institutions.

10-8 ALLIANCES, DEMOCRACY, AND WAR

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Chair **Gregory D. Miller**, *Ohio State University*

Paper **Alliances and Joiners as Sources of Miscalculation and Misperception**

Dan Lindley, *University of Notre Dame*

Ryan Schildkraut, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: Do war initiators tend to win more or less when joiners are present? Less I argue that uncertainty about war joiners, alliances, and coalition behavior are a source of optimistic miscalculation. This is but one way quantitative data helps address the issue: "Is War Rational? The Extent of Miscalculation and Misperception as Causes of War." This paper reports on the quantitative findings of the Is War Rational? project.

Paper **Is Democratic Peace Theory Better Than the Power Transition Theory in Explaining International Security?**

Yong-hee Park, *Texas Tech University*

Overview: This study tests two prominent theories of international relations, power transition and democratic peace theories. This study deals with all militarized disputes occurred from 1820 to 1989 only treating only major powers because this study replicate the previous one with more appropriate and advanced statistical technique.

Paper **Territorial Disputes and Other Bilateral Issues: Does Issue Linkage Exist?**

Krista E. Wiegand, *Duke University*

Overview: Besides risking escalation of armed conflict, territorial disputes can influence normalized bilateral relations among states both negatively and positively. This paper examines whether issue linkage exists between territorial disputes and other bilateral issues. The main argument is that the level of interdependence between states affects whether they will escalate a territorial dispute both diplomatically through rhetorical threats and militarily through threat or use of force.

Paper	<p><u>The Democratic Difference: How the Greater Number of Political Actors Can Explain the Relationship Between Democracy and Conflict Frequency</u> Peter M. Li, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: The relatively greater number of actors in democracies leads them to experience a wider range of pressure, ranging from full resistance (i.e. constraint) to full support, and to be more sensitive to the costs of conflict. As a result, while there may be little difference in participation at the low end of the conflict cost scale, at the high end we should find that democracies start fewer and respond to more wars.</p>	Overview: This experiment employs the lexical decision task in order to observe what a person is thinking about when they are confronted with race and ideology related policies. While the task is explicit, this method is implicit because the subjects are unaware that they are revealing what is activated in their mind. This allows us to observe a person's thoughts outside of social desirability concerns, which are characteristic of survey research.
Paper	<p><u>What Price Security? International Politics as a Security Market</u> Jeff M. Cavanaugh, <i>University of Illinois</i> Overview: Scholarly thinking on defense, security, and alliances has for decades focused on the Samuelson/Olson model of public goods provision, specifically on the free-ride hypothesis and the construction of institutions to mitigate free riding. I argue, however, that a realistic reexamination of both the joint consumption and excludability aspects of defense and security provision leads to a strong case to be made that security and defense can be thought of as being inherently more "private" than "public" in nature -- thus lending itself to market analysis. To test this proposition, I created a simple market model of security provision and consumption and use changes in United Nation's General Assembly voting patterns as a device to capture market structure-induced price changes from Cold War security duopoly to the post-Cold War security monopoly now held by the United States.</p>	12-1
Paper	<p><u>Duality of Deterrence: More May Be Worse</u> Masashi Ito, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: The existing formal models of deterrence largely neglect the credibility of assurance. As Schelling and others argue, however, a deterrent threat needs to be accompanied by the assurance that as long as the opponent stays there, one will not, the opponent believes, intend to hurt the other. My model, by explicitly including the two credibilities, or the duality of deterrence, shows the inherent interconnectedness of deterrence and the security dilemma.</p>	Room Chair Paper
Disc.	Gregory D. Miller , <i>Ohio State University</i>	<p><u>CAN WE GET IT RIGHT THIS TIME? FORECASTING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30 Tom Rice, <i>University of Iowa</i> <u>A Probability Model for Forecasting Presidential Elections</u> Bruce E. Caswell, <i>Rowan University</i> Overview: This paper approaches the forecasting of presidential elections by combining a regression model for explaining presidential elections with economic trend data to project how the course of the economy over the year remaining until the election will affect the likelihood of the reelection of the incumbent in the 2004 presidential election. A probability is assigned to the re-election of the president for each possible economic scenario between now and the election.</p>
11-4	<p><u>THE STUDY OF RACE: PRINCIPLES AND PREJUDICE</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30 Lester K. Spence, <i>Washington University in St. Louis</i> <u>Affect, Cognition and the Conditional Nature of Race-Related Policy Attitudes</u> Christina M. Suthammanont, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Dave Peterson, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: We argue that when citizens rely on affective or emotional reactions to racial public policies, the prejudice perspective (associated with Sears, Bobo, and Kinder) best explains their levels of policy support. When citizens rely on cognition, the principles perspective (associated with Sniderman) best explains their decisions. Our research builds upon the theory of affective intelligence (Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen 2000). We test several hypotheses derived from our theory using an experimental approach.</p>	Paper
Paper	<p><u>Ideology and the Structure of Racial Stereotypes</u> Christopher M. Federico, <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: Two studies examined the hypothesis that the relationship between the positive and negative dimensions of Whites' stereotypes of Blacks would be less strongly negative among conservatives. Across two different datasets (the 2000 NES and the 1991 Race and Politics Study) and three different methodologies (heteroskedastic regression, confirmatory factor analysis, and a regression analysis of attitude-ambivalence scores), this hypothesis was supported.</p>	<p><u>The Polarizing American Voter: Issues, Partisanship, and Vote Choice in Presidential Elections, 1984-2000</u> James W. Endersby, <i>University of Missouri</i> Brian W. Bough, <i>University of Missouri</i> Donald M. Gooch, <i>University of Missouri</i> Steven G. Hall, <i>University of Missouri</i> Monika A. Klimek, <i>University of Missouri</i> Overview: This study produces a longitudinal analysis of partisan polarization across issue dimensions. For presidential elections from 1984 to 2000, perceptual distance measures over a set of eight relevant issues are created. The influence of several issues in terms of predicting presidential candidates' votes remains stable, controlling for partisanship and ideology. Others ebb and flow in their relative importance for structuring the vote. Patterns or trends in voter preferences over the set of issues across recent presidential elections are identified. Issue distance measures perform better than simple responses to survey questions.</p>
Paper	<p><u>What Are They Really Thinking? Implicit Measures of Ideology and Racism</u> Charles Taber, <i>Stony Brook University</i> Inna Burdein, <i>Stony Brook University</i></p>	<p><u>A Forecast of the 2004 Presidential Election</u> Helmut Norpoth, <i>Stony Brook University</i> Overview: A forecast of the 2004 presidential election is presented. The forecast is derived from a model that relies on the following predictors: (1) the performance of the major-party nominees in primaries; (2) a normal-vote baseline; and (3) the two-term cycle of presidential elections. The model is estimated with data from 1912 to 2000. Its R2 is .92 and the standard error is 2.5. The model promises to deliver an unconditional forecast of the outcome of the November 2004 election at the April meeting.</p>
		<p><u>Partisan Support as a Dependent Variable in Forecasting Presidential Elections</u> Chunhou Zhang, <i>University of Cincinnati</i> Overview: This paper is based on a research of American electorate psychology. The basic points are that the result of an American presidential election is based on the voters' perception on the policies of the presidential candidates concerning the issues related to the three long-term themes, i.e., economic situation, national security, and group relationship. The significance of this model of presidential forecasting is that it combines the forecasting of a specific presidential election with the scientific research on long-term issues.</p>
		<p>Disc. Tom Rice, <i>University of Iowa</i> Richard Almeida, <i>Southeast Missouri State University</i></p>

- 12-15**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30
Chair Geoff Evans, *Oxford University*
Paper **Strategic Voting or Abandoning Ship? The Impact of Polling Information on the Voting Decisions of Potential Third Party Voters**
Joseph D. Giammo, *The University of Texas at Austin*
 Overview: This paper examines whether certain voters who give up on third place candidates are truly acting strategically to prevent their least-preferred candidate from winning, or are merely abandoning a losing cause and using the same information which told them that it was time to look elsewhere to decide how to vote.
- Paper** **Strategic Voting in Proportional Systems: The Case of Finland**
Thomas Gschwend, *University of Mannheim*
Michael Stoiber, *University of Darmstadt*
 Overview: The strategic voting literature finds a wasted-vote effect mainly in plurality systems, because this logic works well in small districts. Finland seems a particular interesting case of a PR system to look for any effects of varying district magnitude on the electoral outcome. Contrary to the literature we expect to find even in a system with large district magnitudes evidence for strategic voting. Evidence comes from survey data and official district level election returns
- Paper** **Determinants of Defection: The Effect of Elite Cues on Strategic Voting in a Mock Mayoral Election**
Jennifer L. Merolla, *Claremont Graduate University*
 Overview: This paper uses an experimental design to assess the impact that elite messages have on the likelihood of strategic voting in a mock mayoral election. The primary hypothesis is that individuals will be more likely to vote strategically given exposure to an explicit strategic voting cue, as opposed to only being exposed to poll results. The experiment also tests for the conditioning impact of the sponsor of the cue and the presence of counter information.
- Paper** **The Missing 3,847 Voters: Strategic Voting in a Primary Election or the Malaise of One-Party Politics?**
Michael R. Wolf, *Indiana University Purdue University, Fort Wayne*
Sarah Wimer, *Indiana University Purdue University Fort Wayne*
Andrew Downs, *Indiana University Purdue University, Fort Wayne*
 Overview: This strategic voting case study examines the bizarre outcome in Indiana's third congressional district in 2002. In the primary, the former Fort Wayne mayor and one-time party Senate candidate challenged the ideological incumbent Republican. 3,847 fewer Republicans participated in the general election than the primary. Were Republicans motivated by a close race or did Democrats cross-over, taking advantage of Indiana's partially open primary system, where voters declare their party allegiance on the day of the primary?
- Disc.** **Andre Blais**, *University of Montreal*
Geoff Evans, *Oxford University*

- 12-18**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30
Chair Martha E. Kropf, *University of Missouri - Kansas City*
Paper **Staying on Message: How Senatorial Campaigns Maintain Message Discipline in Their Television Advertisements**
Brian K. Arbour, *University of Texas at Austin*
 Overview: How do congressional campaigns craft and disseminate their message? To answer this question, I examine how senatorial campaigns use television advertising to deliver their campaign message to voters, focusing on the number of issues that campaigns discuss in their advertisements. What factors determine what issues candidates will emphasize? In what circumstances are local political issues, candidate

biographical information, the actions of an opponents, or national factors most relevant? And once campaigns select their message, how consistently do they stay "on message" in their advertisements?

- Paper** **Voter Heterogeneity: The Consequences of Ambivalence for Senate Elections**
Scott J. Basinger, *SUNY - Stony Brook*
Howard Lavine, *SUNY - Stony Brook*
Scott Mellon, *SUNY - Stony Brook*
 Overview: Voters who are ambivalent towards political parties rely less heavily on their party identification and presidential approval, and more heavily on issue voting, than voters who have one-sided attitudes towards the parties. This pattern is somewhat reversed with regard to ambivalence towards candidates.
- Paper** **The Effect of Senatorial Voting on Reelection Probability**
John C. Hansen, *United States Military Academy*
 Overview: We use a median voter model to describe the voting behavior of Senators during the six distinct years in their particular term. We find that the fourth and fifth years of the Senator's term to be significant in affecting the probability of reelection. The sixth year does not have any statistically significant effect.
- Paper** **Why Debate? An Examination of the Origins and Format of Campaign Debates in U.S. Senate Elections**
John M. Marion, *Indiana University*
 Overview: This paper deals with the how and why campaign debates occur in U.S. Senate elections. Using empirical research I explore a variety of theories about why debates occur and how candidates manipulate them for strategic advantage. I conclude with prescriptions for improving debates in all types of campaigns.
- Paper** **Explaining the Decline in Aggregate Challenger Quality in U.S. Senate Elections, 1972-2000**
Costas Panagopoulos, *New York University*
 Overview: As reelection rates for incumbent members of the U.S. Senate have soared over the past three decades, senate elections have become increasingly less competitive. Among the explanations that account for this phenomenon is the influence of challenger quality on electoral outcomes. Even as scholars argue about how to measure and define candidate quality, the literature shows that quality plays an important role in elections. Furthermore, researchers have identified the conditions under which high-quality challengers are likely to emerge to face off against incumbents. Yet few systematic examinations of overall challenger quality over time have been undertaken. This study examines aggregate challenger quality for the U.S. Senate from 1972-2000. The findings reveal that challenger quality has varied but steadily declined during this period. Even as some scholars find that incumbents in U.S. elections are "running scared," this study asserts that high-quality challengers may be scared to run. The analysis also develops models to explain the decline we observe. The results of this analysis suggest profound implication for the future of elections and democracy in America.
- Disc.** **Matthew Wilson**, *Southern Methodist University*
Martha E. Kropf, *University of Missouri - Kansas City*

- 13-205**
Room TBA, TABLE 1, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30
Inf. Rnd. **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: SOCIAL NETWORKS, PUBLIC OPINION, AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**
The Ties that Bond or the Ties that Bridge? Re-Examining the Disagreement in Social Network on Political Participation
Scott D. McClurg, *Southern Illinois University*
 Overview: I challenge the conclusion that disagreement in social networks makes participation unlikely by analyzing multiple dyads simultaneously. Through an investigation of network density and the broader distribution of support available to individuals, I am able to investigate the autoregressive nature of social influences and determine the conditions in which disagreement is demobilizing, irrelevant,

and potentially even mobilizing. Results are based on survey data gathered during the 1996 presidential election.

Inf. Rnd. Forgetfulness, Media Use, and Social Networks of Talking Politics: An Examination of Public Opinion Formation with Agent-based Modeling

Cheng-shan Liu, *University of Kansas*

Paul Johnson, *University of Kansas*

Overview: This paper presents an agent-based model and the patterns of aggregate opinion the emerge from interaction between individuals and the media. This approach of employing computer-based experimental research on public opinion is an attempt to address the dynamical process of public opinion formation. Its implications also shed light on the study of media effects and social networks.

13-206 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: SYMBOLIC POLITICS VERSUS SELF-INTEREST IN POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Room TBA, TABLE 2, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Inf. Rnd. Symbolic Politics or Pragmatism? Public Opinion on Unification vs. Independence in Taiwan

Tse-min Lin, *University of Texas at Austin*

Feng-yu Lee, *University of Texas at Austin*

Chin-En Wu, *University of Michigan*

Overview: This paper argues that statehood choices are influenced by both symbolic politics and pragmatism. The existing accounts of statehood choices in Taiwan emphasize primordialism and ignore the potential effects of tangible considerations. We provide a theoretical argument of how self-interests might affect public opinion on the "unification vs. independence" issue in Taiwan and conduct an empirical test on the differential effects of pragmatic and symbolic factors on different groups of people.

Inf. Rnd. Public Opinion and Government Assistance: The Influence of Self-Interest on Political Attitudes

Jose A. Bocanegra, *University of Houston*

Overview: Amidst the ongoing research interest and inquiry into the sources of public opinion, one particular recurrent debate in this area involves whether symbolic values or self-interest undergird, as a predominant source in, the development and expression of political attitudes. This paper examines the relationship between self-interest, as conceptualized via the receipt of government assistance, and public opinion, as measured via attitudes toward various political and policy issues.

13-207 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: TRENDS AND PATTERNS IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Room TBA, TABLE 3, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Inf. Rnd. Ballot Depth: The Overlooked Third Dimension of Participation

Michael A. Lewkowicz, *University of Illinois*

Overview: Almost all of the voter participation research has overlooked a potentially critical dimension of voting: ballot depth. Using a decomposition of variance in California election returns into time-series, cross-sectional and office-level components, this paper calls attention to the importance of ballot depth as a determinant of participation.

15-6 ASSESSMENTS OF TITLE IX AND WORKPLACE POLICIES AIMED AT WOMEN AND FAMILIES

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Chair **Peregrine Schwartz-Shea**, *University of Utah*

Paper **Thinking About TitleIX: Gender, Participation in Athletics, Or Ideology?**

Joe Cammarano, *Providence College*

Megan St.Ledger, *Providence College*

Overview: This paper examines the attitudes of members of college communities towards implementation of Title IX in college athletics. We consider the degree to which gender,

participation in sports, and ideology structure evaluation of the effects of Title IX on colleges and universities.

Paper **Last Hired, First Fired? Evaluating the Effects of Recession on Federal Employment Programs Targeting Women**

Sharon H. Mastracci, *University of Illinois - Chicago*

Overview: This study updates findings from the book *Breaking Out of the Pink-Collar Ghetto: Policy Solutions for Non-College Women*, which demonstrated the positive impact of two Women's Bureau job training programs. However, the data extend only to 1999. Has the recent economic downturn nullified any gains women made? Maybe so: the initial analysis revealed a positive and statistically-significant impact of these programs, but with updated data, the effect is no longer positive and statistically significant.

Paper **Gender Roles, Infant Care and Gender Neutral Post- Birth Paid Leave Policies in Adademia**

Steven E. Rhoads, *University of Virginia*

Chris H. Rhoads, *Northwestern University*

Overview: Parental leave policies, gender-role attitudes, and preferences for doing childcare affect the distribution of babycare responsibilities in families of tenure track academics with young children. Even male professors who take leave and believe in non-traditional gender roles do much less infant care than female professors. Since 85 percent of the women breastfeed, and since all are recovering from pregnancy/delivery, we ask whether granting paid post-birth leaves to both genders "levels the playing field" for women.

Paper **Title IX Winners and Losers: Media Framing and Interest Group Strategy**

Cindy Simon Rosenthal, *University of Oklahoma*

M. Lynsey Morris, *American Association of University Women*

Jamie Martinez, *University of Oklahoma*

Overview: This paper explores the interest group strategies and subsequent media coverage generated by the recent U.S. public debate over gender equity in college athletics. Between June 2002 and June 2003, U.S. Secretary of Education Rod Paige's blue-ribbon commission of sports professionals and educators examined enforcement and implementation of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 and its impact on college athletes. During the deliberations of the Commission on Opportunity in Athletics, media coverage of Title IX served to educate the public about the contributions of this landmark legislation as well as to frame public debate about possible amendments. This paper analyzes newspaper coverage (296 stories in major newspapers) and compares the coverage with testimony presented to the Commission. In addition, the analysis employs interview data and a network analysis of interest groups (nearly 100) in order to understand how discursive opportunities are used to define, advance and limit public policy options. The analysis reveals that advocates of weakening Title IX met with success in controlling problem definition in the media, while proponents of protecting and sustaining Title IX's contributions to women in sports mounted a more successful grassroots and lobbying effort that thwarted policy change. The case provides an opportunity to further test and extend Ferree et al's (2002) claims about the democratic quality of public policy discourse.

Disc. **Jana Singer**, *University of Maryland*

15-101 ROUNDTABLE: THE U.S. WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: THE SECOND WAVE AND BEYOND

Room PDR 9, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Rndtbl. **Marian Lief Palley**, *University of Delaware*

Lee Ann Banaszak, *Pennsylvania State University*

Janet Flammang, *Santa Clara University*

S. Laurel Weldon, *Purdue University*

Maryann Barakso, *American University*

Ronnee Schreiber, *San Diego State University*

Overview: Research on women and politics, particularly analyses of "women's issues" in political parties and women as candidates in electoral politics, has exploded. What are the

current trends and the most pressing gaps in research on women's *movements*? How might new research on feminist organizations shed light on questions of political representation and civic engagement?

16-9 **POLITICAL MOBILIZATION IN COMMUNITIES OF COLOR**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Chair Peter W. Wielhouwer, *Regent University*

Paper **The Effect of Family Ecological Transitions on Latino Political Participation**

Gia E. Barboza, *Michigan State University*

Greg Robinson, *Michigan State University*

Overview: This paper augments our understanding of Latino political participation by examining the impact that life cycle and situational factors have on explaining the Latino vote. Focusing on the role that ecological transitions (Bronfenbrenner 1979), such as marriage, divorce and parenthood, have on the participation rates of Mexican Americans, Cubans and Puerto Ricans, we test whether there exists a marriage premium to Latino political participation and whether this premium differentially impacts men and women.

Paper **Asian-American Civic and Political Participation in Boston Enclaves: The Role of Resources and Community Organizing**

C.K. Richard Hung, *University of Massachusetts, Boston*

Overview: This paper examines various forms of civic and political participation of Asian Americans in selected communities in the Boston area. The level of financial and human resources in these communities, as well as the role of community organizing, may account for some of the differences in participation among them.

Paper **The Virgin, the Priest, and the Flag: Political Mobilization of Mexican Immigrants in Chicago, Houston, and New York**

Gustavo Cano, *Columbia University*

Overview: This paper examines the current role of religion, the Catholic Church, and (Mexican) nationalism to explain different levels of political organization and mobilization of the Mexican immigrant communities in Chicago, New York, and Houston. I also assess the main findings of this research from other two perspectives: the non-monolithic status, in terms of political behavior, of Mexican immigrant communities living in American cities; and the implications for mobilization theory from a non-electoral political perspective.

Paper **Political Apathy That Travels: How Political Culture Affects Political Assimilation of Asian Immigrants**

P. See Lim, *University of Houston*

Overview: Asian immigrants travelled and settled in the U.S. with their political experiences and culture from their previous homeland. Japanese and Hong Kong Chinese immigrants assimilate at different rates because their attitudes affect their political assimilation in their adopted homeland.

Paper **Exploring the Social Network Effects of Church on Black Party Identification**

Maurice L. Mangum, *Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville*

Overview: The underlying processes that directly connect the social network environment of church to the continuing or decline of the relationship Blacks have with the Democratic Party have not been examined to date. The church may facilitate Black Democratic identification, impede Black Republican identification and affiliation with other parties, or vice versa. The goal of this research is to reveal the structure of the relationship between church and Black party identification.

Disc. Peter W. Wielhouwer, *Regent University*

16-14 **MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF RACE AND ETHNICITY**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Chair Nicole E. Johnson, *University of South Florida - St. Petersburg*

Paper **Are "We" Us or Them?**

Margaret M. Young, *Albion College*

Overview: This paper looks at the ways that the social construction of race, class and ethnicity takes in, often explicitly, inclusion in or exclusion from the political norms of American society. Specific focus is placed on the difference levels and forms of inclusion of African-Americans, Latinas/Latinos, Asian-Americans and Native Americans at different periods of time in American history.

Paper **Does Parity in Employment in Newspaper Newsrooms Affect Sensitivity in Newspaper Content**

John R. Arnold, *Wayne State University*

Overview: The American Society of Newspaper Editors determined that parity in employment in Newspaper Newsrooms equals diversity in newspapers content. My study looks to correlate their hypothesis will reality in a longitudinal study of the content in daily newspapers.

Paper **Representing Reproductive and Sexual Health: Discursive Marginalization and Resistance in New York's Ethnic Print Media**

Amy C. Rasmussen, *Yale University*

Overview: Using the case study of reproductive and sexual health, this paper examines coverage in New York's ethnic print media (The New York Amsterdam News and El Diario/La Prensa) to develop a theoretical typology of discursive mechanisms of power. Through identifying the patterns of coverage related to exclusion, stereotyping, stigmatization, and the responses that are concomitant, this paper provides empirical evidence to improve our theorizing about discursive marginalization and resistance, particularly as they function within marginalized communities. The paper also adds to our substantive knowledge of reproductive and sexual health through an examination of the patterns through which these outlets represent issues of reproductive and sexual health, as well as how such discourses are related to larger historical and contemporary debates on the intersections of race, class, gender, and sexuality.

Paper **A Darker Lens: How the New York Times Portrays Black Presidential Candidates Rev. Jesse Jackson (1984) and Rev. Al Sharpton (2004)**

Ravi L. Perry, *University of Michigan*

Overview: A critical examination of the initial month after formal announcement of entering the presidential race of selected leading black candidates' presidential campaigns and their coverage in the New York Times. This project examines the impact and suggest the historical and current implications of the Times' focus (or lack thereof) on two black candidate's presidential campaigns.

Disc. Nicole E. Johnson, *University of South Florida - St. Petersburg*

17-301 **POSTER SESSION: FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICAL THEORY AND PHILOSOPHY**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Poster **Justice, Virtue and Freedom: Remembering the Republic in Tacitus' Annales**

Daniel J. Kapust, *University of Wisconsin*

Overview: While many republicans and communarians seek to incorporate greater emphasis on shared conceptions of virtue and the good, Tacitus' Annales show us the dangers in doing so. While an idealized recollection of the Roman republic presents us with a society dominated by virtue and patriotism, what Tacitus is actually remembering is something very different - a society in which freedom and justice are opposed to each other, and a society in which freedom, and virtue, are the possessions of the few, who are entitled to greater status and honor than the many.

Poster **Preservationism and Eclecticism: Revisiting Antifederalist and Federalist Thought**

Elizabeth A. Prough, *Wayne State University*

Overview: A reexamination and comparative analysis of Antifederalist and Federalist arguments recasts the Antifederalists as preservationists and the Federalists as eclectics. Both arguments are, and continue to be, legacies in American political thought that Louis Hartz referred to as "maze of polar contradictions."

19-9 **FEMINISM AT HOME AND ABROAD**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Chair **Jennet Kirkpatrick, University of Michigan**

Paper **Home, Land, Security: Women's Status in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the U.S.**

Michael Ferguson, University of Colorado at Boulder

Overview: This paper examines what the relationship should be between the pursuit of "homeland security" for U.S. citizens, and the status of women, both at home and abroad.

Paper **Luck Egalitarianism and Feminist Equality**

Hee-Kang Kim, University of Chicago

Overview: This paper explores whether and how luck egalitarianism can contribute to a feminist theory of equality. I examine the strengths and weaknesses of luck egalitarianism in its account of the issue of gender inequality. Given my critiques and reformulations of luck egalitarianism, I then provide an account of what a good feminist theory of equality should be.

Paper **Do We Know Consent When We See It? Female Genital Mutilation and the Dilemmas of Consent**

Jamie Lennahan, University of Colorado at Boulder

Overview: I examine under what conditions it is possible to know for certain if an individual has consented, and whether it is ever possible in the case of female genital mutilation (FGM). I look at debates between feminists and multiculturalists over FGM in order to evaluate current theories of consent as I work towards developing standards for consent that do carry meaning for women who face female genital mutilation.

Paper **Cosmopolitan Ethos, Democratic Action, Feminist Engagement?**

Laurie Naranch, Providence College

Overview: Ever since Kant's "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Intent" (1784), the idea of cosmopolitanism as world government as the result of human progress has been tied uncomfortably to the question of nationalism, to metaphysics and to teleology. Despite the recognition of these challenges in the wake of post-structuralist and post-colonial critiques and assumptions about life in postmodernity as the conditions of late capitalism, there has been a resurgence of interest in the merits of cosmopolitanism and of the place of universals. In this paper I draw on the work of Kant, Hannah Arendt, Susan Okin, Bonnie Honig, and Luce Irigaray and utilize examples from UNESCO to the group "Women in Black" to ask about whether feminist theory could use a form of cosmopolitanism today appropriate to an international context in need of security, democracy and respect for difference.

Paper **The Logic of Reactionary Fundamentalism: What Equality Means on Both Sides of the Pro-Life/Pro-Choice Divide**

Kathy Purnell-Craft, DePaul University

Overview: This paper analyzes the persistence of the abortion controversy in American politics through an examination of how pro-life and pro-choice advocates and feminist theorists have discussed abortion. I argue that the persistent presence of the abortion controversy in American politics is grounded in a tension within our understanding of equality and subjectivity, and that these tensions dictate what is channeled emotionally into both sides of the pro-life/pro-choice divide. I suggest that the abortion deadlock has less to do with irreconcilable differences on matters such as women's roles in society, or the nature of morality, and more to do with our fundamental consensus on the meaning of "equality" of citizenship in the public sphere. I argue that the SAME conception of equality between men and women shapes the concerns of pro-life and pro-choice advocates, and that the conflict between them is heated because both sides are responding to the social consequences of women attaining equality with men on a particular model of subjectivity.

Disc. **Jill Locke, Gustavus Adolphus College**

19-10 **HOBBS AND LOCKE**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Chair **Michael D. Schmidt, American University**

Paper **Fear of Violent Death and Its Siblings**

Khristina H. Haddad, Moravian College

Overview: Contemporary political analyses of post-9/11 U.S. political culture rarely fail to invoke fear. This proliferation of fear-based claims requires further examination. I turn to Hobbes, the preeminent political theorist of fear, in order to find three species of fear, their genesis, and their respective political effects. These three ideal-typical accounts will be the basis of a larger typology.

Paper **By Land or by Sea? Hobbes's Leviathan and Behemoth as Histories of the English Revolution**

Mark S. Jendrysik, University of North Dakota

Overview: In this paper I will ask whether Hobbes's analysis of the causes, effects and danger of civil strife remained the same or changed between the writing of Leviathan and Behemoth. I will consider what effect, if any, the changed political contexts between the writing of the two works (1651 and approximately 1668) affected Hobbes's conclusions about the causes and effects of the English Revolution. I also ask whether or not, as Stephen Holmes suggested, Hobbes consistently applies the analytical framework for interpreting the breakdown of authority developed in Leviathan.

Paper **Prerogative and the Rule of Law in John Locke and Abraham Lincoln**

Sean Mattie, Ave Maria College

Overview: This paper compares John Locke's complex account of prerogative with President Lincoln's actions and explanation of those actions in the complexity of the Civil War. Lincoln's decisions amidst the rebellion to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, to emancipate slaves, and to raise the army make a case for Lockean prerogative for the public good. However, Lincoln also defended these executive actions as fulfillment of—and authorized by—both the Constitution and congressional statutes.

Paper **In Defense of Women: Equality in Locke's Political Theory**

Helena A. Rodrigues, University of Iowa

Overview: TBA

Disc. **Steven A. Gerencser, Indiana University- South Bend**

20-6 **RULES, AGENDAS AND LEGISLATIVE OUTCOMES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Chair **Elizabeth Penn, Carnegie Mellon University**

Paper **Reigning on Spending: The Line Item Veto**

Katri K. Sieberg, Binghamton University

Overview: This paper uses a mathematical approach to assess the effect of the Line item Veto on legislation. The results imply that rather than producing outcomes that are more representative of the population, the Item Veto can create bills that reflect only the interest of the executive.

Paper **Legislative Organization and Rule Choice: Monopoly Agenda Setting Power and the Status Quo**

Jachoon Kim, University of Rochester

Overview: We consider the informational rationale for committee specialization introduced by Gilligan and Krehbiel. We show that the results of the model change if a committee has gatekeeping power with the status quo as an outside option. In turn, we demonstrate that if gatekeeping power is given to a committee, a policy outcome that is better for both committee and floor is produced. Then we show that some legislative norms or institutions such as restrictive amendment rules, gatekeeping power, and deference, are justifiable with informational rationales.

Paper **A Model of Legislative Issue Selection**

Jonathan Woon, Stanford University

Overview: Why and how do some issues come to the forefront of the legislative agenda while others do not? In the model I develop, alternatives are grouped by policy area, and it is the choice, ordering, and persistence of attention to these policy areas as a result of political bargaining that is the focus of the analysis.

Paper **It's the Agenda, Stupid: The Real Power of Parties in Congress**

Elizabeth M. Penn, Carnegie Mellon University

John W. Patty, Carnegie Mellon University

	Overview: In this paper, we present a model of political parties as policymaking institutions within the United States Congress. Political parties, we argue, coordinate legislative effort. In doing so, their influence in Congress is primarily expressed in the substance of legislation rather than in the legislators' individual votes. We highlight the process through which legislation is proposed and developed, prior to being voted upon, as the main arena in which the influences of the political parties is felt.	outlets. It then compares these citations with speeches of members of Congress. Our results show that nearly all mainstream media outlets are to the left of the House median.
Disc.	Alan E. Wiseman, <i>The Ohio State University</i>	Andrew Martin, <i>Washington University</i>
21-3	<u>YOU'RE GOIN' TO STANFORD! IRT AND IDEAL POINTS</u>	<u>ENVIRONMENTAL INTERESTS AND POLICY MAKING</u>
Room	TBA0, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30
Chair	John Longregan	Steven M. Davis, <i>Edgewood College</i>
Paper	<u>The Executive: A Political-Economic History from Eisenhower to Clinton</u> Anthony Bertelli, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Christian R. Grose, <i>Lawrence University</i> Overview: The spatial theory of political control posits that bureaucratic drift results from asymmetric information gathered by agencies, veto opportunities for political branches, agency policy preferences, and transactions costs. To this theoretical approach, we add a quasi-autonomous administrative agent—which shares policy setting authority with an interest group. To empirically test these implications, we estimate ideal points and the distances between the relevant actors (the president, administrative agency heads and regulatory commission members, and members of Congress) in the competing models. Using Markov Chain Monte Carlo ideal point estimation, we are able to compare the distances between the ideal points of these actors on a comparable scale.	<u>Environmental Interest Group Membership and Voting Patterns in the US Senate</u> Kyle W. Leiker, <i>University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee</i> Overview: This paper examines the role of state level factors on environmental voting patterns among US senators. It finds that home district matters such as interest group membership, political culture, and public land ownership are important predictors of votes. The importance of campaign contributions is called into question.
Paper	<u>The Coalition Merchants: The Spatial Structure Of American Political Discourse, A Hierarchical Model for Estimating Ideal Points with a Paucity of Data</u> Hans C. Noel, <i>University of California at Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper develops that measure to explore the relationship between ideological discourse and political action. I apply an ITEM RESPONSE MODEL to a sample of articles in leading ideological journals to extract a latent trait of ideology for the pundits. A HIERARCHICAL MODEL FOR THE IDEAL POINTS takes advantage of the known relationship between writers for the same journal, to "borrow strength" to overcome the lack of data on individual writers.	<u>Interest Group Capacity, Issue Involvement, and Influence Strategies in the Energy and Environment Policy Arena</u> Paul J. Culhane, <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: Are there systematic relationships among interest group's policy interests, organizational structure and capacity, and financial resources, on the one hand, and their choices of advocacy tactics and strategies, on the other hand? Data and methods: survey of 83 national interest groups in the environment and energy policy arena; latent variable structural equation model, using AMOS.
Paper	<u>Estimation of Multidimensional Spatial Voting Models</u> Douglas Rivers, <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: This paper derives asymptotic approximations for estimators of multidimensional spatial voting models.	<u>Mobilization and Public Policy: Business versus Environmental Organizations</u> Adam J. Newmark, <i>Wake Forest University</i> Christopher Witko, <i>California State University, Sacramento</i> Overview: We examine how mobilized, environmental interests can compete with business organizations and under what circumstances they can be successful in achieving their policy objectives. To do this, we have developed separate measures of business policy and environmental policy outputs. When issues are highly salient and public opinion favors environmental interests, the business advantage dissipates, and mobilized environmental organizations can influence policy.
Paper	<u>Ranking College Ranks: Institutional Quality as a Latent Variable</u> Michael C. Herron, <i>Dartmouth College</i> Simon Jackman, <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: College ranks are a highly charged feature of the American educational landscape. The most influential ranks are those published by the national periodical US News & World Report, and universities regularly trumpet their standings in the USN&WR ranks whenever they are able to do so. Although organizations that publish college ranks claim that their figures can distinguish minute gradations in quality across educational institutions, we show using scaling techniques that the information content in USN&WR ranks is much lower than the USN&WR organization might care to admit. Namely, our results show that USN&WR ranks cannot distinguish between the topmost educational institutions in the country. More generally, the results show that latent variables, like quality levels of academic institutions, should always be accompanied by measures of uncertainty so that users of the levels are not lulled into a false sense security in assuming that the levels are much more precise than they actually are.	<u>Organized Interests and Delay: What Effect do Groups Have on the Implementation of Public Policy?</u> Suzanne M. Robbins, <i>Morehead State University</i> Overview: TBA
Paper	<u>A Measure of Media Bias</u> Tim Groseclose, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Jeff Milyo, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: The paper estimates an ADA score for various news outlets. It does this by counting citations of think tanks by news	<u>Disc.</u> Marie Hojnacki, <i>Pennsylvania State University</i>
		<u>23-301 POSTER SESSION: PRESIDENCY AND EXECUTIVE POLITICS</u>
		<u>Room</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30
		<u>Poster</u> <u>Gubernatorial Influence in Presidential Elections: A Reassessment</u> Raymond Hicks, <i>Emory University</i> Celia M. Carroll, <i>Washington and Lee University</i> Overview: In this paper, we review the evidence for gubernatorial influence on presidential elections by reviewing the incentives governors have to become involved in presidential campaigns. Specifically, we assume that political aspirations and home state factors predict whether the governor works with national candidates. Governors who have national aspirations—either as appointees of the current candidate, national party figures, or as presidential candidates themselves—have a greater incentive to campaign than governors who are content with statewide office. Second, we examine whether closeness of the gubernatorial election has an effect upon the governor's effectiveness as a presidential supporter. Governors facing tight reelection races are less likely to campaign for national candidates, because of the potential risks of associating oneself with a candidate who may lose, or who will become unpopular once in office.
		<u>Poster</u> <u>The Mixed Federalism of Bush II</u> Marvin P. King, Jr., <i>University of North Texas</i>

Overview: This paper covers looks at federalism as practiced by the current Bush Administration in comparative perspective to President's Reagan, Bush, and Clinton.

24-12 **LEGISLATIVE CAREERISM AND PROFESSIONALIZATION**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Chair **Sean M. Theriault**, *University of Texas at Austin*

Paper **Minority Governments and Legislative Professionalization: The Case of the Mexican States Legislatures**

Jeronimo Cortina, *Columbia University*

Overview: The presence of minority governments in Mexico at the subnational level increased the degree of professionalism within state legislatures during the period between 1992 and 2000. Minority governments altered the incentive structure that prevailed during unified, one-party government and therefore, when executive-legislators preferences are not perfectly aligned and legislators face a powerful executive with divergent preferences, they will have more incentives to increase the level of professionalism in the chamber.

Paper **The Impact of Changing Electoral Institutions on Careerism: Evidence from the Illinois Legislature**

Philip D. Habel, *University of Illinois*

Overview: This paper seeks to address the impact of changing electoral institutions on careerism. I argue that legislators elected through single-member districts have greater opportunities to engage in behavior facilitating their reelection than those serving under multi-member districts with proportional representation. I test this hypothesis using an event history analysis on the length of legislator's careers in the Illinois House, before and after the transition from a proportional representation system to single-member districts with plurality voting.

Paper **Congressional Staff Elected to the US House of Representatives: A Fast Track Career?**

Susan Webb Hammond, *American University*

Allison Bawden, *American University*

Overview: Analyzes House careers of 104th Congress freshmen through a decade (104th-108th Congresses) of committee assignments and transfers, and party, committee, subcommittee, and informal caucus leadership positions, assessing previous experience (former staff, former city, state or local legislators, other occupations); party; the House opportunity structure and other variables.

Paper **Does Ambition Matter? The Behavioral Differences of Higher-Office Seekers Versus Congressional Contents**

Jennifer N. Victor, *University of Pittsburgh*

Overview: Do House members seeking higher office behave differently than House members with "static" ambition? This paper examines the congressional *careers* of freshman members of the 92nd through 96th Congresses to determine if the congressional behavior of those who were politically ambitious differed from those who were satisfied with their positions.

Disc. **Sean M. Theriault**, *University of Texas at Austin*

Diana Evans, *Trinity College*

24-21 **LEGISLATIVE POLITICS IN THE STATES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Chair **Brian F. Schaffner**, *Western Michigan University*

Paper **The Impact of Campaign Contributions on State Legislators**

Adam H. Hoffman, *University of Maryland*

Overview: In this paper, I analyze a sample of 23 states, representative of the variation in region, campaign expenditure level and a states' campaign finance regulatory environment. I explore whether campaign contributions from business and labor interests effect state legislators when they vote for bills which concerns business interests. Using data from 1998 and 2000 campaign contribution records as well as a number of constituent and district-level factors, my findings reveal that money does indeed impact roll call votes.

Paper **Punitive Correctional Policy: The Impact of the State Legislature**

Fred A. Meyer, *Ball State University*

Ralph E. Baker, *Ball State University*

Overview: This study of Indiana Senators uses Q methodology to examine the feasibility of change from the current punitive model of corrections. A treatment model is presented in the consensus of statements developed for the Q-sort. Of particular concern is whether an attitudinal climate is emerging among legislators that would support a reversal of the incarceration explosion that has taken place in the United States.

Paper **Which is the More Deliberative Chamber?**

Harvey J. Tucker, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: American Government texts and scholarly studies agree that the framers intended the United States Senate to be the more deliberative body. Most assume that the Senate is deliberative than the House. This paper investigates the phenomenon of deliberation in the two chambers empirically. Measures of quantity of deliberations and quality of deliberations are used.

Paper **The Innovation and Diffusion of Joint Custody: The Language and Influence of Attorneys**

Gwyneth I. Williams, *Webster University*

Overview: This paper explores the politics around the enactment of joint custody statutes during the 1980s. State legislators were inclined to listen closely to the arguments of family law attorneys and judges who dealt with custody cases, and often took their voting cues from them. Though attorneys were not vocal in this debate as were either fathers' rights groups or feminist organizations, they were afforded greater credibility by legislators and shaped the form of custody statutes.

Paper **Legislative Strategies of Bureaucratic Interaction: Explaining the Adoption of Ex Ante and Ex Post Tactics**

Sarah J. Poggione, *The University of Georgia*

Christopher Reenock, *Florida State University*

Overview: Using data from a survey of more than 2,500 state legislators in 24 states, we locate characterize legislators by the strategy of bureaucratic interaction they prefer: activists, designers, pragmatists, and abdicators. We model legislators' adoption of these strategies as a function of both institutional factors and individual legislator's characteristics. The results suggest that policy area characteristics, institutional resources, and ideological preferences influence the nature of legislators' interactions with state bureaucratic agencies.

Disc. **Brian F. Schaffner**, *Western Michigan University*

25-3 **THE REALITIES OF REDISTRICTING**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Chair **Peter L. Francia**, *University of Maryland*

Paper **A Nash Bargaining Model of Redistricting**

Allen B. Brierly, *University of Northern Iowa*

Overview: This study develops a model of redistricting based on Nash's model of bargaining and his solution concept for a theory of bargaining. The analysis provides analytical structure to an important area of legislative politics concerning how district plans are influenced by incumbency, partisanship, and voting rights law. Based on theories of bargaining, the framework is to establish how these factors influence the process of redistricting, while identifying some of the constraints. Reminiscent of Baumol's model on gerrymandering, the idea of implementing a neutral redistricting process has captured the imagination of scholars and practitioners alike since the apportionment cases (circa 1953 to 1969) changed state constitutional provisions allocating seats to local jurisdictions. The models formulated in this study accomplish this by a detailed analysis of three gerrymandering strategies. The role of the courts and legal criteria are built into the analysis of bargaining as constraints, and then as distinct models of negotiation and arbitration. The solutions derived reveal some of the conflicting tradeoffs in a majoritarian system with protections for minority voting rights.

Paper **Partisan Stratification, Legislative Electoral Competitiveness, and 2002 Redistricting**
Richard G. Forgette, *University of Mississippi*
Glenn Platt, *Miami University, Dept. of Economics*
 Overview: The 2002 redistricting cycle renewed questions of how districting affects the nature of legislative elections and Congress generally. In this paper, we address several questions. How have congressional districts' partisan composition changed overtime and why? What are the electoral consequences of these changes overtime and in the foreseeable future? Finally, what can be done to make congressional districts more competitive?

Paper **A General Theory of the Effects of Majority-Minority Districts**
Jason Reifler, *Duke University*
 Overview: This paper shows that the effects of majority-minority redistricting plans are contingent on the distribution of preferences within Congress, which party holds the Speakership, and the margin of that party's advantage. The paper develops a general accounting of the conditions under which majority-minority districts actually yield their desired effects.

Disc. **Peter L. Francia**, *University of Maryland*

26-2 **COALITION FORMATION IN COURTS OF LAST RESORT**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30
Chair **Albert P. Melone**, *Southern Illinois University Carbondale*
Paper **Selection Processes and Coalition Behavior in the State Supreme Courts**
Brent D. Boyea, *Rice University*
 Overview: The author expects that varying selection processes contribute to judge decisions to join or not join majority coalitions. To answer the question of whether selection processes, including elective and appointive formats, affect coalition formation, the proposed presentation seeks to evaluate the impact of institutional rules on judicial behavior.

Paper **Dissent in State Supreme Courts: an Integrated Model**
Tara W. Stricko-Neubauer, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: This paper examines the effects of the legal, attitudinal, and institutional models on non-unanimous cases in state supreme courts in both criminal and civil cases based on a strategically rational theory of judicial choice. Influences on judicial decision-making are expected to vary according to the type of case being adjudicated. The comparison of judicial decision-making in multiple areas of case law furthers the development and refinement of general theories of judicial choice by broadening the scope of inquiry and increasing the applicability of findings.

Paper **Concurring Opinion Writing on the Supreme Court**
Pamela C. Corley, *Georgia State University*
 Overview: The rising incidence of concurring opinions suggests a need to understand their role in modern Supreme Court jurisprudence. Why does a justice write a concurring opinion rather than merely joining the majority opinion? This paper, using the Justice-Centered Rehnquist Court Database, examines the factors that influence a justice to write a concurring opinion.

Paper **Controlling the Majority Opinion on the Supreme Court**
Chris Bonneau, *University of Pittsburgh*
Saul Brenner, *University of North Carolina - Charlotte*
Thomas Hammond, *Michigan State University*
Forrest Maltzman, *George Washington University*
Paul Wahlbeck, *George Washington University*
 Overview: Scholars have suggested that there are two key factors in shaping the majority coalition. First, some have focused on the important agenda-controlling power of the majority opinion author. Second, some have insisted that the Court median dictates the shape of the law. We pit these two explanations against each other and identify who shapes the development of the law.

Disc. **Scott A. Comparato**, *Southern Illinois University*
Donald Songer, *University of South Carolina*

26-6 **INTEREST GROUPS IN COURT**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30
Chair **Margaret E. Ellis**, *University of Oklahoma*
Paper **Discordant Voices in the Choir**
Joseph F. Kobylka, *Southern Methodist University*
 Overview: I examine the unraveling of traditional alliances among "separatists" in litigation of the religion clauses. Largely united through the 1970s, this unity began to fray in the 1980s. Here, I preliminarily examine two dimensions of this phenomenon: its causes and its consequences. As to the latter, I assess the degree to which previous alliances broke down, resulting changes in constitutional argument, and, to a lesser degree, the decisional latitude this created for the Court.

Paper **Amici Curiae, Signalling, and Oral Arguments before the U.S. Supreme Court**
Timothy R. Johnson, *University of Minnesota*
Mathew Roberts, *Calvin College*
 Overview: This paper provides a signaling model of litigants' decision to allow amici curiae the opportunity to participate at oral arguments before the U.S. Supreme Court. It then empirically tests the predictions of the model. The results indicate that litigants strategically decide to allow amicus participation to given them the greatest chance of victory before the Court.

Paper **The Legal Strategy Choices of Charities in their Court-Based Advocacy Efforts**
Nancy Winemiller Basinger, *University of Utah*
 Overview: In this paper, I attempt to contribute to the literature on interest group involvement in the courts, as well as the research on advocacy by charitable nonprofit organizations, by developing a theoretical explanation for the choices charities make with respect to how to participate in the courts: filing as litigants, filing as amici, by supplying counsel, and petitioning to intervene. The research question focuses on understanding the form of participation selected by charities that are court-based advocates. Internal and external factors are examined to discern variation among charities that appear as amici versus those groups that chose to participate as litigants.

Disc. **Richard L. Paccelle**, *Georgia Southern University*
Scott E. Graves, *Georgia State University*

27-203 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: MAKING AND EVALUATING LEGAL DECISIONS**

Room TBA, TABLE 4, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30
Inf. Rnd. **Constitutional and Supreme Court Deference in State Legislatures**
Jinney S. Smith, *University of Maryland*
 Overview: This paper presents survey results from over 1000 state legislators and attorneys working in state legislative and executive offices. The area of inquiry is the degree to which state legislators defer their policy preferences when those entail potential federal constitutional problems. Analyses are presented both at the individual level of state legislator, and at the state-level, whereby states are compared and categorized with regard to the degree of constitutional deference present.

Inf. Rnd. **Group Decision Theory and Jury Decision-Making: Can We Learn Anything?**
Sam Shelton, *Troy State University*
 Overview: The author advocates that an understanding of small group theory can help court officials improve the jury deliberation process and, as a result, improve the jury experience, the overall quality of jury decisions, and the public's faith in those decisions. Specific suggestions for change are also included.

27-204 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: JUSTICE KENNEDY AND GAY RIGHTS**

Room TBA, TABLE 5, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30
Inf. Rnd. **Lawrence v. Texas and the Gay Rights Jurisprudence of Justice Anthony Kennedy**
Artemus Ward, *Northern Illinois University*
 Overview: The paper analyzes Justice Anthony Kennedy's opinions and voting behavior on "gay rights" cases -- broadly

Paper	<p><u>The Issue Politics of Policy Innovation</u> Michele M. Hoyman, <i>University of North Carolina</i> Micah D. Weinberg, <i>University of North Carolina</i> Overview: The emergence of prison sitings as highly coveted rural development projects sheds light on the literatures of community decision-making, issue definition and policy innovation. The results of our research will illuminate the process by which the community leaders debated prison siting and will reveal systematic factors associated with a community accepting a prison. This paper will lay the groundwork for a general account of the role of issue definition in policy innovation.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>The Coherence of Local Land Use Policy</u> Elisabeth R. Gerber, <i>University of Michigan</i> Justin H. Phillips, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: This research considers the effect of political institutions on policy coherence. Specifically, we compare the coherence of growth management policies in cities that do and do not adopt urban growth boundaries via direct democracy.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>City Governments and Growth Management Policy: City Innovation Diffusion</u> Myungjung Kwon, <i>Florida State University</i> Frances Berry, <i>Florida State University</i> Richard Feiock, <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: Local governments have been exclusively responsible for adopting the provisions of growth management policy. In 1985, after years of development induced environmental degradation, Florida enacted into law a comprehensive growth management system, the first statute so titled "Growth Management Act." According to the Local Government Comprehensive Planning and Land Development Regulation act in Florida, Department of Community Affairs does not have regulatory authority to enforce local government development order consistency with the provisions of their adopted comprehensive plans. City governments play a key role in governance and public management, particularly with respect to planning and land use issues. Thus, this research examines the provision adoptions of growth management policy at Florida city government levels.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Alternative Teacher Certification Policies in the States: A Diffusion Study Finding Evidence of Bureaucratic Control and Teacher Union Control.</u> Wenda Sheard, <i>University of North Texas</i> Overview: Administrative agencies are more constrained than legislative bodies when passing alternative teacher certification policies: States whose legislatures passed the state's alternative teacher certification policy tended to pass stronger policies than did states whose regulatory agencies passed the state's alternative teacher certification policy. Additionally, states with weak union activity passed alternative teacher certification policies sooner than did states with stronger union activity.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Laying Down the Law? Interest Group Influence on State Adoption of Animal Cruelty Felony Provisions</u> Mahalley D. Allen, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: This paper evaluates the influence of the Humane Society of the United States on state adoptions of animal cruelty felony provisions in the context of an integrated state policy innovation framework. This research shows that animal rights interest groups can have an influence on the innovation of policies in the states and suggests that political activity by animal rights interest groups aimed at social change through legislation can be successful.</p>	
Disc.	<p>Christopher A. Simon, <i>University of Nevada</i></p>	
31-3	<p><u>LEADERSHIP</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30</p>	
Room	<p>Karen M. Hult, <i>Virginia Polytechnic Institute</i></p>	
Chair	<p><u>Short and Long Term Effects of Managerial Succession</u> Gregory C. Hill, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: There exists a large hole in the public management literature with regard to managerial succession and how managerial succession impacts organizational outputs. In this paper, I build on a theory presented by George Boyne and Jay Dahya (2002), develop hypotheses concerning their theoretical</p>	
Paper	<p>model, and test those hypotheses using an organization of high salience: public school districts.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Linking Public Agency Leadership with Agency Performance:</u> Kwangho Jung, <i>Kookmin University</i> Jaе Moon, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Sung Hahm, <i>Korea University</i> Overview: TBA</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Public Administrative Ethical Decision-Making</u> Sandra F. Mobley, <i>Commonwealth of Virginia</i> Overview: Public administration leaders face both economic and ethical dilemmas in the changing workplace. This document identifies relationships between executives' moral maturity levels and four key variables. This paper attempts to provide answers to several essential high-level public administration questions.</p>	
Disc.	<p>June Speakman, <i>Roger Williams University</i> Warren Eller, <i>Texas A&M University</i></p>	
31-12	<p><u>COMPARATIVE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION</u></p>	
Room	<p>TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30</p>	
Chair	<p>Ali Farazmand, <i>Florida Atlantic University</i></p>	
Paper	<p><u>HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa: A Governance Challenge</u> Alex Sekwat, <i>Tennessee State University</i> Overview: This study reviews the linkages and relevance of governance to the HIV/AIDS pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa. It explores critical dimensions of governance deemed essential in combating its effects such as citizen or community participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness and accountability, good leadership, and strategic vision. Researchers have recognized governance as a critical element in the fight against HIV/AIDS and that the progress of a country or region is a function of the quality of its governance.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Public Sector Reform in Argentina's Provinces: What Is Needed and What Is Feasible?</u> John M. Bolus, <i>University of Minnesota Duluth</i> Overview: In Latin America, the challenge of second generation reform lies on the organizational level, involving nuts and bolts issues of professionalization, marketization and democratization. This paper explores these nuts and bolts issues on the provincial level in Argentina. The study's findings caution against pursuing multiple reform planks simultaneously on an unrealistic timetable.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Attitudes of Nigeria's Leaders toward Federalism: Implications of Local Good Governance</u> Leslie O. Omoruyi, <i>East Carolina University</i> Ailele P. Okpogie, <i>The Grassroots Project</i> Eghosa Osaghae, <i>University of Ibadan</i> Overview: This paper examines the attitudes of a cross section of leaders at Nigeria's experimental three tier system toward the meaning, expectations and challenges of the country's federalism. Because these leaders have been the key operators of Nigeria's three tier system, an examination of their understanding of the meaning and constraints of the system, coupled with their attitudes toward the desirability of the system could provide valuable insights into the health of the system.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Evaluating Government Performance Measurement System in Korea: A Case Study</u> on Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs Young Min Kim, <i>The Ohio State University</i> Overview: Performance evaluation has been one of the essential tasks of government reform movement among the OECD countries since the 1990s. This paper will present some current significant governmental reform issues in Korea with a focus on government performance measurement system and suggest both theoretical implications and practical prescriptions on this issue, by analyzing the case of Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs (MOGAHA), a main engine for the Korean new public management(NPM)-oriented reform.</p>	

Paper	<p><u>Managing Reforms: The Politics of Designing Agencies for Bureaucratic Reform</u> Ora-orn Poocharoen, <i>Syracuse University</i> Bidhya Bowornwathana, <i>Chulalongkorn University</i> Overview: This is a study of designing new agencies for bureaucratic reform in 5 countries: U.K, U.S.A, New Zealand, Malaysia, and Thailand. The study of these new entities contributes to further understandings of the art of managing bureaucratic reforms. The paper presents insights on the establishment of the new agencies, its purpose and most importantly the politics behind the curtain. Data derives from document content analysis and in-depth interviews.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Establishing and Enforcing Norms without Government and Religion: The Nasty, Brutish Life of Middle School Students</u> Matthew T. Bishop, <i>Dickinson College</i> Michael M. Bishop, <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: How are social norms established and enforced in subcultures (middle school students in our case) that are not effectively regulated by government or religion? Our analysis of survey data from 12,000 students led us to conclude that peer norms are exemplified by and promulgated by a school's popular crowds and enforced by harassing those who violate them. Leading crowds seek normative hegemony because it legitimates the high status they claim for themselves.</p>
Disc.	<p>Chris R. Hamilton, <i>Washburn University</i> Eric Otenyo, <i>Illinois State University</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Religiosity and Political Tolerance: Theoretical Approaches</u> Beverly A. Gaddy, <i>University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg</i> Overview: There has been very little focus on this topic recently, possibly because it is generally accepted that religion is linked to greater levels of intolerance. I found this not to be the case in my research. Also research in this area, including my own, has been guided by the same theoretical approaches that have dominated empirical studies of tolerance for decades: Stouffer's democratic consensus approach, the elitist theories of McClosky and Brill and of Sniderman, the pluralistic intolerance thesis of Sullivan et al., and Gibson's cultural conformity approach. I believe studies of religion and tolerance can be enriched by considering other theoretical approaches which have yet to be utilized in empirical studies of religion and tolerance. I propose to explore some of these other theories of tolerance with an eye to their usefulness in understanding religiosity and tolerance. Theorists examined may include recent work by Mendus, Galeotti, and Walzer as well as resurrecting some more classic work such as Adorno's. My goal is to identify theoretical approaches that can guide future research on religion and tolerance in the U.S. and comparatively.</p>
32-3	<p><u>PROGRESSIVE ERA REFORMS: FURTHERING DEMOCRACY?</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30 Stephen Pimpare, <i>Hunter College, CUNY</i> <u>Constituting the Electorate: Voting System Reform and Working Class Incorporation in the United States, 1867 - 1913</u> Amel F. Ahmed, <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> Overview: This paper examines movements for proportional representation in the United States in the late 19th century and early 20th century. I argue that these movements can best be understood as an attempt to undermine working class influence in legislative bodies. The movement succeeded on two levels: in establishing institutional barriers to mass participation, and in constituting a model of modern democratic government where policy making is primarily an elite enterprise.</p>	Disc.	<p>Andrew R. Murphy, <i>Valparaiso University</i></p>
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30	34-201	<p><u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: TEACHING POLITICAL SCIENCE I</u> TBA, TABLE 6, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30</p>
Chair	Stephen Pimpare , <i>Hunter College, CUNY</i>	Room	TBA, TABLE 6, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30
Paper	<p><u>Studying Representation in the Jazz Age: The Literary Digest's Last Gift to Political Science.</u> David Karol, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: I use state-level data from Literary Digest Polls on issues, taken in the 1920s and early 1930s along with Senate roll-call data to examine enduring questions of representation in an era that has been understudied due to lack of public opinion data. Although the Digest Poll became infamous, I argue that its well-known limitations are not fatal in this case and that it may be preferable to more conventional alternative measures.</p>	Inf. Rnd.	<p><u>Taking Students into Prison: Alternative to Violence Project and Teaching Politics</u> Barbara R. Bixby, <i>Arizona International College</i> Overview: This paper examines experiential education in the form of Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) workshops in prison for students in a conflict resolution class.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Would Hiram Johnson Be Pleased? The Unintended Consequences of Progressive Era Reforms</u> James L. McDowell, <i>Indiana State University</i> Overview: The California recall election of 2003 is the most recent example of the misuse, even abuse, of the Progressive Era reforms. This paper examines and assesses the positive and negative effects of these reforms on American political development.</p>	Inf. Rnd.	<p><u>Teaching from the Saddle: The Civil Rights Tour</u> Thomas W. Simpson, <i>Missouri Southern State University</i> Overview: An effective way of teaching the politics of the modern civil rights movement is to visit locations where the struggle happened. The Civil Rights Tour at Missouri Southern State University is preparing for its third bus trip through the South. The presentation discusses planning and executing the Tour and the opportunities it presents for guiding students to an appreciation of the period in American politics.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Impact of the Seventeenth Amendment on the Progressive Policy Agenda</u> Francine S. Romero, <i>University of Texas at San Antonio</i> Overview: This is an empirical investigation of the extent to which the U.S. Senate became more supportive of progressive policies after passage of the Seventeenth Amendment. It examines all roll call votes in Senate and (for control) House on progressive measures in a fifteen year period bisected by the amendment.</p>	34-202	<p><u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: TEACHING POLITICAL SCIENCE II</u> TBA, TABLE 7, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30</p>
Disc.	<p>John Coleman, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Eileen McDonagh, <i>Northeastern University</i></p>	Room	TBA, TABLE 7, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30
33-3	<p><u>RELIGION, CULTURE, AND POLITICAL THEORY</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30 Mary C. Segers, <i>Rutgers University-Newark</i> <u>Tolerating the Religious</u> M. Fevzi Bilgin, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: I will argue in my paper that if we aspire to liberal democratic principles of legitimacy, toleration should be considered a political value to be embraced not only by the religious but also by the secular.</p>	Inf. Rnd.	<p><u>Experiential Learning in a Political Science Statistics Course</u> Allan B. McBride, <i>University of Southern Mississippi</i> Overview: The effects of experiential learning, the use of nationally collected survey research data sets, and a powerful data analysis package on the retention of data analysis procedures and the development of analytic thinking skills among undergraduate political science students will be reported.</p>
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30	Inf. Rnd.	<p><u>Assessing the Impact of a Quantitative Skills Course for Undergraduates</u> Dana Michael Harsell, <i>Syracuse University</i> Kristi Andersen, <i>Syracuse University</i> Overview: This paper evaluates the long-term benefits of a Syracuse University class offering, Maxwell 201: Quantitative Methods for the Social Sciences (MAX 201). The authors analyze data collected from class administered pre and post-</p>
Chair	Mary C. Segers , <i>Rutgers University-Newark</i>		
Paper	<p><u>Tolerating the Religious</u> M. Fevzi Bilgin, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: I will argue in my paper that if we aspire to liberal democratic principles of legitimacy, toleration should be considered a political value to be embraced not only by the religious but also by the secular.</p>		

tests, and a questionnaire sent to a random sample of ninety-five MAX 201 alumni to evaluate the extent to which students apply learned skills in the job market and as consumers of statistical information in a society which increasingly provides important information in complex quantitative forms.

34-203 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: TEACHING POLITICAL SCIENCE III**

Room TBA, TABLE 8, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Inf. Rnd. **How Can I Get My Students to the Writing Center?**

Approaches for Political Science Professors to Get Their Students to Use the Writing Center

Amy Carter, College of Wooster

Overview: The paper offers explanations for why students do not utilize the writing center and offers innovative approaches for professors to encourage their students to use the writing center.

Inf. Rnd. **Toward a Grad-Inclusive Campus: Policies that Enhance the Lives of Graduate Students**

Tracy Blake, University of Florida

Overview: Graduate education is becoming a priority for research institutions across the country, as demonstrated by strategic statements of many universities who plan to increase graduate enrollment. The large number of graduate students on campus means planning and programming to meet the needs that divergent from the needs a traditional undergraduate student. I plan to discuss institutional policies that can be implemented or modified to address the needs of graduate students.

Inf. Rnd. **Fiction or Reality: NBC's West Wing**

Michael W. Popejoy

Overview: NBC's West Wing is watched by millions every week. Does it influence Americans in how they view the Presidency and the operation of the White House? Does the show have instructional value in the classroom?

35-101 **ROUNDTABLE: HONORING CATHERINE RUDDER, 2003 WINNER OF THE WOMEN'S CAUCUS OUTSTANDING PROFESSIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AWARD**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Chair **Christina Wolbrecht, University of Notre Dame**

Rndtbl. **Catherine E. Rudder, George Mason University**

Lawrence C. Dodd, University of Florida

Martha Joynt Kumar, Towson University

Theodore J. Lowi, Cornell University

Paula McClain, Duke University

Virginia Sapiro, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Overview: The Women's Caucus has selected Catherine Rudder as the 2004 winner of its award for outstanding professional achievement. Members of the roundtable will reflect on her personal accomplishments and professional contributions.

36-6 **PHILOSOPHY, STATESMANSHIP, AND LEGISLATION**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, FRI 3:30

Chair **Donald J. Matthewson, California State University, Fullerton**

Paper **Political Rule, Political Rhetoric and Political History: The**

Case for a Digression in Thucydides History

Bernard J. Dobski, Assumption College

Overview: This paper takes as its point of departure an overlooked digression in Book I of Thucydides History. Reconsideration of this digression and its lessons regarding the goodness of political rule, taken in context, shows how the need to establish the goodness of the political counsel under consideration requires that counsel to possess a Periclean character. By showing how this digression bears on the main subject of the speeches this paper hopes to clarify Thucydides own rhetoric.

Paper **Gorgian Sophistic vs. Socratic Rhetoric: The Limits of Political Rationalism in the Rival Careers of Meno and**

Xenophon

Dustin A. Gish, John Cabot University

Overview: This paper explores the rivalry with respect to knowledge and the exercise of virtue between the sophistic education of Gorgias and the rhetorical education of Socrates insofar as that rivalry emerges in (and may be judged in the light of) the political careers of their respective students, Meno and Xenophon, two ambitious young men of Athens. While this rivalry first appears in the explicit critique of Gorgias epideictic style in the dialogues of Plato, a full exploration of the defining elements distinguishing the Socratic from the Gorgian modes of speech points beyond to a study of Xenophon Anabasis. The ennobling depiction of Socratic rhetoric that appears there -- in the speeches, deeds and thoughts of Xenophon himself -- serves as a powerful, if implicit, critique of the dangers posed to young men, such as Meno, by an enthusiasm for a pure, calculating political rationalism (such as seems exhibited in modern rational choice theory) and by a hubristic reliance upon certain unexamined opinions about human beings and the nature of rule.

Paper **The Median Voter Theorem in Ancient Athens**

Eugene Kontorovich, George Mason University

Overview: This paper uses spatial competition models to reach a better understanding of two unusual features of ancient Athenian law: Solon's law requiring citizens to take sides during a stasis (period of civil strife), and tmesis, the practice of determining penalties in judicial proceedings by requiring jurors to choose exclusively between sanctions proposed by the litigants. Both institutions create incentives for competing forces within the polis to adopt more moderate positions than they otherwise would.

Disc. **Elliot Bartky, Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne**

Donald J. Matthewson, California State University, Fullerton

Saturday, April 17 – 8:30 am – 10:15 am

- 1-1** **RALPH BUNCHE - NOBEL LAUREATE, SCHOLAR AND DOMESTIC ACTIVIST**
Room PDR 9, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30
Chair Joseph Stewart, Jr., *University of New Mexico*
Paper **Race, Immigration and Intergroup Relations in the United States: Bunche's A World View of Race in the 21st Century**
 Paula D. McClain, *Duke University*
 Overview: TBA
- Paper** **Ralph Bunche: A Political Scientists for the 21st Century**
 Dianne M. Pinderhughes, *University of Illinois*
 Overview: A critical reevaluation of Ralph Bunche's role and contributions as a political scientist.
- Paper** **A World View of Race Revisited**
 Charles P. Henry, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: What lessons are to be drawn today from Ralph Bunche's evocative 1936 study of race worldwide?
- Disc.** Joseph Stewart, Jr., *University of New Mexico*
- 2-7** **MIGRATION IN ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES**
Room CLARK 3, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30
Chair Lawrence C. Mayer, *Texas Tech University*
Paper **Casting the Anti-immigrant Vote Across Fortress Europe**
 Barbara S. Kinsey, *University of Central Florida*
 Juan Gabriel Gomez-Albarello, *Washington University in St. Louis*
 Overview: We examine the anti-immigrant vote in Western Europe cross nationally and across electoral districts within countries. First, we explore the effects of immigration policy and citizenship laws on the anti-immigrant vote cross nationally. Second, we apply the power theory of intergroup relations and expect to find a positive association between anti-immigrant parties' electoral support and concentration of foreigners across electoral districts. This relationship is conditioned by the severity of economic competition and political effectiveness.
- Paper** **The Political Attitudes of Immigrants and Natives in Germany and Great Britain**
 Rafaela M. Dancygier, *Yale University*
 Elizabeth S. Nathan, *Yale University*
 Overview: We employ surveys from Germany and Great Britain to investigate whether immigrants and natives have systematically different attitudes toward social spending and redistribution. Once socioeconomic and contextual controls are included, we observe that immigrants are never more likely to favor increases in social spending or to endorse redistributive measures. Our findings represent a significant contribution to the extant literature, which, to our knowledge, does not include comparative studies on the political attitudes of immigrants.
- Paper** **Labor Union Density, Immigration and Income Redistribution in Advanced Industrialized Countries**
 Gulenay Ozbek, *New York University*
 Overview: In this paper I study a bargaining model between a labor union and a capitalist firm, and analyze the conditions under which we might observe an increase or decrease in the union density across developed countries. I argue that the equilibrium union wage, employment level, and union density will be a result of (1) the dis(advantages) of immigration depending on how many of them can be unionized, how many can be a source of cheap labor for the firm, and how much of a burden they are on the welfare system, (2) the bargaining structure that determines the extent to which a union has leverage over the labor allocation, (3) the welfare system.
- Paper** **The Changing Stances of West European Trade Unions and Employers Associations on Labor Migration Policy**
 Alexander A. Caviedes, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: Globalization pressures impose common challenges upon Western European labor markets, yet immigration policy still diverges along national lines. An examination of the role of the social partners in shaping labor migration in Germany, Britain, the Netherlands and Austria uncovers that unions have progressively moved away from their previous protectionist

stance. Labour migration policy is now aligned very much along sectoral lines, but such preferences are still tempered by the structure of domestic industrial relations.

Disc. Lucy M. Goodhart, *Columbia University*

3-19 **POLITICAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS DEMOCRACY AND JUSTICE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

- Room** TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30
Chair Amaney A. Jamal, *Princeton University*
Paper **Changing Religious Structures and Civil Society in Central America: A Comparative Analysis of Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Nicaragua**
 John G. Poffenbarger, *West Virginia University*
 Overview: This paper examines support for democracy to determine which religious institutions produce the strongest civil society. It also examines whether this religious trend supports or undermines democratization efforts. Using survey data collected in the spring and summer of 2003 in the Granada, Managua, Masaya, and Pueblos Blancos areas of Nicaragua, the paper tests the differences in the forms of civil society produced based on the associational activities undertaken by people from specific denominations. These results are presented in comparative context with World Values Survey data collected in Costa Rica and El Salvador.
- Paper** **Democracy in their Own Words: What Democracy Means for Costa Ricans**
 Damarys Canache, *Florida State University*
 Overview: This research provide newer and deeper insight into Costa Ricans' notions of democracy. Data from a series of focus group conducted in Costa Rica are used to identify the various meanings participants attribute to democracy, and the complexity of these conceptions.
- Paper** **Mexican Perceptions of Racial Discrimination in the United States: An Exploratory Study**
 Charles L. Davis, *University of Kentucky*
 Horace Bartilow, *University of Kentucky*
 Overview: Using survey data collected in Mexico in 1991 and 1996, this study will explore antecedents and consequences of Mexican perceptions of racial discrimination in the United States.
- Paper** **The Maturation of Democracy in South Africa: An Analysis of Change in Democratic Values, 1996 – 2001**
 James L. Gibson, *Washington University in St. Louis*
 Overview: Earlier research on support for democratic institutions and processes in South Africa indicates that democracy has an insecure footing within the political culture. This is perhaps not surprising since the vast majority of the South African population had little direct experience with democratic governance prior to 1994. After nearly a decade of democracy in the country it is time to revisit the question of support for democratic institutions and processes. The purpose of this paper is therefore to compare democratic values within the population in 2001 with findings from a similar survey in 1996, and to test hypotheses about how citizens come to learn the values of democratic politics. Ultimately, this inquiry seeks to assess the likelihood of consolidating and stabilizing democratic change in South Africa.
- Disc.** Amaney A. Jamal, *Princeton University*
- 3-24** **PATTERNS OF AUTHORITARIAN GOVERNANCE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30
Chair Kevin Grier, *University of Oklahoma*
Paper **Clientelism and Single-Party Durability in Sub-Saharan Africa**
 Leonardo R. Arriola, *Stanford University*
 Overview: The single-party state is a persistent as well as prevalent form of authoritarian rule in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Africanist literature suggests that party-regimes use clientelism to perpetuate their rule under conditions of economic scarcity. I

	employ cabinet size as a proxy for the relationship between clientelism and regime duration with data on 38 countries between 1960 and 2000. Statistical tests confirm that the regimes with the largest cabinets over time are the least likely to break down.				
Paper	<u>Official Responses to State Violence: Evaluating a Positive Theory of Legitimation</u> Suzanne E. Fry, <i>New York University</i> Overview: Governments overwhelmingly offer official responses after killing their own subjects. I present and use survival analysis to test a modified theory of Weberian legitimacy to determine whether such verbal legitimization efforts effectively preserve political systems from post-violence civil war, system change, and the emergence of new social movements.	Paper	<u>A Rising Tide in Indonesia: Attempting to Create a Cohort Committed to Democracy Through Education</u> Suzanne Soule, <i>Center for Civic Education</i> Overview: Indonesia, the most populous Islamic nation, is struggling to democratize. Part of this effort is relies upon civics courses that attempt to impart democratic skills, as a supplement to Pancasila, the five principles of the state sponsored ideology. Most Indonesians are under fifteen years of age, and face challenges posed by corruption, radical islam and poverty. I explore education as a means to improve youth's commitment to democratic principles and behaviors through data I collected on 1,500 youth in six provinces in 2002.		
Paper	<u>The Political Context of Language Policy in Ethiopia Under the Federal Arrangement</u> Lahra Smith, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: The purpose of this paper is to explore the political implications of language policy in Ethiopia. Clearly, language policy is not simply about administrative efficiency or pedagogical concerns. Language, since it is both the vehicle and subject itself of vital political goods for citizens, will always have a political nature. This work considers the types of political goods which language policy is meant to deliver, as well as discusses the various ethical and institutional options available with respect to language policy.	Disc.	<u>Zhengxu Wang, <i>University of Michigan</i></u>		
Paper	<u>The Non-Democratic Politics of Fiscal Policy Cycles: Theory and Evidence from Mexico and Malaysia</u> Thomas Pepinsky, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: Electoral institutions in non-democratic states have predictable consequences for economic policy that mirror those in democratic states. This paper develops an account of political business cycles in non-democratic states that emphasizes the unique political incentives that autocratic leaders face. A study of the 1982 presidential elections in Mexico demonstrates the logic of this account, and a time-series analysis of national account balances in Malaysia from 1969 to 1997 supports the hypotheses that I derive.				
Disc.	<u>Devra Moehler, <i>Cornell University</i></u>				
4-8	<u>ASIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD DEMOCRACY</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30				
Chair	Doh Chull Shin, <i>University of Missouri</i>				
Paper	<u>Impacts of Rural-Urban Cleavages on Cultural Orientations and Attitudes toward Elements of Democracy: A Cross-National, Within-Nation Analysis</u> Robert B. Albritton, <i>University of Mississippi</i> Thawilwadee Bureekul, <i>King Prajadhipok's Institute</i> Gang Guo, <i>University of Mississippi</i> Overview: The paper analyzes support for democracy as a function of rural-urban cleavages in six Asian nations. The analysis examines whether within-nation variances dominate variances among nations in attitudes and opinions as a function of rural urban locations. The data come from a multi-nation probability sample conducted in 2001.	Paper	<u>Transitions in the New Federal Republic of Germany: An Examination of the Competition Between Parties Within the Former East German Landers.</u> Stewart L. French, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: The purpose of this paper is to examine the development of German parties in the former East German Landers at both the national and state level elections. The transition from a polity in a former communist regime to inclusion within a democratic regime provides useful data for understanding the democratization process and the role of parties within it.		
Paper	<u>Learning in Democratic Transition: A Case Study of Planning Exercise in Indonesia</u> Hisako Kobayashi, <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: Improvement of local governance is one of the most important issues in decentralization and democratization of a transition country. This research explores the alternative model of local governance improvement and analyzes its contribution to democratization process by examining a planning exercise implemented in Bandung, Indonesia from 1999 to 2000. This is a case study based on qualitative analysis of in-depth, open-ended interviews conducted in January 2002 in Bandung.	Paper	<u>Towards a Modern Immigration Law in the Federal Republic of Germany</u> Eliot Dickinson, <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: Germany has made fundamental changes to its political asylum and citizenship laws in the last decade and proposed its first ever modern immigration law that will allow skilled workers to immigrate for the first time since the guestworker program ended in the early 1970s. This paper explores why Germany has made such significant changes to political asylum and citizenship, and why it has proposed a new immigration law?		
Paper	<u>Dollars and Ballots - Economic Performance and Regime Legitimacy in Taiwan and Singapore</u> David D. Yang, <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: Relying on survey data collected during the early 1980's in Taiwan as well as more recent data from Singapore, this study seeks to disaggregate the conception of legitimacy	Paper	<u>Interest Representation in Redistributive Social Policy Legislation: Evidence from German Welfare Reforms 1950 - 2000</u> Margitta Maetzke, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: The paper explains the redistributive element in key reforms of the German welfare state. The crucial players in these reforms are large and internally heterogeneous representative organizations in party politics and interest group politics. Internal diversity is consequential for the politics of representation, turning interest representation into a process in which political entrepreneurs use social policy reforms as the terrain on which to build and consolidate their organizations bases of political support.		
		Paper	<u>Germany's Embryo Protection Law: Issue Definition and Policy Outcomes</u> Trudy A. Steuernagel, <i>Kent State University</i> Irene J. Barnett, <i>Kent State University</i>		

into two levels - one based on satisfaction with economic performance and the other based on acceptance of regime norms. The study will employ IRT-based scaling techniques developed by Simon Jackman and Shawn Treier.

A Rising Tide in Indonesia: Attempting to Create a Cohort Committed to Democracy Through Education

Suzanne Soule, *Center for Civic Education*
Overview: Indonesia, the most populous Islamic nation, is struggling to democratize. Part of this effort is relies upon civics courses that attempt to impart democratic skills, as a supplement to Pancasila, the five principles of the state sponsored ideology. Most Indonesians are under fifteen years of age, and face challenges posed by corruption, radical islam and poverty. I explore education as a means to improve youth's commitment to democratic principles and behaviors through data I collected on 1,500 youth in six provinces in 2002.

Zhengxu Wang, *University of Michigan*

CONTEMPORARY GERMAN POLITICS

TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Michaela W. Richter, *College of Staten Island, CUNY*

From Principle to Practice: The Transformation of Party Finance in Germany and Italy

Riccardo Pelizzo, *Johns Hopkins University*

Overview: This paper investigates the development of party finance and party finance legislation in Germany and Italy. Particular attention is paid to what factors are responsible for the differences between the German and the Italian party finance (and party finance legislation). The main claim of the paper is that the differences between German and Italian party finance reflect differences in the party finance legislation enacted in the two countries, and that these legislative differences are a result of how the German and the Italian Constitutional principles were interpreted and implemented

Transitions in the New Federal Republic of Germany: An Examination of the Competition Between Parties Within the Former East German Landers.

Stewart L. French, *Michigan State University*

Overview: The purpose of this paper is to examine the development of German parties in the former East German Landers at both the national and state level elections. The transition from a polity in a former communist regime to inclusion within a democratic regime provides useful data for understanding the democratization process and the role of parties within it.

Towards a Modern Immigration Law in the Federal Republic of Germany

Eliot Dickinson, *Purdue University*

Overview: Germany has made fundamental changes to its political asylum and citizenship laws in the last decade and proposed its first ever modern immigration law that will allow skilled workers to immigrate for the first time since the guestworker program ended in the early 1970s. This paper explores why Germany has made such significant changes to political asylum and citizenship, and why it has proposed a new immigration law?

Interest Representation in Redistributive Social Policy Legislation: Evidence from German Welfare Reforms 1950 - 2000

Margitta Maetzke, *Northwestern University*

Overview: The paper explains the redistributive element in key reforms of the German welfare state. The crucial players in these reforms are large and internally heterogeneous representative organizations in party politics and interest group politics. Internal diversity is consequential for the politics of representation, turning interest representation into a process in which political entrepreneurs use social policy reforms as the terrain on which to build and consolidate their organizations bases of political support.

Germany's Embryo Protection Law: Issue Definition and Policy Outcomes

Trudy A. Steuernagel, *Kent State University*

Irene J. Barnett, *Kent State University*

Overview: The major focus of this investigation is to determine the intra- and extra-governmental factors contributing to Germany's Embryo Protection Law by applying Baumgartner and Jones (1993) dual mobilization model. Our research is based on an analysis of 465 ART-related articles printed in major German newspaper dailies from 1980 to 1997 providing insight into how ART's definition on the public agenda before and after the adoption of the Embryo Protection Law.

Disc. **Michaela W. Richter**, *College of Staten Island, CUNY*

6-205 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CENTRAL EUROPEAN SUPPORT FOR EU ENLARGEMENT

Room TBA, TABLE 1, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Inf. Rnd. In or out? Testing Support for Integration in Central Europe

Michael L. Ardovino, *Catholic University of America*

Keiko Ono, *Georgetown University*

Overview: We endeavor to distinguish both rational choice-economic and nationalist motivations among the citizens of Central Europe within the context of a rapidly-expanding European Union. We utilize two theoretical approaches and test hypotheses empirically with the use of survey data.

6-206 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POLITICAL TRUST IN RURAL CHINA

Room TBA, TABLE 2, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Inf. Rnd. Political Trust in Rural China

Lianjiang Li, *Hong Kong Baptist University*

Overview: Using interviews and survey data from four counties, this paper examines Chinese villagers trust in the state. Interviews indicate that villagers who have more trust in higher levels than in lower levels appear to distinguish between the Centers intent and its capacity. They trust that the Centers intent is beneficent, but distrust the Centers capacity to make local officials enforce its mass-regarding policies. These two patterns of trust have important implications. First, that many villagers believe that higher levels are more trustworthy than lower levels implies that the central state has some breathing space because dissatisfaction with lower levels does not immediately generate demands for fundamental political reforms. Second, the combination of trust in the Centers intent and distrust in its capacity may encourage villagers to defy local officials in the name of the Center. If villagers rightful resistance fails, disillusionment with the intent of the Center may set in, resulting in either cynicism or radicalism.

7-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: MILITARY TACTICS AND OUTCOMES

Room TBA, TABLE 3, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Inf. Rnd. The Construction of Democracy: Political Socialization Through Military Engagement

Carol Atkinson, *Air Command and Staff College*

Overview: The US military shapes the nature of the international system through social structures and social interaction not just the coercive use of combat capability. The analysis employs Cox Proportional Hazard Models to examine to what extent US military engagement activities are associated with either liberalizing or authoritarian trends during the years 1972-2000. Data covers over 160 countries including the former republics of the Soviet Union and states of the Persian Gulf region.

Inf. Rnd. Rearranging the Rubble

Susan H. Allen, *Emory University*

Overview: Advancements in technology coupled with decreased toleration for casualties have led to an increase in prominence for aerial bombing as a coercive tool. How successful are such campaigns, and what are the prospects for the future? In this paper, I examine the effect of duration on bombing campaigns outcomes, hypothesizing that the length of campaigns should influence the variance surrounding the estimates of the outcome. Longer bombing campaigns do more

damage to the target's resources, diminishing the response options available.

7-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: US DEFENSE AND SECURITY POLICY

Room TBA, TABLE 4, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Inf. Rnd. Does the Buck Follow the Bang: U.S. Overseas Investment and Use of Force

Uri J. Fisher, *University of Colorado*

Andrea Little, *University of Colorado*

David Leblang, *University of Colorado*

Overview: Since World War II, U.S., presidents have used military force to support foreign policy initiatives more than 200 times. This study examines the role that US financial interests--in the form of portfolio investment, foreign direct investment and bank lending--play in presidential decisions to use force abroad.

Inf. Rnd. U.S. International Technology Transfer Policy

Xinwu Zhou, *University of New Orleans*

Overview: U.S. has its economic incentive to transfer technology to other countries, but military alert to such transfer. Objectives of economic interest and security concerns sometimes conflict, and a delicate balance exists between national defense, foreign policy and economic considerations.

7-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: AMERICAN RESPONSES TO FOREIGN NEED

Room TBA, TABLE 5, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Inf. Rnd. American Foreign Policy Toward Secessionist Conflicts in the Post-Cold War

Jonathan Paquin, *McGill University*

Overview: Why does the United States recognize some cases of secession but not others? Why did the US extend recognition to Croatia, Eritrea, and East Timor, but not to Kosovo, Somaliland or Bougainville Island? This question is an important theoretical puzzle in US foreign policy. I argue that the United States is a stability-seeking power. Its response to secessionist crises has for aim to maximize regional stability, which is the American paramount interest toward these conflicts. I argue that as long as stability is maintained, the United States supports states' territorial integrity. However, under specific circumstances the US will recognize secession because it provides stability benefits. When a host state (central state) is unable to maintain regional stability nor willing to settle its internal secessionist crisis, the US will recognize secessionists if they offer clear stability guarantees. This 'Rational Stability Argument' is tested on six case studies. Three cases of recognition (Croatia, Eritrea, and East Timor), and three cases of non-recognition (Kosovo, Somaliland, and Bougainville Island).

8-16 REGIONAL INTEGRATION AND TRADE PROTECTION

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Chair **Aslaug Asgeirsdottir**, *Bates College*

Paper Why Is Economic Integration Unlikely in Greater China?

Thomas Li Hwa Chang, *University of Chicago*

Overview: I graduated in August 2003 with a Master's degree in International Relations from the University of Chicago. I intend to attend a PhD program in autumn 2004. My research interests are international Political Economy, China, and economic integration.

Paper Reconciling Trade Protection and Export Promotion in Industrial Policy: A Comparative Study of Distributional Conflict and Cooperation between Steel and Steel-Using Industries

Mark A. Elder, *Michigan State University*

Overview: This study examines whether and/or how governments have been able to prevent trade protection and industrial policies intended to help one industry (like steel) from hurting other industries (like autos), especially exporters, who cannot pass the resulting higher cost of inputs on to foreign consumers. This study focuses on the steel industry and two of

	its major customers, automobiles and shipbuilding, in seven countries, including Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Britain, Germany, Brazil, and the US				
Paper	<u>The Rationale of Regional Economic Integration in Africa: A Case Study of The East African Community</u> Ssebunya E. Kasule, <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: This paper examines why African leaders have maintained and created more regional economic organizations in spite of their unsatisfactory performance. The relationship between regional economic integration and political insecurity is examined to address the question presented above. It is expected that this research will demonstrate that the primary reason African leaders create regional economic organizations is not to improve their economies but to establish and maintain security for their governments.		Paper	<u>Shouldering the Soldiering: Democracy, the Social Composition of Militaries, and Combat Casualties</u> Paul Vasquez, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: In this paper I examine how the social composition of their militaries influences democracies' willingness to tolerate combat casualties. My theory is that democracies with socially representative forces based on conscription are likely to suffer fewer casualties than democracies with less representative militaries composed of volunteers, because conscription is more likely to effect more segments of society with access to political influence. Several ordered probit models support my hypotheses derived from this theory.	
Paper	<u>The Effect of Divided Government on U.S. Trade Policy: Taking Congressional Preferences Seriously</u> Phillip Y. Lipsey, <i>Harvard University</i> Yevgeniy Kirpichevsky, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: Does divided government produce greater protectionism in the United States? Lohmann and O'Halloran (1994) argue that divided government causes Congress to delegate less to the executive branch, causing higher tariff rates. We assert that the effect of divided government is conditional on the protectionist inclinations of Congress. While Lohmann and O'Halloran's substantive results disappear after the addition of recent data, our theoretical claims are supported in both Congressional voting and tariff data sets.		Disc.	Milan Svolik, <i>University of Chicago</i>	
Paper	<u>The Effect of Violent Conflict on Regional Institutionalization</u> Yoram Z. Haftel, <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: This paper develops a theoretical framework that links regional conflict to the level of regional institutionalization. A panel-data set up is employed to test these arguments. Controlling for several alternative explanations, the empirical analysis supports the notion that higher levels of violent conflict result in lower levels of RIA institutionalization.		10-101	<u>THINKING THE UNTHINKABLE? PROSPECTS FOR WMD FREE ZONES</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30 Zeev Maoz, <i>University of Michigan</i> Erik Gartzke, <i>Columbia University</i> J. David Singer, <i>University of Michigan</i> T.V. Paul, <i>McGill University</i> Overview: This is a roundtable discussion on the factors facilitating/inhibiting the formation of WMD Free Zones in the international system, with a focus on the Middle East, South and North East Asia. Panelists will discuss theoretical and practical incentives for and constraints on moving towards such WMD Free Zones. The discussion will also address ideas on how theoretical and empirical knowledge about proliferation of WMD can assist processes of institution building and negotiation that would make such zones more viable than at present.	
Disc.	Aslaug Asgeirsdottir, <i>Bates College</i> Todd L. Allee, <i>University of Illinois</i>		11-5	<u>THE COMPLEXITY OF RACE</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30 Scott B. Blinder, <i>University of Chicago</i>	
9-8	<u>DOMESTIC POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT</u>		Room	<u>Social Constructivism, Self-Categorization, and Racial Identity</u> TaeKu Lee, <i>University of California at Berkeley</i> Overview: The idea that racial/ethnic identity is socially constructed is no longer controversial. Yet social scientists persist in measuring race and ethnicity empirically as a categorical variable. This paper aims to narrow this gap between theory and practice by taking variations in the articulation of "race" and "ethnicity" as the dependent variable. Specifically, it tests a novel, continuous means of asking survey respondents about their racial and ethnic identification. The original data are from the 2003 Golden Bear Omnibus Survey.	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30		Chair	<u>Political Sophistication and American Racial Attitudes: A Question of Attribution</u> Matthew Wilson, <i>Southern Methodist University</i> Brad T. Gomez, <i>University of South Carolina</i> Overview: This paper looks closely at those components of the traditional symbolic racism scale that ask respondents to make causal attributions for black socio-economic disadvantage. We argue that the tendency to make individual, rather than societal, attributions is the product of a general cognitive bias that operates outside the domain of race as well, particularly for less politically sophisticated individuals. Thus, the racial animus often ascribed to less educated individuals may be significantly exaggerated.	
Chair	Milan Svolik, <i>University of Chicago</i>		Paper	<u>Social Desirability, Political Climate, and the Prejudice-Policy Attitude Debate</u> Howard G. Lavine, <i>SUNY - Stony Brook</i> Leonie Huddy, <i>SUNY - Stony Brook</i> Overview: In a laboratory experiment, we obtain direct evidence of respondent dissembling on questions of racial prejudice and stereotyping by demonstrating that high but not low self-monitors express more support for the stereotypic belief that blacks are lazy in an "anti-PC" than in a "pro-PC" climate condition. Then, in a follow-up study of New York State residents, we show that self-monitoring strongly	
Paper	<u>Terror Against Whom? Media Coverage, Public Opinion, and Anti-Arab American Backlash Following Terrorist Events</u> Bethany A. Barratt, <i>Roosevelt University</i> Overview: I test whether government's and the public's sensitization to threat from members of an immigrant group – Arab-Americans -- impacts intolerance for them, as measured by the frequency of hate crimes and discriminatory acts. If this threat sensitization matters, as many have posited that it does, then exogenous events (such as the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, the 1995 Oklahoma City Bombing, and the 1996 crash of TWA flight #800) should be associated with an increase in intolerance for members of the group because they heighten nonminority members' awareness of, and sense of threat from, people of Arab descent.				
Paper	<u>Understanding Military Spending: The Domestic-International Nexus</u> Thomas E. Flores, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: How do domestic political economic and international security factors produce patterns of military expenditures? In seeking to answer this question, this paper suggests that it is the interaction of domestic and international factors that matters most, rather than a focus on one or the other. The effect of domestic institutions will depend on the threat matrix a state faces - and vice versa.		Paper		
Paper	<u>Target Selection in Diversionary Foreign Policies</u> Ahmer Tarar, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper uses a game-theoretic model to characterize the conditions under which a diversionary policy				

	moderates the relationship between racial stereotyping and race-related policy attitudes (e.g., affirmative action, economic aid to blacks). In particular, we find that relations between racial stereotypes and race-related policy attitudes are strong for low low self-monitors, but are nonexistent for high self-monitors.				
Paper	<u>The Impact of Neighborhood Racial Composition on Whites' Racial Attitudes in England</u> Benjamin T. Bowyer , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: This paper investigates the effect that variation in the neighborhood-level concentration of ethnic minority groups has on the racial attitudes of English whites. A multilevel analysis is conducted to test the contact hypothesis, which predicts that whites living in neighborhoods with relatively high concentrations of ethnic minorities would be more racially tolerant than whites living in neighborhoods with few non-whites.				
Disc.	Nicholas Winter , <i>Cornell University</i> Thomas E. Nelson , <i>Ohio State University</i>				
11-7	<u>VALUES, PRINCIPLES, AND PERSUASION</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30				
Chair	Christopher M. Federico , <i>University of Minnesota</i>				
Paper	<u>Political Persuasion in the Czech Republic and Slovakia</u> Lisa M. Pohlman , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: How persuadable are citizens who are new to democracy? More provocatively, are citizens of some new democracies more persuadable than others? This paper examines these questions using the cases of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Despite sharing a political history as one country, Czechoslovakia, for a half-century, similar political institutions, and similar transitions from communism, support for salient political policies in both countries differs dramatically. In the case of support for EU membership, Slovaks have consistently exhibited strong levels of support, while Czechs are far more ambivalent. What role have elite messages played in getting citizens to either support or reject membership – do elite messages play any role at all, or are citizens' preferences completely exogenous to support for political policies? I employ a random, representative survey experiment of 501 Czech citizens and 500 Slovak citizens conducted in July 2002 and May 2003. Opinion change is analyzed using ordinary least squares regression.				
Paper	<u>Poles' Support for Democratic Norms: Survey Evidence</u> Ewa Golebiowska , <i>Wayne State University</i> Overview: I examine Poles' support for important democratic principles and the sources of their attitudes, with a special attention to psychological roots of commitment to democratic principles (including authoritarianism).				
Paper	<u>Party Identification, Core Principles, and Democratic Citizenship</u> Paul Goren , <i>Arizona State University</i> Overview: Party identification and core principles are central elements in mass belief systems that influence a wide range of more specific political preferences. How do these predispositions affect one another? Surprisingly, there are no published empirical studies that directly address this question. This paper uses two and three wave NES panel data to show that party identification strongly and consistently influences a wide range of core values and that these values do not systematically affect partisanship.				
Paper	<u>Value Conflict Causes Persuadability and Instability</u> Kenneth Mulligan , <i>Wittenberg University</i> Overview: Recent research suggests that opinion instability is caused by ambivalence. I show that ambivalence is itself caused by value conflict and that value conflict causes responsiveness to persuasion and opinion instability.				
Disc.	James A. McCann , <i>Purdue University - West Lafayette</i>				
12-10	<u>ECONOMIC VOTING AROUND THE WORLD</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30				
Chair	Garrett Glasgow , <i>University of California, Santa Barbara</i>				
		Paper	<u>Economic Voting in Canadian Federal Elections</u> Francois Gelineau , <i>University of Montreal</i> Overview: TBA		
		Paper	<u>Economic Voting in the Third World</u> Byong-Kuen Jhee , <i>University of Missouri</i> Overview: This paper analyzes 70 legislative elections and 50 presidential elections held in 35 new democracies between 1974 and 2002. Using the PCSEs estimation method, this paper tests three main hypotheses: the economic-electoral connection hypothesis, the clarity of responsibility hypothesis, and the relative importance of economic issues hypothesis. This paper provides empirical evidence that partially corroborates these hypotheses. The economic voting function is constrained by economic and sociopolitical conditions in a society.		
		Paper	<u>Class Politics Resurgent in the US: Class-Based Voting and Turnout</u> Jinha Kim , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: Does class matter for political behavior? Using ANES cumulative data from 1956 to 2000 for class voting and CPS data from 1972 to 2000 for voter-turnout, I reexamine the reality behind the myth of the death of class. I find that there has been significant and strong class bias in voter-turnout through 1972 to 2000. There is a linear relationship between class and voter-turnout. Furthermore, the higher class has been more likely to choose to vote for the Republican Party over abstention, whereas the lower class has been more likely to choose abstention over voting for the Republican Party. Class voting in the United States has reemerged since 1976, especially since 1984. Since the 1976 election, except for 1980, there has been a significant and strong linear relationship between class and voting choice. Therefore, theories of declining class politics are not supported at least in the field of class voting. Rather, American class politics have been undergoing a process of realignment process by income criteria. Class effects on the Democratic Party voting are diminished when we examine non-voters. Non-class factors affect abstention over the Democratic Party voting. However, class affected abstention over the Republican Party voting. The relatively big size of the lower class abstention diminishes class effects on the Democratic Party voting. However, it does not nullify the class effects on the Republican Party voting.		
		Paper	<u>Economic Performance and Accountability: The Revival of the Economic Vote Function</u> Karla P. Lopez de Nava , <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: This paper explores the relationship between the probability of reelection of the incumbent party and its economic performance. It analyzes whether voters are myopic regarding economic outcomes, and whether the institutional context has an effect on electoral outcomes. The study considers elections in 41 democracies from 1980 to 2000.		
		Paper	<u>Transitional Economic Voting: Economic Conditions and Election Results in Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic from 1990-1999</u> Joshua A. Tucker , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: I present two general models (the Referendum Model and the Transition Model) for predicting the effect of economic conditions on election results in post-communist countries. Using an original data set of regional-level data and a novel method of comparative analysis, I test these models across the 20 national presidential and parliamentary elections that took place between 1990-99 in five post-communist countries. Consistently stronger evidence is found to support the Transition Model than the Referendum Model.		
		Disc.	John McAdams , <i>Marquette University</i> Garrett Glasgow , <i>University of California, Santa Barbara</i>		
		12-20	<u>THE ELECTORAL IMPACT OF REFORMING INSTITUTIONAL RULES</u>		
		Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30		
		Chair	Paul Gronke , <i>Reed College</i>		
		Paper	<u>Differential Disadvantage: The Political Misfortunes of Minorities in Direct Democracy</u> Ryan T. Moore , <i>Harvard University</i>		

	<p>Nirmala Ravishankar, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: Hajnal, Gerber, and Louch (2002) argue that across all California ballot propositions blacks and Asians are on the winning side as often as whites. Using multiple imputation to recover 40% of their dataset, we demonstrate that blacks, Latinos, and Asians are actually 2 to 3 percentage points less likely to be on the winning side. Differences persist even after excluding racially targeted propositions. The success of different groups depends substantially on the issue in contention.</p>	<p>gubernatorial elections, voters were asked to place on issue scales the candidates' personal positions as well as the policies the candidates would produce if elected. The measure of the policies candidates would produce if elected is free of projection bias and explains vote choice among voters who are well-informed about politics.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Voting, Early Voting and Party Mobilization: Is Timing Everything?</u> Jan E. Leighley, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Robert Stein, <i>Rice University</i> Overview: The adoption of many electoral reforms (e.g., election day registration, early voting and motor-voter registration) have been designed and justified in terms of increasing voter participation. In this paper we extend this research agenda by exploring in greater detail whether reconceptualizing the dependent variable provides more leverage on the question of the impact of electoral reforms. More specifically, we test whether the availability of early voting increases the likelihood that a voter will vote early (as opposed to voting on election day or abstaining) and what types of voters are so affected. We explore the conditions under which candidates and party officials use early voting in Texas to mobilize voters to support their party's candidates for Governor and U.S. Senator in the 2002 midterm election and whether such efforts yield a substantial effect on election day and early voting turnout.</p>	<p><u>The Feeling Thermometer Scores and the Basis of Using it to Construct a Party Competition Space</u> Susumu Shikano, <i>University of Mannheim</i> Overview: To construct a party competition space, researchers have used the feeling thermometer scores. This paper provides evidence for the assumption that the scores deliver informations on the distance between parties. It is assumed that the scores include not only the distance, but also the party competence, which is assumed heterogenous among voters. The paper proposes a new method for the estimation of a party space which is compatible with the assumptions above.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Taking the Initiative: The Partisan Effect of Ballot Questions</u> Lawrence Becker, <i>California State University, Northridge</i> Robert J. Lacey, <i>University of Massachusetts at Amherst</i> Overview: Some argue that the initiative process has been driven by conservative groups that seek to bypass liberal state legislatures to advance their agenda and benefit Republicans. While we already know that ballot question salience increases voter turnout, we assess whether ballot question salience increases a person's likelihood to vote Republican more than Democratic or other.</p>	<p><u>Latent Classes within the American Electorate: A Reinterpretation of the Pew Center Typology</u> James R. Simmons, <i>University of Wisconsin</i> Solon J. Simmons, <i>University of Wisconsin - Madison</i> Overview: TBA Jason Gainous, <i>University of Florida</i> Herbert Weisberg, <i>Ohio State University</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Term Limits and Electoral Competition: Much Ado About Nothing</u> Kimberly L. Nalder, <i>California State University, Sacramento</i> Overview: This paper presents an analysis of the electoral consequences of term limits. More specifically, the degree to which elections have become more competitive since term limits were implemented in California.</p>	<p>13-301 <u>POSTER SESSION: PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30 <u>The Significance of Rich Information Environments: Voter Knowledge in Battleground States</u> Keena Lipsitz, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Using data from the 2000 National Annenberg Election Study, I examine whether or not voters in battleground states were more familiar with Bush and Gore's biographies and issue positions and how their knowledge levels evolved during the course of the campaign. I find that voters in the most competitive states knew more about the candidates than voters elsewhere, even in the final week of the campaign when one would have expected such differences to disappear due to saturation of the media with campaign-related information.</p>
Disc.	<p>Scott Desposato, <i>University of Arizona</i> Paul Gronke, <i>Reed College</i></p>	<p>Poster <u>Reevaluating Interest Group Membership and Participation</u> Nadia Khatib, <i>SUNY, Stony Brook</i> Overview: This paper applies a two-stage model to examine the likelihood of joining an interest group and the likelihood of participation within the group, using public opinion data from Verba, Schlozman, and Brady's 1990 Political Participation Study. In an attempt to integrate several disparate but useful literatures, careful consideration is given to psychological properties such as social identification and intergroup context, in addition to implementing more traditional socio-demographic and economic determinants.</p>
12-26	<p><u>NEW METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO ANALYZING VOTING (Co-sponsored with Methodology, 21-14)</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30 Herbert Weisberg, <i>Ohio State University</i> <u>The Link Between Macro- and Micro-Models of the Vote: A Bayesian Hierarchical Approach</u> Joseph Bafumi, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: Utilizing Bayesian hierarchical modeling, I will model both year level variables analyzed by election forecasters and individual level variables analyzed by micro-level vote choice scholars in a single equation to predict presidential election outcomes. I will seek to know the extent to which these outcomes can be explained by individual level attributes and how much can be explained by macro-level predictors. Such a model offers a more comprehensive picture of the American electorate than has been done to date.</p>	<p>Poster <u>Mechanisms of Influence: Social Movements and Public Opinion</u> Kevin J. Wallsten, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Unfortunately, the recent concern about social movement outcomes has not led to a focus on how movements influence public opinion. In addition, studies of public opinion have focused on elite influences on public opinion and ignored non-elite, movement-based factors. In order to address these weaknesses, this paper will point out the problems associated with studying movement impacts on public opinion, suggest possible methods of research and apply these new methods to a particular case – the peace movement.</p>
Room Chair Paper	<p><u>TBA</u> Dean P. Lacy, <i>Ohio State University</i> Philip Paolino, <i>University of North Texas</i> Overview: We propose a new measure of issue voting in executive elections. In surveys conducted during several recent</p>	<p>Poster <u>TBA</u> Stephanie R. Milton, <i>Washington University in St. Louis</i> Overview: In the modern urban setting, "justice" is understood to be retributive; both the criminal justice system and traditionally marginalized groups act through adversarial roles. Citizen intolerance for "criminal" behavior, as well as administrations viewed as prejudiced has been documented. There is a movement to implement alternative forms of justice administration. I propose a research design that illustrates several alternative justice methods, analyze their empirical</p>

success or potential, and gauge urban citizen reactions to these forms.

14-5 **THE MASS MEDIA & CAMPAIGNS IN THE UNITED STATES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Chair **Kathleen Knight**, *Barnard College*

Paper **Horse Race Coverage, Public Perceptions, and the Dynamics of Candidate Viability**

Edward B. Hasecke, *Cleveland State University*

Scott Blakely, *Cleveland State University*

Molly Marvar, *Cleveland State University*

Overview: Horse race coverage plays a crucial role in conveying information about candidate viability. However, it isn't clear if changes in media evaluations of viability cause changes in public evaluations or vice versa. In this paper we test two competing models of media coverage for the 1992 Democratic nomination contest. The first is an agenda-setting model where changes in media interpretations of candidate success and failure cause changes in the public's perception of a candidate's viability. The second is a media-as-business model where changes in media evaluations of candidate viability are caused by changes in public interpretations of candidate success and failure. Using a time-series vector autoregression model, we examine the campaign dynamics of the 1992 Democratic primary election using media stories from the New York Times data from the Iowa Political Market.

Paper **How Does the Media Cover Political Campaigns?**

Michael D. Parkin, *University of Minnesota*

James N. Druckman, *University of Minnesota*

Overview: Data from a content analysis of local television and newspaper coverage of Minnesota's 2000 senate race allows us to explore trends in television and newspaper coverage while controlling for a host of potentially confounding variables inherent in multicase studies. Results of direct tests show that while newspapers include more coverage, the substance is not that different from television and that there is a lack of partisan bias between two ideologically distinct newspapers operating in the same media market, covering the same campaign.

Paper **A Multidimensional Approach to Campaign Media**

Analysis: Information Flows in the 2002 Elections

Stacey L. Pelika, *University of Wisconsin - Madison*

Erika Franklin Fowler, *University of Wisconsin - Madison*

Overview: Our paper presents case studies of gubernatorial, senate, and congressional races in three states. We look across races, media types, and media markets within the same state in order to provide a comprehensive picture of how the local media cover elections.

Paper **Pictures and Frames: News Coverage of Black Candidates and Their Campaigns**

Stephen M. Caliendo, *Avila University*

Charlton D. McIlwain, *Avila University*

Overview: This paper examines both print and broadcast coverage of recent election contests in which at least one candidate is a racial minority. Grounded in the framing and priming media effects literature, this study reveals the way the media address (or fail to address) racial components in these campaigns.

Disc. **Patrick J. Sellers**, *Davidson College*

14-8 **ANALYZING MEDIA EFFECTS: PRIMING & FRAMING**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Chair **Robert L. Dion**, *University of Evansville*

Paper **Framing the First Lady: Media Effects and Public Opinion**

Jill M. Abraham, *University of Virginia*

Overview: How do the media frame the first lady? What are the effects of this framing on public approval of first ladies? Part I of this project is a content analysis of New York Times and Washington Post articles about Barbara Bush, Hillary Clinton, and Laura Bush. This section codes and categorizes all of ways the media frames these first ladies, as well as quantifies the frequency of these frames for each individual first lady. Part II

maps first lady public opinion ratings onto the frequencies of the media frames throughout the entire span of the three presidential administrations. These data ultimately demonstrate that when the first lady is framed as "First Housewife," public opinion is more favorable, and when she more frequently framed as "First Political Partner," public opinion tends to be less favorable.

Paper **The Best Offense is a Good Defense: Priming and Engagement in the Health Care Reform Debate, 1993-1994**

Jennifer Jerit, *Southern Illinois University*

Overview: This paper examines the use and effectiveness of priming and engagement strategies. A time series analysis reveals that the failure of the plan was not due to the Clinton team's inability to engage in priming; rather, by engaging their opponents more vigorously, proponents of health care reform might have mounted a more adequate defense of their plan and stemmed the loss of public support.

Paper **An International Comparative Analysis of Game Framing**

Jason L. Russell, *University of Oklahoma*

Yuri Malyshev, *University of Oklahoma*

Laci Mace, *University of Oklahoma*

Jill A. Edy, *University of Oklahoma*

Overview: This study expands Thomas Patterson's concept of "game framing" to non-Western media by examining the prevalence and properties of such strategic frames during the 2003 Gulf War. We examine media coverage of the war in the U.S., Israeli, and Russian press and in Al-Jazeera, demonstrating whether and to what extent game framing occurs, what structural variables influence the choice of frames and what cultural inflections game-framing acquires in non-U.S. contexts.

Paper **The Effect of Game and Policy Framing in Coverage of the Policy Process**

Kimberly Gross, *George Washington University*

Paul Brewer, *University of Wisconsin Milwaukee*

Overview: This study uses an experiment designed around the issue of campaign finance reform to explore the effect of game and policy framing in coverage of the policy process. Like previous studies focused on the electoral context we find that game coverage fostered political cynicism. Game coverage also affected support for reform, though these effects were conditional and depended upon the subjects level of political cynicism.

Disc. **Stephen M. Caliendo**, *Avila University*

15-3 **GENDER REPRESENTED? THE VIEW FROM LEGISLATURES AND CAMPAIGN TRAILS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Chair **Barbara Burrell**, *Northern Illinois University*

Paper **Women and Representation: A Different View of the District?**

Jessica C. Gerrity, *Indiana University*

Tracy Osborn, *Indiana University*

Jeanette Morehouse Mendez, *University of Houston*

Overview: In this paper, we attempt to understand the impact of gender on women's legislative behavior by attempting to hold constant district and party variables. We compare whether women and men legislators represent the same district differently. In cases where a woman of the same political party is elected to a congressional seat previously held by a man, does she represent this district differently with respect to gender?

Paper **Gender and Presentation of Self on WWW**

Girish J. Gulati, *Wellesley College*

Sarah A. Treul, *Wellesley College*

Overview: A number of studies have shown that there are significant differences between men and women with regards to how they legislate and how they campaign. We know little, however, about how gender influences the ways in which members of Congress present themselves to the public. In an analysis of the images and the main text on the home pages of 542 candidates who ran for Congress in 2002, I find that women dress more formally than men, appear more often in indoor

	settings, are more likely to be engaged with constituents, and are less likely to be seen with family members. In addition, women were more informal than men when it came to the tone of their welcome messages, more likely to emphasize personal connections with the voters, and less likely to emphasize their past political experience and leadership skills.				
Paper	<u>Gender and Descriptive Representation in the 2002 Elections</u> Jennifer Schenk, Rutgers University Overview: This paper examines the role of descriptive vs. substantive representation along the lines of gender in the 2002 elections, using candidates' own campaign materials. Ultimately, it is part of a project to answer the question: are women assumed to be descriptive representatives due to the mark of their gender? To the extent that this may be considered a lesser form of representation, are there ways in which candidates can alter the way in which they are perceived?				
Paper	<u>Gender and Legislative Activity: Are Women Legislating for Women in 2003?</u> Wayne P. Steger, DePaul University Katherine L. Hamilton, DePaul University Overview: This paper analyzes differences among and between female and male legislators in the Illinois state legislature, with respect to policy preferences and priorities, ideology, leadership positions, leadership styles, legislative activism, constituency interactions, and conceptions of feminism. In addition to evaluating differences between women and men, this paper analyzes differences among women legislators with particular attention to race, ethnicity, religion and partisanship.				
Paper	<u>Legislative Entrepreneurship and Women's Issues</u> Michele L. Swers, Georgetown University Overview: This paper addresses long standing debates about the meaning of representation and the consequences of underrepresentation of social groups such as women and minorities in Congress. While women and politics scholars and political activists advocate for expanded representation for women, congressional scholars maintain that the identity of the legislator is largely irrelevant as all members of Congress will represent their districts in order to achieve re-election. This paper takes a step toward assessing the impact of social identity on representation by analyzing whether female representatives make women's issues a larger more central portion of their legislative agenda than do their male colleagues after one accounts for their party affiliation, constituency factors, and their position within the institution. I utilize regression analysis on an original database of bills to examine the proportion of the total number of bills sponsored by members that are devoted to women's issues.				
Disc.	Laurel Elder, Hartwick College				
15-10	<u>GENDER AND SOCIAL POLICY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30				
Chair	Patricia Boling, Purdue University				
Paper	<u>The Right to Choose: Reproductive Health and Motherhood in Comparative Perspective</u> Merike H. Blofield, Grand Valley State University Overview: The paper expands the notion of the 'right to choose' and views it as a two-dimensional concept, one which involves not only the choice to prevent and terminate pregnancies, but also the choice to become a mother regardless of social and economic circumstances. The paper involves a cross-national analysis.				
Paper	<u>Gender and Social Policy: Bringing the Politics Back In</u> Amy Elman, Kalamazoo College Overview: This paper, focused on European case studies, considers the general literature in the field and notes the depoliticization of what was previously feminist social policy. It then suggests concrete ways in which to bring politics back into the discussion--- in ways that can have pragmatic consequences in policy formation.				
Paper	<u>Movements Without Activism: Japanese Women's Family Law Reform Movements since 1980s</u> Ki-young Shin, University of Washington Overview: This paper examines the ways in which Japanese women strive for the recognition of new gender norms through their family law reform movements, which I define as 'movements without activism.' Despite their claim to challenge state's family law system, Japanese women's movements concentrate mostly on self-recognition and self-help among their members rather than engaging 'conflictual politics' with dissident social groups and the state. My explanation for this non-engaging, apolitical form of women's movements emphasizes lack of leadership in women's groups, the Japanese state's primacy over civil society, and socially constructed gender norms.				
Paper	<u>Citizens, Victims, Deviants: Restructuring Government Response to Violence Against Women in Canada</u> S. Laurel Weldon, Purdue University Overview: In 1994, the Canadian government was one of the most responsive in the world in terms of responding to the problem of violence against women. Over two decades, the government adopted many innovative and proactive policies that have become models for other nations looking for ways to address such violence. After 1994, however, a key women's policy agency was dismantled, an agency that had worked as a critical link between women's movements and government. This move signaled a symbolic and substantive movement away from a government policy focused on equality and citizenship rights for women as defined by women themselves, to a more top-down, gender-neutral model of service provision and maintenance of law and order. This paper explores the shift.				
Disc.	Patricia Boling, Purdue University				
16-10	<u>RACE, ETHNICITY AND PUBLIC OPINION II</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30				
Chair	Melissa V. Harris-Lacewell, University of Chicago				
Paper	<u>Biracialism vs. Multiculturalism: The Effect of Race & Ethnicity on White Support for Targeted Racial Policies</u> John J. Grummel, Millsaps College Overview: Cain (1995) writes, "contemporary American minority politics is in transition from ... [an] earlier, more simple era of biracialism to a new one of multiculturalism." This research examines whether the racial make-up of a geographical area affects whites' opinions regarding particular racial issues differently than what would be expected under biracial conditions. This is an important question since policies perceived as detrimental to racial minorities no longer only target African Americans.				
Paper	<u>The Effect of African American Interviewers on the Survey Responses of White Americans</u> Carl D. Snook, Michigan State University Overview: This study examines the hypothesis that white respondents are more likely to state progressive opinions on race and anti-discrimination policy when interviewed by African American interviewers than when questioned by white interviewers. Although this is an important issue in survey design, the paper considers the topic more salient for its implications for racial interaction and dialog.				
Paper	<u>Brutal with the Millimeter: Youth Attitudes towards Law Enforcement</u> Lester K. Spence, Washington University in St. Louis Overview: Black men and women have had a historically contentious relationship with urban police departments. The St. Louis Young Citizen Study represents an attempt to study the political attitudes of black and white youth in St. Louis. Over the past four years a number of black youth have been slain by police officers under suspicious circumstances. In this work we study the differential impact of school and neighborhood context on law enforcement attitudes, arguing that even though black participants of St. Louis' desegregation program are exposed to very different orientations towards police officers,				

	their neighborhood context has a significant negative impact on these attitudes.				
Paper	<u>Civil Liberties and Political Tolerance</u> Joohyun Kang , <i>Florida State University</i> Christopher J. Lewis , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: In this paper we examine the impact of the terrorist attacks of 11 September on the level of situational intolerance. Specifically we are concerned with means by which race, ethnicity, religion, and country of origin become a socially approved reason for the mass public to become willing to trade protection of civil rights and liberties for the security of the nation.			Paper	human beings who have moral equality because God created them. <u>Henry Adams, Ambivalent Bohemian</u> Anne M. Manuel , <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: "You work for power. I work for my own satisfaction," Henry Adams writes to his brother. I trace Adams partial rejection of the Protestant work ethic and frustrated efforts to reconcile cultural expectations with personal interests and capacities. Adams' strivings suggest a nuanced account of the political significance of labor market participation. I situate Adams thinking in relation to the shifts taking place in his lifetime, the end of black chattel slavery and the consolidation of industrial capitalism
Disc.	Melissa V. Harris-Lacewell , <i>University of Chicago</i>			Paper	<u>The Mummy, the Professor, and the Cannibal: The Contemporary Uses and Marxist Reclamation of Gramsci</u> Emanuele Saccarelli , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: I examine some of the most important Marxist attempts to reclaim Antonio Gramsci and criticize his contemporary academic appropriations. I identify the weakness of these attempts and offer some elements for their reconstruction, based on the necessity to directly address Stalinism and the degeneration of the international communist movement.
17-8 Room Chair Paper	<u>HUME, HISTORY, AND REASON</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30 Judith Swanson , <i>Boston University</i> <u>Liberal Education in Hume's History of England</u> Philip Bretton , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: This paper is about the importance of liberal education according to David Hume. It explains the strange combination of liberalism and virtue in Hume's thought. Hume invokes virtue not with a view to its revival but as a point of reference in a liberal education.			Paper	<u>Making as Politics: Hannah Arendt on the Indispensability of "Stuff"</u> David Newstone , <i>The University of Chicago</i> Overview: Readers of Arendt distill from her writings a singular, tightly delimited, wholly performative vision of politics: the political as synonymous with "action." In this paper, I argue that Arendt is not as enamored with purified praxis as most of her critics and allies allege.
Paper	<u>Kant and Hume on the Purposes of Reason</u> John S. Ransom , <i>Dickinson College</i> Overview: This is a paper on Hume and Kant's different uses of 'reason' to justify and develop their respective views on the essence of political thought and action. Hume adopts a (very broadly speaking) Platonic approach to reason: it is something that philosophic types can use to order society, while leaving humans to their passionate, appetitive lives. Kant, on the other hand, uses reason as a potential liberator of humanity from reliance on heteronomous passions and appetites.			Disc.	Michael Ferguson , <i>University of Colorado at Boulder</i>
Paper	<u>Hume's Science of Politics</u> Matthew C. Simpson , <i>Luther College</i> Overview: Hume's general way of studying politics is by means of an empirical and inductive method that seems consistent with his works on human knowledge and the passions. Yet, in his essay "That Politics May Be Reduced to a Science," he claims to have discovered "causes and principles eternal and immutable," a "universal axiom of politics," and "one of those eternal political truths, which no time nor accident can vary." This paper interprets the essay by considering the context in which it was written and Hume's rhetorical goals in composing it. The conclusion is that Hume sometimes sacrifices his epistemological principles to political necessity, and that this fact has consequences for how his popular works should be read.			19-11	<u>LIBERALISM, DEMOCRACY AND DIVERSITY</u>
				Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30
				Chair	Larry M. Preston , <i>Union Institute & University</i>
				Paper	<u>The Allure of a Black Conservative Disposition</u> Hawley Fogg-Davis , <i>University of Wisconsin-Madison</i> Overview: Is there a theoretical basis for black conservatism apart from the ideological twists and turns of the Republican Party? I argue that such a distinction exists, and that a black conservative political theory, as distinguished from a black conservative ideology, can offer a useful mode of racial navigation for those living under the pressures of black racial identification.
Paper	<u>The Character of Religious Revolution</u> Scott Yenor , <i>Boise State University</i> Will Jordan , <i>Mercer College</i> Overview: This paper uses Hume's History of England to describe the nature of religious revolution.			Paper	<u>Bringing Class Back In: The Limits of Multiculturalism</u> Bumsoo Kim , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: With the elimination of the legal/institutional discrimination against ethnocultural minorities, class becomes more significant than ethnicity in determining the life chances of minority individuals who belong to the socially excluded and discriminated groups. Emphasizing the role of ethnicity, however, multiculturalists have neglected the significance of class factors. They usually treat ethnocultural minority problem as a matter of cultural difference. In this paper, I will show that the development of capitalist social stratification system and the legal/institutional reformations of the last decades have made class more significant than ethnicity
Disc.	John Danford , <i>Loyola University - Chicago</i> Judith Swanson , <i>Boston University</i>			Paper	<u>The Impact of Multicultural Politics versus Ethnicity on Trust Relations in a Democracy</u> Patti T. Lenard , <i>Nuffield College, Oxford University</i> Overview: This paper is concerned with the effects of ethnicity on trust relations in a diverse community. I ask whether an emphasis on ethnicity, via multicultural politics, has an effect on trust relations, and how that effect manifests itself. I pose this question in the context of a range of two general category of critiques launched at multicultural politics. First, critics accuse multiculturalist politics of creating the problem to begin with. Second, multiculturalists are accused of misidentifying the problem faced by diverse communities.
18-5	<u>MODERN PERSPECTIVES ON WORK AND LABOR</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30				
Chair	Jacinda Swanson , <i>Western Michigan University</i>				
Paper	<u>Locke's Natural Law and the Problem of Poverty</u> Sharon Vaughan , <i>Virginia Wesleyan College</i> Overview: Locke advocates an anti-dogmatic line in religious matters, which results in his avocation of religious tolerance. In the case of poverty he does not take such a position concerning how the poor ought to be treated. If we accept Locke's natural law theory as coming from God whose authority is derived because he is the creator then we are asked to also accept that his natural or moral law is his benevolent will for us as human beings. Government derives its authority from natural law and thus one would assume that this transfer of natural law as the basis for government would include an impartiality toward				

Paper **Responsibility and Recognition**
Jason Lindsey, *Miles College*
 Overview: While contemporary theorists readily accept the idea of recognizing difference, they have had difficulty grounding this requirement within traditional theoretical frameworks. In this paper I explore whether the concept of responsibility toward others can help us in this difficult terrain.

Disc. **Dimitri Landa**, *New York University*

20-8 **FORMAL MODELS OF CONGRESS AND AGENCIES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30
Chair **Lilliard E. Richardson**, *University of Missouri*
Paper **Organizational Capacity**

Michael M. Ting, *Columbia University*
 Overview: Observers have long noted that organizational capacity -- the ability of an agency to implement a chosen policy -- can be as important to politicians as policy choices themselves. This paper develops a theory of endogenous organizational capacity within a policy-making game between Congress and an agency.

Legislative Lobbying as a Signal to the Bureaucracy

Sanford C. Gordon, *New York University*

Catherine I. Hafer, *New York University*

Overview: Lobbying expenditures transmit information to non-legislative political actors, including regulatory agencies. Our model shows that both legislators and bureaucrats can make inferences about a firm's willingness to dispute potential regulatory actions. This allows some firms to extract effective concessions in the form of relaxed regulatory enforcement, even though the legislature takes no visible action. We test the model using data on inspections of nuclear power plants and political expenditures of their operating companies.

TBA

John W. Patty, *Carnegie Mellon University*

Overview: Modern governments rely upon bureaucrats to implement public policy. Bureaucrats voluntarily accept their positions and, as with other citizens, may have a variety of motivations and preferences. This paper examines two models of bureaucratic preferences and outlines their implications for legislatures attempting to implement a given public policy.

Disc. **Sven Feldmann**, *University of Chicago*

21-5 **14% OF PEOPLE KNOW THAT: ISSUES IN SURVEY RESEARCH METHODS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30
Chair **Jake Bowers**, *University of Michigan*
Paper **Understanding Issue Positions and Salience: Breaking New Ground in Models of Candidate Evaluation**

Jeffrey Grynawski, *University of Chicago*

Bryce Corrigan, *University of Chicago*

Overview: An issue public refers to a group of individuals who are greatly concerned about an issue or cluster of issues. By definition, this means that the causal influence of some policy variables will be greater for some actors than others; however, traditional regression models are ill-equipped to deal with this sort of causal heterogeneity. This paper examines the possibility of using mixture models as a solution to the problem of heterogeneity in the regression coefficients.

Design Effects in Complex Sampling Designs

James A. Woods, *Federal Bureau of Investigation*

Carl J. McCurley, *National Center on Juvenile Justice*

Overview: TBA

Testing the Robustness of the Ten-Point Left-Right Self-Placement Scale across Advanced and Developing Countries

Emre Yuce, *Pennsylvania State University*

Overview: Using World Values Surveys and European Value Surveys data set, I develop a widely applicable model to explain left-right self placement scale as a dependent variable and apply it to a set of diverse countries. By using ordered probit I re-test rigorously the interval level measuring capability of the scale across developed nations; test robustness of the scale when

applied to less developed nations; and qualify its comparative use whenever tests mentioned above fail.

Disc. **Michael Alvarez**, *California Technology Institute*

22-8 **INFLUENTIAL INTERESTS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Chair **Nathan Zook**, *University of Tennessee*

Systematic Factors of Interest Group Choice: Direct Versus Contract Lobbying

Mary C. Deason, *University of North Carolina - CH*

Overview: Lobbying is the primary vehicle organized interests use to further their interests and affect governmental policy. Direct lobbying is when a member or employee of a group acts as the lobbyist. Contract lobbying is when the organization hires an established lobbyist of firm. This paper details the internal and external factors that affect a group's decision to use direct or contract lobbying.

The Influence of Friends on Participation in Voluntary Associations

Monique B. Schneider, *University of California, Davis*

Overview: Voluntary association participation may, in part, be a reflection of friendship ties. Friendships help to overcome the free rider problem. Using a 1996 and 2000 panel of party activists, I find regular effects to substantiate the hypothesis that as the number of friends one has in a voluntary organization increases one is more likely to increase his or her activity in that organization. Additionally, I am seeking to determine the relationship between friendships and political party activism.

Religious Groups As Sources: Media Coverage of Religious Groups in Political Debates

Katherine E. Stenger, *University of Washington*

Overview: Although government officials dominate mediated discussions of political issues, the voice of the public is often reflected through organized interest groups representing various views and positions. This paper examines the extent to which religious groups representing the political and spiritual views of American citizens are referenced in media coverage of a variety of political issues over time compared to their non-religious counterparts. Analysis of news coverage of political debates is used to explore the proposition that journalists prefer secular sources to religious sources.

Does the Squeaky Wheel Get the Grease? Interest Group Influence on the Bureaucracy

Amy McKay, *Duke University*

Susan Webb Yackee, *University of Michigan*

Overview: Using data on public comments submitted by interest groups, we show that viewing interest group pressure as divided into two opposing sides is an instructive way to predict the bureaucrat's response.

Labor's Last Stand: Organized Labor under the Bush Administration

Tracy Roof, *University of Richmond*

Overview: This paper looks at how a highly partisan interest group, organized labor, reacts when its favored party is out of power. The labor movement has been fragmented by Bush's overtures to segments of organized labor but has ultimately sought protection in the Senate.

Disc. **Suzanne M. Robbins**, *Morehead State University*

23-3 **PRESIDENTIAL INFLUENCE IN CONGRESS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Chair **Lilly J. Goren**, *The College of St. Catherine*

District Level Relative Vote: The Role of Elections in Presidential Success in Congress

Christopher B. Mann, *Yale University*

Overview: There is a great deal of unexplained variance in Congressional voting behavior on Presidential requests. This paper examines the relationship between the relative popular vote received by the President and the member of Congress at the District level from 1952-2000 and Congressional voting behavior. I find that relative District level election results are an

	important indicator in determining the level of support members of Congress give to Presidential legislative requests.				difference in the ideological dimension of religious rhetoric used among the presidents and whether there is a partisan difference in the recent presidents' use of religious rhetoric.
Paper	<u>New Data and New Directions in Interbranch Lobbying: Congressional Mail Summaries of the George H. W. Bush White House</u> Daniel E. Bergan , <i>Northwestern University</i> Brandon Rottinghaus , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: This article analyzes a unique new set of data (compiled originally by the Bush White House) using mail written to President Bush from members of Congress during the 101st and 102nd Congresses to explore interbranch lobbying.			Paper	<u>There is Power in the Blood of the Lamb</u> Ted Ritter , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: Review of the religious rhetoric employed by George W. Bush. Argues that such rhetoric is designed to appeal to conservative Christian voters and has an underlying political motivation.
Paper	<u>Who Listens When The President Speaks? The Role of the State of the Union Address in the Policy Process</u> Lara Gruszczynski , <i>University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee</i> Overview: This paper provides an empirical test of Kingdon's multiple streams theory. I examine the role of the State of the Union address in the legislative policy process by looking at congressional responses to the president's policy proposals. Presidential proposals made during State of the Union addresses of eight presidents from 1960 to 2003 are examined with respect to the effects of issue salience, policy areas, and contextual influences on the number of bills that survive the committee stage of the policy process.			Paper	<u>Faith-Based Initiatives: Creating a Constitutional Intersection Between The Religion Clauses</u> Kenneth F. Mott , <i>Gettysburg College</i> Overview: This paper sets forth four models of the "appropriate" role of religious organizations in a democratic society, relating them to the President's "Faith-Based Initiatives" as they redound upon the religion clauses of the U.S. Constitution's first amendment, and the understanding of those clauses by the current justices of the U.S. Supreme Court.
				Disc.	Mark Rozell , <i>Catholic University</i>
				24-8	<u>INFLUENCES ON ROLL CALL VOTING BEHAVIOR</u>
Paper	<u>Presidential Lobbying</u> Matthew N. Beckmann , <i>The University of Michigan</i> Overview: How does the White House promote the president's preferences on Capitol Hill? What lobbying tactics do they have to choose from? And which legislators do they target with which tactics? Despite a rich folklore and countless anecdotes, to date there has been no systematic research that answers these questions. Conceptually, presidential lobbying has never been defined; theoretically, presidential lobbying has never been explained; empirically, presidential lobbying has never been measured. This paper fills these gaps.		Room Chair Paper		TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30 Kris Miller , <i>University of Illinois</i> <u>Assessing Deliberation on Environmental Policy in the House Resources Committee, 104th-108th Congresses</u> Celia M. Carroll , <i>Washington and Lee University</i> Overview: I extend a model of deliberation developed in earlier studies to examine the quality of deliberation on environmental issues in the House. The quality of deliberation is therefore expected to vary with the relative cost of alternatives such as bargaining, side-payments, and leadership pressure, access to leadership powers, point in the electoral cycle, and publicity. I test this argument using OLS regression on environmental bills considered by the House Resources Committee during the 104th-108th Congresses.
Paper	<u>You can Get Anything You have the Votes to Get: Positions, Anticipation, and Presidential Influence</u> Terry O. Sullivan , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: Building a simple model utilizing incomplete information and transaction costs suggest a better approach to understanding presidential influence. The paper presents this model, generates four hypotheses on influence and tests them using confidential headcount to vote evidence. The model supports three of the four hypotheses (a tenure related hypothesis, a head of state hypothesis, and a conditional party hypothesis).			Paper	<u>Congressional Support for Social Policy Bills: Ideology and Intervening Factors</u> Lynne Gibson-Gleiber , <i>East Carolina University</i> Overview: This paper focuses on determining the causes for changes in voting behavior by members of the United States House of Representatives with regard to social policy bills from 1972-2002. Social policy bills for this study are defined as those that affect the ability of people to improve their lives. It is often assumed that legislators have a personal political ideological orientation that determines the way they vote. The concern here is with identifying variables that sometimes supercede ideology in the decision making process of each member of Congress and at what times they intervene. It is hypothesized, in this study, that as certain factors increase in importance to the legislator in regard to achieving his or her personal goals, they will override personal ideology as the determinant of the vote.
Disc.	Bruce F. Nesmith , <i>Coe College</i>				<u>Ethnic Politics: The Motivation Behind Senate Foreign Policy Voting Behavior</u> Joseph N. Patten , <i>Monmouth University</i> Overview: This research examines the motivation behind Senate foreign policy voting behavior.
23-10	<u>FAITH-BASED LEADERSHIP: RELIGION AND THE PRESIDENCY</u> PDR 7, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30 Michael E. Bailey , <i>Berry College</i> <u>President Bush and Faith Based Initiatives</u> Shirley Anne Warshaw , <i>Gettysburg College</i> Elizabeth Macin , <i>Gettysburg College</i> Overview: President Bush has created a White Office for Faith Based and Community Initiatives. During the last three years, President Bush has used the power of executive order to establish faith based initiatives programs in more than half of the executive departments and funnelled millions of dollars into the faith based projects. This paper explores what previous presidents have done with regard to funding religious organizations for social service activities and how President Bush has used the power of the administrative presidency to facilitate faith based initiatives in the absence of legislative authority.			Paper	<u>Ideological Stability and Deliberative Volatility: Evidence from Floor Votes and Policy Debates During the 100th, 104th and 105th Congresses</u> Michael R. Reinhard , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This paper links the study of political rhetoric and Congressional votes by using statistical analysis of Congress Members talk to predict floor votes I find that talk in committees is multidimensional and predictive of votes in contrast to floor talk. I find that ideology remains stable while the talk that maps particular issues into the ideological space is volatile.
Paper	<u>Partisan Ideology and the Religious Rhetoric of Recent U.S. Presidents</u> Adam P. Kradel , <i>University of Wisconsin - Madison</i> Overview: This paper seeks to systematically explore the religious rhetoric of presidents Carter through George W. Bush. To do this a coding mechanism was constructed that filters categories of religious rhetoric into liberal and conservative designations. The paper seeks to discern whether there is a			Paper	<u>A Congressional Gender Gap?: Gender and Ideology in the US House of Representatives</u> Joseph D. Ura , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: Feminist theory and empirical evidence of a gender gap in mass political behavior provide strong reasons to suspect

gender-based differences in elite political behavior. This paper offers a model of congressional voting behavior that includes gender to test this hypothesis. Data analysis suggests that gender is, conditionally, a significant predictor of expressed ideology in Congress.

Disc. **Kris Miller**, *University of Illinois*
Stacy Gordon B. Gordon, *University of Nevada, Reno*

24-15 NEW FRONTIERS OF RESEARCH ON LEGISLATIVE ORGANIZATION

Room BURNHAM 5, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Chair **Glen S. Krutz**, *University of Oklahoma*

Paper Legislative Organization in a Multi-Institutional Policymaking Context

Sean Gailmard, *University of Chicago*

Thomas H. Hammond, *Michigan State University*

Overview: Abstract. This paper explores the effects of bargaining between chambers of a multicameral legislature on the organization of the individual chambers. We note multiple possible effects, and use a simple model to focus on two of the most widely studied facets of chamber organization: the representativeness of committees and the informativeness of their policy proposals. We argue that committees have both the widely-recognized role of policy advisors for the parent chamber, and also the role of bargaining agents in interaction with the other chamber. In the latter role, the committee can be useful if it takes actions that would be sequentially irrational for the chamber as a whole (or its median), which creates a tension between the chamber's desire for a "tough" bargaining agent and a sympathetic advisor. Thus intercameral bargaining in a bicameral system can affect which intracameral arrangements are optimal (from a single chamber's strategic perspective) in important ways.

Paper Legislative Institutionalization Re-Examined: How and Why?

Gaye Gungor, *Florida International University*

Overview: Institutional change has been a matter of concern for political scientists for a long time. There are a number of ways in which institutions, once established, can change. In this paper I focus one of these types of institutional change: institutional development or institutionalization. I study internal institutional development of one particular type of institution: legislature. More specifically I ask the following questions: How and why have legislatures developed the way they have? What are the causes of changes in the pattern of institutionalization observable in legislatures? What governs the timing of institutionalization and its pace?

Paper The Interplay of Party Leadership and Standing Committees in a Competitive versus a Non-Competitive State Legislative Setting: The Case of Florida

J. Edwin Benton, *University of South Florida*

Overview: This paper examines the impact that a competitive versus a non-competitive political environment has on the role played by the party leadership and standing committees in state legislatures. It addresses two questions: (1) Does the shift from a non-competitive to a competitive environment result in a more centralized or decentralized decision making process? and (2) Does the change from Democratic to Republican control result in a centralized or a decentralized political arena? These questions will be investigated with the aid of data drawn from one state (Florida) that undergone this kind of change.

Paper Strategic Selection of Conferees in the United States House of Representatives

Eric H. Hines, *University of Iowa*

Andrew J. Civettini, *University of Iowa*

Overview: We examine the extent to which appointments to conference committees are made strategically, employing various theories of legislative organization. Analyzing conferee selection over multiple sessions in the U.S. House, this study fills an important gap in our understanding of strategic behavior of Congress.

Disc. **William J. Kubik**, *Hanover College*
Barry S. Rundquist, *University of Illinois at Chicago*

25-10 REPRESENTATION IN REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY: THE ELECTORAL CONNECTION

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Chair **Diana F. Dwyre**, *California State University, Chico*

Paper Keystone State Christianity and Parish Politicking: Do Conservative Pennsylvania Parishes Influence Abortion Politics in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives?
Brian R. Calfano, *University of North Texas*

Overview: A majority of members in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives are anti-abortion. Social conservatism among Christian parishes across denominational lines runs high in many parts of the commonwealth, which might point to local political culture as a causal explanation for the strong anti-abortion sentiment. Unfortunately, no studies systematically examine the effect of district religiosity on a member's abortion position. This paper, using a logit analysis, tests for whether the proportion of conservative parishes/congregations in each Pennsylvania House district affects the abortion position of its member.

Paper Congressional Representation and Position-Taking
Christian R. Grose, *Lawrence University*

Keesha M. Middlemass, *University of Kansas*

Overview: Do party preferences or constituency preferences affect legislators' positions? Spatial theories imply that a legislator will locate at the district median. However, empirical evidence related to roll-call voting in Congress indicates the opposite. We explain this paradox by showing that legislators' platforms are different from legislators' votes on roll-calls. We analyze legislators' platforms and the messages they send to their constituents with a unique dataset of franked mass mailings sent by members of Congress.

Paper How the Tail Wags the Dog: The Impact of Minor Party Entry on Roll Call Voting

Shigeo Hirano, *Princeton University*

Overview: The question I pose in this paper is whether incumbents from America's two major parties adjust their policy positions in response to threats from national third parties. The evidence in this paper supports the argument that Democratic and Republican incumbents respond to national third party threats by changing their legislative voting behavior to co-opt the third party position. However, contrary to a popular belief that incumbents' policy responsiveness is linked to the third parties electoral success, this paper finds that the threat of winning large vote shares is enough to induce congressmen to pre-emptively co-opt the third party position. This finding supports the electoral models that find that in equilibrium the incumbent political actors position themselves to prevent challenger entry.

Paper Reelection Constituency and Roll Call Voting in the U.S. Senate

Jangsu Kim, *SUNY at Stony Brook*

Overview: This paper examines the electoral connection between Senators and their re-election constituencies. With same-state Senate pairs as unit of analysis, the dependent variable is the percentage of roll call votes on which same state Senate pairs vote together. Results show that senator pairs with larger portion of shared reelection constituents are more likely to cast a matching vote than the pairs with distinctive reelection constituents. The strength of relationship is mediated by electoral strength differentials.

Disc. **J. Mark Wrighton**, *University of New Hampshire*

26-7 SEPARATION OF POWERS ISSUES

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Chair **Lori J. Hausegger**, *Louisiana State University*

Paper Inter-institutional Preference Estimation: Finding a Common Ideological Scale for Legislators and Supreme Court Justices

Rachel Paine Caufield, *Drake University*

Overview: Increasingly, political scientists are turning attention to inter-institutional relationships to explore the nature of America's separated political system. Using spatial modeling

techniques, we have produced several interesting theoretical results to advance our understanding of Court-Congress interaction. It is time, however, to bring theory and data together and subject these theoretical models to rigorous empirical assessment. To do so, we must develop a standard scale of measurement that can be used across institutions yet accurately portrays each member's ideology within each institution. Here, I use powerful Markov Chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) methods, relying on the principles of Bayesian inference, to generate preference estimates for both legislators and justices. I then conduct an empirical test using the inter-institutional preference estimates derived here to assess the validity of separation-of-powers models.

Paper **The Strategic Use of Legal Instruments by the United States Supreme Court**

Chad M. King, *University of Texas at Dallas*

Ellen L. Lazarus, *University of Texas at Arlington*

Overview: In this paper, we propose a simple theoretical model that seeks to explain why judicial scholars have been unable to observe the presence of strategic behavior on the part of Justices on the United States Supreme Court. Borrowing theory used for other agencies, we argue that the Court may use non-vote means to make their decision less likely to be overturned by an unsatisfied Congress, specifically whether the Court uses higher-cost legal instruments. Using an ordered probit model, we test whether the Court is more likely to rely upon higher-cost legal instruments when it is faced with a greater possibility of Congressional constraint, where constraint is defined in terms of Congressional preferences similar to Segal (1997). While we include a number of control variables, our results strongly support our argument that when faced with the potential constraint of Congress, the Court uses higher-cost legal instruments to avoid that restraint.

Paper **The Limits of Judicial Independence: The Supreme Court's Constitutional Rulings, 1987-2000**

Anna L. Harvey, *New York University*

Barry Friedman, *New York University*

Overview: A central empirical debate in the field of judicial politics is whether U.S. Supreme Court Justices are constrained by Congress. We propose a statute-centered rather than a case-centered analysis, following all congressional statutes enacted between 1987 and 2000. We find, across a variety of legislative models, that the probability that a law is ruled unconstitutional during this period is strongly related to the degree of constraint imposed on the Court by the ideological composition of Congress.

Disc. **Lori J. Hausegger**, *Louisiana State University*
James R. Rogers, *Texas A&M University*

26-14 **A LOOK AT DIFFERENT ACTORS, DIFFERENT COURTS, DIFFERENT ISSUES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Chair **Kirk A. Randazzo**, *University of Kentucky*

Paper **The Ultimate Freshmen: Voting Behavior of 'By Assignment' Judges on the California Supreme Court**

James C. Brent, *San Jose State University*

Overview: This study re-examines the "freshman effect" on appellate courts by focusing on the behavior of the ultimate freshmen: judges who sit on the California Supreme Court 'by assignment' -- invited to join the state high court for a single case due to the absence of one of the Court's permanent justices. By analyzing 200-300 such cases from 1980-2003, several hypotheses arising from the freshman effect theory will be tested.

Paper **Article I vs. Article III Courts: Institutional Structure, Judicial Decision Making, and the CCPA**

Scott A. Hendrickson, *Washington University in St. Louis*

Overview: This paper uses time series analysis and the unusual history of Court of Customs and Patent Appeals—established first as an Article I court and then later converted to an Article III court—to examine the relationship between institutional structure and judicial decision making. The paper raises questions regarding the use and application of theories of

judicial decision making developed in the context of Article III courts to Article I courts.

Paper **Court of Appeals Decision-Making in Federal Drug Sentencing Cases**

Emery G. Lee, III, *Case Western Reserve University*

Overview: This paper tests several hypotheses regarding the effects of a number of legal and political variables on individual judges' votes in federal drug sentencing cases raising Apprendi issues in the period between June 2000 and Jan. 1, 2003.

Paper **Economic Cases and the Attitudinal Model in the Canadian Supreme Court**

Matthew E. Wetstein, *Delta College*

C. L. Ostberg, *University of the Pacific*

Overview: This paper examines the relative impact of political ideology, case facts, background variables, and judicial deference on the judicial voting behavior of Canadian Supreme Court justices in post-Charter economic cases (1984-2002).

Disc. **Kirk A. Randazzo**, *University of Kentucky*
Robert Dudley, *George Mason University*

27-5 **CONTEMPORARY CONSTITUTIONAL THEORY**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Chair **Tom Keck**, *Syracuse University*

Paper **Why We Did Not Expect Lawrence v. Texas (2003): A Critique of Judicial Minimalism**

Ron Kahn, *Oberlin College*

Overview: The social construction process is central to non-originalist Supreme Court decision-making. Because of its significance we can explain why the Supreme Court overturned *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986) in the landmark *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003) decision and why many scholars failed to predict the *Lawrence* decision. By doing so we can also pinpoint major theoretical problems in Cass Sunstein's concept of judicial minimalism.

Paper **Liability Rules for Constitutional Rights**

Eugene Kontorovich, *George Mason University*

Overview: Constitutional law assumes that rights should always be protected by property rules – that is, the government can only take them with the individual's consent. This Article extends to constitutional law the insights of Calabresi and Melamed's famous article on property and liability rules. Whether rights should be protected by property rules or liability rules depends on the transaction costs of negotiating a transfer of rights.

Paper **The Virtue of Justice: An Aretaic Approach to Legal Formalism**

Lawrence B. Solum, *University of San Diego*

Overview: This paper advances the project of virtue jurisprudence by offering an account of the virtue of justice as a component of an aretaic theory of judging. Because the rule of law requires formalist judging, justice can best be understood as the disposition to decide disputes on the basis of the rules laid down, good judging requires an ability to set aside one's own preferences and act out of fidelity and respect for the law.

Paper **Judicial Minimalism and Formal Justice**

Jeffrey Brand-Ballard, *George Washington University*

Overview: This paper intercedes in a jurisprudential debate between Cass Sunstein and U.S. Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia. Sunstein defends a minimalist approach to constitutional adjudication, eschewing width and depth in favor of narrow, shallow decisions. I explore the capacity of minimalism to support recent progressive court decisions against formalist arguments. Scalia offers such arguments in his dissenting opinions in two landmark gay rights cases, *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003) and *Romer v. Evans* (1996).

Disc. **Ira Strauber**, *Grinnell College*
Emery Lee, *Case Western Reserve University*

27-101 **AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: RAN HIRSCHL'S TOWARDS JURISTOCRACY**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Chair **Shannon I. Smith**, *Westminster College*

Rndtbl. Sally Kenney, *University of Minnesota*
 Mark Tushnet, *Georgetown University*
 Keith Whittington, *Princeton University*
 Gordon Silverstein, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Ran Hirschl, *University of Toronto*

29-9 **GOVERNANCE AND COALITION
 POLITICS IN METROPOLITAN AREAS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30
Chair William Nelson, *Ohio State University*
Paper **Explaining Corporate and Labor Contributions in Urban Elections**

Timothy B. Krebs, *University of New Mexico*
 Overview: Business and labor are two of the most important interest groups in urban politics. To date, however, urban scholars have generally overlooked their involvement in funding local campaigns. In this research I examine the strategies used by business and labor in making campaign contributions to city council candidates. Hypotheses related to institutional, electoral and racial politics are tested in an effort to explain variations in the dollar amounts candidates receive from these sources. Data from Chicago and Los Angeles city council elections are used to test the model.

Paper **Thirty-Six Years and Counting: A Critical Review of the Impact of Black Mayors**
 Eric A. Johnson, *University of North Carolina at Greensboro*
 Overview: This paper critically examines the literature on Black mayors over three decades to pursue two goals. One, synthesize the literature in a coherent manner which lays out the research focus on Black Mayor research over the past 30 plus years. Two, draw some conclusions and implications for future research direction related to Black Mayors and their governance role in cities where the populations are predominantly Black in the 21st century.

Paper **Like A Game of Musical Chairs: Urban Coalition Building in a Multiethnic Setting**
 Karen M. Kaufmann, *University of Maryland*
 Overview: Contemporary examples of urban electoral coalitions challenge the presumed importance of shared ideology. The increasing diversity of urban populations and the growing presence of Latino voters have turned the old-fashioned "two-person" game of black/white politics into a "multi-person" contest where ideological affinity is but one of several factors upon which minimum winning coalitions can be formed. This paper provides a new theory of urban coalitions that takes historical, structural and individual level factors into account.

Paper **The New Daley Machine 1989-2003**
 Dick W. Simpson, *University of Illinois at Chicago*
 Daniel E. Bliss, *University of Illinois at Chicago*
 Kevin D. Navratil, *University of Illinois at Chicago*
 Rebecca Raines, *University of Illinois at Chicago*
 Overview: The epitome of older "machine politics" was under Richard J. Daley and his pro-growth regime in Chicago from 1955-1976. It was characterized by patronage, slate-making, and allinaces to the down-town business community. The new machine under Richard M. Daley continues some aspects of the older machine but patronage precinct captains are supplemented by a candidate based synthetic campaigns using large sums of money from the global economy to purchase professional political consultants, public opinion polls, and paid television ads and direct mail. On the governing side, the new machine is characterized by a rubber stamp city council and public policies which benefit the new global economy more than the older developer economy.

Paper **An Empirical Test of Urban Regime Theory: The Case of Empowerment Zones**
 Paru R. Shah, *Rice University*
 Overview: How is cooperation around redistributive goals achieved? There are two competing theories in urban politics that suggest which groups have access to power and the formal institutions of government characterizing the polity matter for the types of policies cities choose to enact. The "economic

constraint model" (Tiebout, 1956) assumes away both interest group politics and institutions and posits that the constrained environment in which cities operate basically dictates that cities pursue policies that attract new businesses, keep the city economically viable, and ultimately favor the wealthy over the poor. In contrast, the interest group approach argues that power is more widely spread and that a great many people have the ability to form groups and influence city decision-making (Dahl, 1960; Stone, 1989). The Empowerment Act of 1993 (EZ/EC) initiated by Clinton differs significantly from all prior urban programs because it specifically encourages both redistributive and developmental policies, and provides a good opportunity to test each of these competing urban governance theories. Operationalizing cooperation as the ability to garner resources to apply for the program, my research first employs a Heckman's selection model to see which cities applied for the program, and of those granted the federal monies, how cooperation has affected urban policy outcomes in the last 10 years.

Disc. Jessica Perez-Monforti, *Mercer University*

30-8 **HEALTH POLICY - INPUTS AND OUTCOMES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30
Chair James N. Schubert, *Northern Illinois University*
Paper **The Morning After: Winning the Health Policy War for the Status Quo**

Carol S. Weissert, *Florida State University*
 William G. Weissert, *Florida State University*
 Overview: Analysis of the "morning after" passage of salient health policy which includes recouping or "putting back" of policies taken away from the dominant interest group in the original legislation. Three health policies are examined: gun control, physician and hospital provider payment, and mental health parity.

Paper **What Makes Them Tick(et)? Enforcing Youth Access to Tobacco Laws**
 Michael J. Licari, *University of Northern Iowa*
 Overview: This paper models state tobacco control and public health agency implementation of laws restricting youth access to tobacco, and the resultant effectiveness of those laws. It does so with a three-step process, first examining the determinants of enforcement of these laws, then analyzing the effectiveness of agency enforcement and other policies on compliance rates, and finally assessing the impacts of that compliance (and other regulatory efforts) on youth smoking.

Paper **Telehealth Enabling Laws: Explaining the Innovation and Diffusion Across the States**
 Mary Schmeida, *Kent State University*
 Overview: Telehealth represents a new paradigm in health care that merges health policy and administration with electronic government. This research examines the adoption of enabling legislation needed for the expansion of telehealth activity across the states. These laws include Medicaid reimbursement for telehealth practitioners; Internet pharmacy regulation; and physician telehealth licensure laws. There is sparse published research in this new policy area.

Paper **Governmental Fragmentation and Policy-Making in the States**
 Rachel M. VanSickle-Ward, *University of California at Berkeley*
 Overview: To explain the rise of judicial policy-making in the United States, scholars look to legal culture, increased demand for programmatic rights, and institutional factors; namely federalism, separation of powers (and the resulting potential for divided government) and weak parties (see, for example, Kagan, Melnick, and Atiyah and Summers). It is hypothesized that, because American policy-making is pluralistic and frequently dependent on compromise between opposing parties, the resulting statute is often ambiguous or disjointed, leaving room for substantive court interpretation. This paper is part of a broader project evaluating the extent to which institutional fragmentation conditions policy-making at the state level and

how, in turn, the resulting statute may encourage judicial policy-making. It analyses the effects of three principal sources of fragmentation in state government (the presence or absence of divided government, and party homogeneity and party polarization in state legislatures) on the consistency and clarity of statute produced (as indicated by an original coding scheme). Specifically, this paper will focus on statutes regarding mandated health care benefits enacted in the late 1990's and early 2000's. I expect that while party polarization and homogenization will increase the clarity and consistency of statute, the effects of divided government will be mixed. The conclusions should contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the effects of governmental fragmentation on the nature of policy-making at the state level.

Paper **Dollars, Disease, and Democracy: The Role of the National Institutes of Health (NIH) Director's Council of Public Representatives (COPR)**

Eileen Burgin, *University of Vermont*

Overview: What is the public role in decisions regarding the allocation of federal funds for biomedical research? And what should that role be? This paper examines these questions by focusing on the National Institutes of Health (NIH) Director's Council of Public Representatives (COPR). COPR was formed in 1998 to elevate public input into the priority-setting process. Yet because COPR is in its infancy, its work has not been carefully explored. This paper will begin to fill that void.

Disc. **Pamela Walsh**, *Wayne State University*
Mitzi L. Mahoney, *Sam Houston State University*

31-11 **REINVENTING REGULATION AND ECOSYSTEM PROTECTION**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Chair **Steven A. Light**, *University of North Dakota*

Paper **Representative Bureaucracy in US Pharmaceutical Regulation**

Ryan T. Rynbrandt, *University of Michigan*

Overview: This paper presents an empirical test of the theory that increasing the descriptive representation of historically underrepresented groups in a government agency will result in improved substantive representation for those groups in society, looking at the relationship between the participation of women in the drug review process and the speed of drug review. The test uses data on NDA approval times for 1,629 new molecular entities submitted to the FDA from 1950 to 2000.

Paper **Between Commenting and Negotiation: The Contours of Public Participation in Agency Rulemaking**

Steven J. Balla, *The George Washington University*

Overview: Public participation in many rulemakings falls between the extremes of commenting on proposed rules and taking part in formal negotiations. This paper addresses two questions about this little understood "middle ground" of public involvement: (1) How often are various forms of public participation used? (2) Under what conditions are particular modes of participation most likely to be part of the rulemaking process? Specifically, the paper will entail the collection of archival information for hundreds of actions issued by the Department of Transportation over the past five years, as well as a series of interviews with the officials who worked on the development of a subset of the rules.

Paper **An Anatomy of Environmental Policy-Making: A Case Study of the Hetch Hetchy Controversy**

Brian J. Nickerson, *Pace University*

Daniel R. Smith, *Iona College*

Overview: This paper examines the institutional biases, conflicting political and environmental ideologies, and individual personalities involved with the Hetch Hetchy Valley controversy. The study uses historical analysis to trace the positions of the key agencies and interest groups involved in the decision-making process for the past century.

Paper **Living in a "Wicked" Vertical-Horizontal World: Endangered Species and Collaborative Problem Solving Capacity as an Outcome**

Edward P. Weber, *Washington State University*

Nicholas P. Lovrich, *Washington State University*

Michael Gaffney, *Washington State University*

Overview: If, as Kettl (2002) argues, the new challenge of governance is one of capacity, or linking new horizontal systems with existing vertical bureaucracies, what criteria can help us understand whether long-term, collaborative problem solving capacity is being enhanced, staying the same, or being diminished? Using 1700 surveys in two ESA cases of collaborative enforcement, we construct a collaborative capacity assessment framework and test capacity along three dimensions- vertical, horizontal, and partnership linkages between the two.

Disc. **Colin Provost**, *Stony Brook University*
Craig Curtis, *Bradley University*

32-102 **AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: DANIEL TICHENOR, DIVIDING LINES: THE POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION CONTROL IN AMERICA (Co-sponsored with Program Co-Chairs', see 1-108)**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Chair **Joseph Luders**, *Yeshiva University*

Rndtbl. **Elizabeth Cohen**, *Syracuse University*

Paul Frymer, *University of California - San Diego*

Elizabeth Sanders, *Cornell University*

Richard Vallery, *Swarthmore College*

Daniel Tichenor, *Rutgers University*

Overview: The roundtable will discuss Tichenor's treatment of the politics and policies surrounding immigration, from the American Founding to the present.

33-301 **POSTER SESSION: POLITICAL CULTURE**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Poster **Chi as Ideological Warrant for Chinese Political Leadership**

Grace C. Huang, *University of Chicago*

Overview: By focusing on why Jiang Jieshi drew heavily on the Confucian virtue of shame, we attempt to understand better the expressions of the Chinese leader, from a Western perspective. This paper argues that putting forth chi as an ideological warrant implies that one must abstain from letting others feel chi, and one must know when others give chi to ones self. Put forth effectively, chi can serve as a powerful ideological warrant for justifying the authority of ones leadership.

Poster **On the Sources and Origins of Social Capital**

Benjamin Radcliff, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: This paper examines and evaluates arguments about how, and in what way, various societal institutions foster higher levels of social capital across the industrial democracies and the American states. The principal finding is that, contrary to much established wisdom, variation in explained almost entirely by the strength of economic/financially oriented institutions (such as labor unions).

34-103 **ROUNDTABLE: TEACHING INTRODUCTION TO COMPARATIVE POLITICS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Rndtbl. **Jean C. Robinson**, *Indiana University*

David L. Richards, *Educational Testing Service*

Neil Mitchell, *University of New Mexico*

K.C. Morrison, *University of Missouri - Columbia*

Overview: In addition to exposing students to basic concepts, theories, and ideas, teachers of comparative politics often aim to foster and promote values of tolerance through exposure to the histories, cultures, and societies of cases from around the world. This roundtable will explore that discussion.

40-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: VARIETIES OF SOCIALISM: COOPERATIVES AND THE THIRD WAY**

Room TBA, TABLE 6, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Inf. Rnd. Cooperation and the Social System: Individualism and Socialism, Private Property and Common Property

Mark J. Kaswan, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: This paper examines the main premises of cooperative socialism as articulated in early 19th-century Britain—a time in some respects like ours, when liberal capitalism enjoyed nearly complete hegemony. Focusing on ideas of common property and common interest, this paper seeks to identify a theoretical basis by which the contemporary cooperative movement, with over 700 million people in over 100 countries, can be seen as a transformative social and political movement.

Inf. Rnd. The Discourse of Centrism

Leonard Williams, *Manchester College*

Overview: This paper examines the discourse and primary styles of argumentation of centrist (a.k.a., "radical middle" or "Third Way") ideologies.

40-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: GLOBALISM WITH AN AMERICAN FACE

Room TBA, TABLE 7, TBA FLOOR, SAT 8:30

Inf. Rnd. Globalism with an American Face: Ideological Maneuvers in a Post 9/11 World

Manfred B. Steger, *Illinois State University*

Overview: Paper discusses the impact of 9/11 and the War on Terrorism on the neoliberal ideology of globalism.

Saturday, April 17 – 10:30 am – 12:15 pm

2-102 ROUNDTABLE: VARIETIES OF CAPITALISM

Room PDR 9, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30

Chair Mark A. Kayser, *University of Rochester*

Rndtbl. Andrew M. Appleton, *Washington State University*

Brianna Lawrence, *Washington State University*

Tom J. Kenyon, *Columbia University*

Graeme B. Robertson, *Princeton University*

Mark Z. Taylor, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Overview: This roundtable discussion challenges some of the central assumptions of the “varieties of capitalism” theory, including the state as a unitary actor as well as the posited relationship between labor organization and ownership structure and liberal markets and innovative activity.

3-29 THE STATE AND DEVELOPMENT: THEORIES AND EVIDENCE

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30

Chair Ben Ross Schneider, *Northwestern University*

Paper Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: Towards a New Paradigm

Julian C. Westerhout, *Indiana University*

Overview: The development structure most likely to result in sustainable growth is one that utilizes a overlapping mix of actors and institutions operating on different levels – in order to best match institutional strengths with the problems at hand and the desired policy or program outcomes. A possible paradigm for a new model of development is proposed, combining the capabilities approach championed by Amartya Sen with the Institutional Analysis and Development framework developed by E. Ostrom et al.

Paper End of Import Substitution Regime: A Dynamic Model Approach

Seden Akcinaroglu, *University of Illinois Urbana Champaign*

Overview: This research paper aims to explain the variance in the timing of the abolishment of ISI strategies through a dynamic model that is based Olson’s collective action problem. It will be shown that the increase in the number of beneficiaries of ISI strategy aggravated the collective action problem through time. The change in incentives of some beneficiaries also led to a change in the existing coalitions and tilted the balance for a pro-export oriented strategy.

Paper The Political Economy of Human Capital Accumulation: Exploring the Impact of Institutions

Dulce Manzano, *New York University*

Overview: The aim of this paper is to determine whether or not the type of regime affects the accumulation of human capital. Although the level of economic development is a strong predictor of a nation’s educational profile, my purpose is to include political economy factors into the explanation, in particular the type of regime, and provide theoretical mechanisms to explain how the interaction of economic and political forces brings about the observed educational patterns of countries.

Paper Local Political Competition and Budgetary Priorities: Evidence from Bolivia

Matthew M. Singer, *Duke University*

Overview: The paper extends previous work on fiscal federalism by exploring spending patterns in 312 Bolivian municipalities in three areas: public works projects, employee salaries, and corruption (overpayment of salaries, reimbursement for trips that did not occur, payment for projects that were never completed, etc). We propose two explanations for this phenomenon: incentives to spend on salaries and patronage/corruption should decrease as government reliance on local taxes increases and as local elections approximate 2-party competition.

Disc. Ben Ross Schneider, *Northwestern University*

3-301

POSTER SESSION: COMPARATIVE POLITICS - DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30

Poster

Committee Vetoes and the Power of Legislative Minorities in the Design of Policy

Natalia Ferretti, *University of California, Berkeley*

Overview: This paper compares the structure of the legislative committee system in Argentina, Chile and Brazil. More specifically, it takes on two tasks: (a) it explores the extent to which regional, sectoral, and/or ideological minorities are over-represented in the standing committees of each country’s lower chamber, and (b) it measures the strength of the gate-keeping power granted to such committees by the standing orders of each House. After assessing variation in committee structure; both across countries, and across time within each assembly--the paper tests the effects of such difference on policy content. To accomplish this task, the paper analyzes patterns of federal transfers to poverty programs and public works projects in each country. The paper confirms that representation in key committees provides certain minorities with advantages in the policy-making process, which, in turn, result in material benefits for their core constituencies. Further, the analysis shows that the stronger committee system of the Argentine congress; as compared with that of Chile and Brazil; has resulted in a decision-making process that has not halted policy change in the legislature, but that has instead been successful in guiding the direction of change in line with a variety of regional and sectoral interests. Thus, this paper shows that the veto-players approach can be successfully extended to the study of committees, and to the bargaining clout of legislative minorities in the design of policy.

Poster Dialectics of Democratization: Korean Constitutional Politics, 1948-1987

Myoung-Ae Jones, *University of California, Davis*

Overview: Understanding institutional changes has been a weak point in new institutionalism. This point is especially relevant in the developing world where the rule of law is not expected to thrive; hence, study of institutional elements in developing countries has been negligible. The endogenous evolutionary changes in Korean constitutional politics can shed a valuable insight on both accounts. Institutions change according to the preferences of principal actors and their relevant balance of power.

Poster The Political Power of Language Regimes: Evidence from South Africa

Eric S. McLaughlin, *Indiana University*

Overview: When language barriers prevent language groups within a country from communicating with one another or with a government purported to serve their interests, it can be difficult to understand how an open public realm of debate, contestation and democratic competition can be sustained. This paper builds on work a theoretical framework advanced by Jonathan Pool (1990) to empirically assess the manner and extent to which language regimes affect the practice of democratic politics.

Poster She is Our Mother: Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the National League for Democracy

Karen L. Mitchell, *University of Missouri - Kansas City*

Overview: Going beyond Weber’s concept of charisma as generalized theory but as a concept imbedded in a particular culture and time, interviews with senior members of the Burmese National League for Democracy are analyzed to establish the charisma of Aung San Suu Kyi and the charismatic relationship that exists between her and her followers. Taking an interdisciplinary approach, charisma is presented as dynamic and interactional, subject to the cultural definitions of leadership and expectations of gender.

Poster	<p><u>Beyond the Bureaucracy: Changing China's Policymaking Environment</u> Eric G. Zusman, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Jennifer Turner, <i>Woodrow Wilson Center</i> Overview: We explore how international organizations have facilitated coordination and cooperation between China's bureaucracies.</p>	
4-9	<p><u>SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE WORLD VALUES SURVEY</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30 Elizabeth Zechmeister, <i>University of California, Davis</i> <u>Institutional Effects on Democratic Support: Diverse Effects on Diverse Dimensions</u> Jae Woo Hong, <i>University of Missouri-Columbia</i> Minion K.C. Morrison, <i>University of Missouri-Columbia</i> Overview: This comparative analysis examines the institutional effects on public support for democracy. Democratic support has been regarded as the key element of democratic consolidation. The paper examines how major political institutions make different effects on different dimensions of democratic support.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Factors Determining the Process of Democratization in Mexico</u> Clemente Quinones, <i>University of Connecticut</i> Overview: This paper tries to explain the impact of postmaterialist values, social capital values, national elite and interntional factors on Mexico's democracy or democratic process.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Political Mobilization and Institutional Trust in Latin America: Citizens in Defense of Democracy?</u> Patricia M. Rodriguez, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: This paper looks at the interrelationship between participation in political associations, distrust in institutions and evaluations of democracy in eight Latin American countries included in the World Values Survey. Findings suggest that at the higher levels of trust and belief in democracy that should result from participation is not occurring. Why? How and why do these countries vary?</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Trust in Political Institutions in Latin America: Untrustworthy Institutions or Critical Citizens?</u> Carolina Segovia, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: In this paper I evaluate the origins of political trust in Latin America during the 1990s. The results show that low levels of trust are a response to poor governmental performance during this period, performance that is evaluated in terms of levels of corruption and fairness.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Attitude Stability in Emerging and Established Democracies</u> Chappell H. Lawson, <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> James A. McCann, <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: When citizens lack stable political attitudes, leaders cannot easily be held accountable for their record in office and public opinion is unable to offer much substantive guidance about policy-making. We use recently available panel data from several democracies to assess the degree of attitude stability in the mass public, controlling for measurement error in survey responses. We find that attitudes are substantially more stable in established democratic systems, highlighting certain challenges for new democracies.</p>	
Disc.	<p>Damarys Canache, <i>Florida State University</i></p>	
5-8	<p><u>VOTING IN EUROPE</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30 Matthew J. Gabel, <i>University of Kentucky</i> <u>Reconsidering Party Identification in Western Europe</u> Guy D. Whitten, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Harvey D. Palmer, <i>University of Mississippi</i> Holly Goerdel, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Party Identification looms large in the debates on public opinion and voting behavior in the United States. Most attempts to export this concept to similar studies in Western Europe have found this concept dead on arrival across the Atlantic. We believe that Western European electorates do have</p>	<p>varying degrees of partisan identification that act much like party identification and attribute the failures of previous studies to find such effects on flawed measurement techniques.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Contextual Model of Economic Voting</u> Raymod M. Duch, <i>University of Houston</i> Overview: A contextual model of economic voting.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>The Effect of Anti-Americanism on the May 2003 Spanish Local Elections.</u> Mark J. McKenzie, <i>University of Texas at Austin</i> Manuel E. Balan, <i>University of Texas at Austin</i> Overview: In the weeks leading up to the Spanish local elections in May 2003, many pollsters predicted Spain's conservative government would suffer huge electoral losses because of its strong support for the Bush Administration's war against Iraq. Notwithstanding the predictions, the conservative People's Party (PP) emerged from the election against the opposition Socialists relatively unscathed. This paper explores why anti-American and anti-war sentiment didn't translate into a large Socialist vote-share.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Economics, Politics, and Timing in Second Order Elections</u> Guy D. Whitten, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Sibel McGee, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: In this paper, we will examine the relationship between economics and the fortunes of parties participating in their national government, and in European Parliamentary Elections from 1979 to 1999. Within national political environments, elections to the European Parliament can be labeled second order elections. Studies of second order elections in the United States (elections to the House of Representatives and Senate when there is not a concurrent Presidential election) have demonstrated a pronounced anti-incumbent trend and provided some evidence of economic voting. In this paper, we will evaluate (appropriately adapted) models of second order elections with European data, taking into account the additional variable of the timing of second order elections relative to first order elections. This will allow us to make interesting new inferences about second order elections in general as well as examine the impact that various factors have on elections to the European Parliament.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Paint Your (Band)Wagon: Campaign Spending and Partisan Voting</u> Kenneth R. Benoit, <i>Trinity College, University of Dublin</i> Michael Marsh, <i>University of Dublin</i> Overview: Examines campaign spending effects on party-based voting, estimating the effects of spending on split-party votes and party coat-tail effects. Combines voting data from 2002 Irish Dail election with survey data from 2002 Irish National Election Study.</p>	
Disc.	<p>Matthew J. Gabel, <i>University of Kentucky</i></p>	
7-3	<p><u>I DO NOT HAVE DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY: METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (Co-sponsored with Methodology, see 21-12)</u> BURNHAM 5, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30 TBA <u>Not-So-Standard Errors: A New and Robust Method for Calculating Standard Errors in Time-Series Cross-Sectional Studies</u> Bear F. Braumoeller, <i>Harvard University</i> Jasjeet Sekhon, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: Social scientists in general and IR researchers in particular who utilize time-series cross-sectional (TSCS) data have produced overly optimistic findings because the methods they used failed to account for interrelationships among observations. We offer a method of calculating consistent TSCS standard errors that is robust to arbitrary cross-sectional correlation that changes over time and to arbitrary serial correlation that changes across units. Monte Carlo simulations and reanalyses of published work in IR demonstrate its utility.</p>	
Room		
Chair		
Paper	<p><u>Domestic and Systemic Determinants of Intervention by Major Powers: Specifying a Complete Model</u> Elizabeth M. Franker, <i>George Washington University</i></p>	

	<p>Joseph R. Clark, <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: Recent international relations scholarship has focused on the factors determining whether or not major powers intervene in international crises. Our primary goal is to map out how scholars can integrate both systemic and domestic factors into a single model of major power intervention, thereby gaining greater insight from more nuanced analysis of data. Our secondary goal is to explore how both systemic and domestic level variables shape decisions concerning major power intervention.</p>		<p>Remzi Sanver, <i>Istanbul Bilgi University</i> Overview: new procedure for reaching agreement on multilateral treaties is proposed and compared to the usual procedure of voting on each treaty provision individually. The new procedure, yielding an outcome that minimizes the maximum distance to any participant's most preferred outcome, is Rawlsian in the sense that the usual one is utilitarian. The two procedures are illustrated using historical negotiations, and their social-choice properties are discussed.</p>
Paper	<p>The Phantom Menace: Omitted Variable Bias in Econometric Analysis Kevin A. Clarke, <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: An indelible lesson learned by all political scientists in their graduate econometrics courses is that the omission of a relevant variable from their model specification may seriously bias their empirical analysis. In this paper, I demonstrate that beyond the realm of simple multiple regression omitted variable bias is largely a "phantom menace," and that legitimate inferences may be made without the use of a dozen explanatory variables.</p>	Disc.	<p>Brett Ashley Leeds, <i>Rice University</i></p>
Paper	<p>Estimating State Preferences in International Crises Kenneth A. Schultz, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Jeffrey B. Lewis, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper applies a new empirical estimator to crisis bargaining data in order to assess the effects of different variables on states' preferences in international crises. The data and method permits us to test theories about the sources of these preferences in a manner that is faithful to the strategic interaction in these events.</p>	7-16	<p>HEGEMONY AND POWER: THEORETICAL APPROACHES</p>
Disc.	<p>Michael Simon, <i>SPARTA</i></p>	Room	<p>TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30</p>
7-8	<p>INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENT</p>	Chair	<p>Nadia Theodore, <i>Carleton College</i></p>
Room	<p>TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30</p>	Paper	<p>Post-Cold Europe: Balancing or Band-wagoning- a Refinement of Structural Realism Patrick Howell, <i>United States Military Academy</i> Overview: Structural Realism predicted that, after the Cold War, European states would either balance against the U.S. (the EU's ERRF) or band-wagon with the US (NATO enlargement)-- however, they did both. The end of the Cold War changed many things about the war-- including the theories we use. With some small modifications, Structural Realism continues to serve as an excellent theoretical tool to describe & predict state behavior.</p>
Chair	<p>Anessa Kimball, <i>Binghamton University</i></p>	Paper	<p>Application of the Gravity Model in International Relations Study Imam Xierali, <i>University of Cincinnati</i> Overview: Application of the gravity model to the study of international relations</p>
Paper	<p>Understanding Flexibility in International Commitments: Credibility, Scope, and Transparency Brett V. Benson, <i>Duke University</i> David Soskice, <i>Duke University</i> Overview: Why are international commitments and agreements often flexible in the sense that the terms are left ambiguous or unspecified, obligations are qualified and sometimes weak, and provisions often leave the possibility for escape? This paper argues that under certain conditions flexibility is deliberately introduced into the form and scope of international commitments in order to improve states' chances of benefiting from cooperation.</p>	Paper	<p>Navigating the Constraints of Hegemony: the Case of Spain Mark E. Schaefer, <i>West Virginia University</i> Overview: Does the discipline correctly view hegemony? This piece contends that a view of hegemony with a vertical authority structure is incorrect. Hegemonic systems are better viewed as unbalanced multipolar systems. Moreover, the work contends that hegemony face constraints in the form of three handcuffs: international regimes, domestic politics, and power concentration. It is these constraints that allow an unbalanced system to remain stable. The case of Spain will be utilized to explore the theory.</p>
Paper	<p>Data on Delegation: What Is Really Happening Internationally? Koremenos Barbara, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: Do security agreements call for any substantive delegation? Are experts partly in control of environmental agreements? Do non-governmental human rights organizations have any real power to collect information? Under a National Science Foundation Career Award, I am collecting detailed data on the characteristics of a large sample of international agreements drawn from the United Nations Treaty Series to answer these questions. The data I am collecting will allow me to test some of the theories put forth in the "Delegation to International Organizations" project run by Hawkins, Lake, Nielson, and Tierney.</p>	Paper	<p>International Social Contract Ferit M. Ozkaleli, <i>University of Colorado at Boulder</i> Overview: International social contract, realism, liberalism, constructivism, state of nature</p>
Paper	<p>The Impact of Intervention on Peacebuilding in Ethnic Conflicts: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis Jennifer De Maio, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper attempts to critically assess when and why intervention succeeds and when it fails in an effort to evaluate the efficacy of assertive third party peacebuilding. The empirical and theoretical evidence considered suggest that while it may end ethnic violence, external peacebuilding does not resolve the causes of conflict and therefore does not diminish the likelihood that armed conflict will resume.</p>	Paper	<p>Challenging American Hegemony: Power and Identity in Southeast Asia Dwayne L. Ledsoe, <i>West Virginia University</i> Overview: Has the United States truly seen a decline in its power? Who are the likely challengers to the status quo? Operating within the framework of hegemonic stability theory, these questions are explored through an analysis of power as a multidimensional instrument and through constructivist notions of national identity. Concentrating upon potential challengers in Asia, this model is tested across time and issues.</p>
Paper	<p>A Minimax Procedure for Negotiating Multilateral Treaties Marc Kilgour, <i>Wilfrid Laurier University</i> Steven J. Brams, <i>New York University</i></p>	Disc.	<p>Russell A. Hamilton, <i>Seton Hall University</i></p>
		8-301	<p>POSTER SESSION: INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY</p>
		Room	<p>TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30</p>
		Poster	<p>Endogenous Growth Theory and Sub-Saharan Africa Lindsay L. Sims, <i>University of Arizona</i> Overview: Although the contributions that endogenous growth theorists make to the study of IPE are invaluable, there is still work to be done. This study will examine the political aspects of endogenous growth such as conflict and regime type as they relate to states in Sub-Saharan Africa; these states make for a very interesting case for further development of endogenous growth theory, by a return to parsimony.</p>
		Poster	<p>The Economic Implications for Floating versus Fixed Exchange Rates Joe Robbins, <i>Texas Tech University</i></p>

Overview: This study examines the economic implications for floating versus fixed exchange rates for over sixty countries in three regions: Latin America, East Europe and Africa. In addition, I also control for region to see if exchange rate success is dependent upon a geographical region.

Poster **The Effects of Regional Trade Agreements on Economic Development**

Schuyler R. Porche, *Louisiana State University*

Overview: This paper expands current research on international organizations, trade, and regional institutions in two ways. First, an innovative methodology for objectively quantifying regional trade agreements (RTA) is developed. Second, using a sample of 81 countries from 1960 to 2000, the relationship between RTA and economic growth rates is modeled using panel data regression analysis. Empirical results demonstrate that RTA have a significant role in augmenting the level of growth.

Poster **Reviewing the Application of International Regime Theories: The Interaction between Beijing and Taipei in WTO**

De-Yuan Kao, *University of Chicago*

Overview: This paper tries to explain the interactions between Beijing and Taipei in the WTO by reviewing the international regime theory. What makes the interactions so complicated and what effects the WTO might have on both members will also be discussed in the paper.

Poster **Perspectives and Conditions of Development of Central and Eastern Europe Countries as Members of European Union**

Iwo Augustynski, *Wroclaw University of Economics*

Leszek Cybulski, *Wroclaw University of Economics*

Alicja Panenka, *Wroclaw University*

Overview: The article describes a group of transition countries from Central and Eastern Europe: their present situation, conditions and perspectives in the area of labour markets, structure of economies and role of new economy branches.

Poster **Transnational Crime & Corruption: The New Security Challenge**

Oksana V. Kaluh, *American University*

Overview: Criminal networks that emerged to offer new authoritative social mechanisms now threaten the very existence and viability of the state.

Disc. **Michael D. Schmidt**, *American University*

10-9 **WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY, UNILATERALISM, AND US USE OF FORCE**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30

Chair **Surendra K. Gupta**, *Pittsburg State University*

Paper **Duration of the U.S. Use of Force and Institutional Effects of Multilateral Military Actions**

Atsushi Tago, *University of Tokyo, University of Michigan*

Overview: This paper provides a model on duration of the U.S. presidential use of force. The Hazard model and Heckman probit model show that duration of the presidential use of force gets longer once the United States obtains formal authorization from the international organizations since the U.S. can use collective legitimacy of the IOs to justify the operation and prevent domestic and international oppositions.

Paper **All Aboard: How Revolutions in Military Affairs Shape the Duration, Scope, and Location of International Interactions**

Michael Horowitz, *Harvard University*

Overview: The idea that the United States is experiencing a Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) has risen from a marginal place in U.S. military thinking to a central role in studies of the future of warfare. Writing in political science failed to account for the potential importance of previous RMAs for international security. This paper uses statistical tests and case studies to evaluate the way RMAs impact the duration, scope, and location of international interactions.

Paper **Use of Force: Multilateralism or Unilateralism?**

Bradley F. Podliska, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: This paper examines a president's decision to use force, and based on a cost calculus, whether or not, the president takes a multilateral or unilateral approach. I argue that the

development of military technology that substantially reduces the cost

Paper **The Pre-Crisis Impact of Uncertainty on States Considering Missile Attacks against the United States**

Bob Switky, *University of Nebraska, Kearney*

Overview: TBA

Paper **Multilateralism in the Shadow of Hegemony, or Hegemony in the Shadow of Multilateralism?**

Andrea K. Talentino, *Tulane University*

Overview: The paper analyzes the strength of cooperative norms that emerged after the Cold War against the trend toward hegemonic behavior that has been exhibited, particularly by the US, in the 21st century. It seeks to determine whether or not multilateralism can temper hegemony, and the extent to which recent events may indicate the rejection of the emphasis on organizations and cooperative interests.

Disc. **Niall G. Michelsen**, *Western Carolina University*

11-207 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: MANAGING POLITICAL HETEROGENEITY: PERCEPTIONS OF DISAGREEMENT WITHIN COMMUNICATION NETWORKS**

Room TBA, TABLE 1, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30

Inf. Rnd. **Managing Political Heterogeneity: Perceptions of Disagreement within Communication Networks**

Robert Huckfeldt, *University of California at Davis*

Jeanette Morehouse Mendez, *University of Houston*

Overview: This paper addresses patterns of disagreement -- actual and perceived -- within political communication networks. Our purpose is to reconsider the consequence of politically divergent opinions within the everyday conversations of citizens. How do citizens manage political disagreement within their communication networks? Does the accurate recognition of disagreement necessarily lead to an attenuation in the value that citizens place both in the communication and in the expertise of the citizens with whom they disagree?

11-208 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: BLACK CHURCHES IN AMERICA: AN EXPLORATION OF PASTORS' PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN A SMALL CITY**

Room TBA, TABLE 2, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30

Inf. Rnd. **Black Churches in America: An Exploration of Pastor's Perceptions of Community Participation in A Small City**

Said L. Sewell, *State University of West Georgia*

Overview: With the election of George W. Bush as President and his ardent support for religious involvement, particularly faith groups partnering with government, many scholars have begun to examine this phenomenon. However, most of their research centers around the legal and political issues of the separation of church and state. What has been missing from the discussion is the faith leaders' perceptions of community participation. This paper is designed to address this void by examining two critical issues that are absent from this debate: 1) Do black churches in a small city have an interest in engaging in community service programs, and if so, at what levels do they participate? And, 2) what perceptions predispose black pastors to participate directly in their communities? Targeting a universe of 68 black protestant churches in Albany, Georgia, 36 pastors responded (53% of the total targeted population), this paper tests the perceptual variables of these pastors using Pearson's chi-square.

11-209 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ISSUE ANXIETY AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE 1988, 1992, AND 2000 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS**

Room TBA, TABLE 3, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30

Inf. Rnd. **Issue Anxiety and Political Participation in the 1988, 1992 and 2000 Presidential Campaigns**
Stephanie C. McLean, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: This paper examines the differential impact of certain issue domains in causing anxiety about presidential candidates. Economic, racial and moral issues are found to vary in importance according to campaign specifics. Further, these issues are found to have different effects on the individual's type and degree of political participation.

12-28 **CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS II**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30
Chair **Robert Erikson**, *Columbia University*
Paper **Political Consultants and U.S. House of Representatives Elections of 2002: Strategic Decision-Making and the Timing of Campaign Expenditures for Consultant Services**
Sean A. Cain, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: This paper examines expenditure patterns by U.S. House candidates for the services of political consultants to explore the strategies consultants use when participating in congressional election campaigns.

Paper **Campaign Professionals and the Institutionalization of the Modern Political Campaign**
Matt Grossmann, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: The paper argues that professional consultants have institutionalized a campaign model that emphasizes controlled behavior, efficient technologies, and calculable assessment. Consultants standardize campaign strategy through this consensus on industry modernization. Evidence from a survey of Congressional campaign consultants confirms that they widely agree on campaign messaging, targeting, style, marketing, research, and planning. Consultants who believe in professional industry standards and in applying technologies from consumer marketing are more likely to agree with these industry norms.

Paper **Voters Response to Changes in American Politics, 1952-2000**
David A. M. Peterson, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: TBA

Paper **No Trespassing? Issue Ownership and Electoral Outcomes**
John M. Sides, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: Do candidate who abide by the rules of "issue ownership" fare better in elections than those who "issue trespass"? Using a large dataset of candidate ads, I examine whether candidates talk about issues their party owns, and whether that affects their fortunes on Election Day.

Disc. **Robert Erikson**, *Columbia University*

13-6 **MODELING EFFECTS OF PERFORMANCE ON CANDIDATE EVALUATION**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30
Chair **Tereza Capelos**, *Stony Brook University*
Paper **The Role of Sophistication in Performance Models of Mayoral Support**
Dean E. Bonner, *University of New Orleans*
 Overview: Performance models are common within public opinion literature; however these models are virtually nonexistent at the local level of mayor (Howell and Perry, forthcoming). In addition, the increasing number of African American mayors in the United States creates an interesting arena for comparison. This research investigates how voter sophistication interacts with race, performance, black solidarity, and symbolic racism to influence respondents' evaluation of mayoral performance.

Paper **Candidate Selection and Elected Official Performance: Schemas for the Political Role**
Brenda A. Sullivan
 Overview: This paper is the report of a series of pre-tests which examine the manner in which voters organize their knowledge of what qualifies someone to be an acceptable political candidate or elected official. One of the goals of the pre-tests was to determine if there are different, generic expectations at each level and how this may impact electorate satisfaction.

Paper **Rationality, Prospect Theory and Economic Evaluations of the President**
Luke J. Keele, *Nuffield College, Oxford University*
Joseph Bafumi, *Columbia University*
 Overview: With monthly presidential approval data from the 1950 to the present, we use a Bayesian time-varying coefficients model to examine whether the effect of the economic evaluations is greater in bad economic times than during good economic times. We find that the effect of the economy is indeed larger when the economy is performing poorly than when it performs well.

Paper **The Impact of Being Unpresidential**
Michael D. Parkin, *University of Minnesota*
Martin Kifer, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: What effect do gaffes or other political blunders have on the public's evaluation of presidents and presidential candidates?

Disc. **Tereza Capelos**, *Stony Brook University*
Joseph L. Wert, *Indiana University Southeast*

13-19 **THE PUBLIC OPINION OF MORAL ISSUES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30
Chair **John Bruce**, *University of Mississippi*
Paper **Race and the Death Penalty: The Determinants and Resilience of Attitudes toward Capital Punishment among Whites and African Americans**
Jon Hurwitz, *University of Pittsburgh*
Mark Peffley, *University of Kentucky*
 Overview: It is plain to virtually everyone—at both the mass and elite levels—that it is impossible to think about the death penalty in American without thinking about race. Given the strong racial component to this extraordinarily contentious and important policy, it is important to understand how whites and blacks conceptualize the issue—a topic that has received scant attention in the literature. In this paper, we attempt to explore the racial thinking behind capital punishment by exploring, first, the determinants of attitudes toward capital punishment among national samples of both whites and African Americans and, second, examining the susceptibility of individuals of both races to various types of racial and nonracial arguments against the use of the punishment.

Paper **Changing Public Opinion by Changing Public Focus: Capital Punishment in America, 1960-2003**
Frank R. Baumgartner, *Pennsylvania State University*
Susanna De Boef, *Pennsylvania State University*
Amber E. Boydston, *Pennsylvania State University*
 Overview: An analysis of public opinion towards the death penalty from 1960 to present, focusing on shifting elite and media framing of the issue, based on extensive time-series and pooled-time-series data sources covering both public opinion and media content.

Paper **Be Still My Heart: Determinants of Support for Capital Punishment**
Patrick T.M. Hall, *University of New Orleans*
 Overview: The purpose of this paper is to determine the source of the monolithic support of capital punishment within American public opinion. I draw on previous research that has identified several factors including: race, gender, age, religion, party identification, level of educational attainment, geographical region, residency type, and fear of crime as determinants of capital punishment predispositions. Utilizing the 2000 National Election Studies (NES) survey data, I argue that fear of crime acts as an intervening variable, exacerbating the effect of the factors listed above.

Paper **Party Activists as Facilitators of Issue Evolution**
Daniel A. Cicenia, *University of Georgia*
Christopher J. Surfield, *Lander University*
 Overview: TBA

Paper **The Dynamics of Abortion Attitudes: Poland and the United States**
Ted G. Jelen, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*
Clyde Wilcox, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Compares changes in attitudes toward abortion in Poland and the United States.

Disc. **Matthew E. Wetstein**, *Delta College*

15-9 **RESEARCHING WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS AND GENDER POLITICS: FEMINIST INQUIRY AND METHODOLOGY IN EMPIRICAL RESEARCH**
TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30
Room
Chair **Jean C. Robinson**, *Indiana University*
Paper **Feminist Participant Observation of Postcommunist Politics: Objectivity, Activism, and Trying to Hit (Find?) a Moving Target**
Janet E. Johnson, *Brooklyn College*
 Overview: Since the fall of the Soviet Union, there has been an explosion of in-depth studies of postsocialist societies crucial to broadening our understanding of postcommunist politics. While anthropologists have been contemplating feminist ethnography in the postsocialist states (e.g. Fieldwork Dilemmas: Anthropologists in Postsocialist Societies, 2000), little has been written by political scientists. This paper, based on my struggles to do fieldwork in Russia, the Czech Republic, and Armenia, will examine the limits to objectivity, the paradoxes of activism, and the obstacles of trying to the hit the moving target that is postcommunist civil society.

Paper **Party Hacks vs. Feminists: The Politics of British and US Women's Integration into Party Politics Post-Suffrage**
Christina Kulich-Vamvakas, *Brandeis University*
 Overview: This paper compares the political fortunes of British and American women partisan women post suffrage. It will argue that the initial conditions of entry negotiated, accepted or imposed upon the first cadre of elite partisan women, combined with an atmosphere of mutual suspicion or outright "sex antagonism" produced lasting deleterious consequences for the political status of women.

Paper **State Feminism in Post Industrial Democracies: Cross Issue and Longitudinal Comparisons**
Dorothy McBride-Stetson, *Florida Atlantic University*
 Overview: The paper analyzes patterns of influence of women's movement actors and women's policy agencies on policy content and processes in 15 post industrial democracies. The analysis includes cross national, cross issue and longitudinal comparisons.

Paper **Do Alternative Qualitative Methods Enrich or Confuse Our Definitions and Theories?: A Discussion of the Politicization and Meaning of "Apolitical" Women's Associations in Spain and an Evaluation of the Research Process**
Candice Orthals, *Indiana University*
 Overview: With this paper I intend to explain the outcomes of combining both comparative case and ethnographic methods. The paper includes substantive results in the form of ethnography as well as a critical discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of using alternative methods to study "women's issues". The first half of the paper is an ethnography that addresses how women's associations, that often claim to be "apolitical," actually address political issues and are assigned political value by the Spanish political parties. I address how the state, as embodied at different times by different parties, influences the creation of women's civil society and the goals of women's associations. The second part of my paper is an evaluation of my own research process. The evaluation is both positive and negative: I criticize practical aspects of conducting inductive research and I explain why thick description is capable of enriching deductive research findings.

Paper **The Challenge of Implementing Women's Rights: A Case Study of Italy**
Celeste M. Montoya Kirk, *Washington University*
 Overview: This paper presents a new framework for understanding the problems with the implementation of

women's rights policy, or any policy challenging social norms. The framework includes two dimensions in the explanation of implementation: 1) how a given policy is framed within a certain societal context; 2) the effective formation of an advocacy coalition that provides for strong state-social movement interaction.

Disc. **Lynn Kamenitsa**, *Northern Illinois University*

15-11 **CROSS-NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION AND ITS EFFECTS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30

Chair TBA

Paper **Moving Beyond Consensus versus Majoritarian: The Impact of Democratic Forms on Women's Representation**

Robert E. Bohrer II, *Gettysburg College*

Stephanie A. Slocum-Schaffer, *Shepherd College*

Overview: This paper addresses differences in women's representation found in majoritarian and consensus democracies by Lijphart (1994; 1999). Since Lijphart's classification scheme is essentially a dichotomy based on long-term period averages, we develop a continuous measure that accounts for changes over time and examine the effects of this measure on women's representation levels in 21 countries from 1979-2001.

Paper **Women Ministers in Latin American Government: When, Where, and Why?**

Maria Escobar-Lemmon, *Texas A&M University*

Michelle Taylor-Robinson, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: Using data from all Latin American countries between 1980 and 2003 we examine the number of women in the cabinet and the types of ministerial portfolios they receive. We are particularly interested in cases where women are appointed to portfolios controlling social issues that are commonly thought to be in women's areas of expertise (e.g., education, health), because of the large budgets and pork barrel resources these ministries typically control.

Paper **Gender and the Political Aspirations of Latin American Legislators**

Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer, *University of Mississippi*

Overview: Recent research shows that a legislator's gender has important implications for the kinds of policies that emerge in legislative politics. This paper argues that one reason for the variation in the extent to which female legislators outrightly address women's issues in office may be the vote margin by which they won office. In this paper, I use data from a 2001-2002 survey of legislators in three Latin American legislatures – Argentina, Colombia, and Costa Rica – to examine the impact of a legislator's margin of victory in the last election on the likelihood that she will promote women's interests, initiate women's interest bills, and sit on women's interest committees.

Paper **Political Parties, Party Systems, and Women's Legislative Representation**

Aida Paskeviciute, *Binghamton University*

Overview: Few studies have investigated systematically whether and how political parties and party systems influence women's representation. Drawing on the literature on party competition, I examine the ways in which party systems structure women's legislative recruitment in democratic countries. Specifically, I analyze the constraints and incentives political parties face to nominate women to winnable positions as a consequence of party system fragmentation. Using cross-national time-series data from 1945 to the present, I show that the effective number of political parties in a system is nonlinearly related to the percentage of female legislators. Based on this analysis, it appears that moderately fragmented party systems offer the greatest opportunities for women's representation.

Disc. **Mark P. Jones**, *Michigan State University*

17-9 **ROUSSEAU: INHERITANCES AND INFLUENCES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30

Chair

David L. Williams, *University of Wisconsin - Madison*

Paper **Rawls's Political Liberalism and Rousseau's on the Social Contract**
Johnny Goldfinger, *Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis*
 Overview: This paper uses John Rawls's understanding of political liberalism as a framework for analyzing Jean-Jacques Rousseau's political project as presented in *On the Social Contract*. This approach gives structure to Rousseau's ideas and clarifies some of the more perplexing aspects of his political thought.

Paper **Rousseau's Epicureanism**
Fiona Miller, *Duke University*
 Overview: While Rousseau's debt to Stoic thought has long been acknowledged, his debt to Epicurean thought has garnered relatively little attention. That should change. His Stoic views teach us about virtue and the life of citizens, but his adoption and adaptation of Epicurean thought tell us about goodness and the life of the bourgeois soul, the soul that has come to dominate in modern times and is the material faced by today's legislator and legislators.

Paper **Emigration and Patriotism in Rousseau**
Joyce M. Mullan, *St. Xavier University*
 Overview: This paper is a discussion of the virtues of emigration and the limits of patriotism in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile*.

Paper **Rousseau and the Evolution of Compassion Based Politics**
William W. Riggs, *Texas A&M International University*
 Overview: My paper addresses the theoretical underpinnings of compassion-based politics through the writings of Rousseau and Marvin Olasky.

Disc. **Matthew C. Simpson**, *Luther College*

18-9 **MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT'S PHILOSOPHY AND ITS LEGACIES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30
Chair **Virginia Sapiro**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Paper **A Vindication of Marriage: Mary Wollstonecraft Legacy to Second Wave Feminism's Daughters**
Natalie Taylor, *Skidmore College*
 Overview: Wollstonecraft's ideal of marriage remains an important source for contemporary women, who struggling with career-oriented feminism, may learn from Wollstonecraft the moral and civic importance of marriage, without sacrificing their equality and independence.

Paper **Irresistible Forces: Mary Wollstonecraft's History of Consciousness**
Fiore Sireci, *University of Edinburgh*
 Overview: Sireci argues that Wollstonecraft saw the growth of awareness as the motor of history, both the result and cause of fundamental change. His paper examines whether she perceived any obstacles to such change, and asks if she trusted in the automatic or inevitable "diffusion of awareness" without additional safeguards or legal codification, such as those suggested by her contemporary, the historian Catharine Macaulay. Sireci discusses the various vehicles that Wollstonecraft saw for the dissemination of political consciousness, especially the family, the literary sphere, and a reformed educational system, and relates her theory of political consciousness to contemporary philosophy.

Paper **In the Shadow of Mary Wollstonecraft: Hannah Mather Crocker on Women's Rights**
Eileen Hunt Botting, *University of Notre Dame*
Sarah Houser, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: Botting and Houser argue that Hannah Mather Crocker, in *Observations on the Real Rights of Woman* (1818) and her other political writings, philosophically engages Mary Wollstonecraft's magnum opus *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), and defines her own, distinctive theory of sex equality and women's rights in a critical dialogue with her predecessor.

Disc. **Wendy Gunther-Canada**, *University of Alabama*

19-12 **LIBERALISM, DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30
Chair **Peter C. Stone**, *Stanford University*
Paper **Deliberative Democracy and School Choice**
David B. Goldman, *Indiana University*
 Overview: Disagreements over school choice policies are heated and complicated, but theories of deliberative democracy can make these disagreements more tractable by clarifying opposing viewpoints and norms of democratic legitimacy. This paper attempts to clarify the connection between deliberative theory and practice by evaluating discourse over school choice according to the competing norms of democratic legitimacy that define the deliberative democratic theories of John Rawls, Jurgen Habermas, and Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson

Paper **John Dewey as a Critical Resource for the Theory and Practice of Civic Engagement**
Roudy W. Hildreth, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: This paper considers John Dewey's political and educational theory as a critical resource for the theory and practice of youth civic engagement. I argue that John Dewey makes two key contributions: First, Dewey provides an explicit theory and method of how young people learn the requisite civic and political knowledge, attitudes, and skills through engagement, and more importantly, how they can develop identities as active citizens. Second, Dewey incorporates the concrete conditions of everyday life as domains of education and citizenship.

Paper **The Aesthetics of Deliberation: John Dewey's Classroom as a Model of Association**
Jason E. Kosnoski, *Hunter College, CUNY*
 Overview: This paper will use an aesthetic interpretation John Dewey's conception of the schoolroom as a model for an association in civil society that encourages liberal-democratic political characteristics in citizens.

Paper **Premature Pessimism: John Tomasi and William Galston on Children's Rights and Religious Education**
Emile Lester, *The College of William and Mary*
 Overview: An examination of John Tomasi's *Liberalism Beyond Justice* and William Galston's *Liberal Pluralism* suggests that an education for autonomy must violate neutrality and parents' rights by encouraging students to become rational choosers of their beliefs. It is possible, however, to found an education for autonomy on the more modest goal of insuring that students have a reasonable ability to exit from their religious communities when they feel that membership is too painful.

Disc. **David Fott**, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

19-16 **THEORY AND PRACTICE OF DEMOCRACY**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30
Chair **Casiano A.W. Hacker-Cordon**, *Yale University*
Paper **Democracy and the Circuitry of Power**
Yasmin A. Dawood, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: This paper argues that the Framers' theory of republican government was based on a complex relationship between three concepts -- democracy, power, and the Constitution. I examine the architecture of Madison's theory of power and argue that the Constitution supports the distribution of power throughout the government and society of a representative democracy, and not the consolidation of power, as is commonly supposed.

Paper **Closed Mouths and Closed Doors: Why Democratic Theory Must Address Official Secrecy**
Thomas C. Ellington, *University of Maryland*
 Overview: Democratic theory has long recognized the necessity of free-flowing information for citizens to participate in public

life. However, traditional guarantees of free expression are no longer sufficient to ensure that citizens have adequate access to politically significant information. The growth of official secrecy, as driven by national-security concerns, has put a vast array of politically significant information out of the reach of ordinary citizens. Democratic theory must address the challenge posed by official secrecy.

Paper **The Mall and the Street: Public Space, Public Problems, Public Action**

Clarissa Hayward, *Ohio State University*

Overview: Panel Overview: This Panel brings together three papers that aim to develop theorizing about democracy working up from extant sources in the repertoire of modern political philosophy. The overriding concern is with the evaluation and channelling of power through democracy's values and mechanisms. But the primary affirmative theme is on various ways of conceiving the deliberative institutions and ideals of democracy and their functions within the broader political idea of legitimacy.

Paper **Democracy Against Corruption**

Mark E. Warren, *Georgetown University*

Overview: Does democracy foster political corruption? It is commonly observed that countries adopting competitive elections and market liberalization ("democratization") also experience a rise in corruption. Incomplete democratization, however, often puts into place incentives for corruption, while lacking those elements of democracy that might enable those harmed by corruption to fight back. I argue in this paper that political corruption in a democracy is a form of exclusion, and that reducing corruption involves expanding democratic inclusions.

Disc. **Casiano A.W. Hacker-Cordon**, *Yale University*

21-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: I ALREADY GOT A SYSTEM: STRUCTURAL EQUATION MODELS**

Room TBA, TABLE 4, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30

Inf. Rnd. **Estimating the Spillover Effects of Social Capital**

Jeffrey Milyo, *University of Chicago*

Lindsey Leininger, *University of Chicago*

Overview: We develop a structural model that allows us to test whether individual trust and membership in voluntary organizations are determined by community level trust and membership.

Inf. Rnd. **A Model of Path Dependence with An Empirical Illustration**

Ken W. Kollman, *University of Michigan*

John E. Jackson, *University of Michigan*

Overview: We describe general model of path dependence, and then we explain the advantages of using this type of model both conceptually and in estimation to understand how history can matter in the formation of political institutions and outcomes. We finish with an application of the model to data on political parties and elections in the United States.

21-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: EVERY TIME I LEARN SOMETHING NEW IT PUSHES SOME OLD STUFF OUT OF MY BRAIN: BAYESIAN MODELS**

Room TBA, TABLE 5, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30

Inf. Rnd. **Benchmarking Bayesian Hierarchical/Multilevel Models with Time Series Cross Sectional Data: An Empirical Investigation**

Boris Shor, *Columbia University*

Overview: The analysis of time series cross-sectional (TSCS) data has become increasingly popular in political science. Few have applied random coefficient models to this data. I consider a Bayesian multilevel model. I use simulations and two TSCS data sets from public opinion and federal spending to benchmark this approach against the popular Beck-Katz procedure of using OLS with panel-corrected standard errors. I also examine their ability to deal with time-invariant ("institutional") predictors, common in such data.

22-9 **RACE, ETHNICITY AND PARTY COMPETITION**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30

Chair **Allan J. Cigler**, *University of Kansas*

Paper **Parties in Peril and the Peril in the Parties: The Dynamics of the Racialization of Asians in the American Two-Party System**

Thomas P. Kim, *Scripps College*

Overview: I argue that given the incentive structure facing strategic Asian American political interests, a nationally organized Asian Americans should forsake party politics because the political logic of the American two-party system will ensure that the interests of Asian Americans will be marginalized by both major parties. If Asian Americans are to become politically empowered, efforts should focus on interest group activities outside the party system, including lobbying Congress, bringing grass-roots pressure to bear at key moments in policy debates, and emphasizing a long term commitment to building an indigenous base of political power.

Paper **Political Representation of Ethnic Minorities: Electoral Institutions and Ethnic Parties in Eastern Europe**

Maria S. Spirova, *University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*

Overview: This paper attempts to answer the question why ethnic parties form; once formed, why do they succeed or fail; and what is the role of electoral arrangements in this process. It uses data from the Eastern European countries to examine in detail the experience of their ethnic political parties. The results of the analysis support the paper's argument that electoral arrangements are important but no key to achieving meaningful political participation.

Paper **The New Clout of Latinos in American Party Politics**

Nicole J. Reale, *Emory University*

Overview: After the 2002 presidential election, it was clear that neither the Republicans nor the Democrats had established a clear majority among the American electorate. With the 2004 presidential election looming near, both parties are mobilizing to gain supporters. The growing Latino population has become the battleground for that mobilization with both parties seeking to woo the nation's largest minority group. This paper will examine those efforts and discuss the future of Latino partisanship.

Paper **Competing for the Hispanic Vote: American Party Appeals in Presidential Elections 1980-2000**

Zachary W. Oberfield, *University of Wisconsin - Madison*

Overview: Do minority groups that vote together attract increased appeals from the parties? Some scholars have suggested that Latinos augment their power by following this strategy. In this paper I empirically examine this claim and analyze party responses to changes in Latino voting concentration. The paper pulls together data from prior research and the Wisconsin Advertising Project. It evaluates three theories that explain minority voting behavior: pluralist, racial disruption, and group power.

Paper **African Americans in the Southern Party System, 1990-2001**

Robert P. Steed, *The Citadel*

Laurence W. Moreland, *The Citadel*

Overview: This paper analyzes data on local party activists (precinct officials and county chairs) from 1990 to 2000 to explore the evolution of African American involvement in the southern party system in the last decade of the Twentieth Century. Special attention is given to the role of blacks in transforming southern parties in recent years.

Disc. **Dorian T. Warren**, *Yale University*

22-15 **STATE AND LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND ELECTIONS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30

Chair **Melanie J. Blumberg**, *California University of Pennsylvania*
Paper **Partisanship and Competition in American Elections: 1824-2002**

Helmut Norpoth, *Stony Brook University*

Jerrold G. Rusk, *University of Illinois at Chicago*

	Overview: The flow of the vote for President across history suggests that electoral politics in the U.S. is highly competitive. But this national aggregation may disguise the fact that one-party states for one major party offset one-party states for the other major party. Using the data in Rusk's (2001) reference book on elections, we test for competitiveness at the state and local level.	
Paper	<u>Local Party Organization: Effective Organization for Electoral Mobilization</u> Tim D. Hundsdorfer , <i>University of Colorado</i> Overview: This paper will seek to compare two systems of local party organization in the state of Illinois in order to determine if one is more effective and superior at electoral mobilization. Outcomes are compared between areas with no effective local party organization, in areas where local party organization is thought to be active in order to determine the impact of organization and, finally, between the areas where the different types of organizations exist.	
Paper	<u>From Influence to Impact: What difference does Religious Conservative Influence make in State Republican Party Platforms?</u> Kimberly H. Conger , <i>Iowa State University</i> Overview: Perhaps the most tangible and enduring result of the Religious movement's presence in the American political arena is the effect its influence has had upon the Republican party, particularly at the state level. Many scholars have assessed the level of influence the movement exerts on state Republican parties. In this paper, I seek to take that assessment a step further and examine the impact that influence has on state Republican parties' platforms.	
Paper	<u>Timing of Contributions in State Legislatures: An Examination of the Motives of Contributors across Institutional and Policy Differences</u> David W. Prince , <i>University of Kentucky</i> Overview: The literature in campaign finance has addressed a wide array of issues in the campaign finance system. However, little research has addressed many of the same important questions at the state level. This research will address the argument between particularistic and universalistic contributors by expanding previous research to the state level by examining at least three bills from each state. Through this research, hopefully, a greater understanding will be provided as to the motivations behind campaign contributions.	
Disc.	Seth Masket , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i>	
25-2	<u>CAMPAIGN DISCLOSURE PROJECT: STATE DISCLOSURE LAWS AND PRACTICES</u>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30	
Chair	Daniel H. Lowenstein , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i>	
Paper	<u>Divergent Disclosure: The Value of Uniform Campaign Finance Disclosure Laws</u> Grant Davis-Denny , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: Uniform disclosure would likely raise the bar for minimally-acceptable disclosure laws, help overcome legislative inertia, simplify multi-state compliance, create a body of judicial decisions, and assist organizations and the media in gathering and disseminating campaign finance data. Commentators have criticized uniform state laws because they tend to undermine local flexibility and experimentation. This paper analyzes the merits of uniformity in campaign finance disclosure regulations.	
Paper	<u>Veiled Political Actors: The Real Threat to Campaign Disclosure Statutes</u> Elizabeth Garrett , <i>University of Southern California</i> Daniel Smith , <i>University of Florida</i> Overview: Disclosure is typically the only kind of regulation affecting initiative and referendum elections. This study sheds light on some of the evasive tactics by political entities that wish to avoid disclosure relating to the source and extent of their spending on ballot questions. Reformers must understand the structure and tactics of veiled political actors (VPAs) in order to design disclosure laws that can remove the veils and provide	
	information that can improve voter competence in issue elections.	
Paper	<u>Election Campaigns, Independent Expenditures and Issue Ads: The Implications of Bright Line vs. Intent-based State-law Disclosure Rules for Strategic Behavior</u> Kirsten Nussbaumer , <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: The new strictures placed by the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act on soft money expenditures by national parties have been expected to induce a re-allocation of contributions for purposes of federal electioneering to state PACs and other entities. I offer an analysis of the disclosure regimes—particularly the rules regarding independent expenditure and issue advocacy—of several states (South Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, California, Vermont and Wisconsin).	
Disc.	Joseph W. Doherty , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i>	
26-8	<u>PUBLIC OPINION AND THE COURTS (Co-sponsored with Public Opinion and Political Participation, see 13-22)</u>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30	
Chair	Valerie J. Hoekstra , <i>Arizona State University</i>	
Paper	<u>Public Opinion and State Supreme Courts: Do Justices Listen to the People?</u> Frederick S. Wood , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: TBA	
Paper	<u>Black Public Opinion, the Supreme Court, and the University of Michigan Affirmative Action Decisions</u> Rosalee A. Clawson , <i>Purdue University</i> Eric N. Waltenburg , <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: On June 23, 2003, the Supreme Court issued landmark rulings on the University of Michigan's use of affirmative action in its admissions policies. The Court's decisions presented a unique opportunity to examine the relationship between both the opinion of black Americans toward a policy articulated by the Court and the Court as an institution. In this paper, we report the results of a panel survey of black Americans' reactions to the Court and its rulings.	
Paper	<u>Public Opinion Leadership and the Rehnquist Court</u> Thomas R. Marshall , <i>University of Texas Arlington</i> Overview: The Rehnquist Court did not cause nationwide poll shifts in favor of its decisions.	
Paper	<u>Information and Institutional Evaluation: A Cross-Institutional Analysis</u> Brandon L. Bartels , <i>The Ohio State University</i> Corwin D. Smidt , <i>Ohio State University</i> Kathleen M. McGraw , <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: We examine the extent to which exposure to context-specific information, in both congressional and Supreme Court decision settings, influences people's institutional evaluation judgments. To confront competing accounts of this relationship across the two institutions, we posit a model explaining the processes by which citizens translate information they consume from an institutional context into an institutional evaluation judgment. We employ a cross-institutional experimental design to test the implications of the model.	
Disc.	Valerie J. Hoekstra , <i>Arizona State University</i> Mark S. Hurwitz , <i>University at Buffalo</i>	
26-11	<u>REVIEW, REVERSAL, AND REMAND</u>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30	
Chair	John W. Winkle , <i>University of Mississippi</i>	
Paper	<u>Usage of Supreme Court Rulings by Lower Courts</u> Stephen L. Wasby , <i>University at Albany - SUNY</i> Overview: Exploration of types of responses by U.S. courts of appeals to Supreme Court cases, based on information from Ninth Circuit, to cast light on operation of principal-agent theory.	
Paper	<u>Time for a Divorce? Splitting the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals</u> Kevin M. Scott , <i>Texas Tech University</i>	

	Overview: I propose to sort out the cause of the Ninth Circuit's reversal rate by looking at the Court's relationship with the Supreme Court over the past twenty years. By looking at merits reversals, including unanimous reversals, and attempting a broader assessment of the Ninth Circuit's status vis-à-vis the other circuits and the Supreme Court, I hope to sort out the competing explanations of the high reversal rate.				
Paper	<u>Panels as Instruments of Judicial Control</u> Gavin J. Reddick , <i>University of Virginia</i> Overview: A study in how uncertain reviewer identity affects lower court decision making in the federal court system.			Paper	<u>Crime, Politics, and the Court: Rehnquist Criminal Justice and the GOP</u> Kevin J. McMahon , <i>SUNY, Fredonia</i> Overview: In this paper, I explain how and explore why the Rehnquist Court's decisions on the rights of the accused have aided the Republican Party while simultaneously failing to meet the expectations of its conservative core. Paul Frymer , <i>University of California, San Diego</i>
Paper	<u>Patterns and Consequences of Judicial Reversals</u> Joseph L. Smith , <i>University of Alabama</i> Overview: This paper explores the question of whether judges alter their decision-making patterns to avoid reversal by higher courts. Using data collected on civil rights decisions issued by the Federal District Court for the District of Columbia, this study presents results on the variation in reversals among judges, changes in the frequency of reversal as judges gain experience on the bench, and the effects of reversals on subsequent decisions.			28-6	<u>BOOM AND BUST: BUDGET DEFICITS AND FISCAL POLICY IN THE STATES</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30
Disc.	Chris W. Bonneau , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> James Brent , <i>San Jose State University</i>			Room	TBA
				Chair	TBA
				Paper	<u>Where Did All the Tax Revenue Go? State Responses to the Poor Economy</u> Andrea McAtee , <i>University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill</i> David Lowery , <i>University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill</i> Overview: This paper examines how states have reacted to recent budget crises. Specifically we evaluate the effect of the political preferences of governors, legislatures, and citizens as well as institutional structure on how states attempted to meet balanced budget requirements after unexpected revenue shortfalls.
27-6	<u>POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE CONSTITUTION (Co-sponsored with Politics and History, see 32-9)</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30			Paper	<u>During a Budget Deficit, Do States Favor the Income Tax or the Sales Tax?</u> Olugbenga Ajilore , <i>University of Toledo</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the issue of tax instrument choice in the face budget deficits. I want to see if state legislators favor one tax instrument over the other (focusing on the income tax and sales tax) and what are some factors that may affect this choice.
Room	Gordon Silverstein , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i>				
Chair	<u>The Judiciary as Coalition Stabilizer: How Political Regimes Use the Courts to Maintain Their Political Order</u> Bradley D. Hays , <i>University of Maryland</i>			Paper	<u>The Responsiveness of State Fiscal Policy to Partisan Change</u> Justin H. Phillips , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: Using a spatial model of the state budgetary process, this paper explores the responsiveness of state fiscal policy to changes in the partisan control of state government. A number of the unique features of state budgeting are included in the analysis, such as the existence of a line-item veto, balanced budget requirements, and tax and expenditure limitations. Hypotheses are tested using a large time-series cross-sectional dataset.
Paper	Overview: This paper reconsiders Dahl's understanding of the Supreme Court as national policy-maker and argues that greater attention to the inter-institutional dynamics between political parties and the courts reveals a dynamic role for the Court in stabilizing national coalitions. To further this claim, the paper explores the nature of the Republican Party coalition from 1896 to 1932 and Supreme Court decision-making in light of the economic conservative and progressive factions within the Republican Party.			Disc.	J. Edwin Benton , <i>University of South Florida</i> Gary A. Mattson , <i>Iowa State University</i>
	<u>The U.S. Supreme Court and the Institutional Role of Parties in the Political Process: The Early Years</u> Ronald L. Nelson , <i>University of South Alabama</i>				
	Overview: Through the use of keyword searches of the LEXIS Supreme Court decision database, I identify the decisions of the Supreme Court addressing political party issues. This project focuses on the early period of the Court's activity--1790 to 1900. This period would seem to be the appropriate time for the formation of any constitutional tradition. My review of the Court's decisions from these early years does not find a constitutional political party tradition or privilege.			28-101	<u>ROUNDTABLE: THE STATE OF CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM: AUTHOR'S ROUNDTABLE WITH DONALD GROSS AND ROBERT GOIDEL</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30
Paper	<u>The Hydraulics of Party Regulation</u> Michael S. Kang , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This article argues that regulation of political parties rarely succeeds in reducing the control of party leaders or increasing popular input into party affairs. Legal regulation that restricts what party leaders can accomplish through the official party structure simply pushes their strategic behavior back out of the official party and into a less public, less regulated setting. When regulation significantly raises the cost of acting through the party structure, leaders invent alternate means of achieving the same results outside the legal trappings of the party. Party regulation thus re-directs leadership control from one form to another, rather than reducing leadership control in the aggregate. With this hydraulic effect of party regulation in mind, the article will discuss Supreme Court cases addressing state regulation of party primaries. After showing that the Court's legal reasoning was inconsistent with the political outcomes produced by its decisions, the article will argue that the Court's decisions can be re-interpreted to account for the hydraulics of party regulation and resolve those cases as subtle exercises in political management of intraparty disputes.			Room	Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier , <i>Ohio State University</i>
				Chair	John Coleman , <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i>
				Rndtbl.	Keith Hamm , <i>Rice University</i> Robbie Hogan , <i>Louisiana State University</i> Jennifer Jensen , <i>University of Albany, SUNY</i> Michael Malbin , <i>The Campaign Finance Institute</i> Kirby Goidel , <i>Louisiana State University</i> Donald Gross , <i>University of Kentucky</i> Overview: The roundtable presents new research and findings on campaign finance reform, including what is happening at the The launching point for the roundtable is the new book by Donald Gross and Robert Goidel, <i>States of Campaign Finance Reform</i> , published by Ohio State University Press.
				29-10	<u>RACIAL POLITICS AND TRANSITION IN AMERICAN CITIES</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30
				Room	Armando X. Mejia , <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i>
				Chair	<u>Organizing Immigrant Communities in American Cities: Is this Transnationalism or What?</u> Gustavo Cano , <i>Columbia University</i> Fernanda Martinez-Vives , <i>Universidad Iberoamericana</i>
				Paper	

	<p>Overview: Some authors state that the term "transnationalism" is useless: it tries to explain everything, and it ends up explaining nothing. This paper addresses this problematic from two perspectives. Firstly, we point out the theoretical and methodological problems that "transnationalism" presents as an interdisciplinary concept, and elaborate a typology of the use of the term. Secondly, from an empirical perspective, we develop an analysis of political transnationalism based on the Mexican immigrant experience in American cities.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Social Network and Interracial Coalition Building: A Case Study of Los Angeles</u> Young Joo Chi, <i>University of Southern California</i> EuiSuok Han, <i>University of Southern California</i> HyeYoung Chang, <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: The aftermath of the 1992 L.A. Riot brought series of research in coalition building. The studies focused on political coalition among minorities, which by nature unstable and short-lived. For stable and long-term coalitions, trust and communication is the key element, brought by social interactions. This paper will examine the social interaction among Korean-American, Latino-American, and African-American organizations within L.A. Using social network analysis with elite survey, we will show the structural characteristics of their relationship.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Political Incorporation of Mexican Immigrants in New York and Los Angeles</u> Alejandro Echegaray, <i>New School University</i> Overview: Political incorporation deals with the inclusion of immigrants into the political system. The notion of political incorporation is an alternative outlook to the concept of assimilation. But what fosters the incorporation of immigrants? There is empirical evidence that Mexican immigrants in Los Angeles earn considerable more income than Mexican immigrants in New York City. This phenomenon can be explained through different angles. In opposition to what has happened in NYC in Los Angeles there is a significant Mexican enclave in the City. There is a huge settlement of Mexicans in the neighborhoods surrounding Huntington Park, for example. There is also a considerable Mexican settlement in East Los Angeles in Montebello and Monterey Park, for instance. Can this explain this phenomenon? Are Mexicans in LA better off than Mexicans in NYC, due to the fact that there is a Mexican enclave in LA, whereas in New York the Mexican community is dispersed throughout the city? Is the Mexican community in NYC less assimilated to the American polity, as it is a more incipient community than in LA? Or possibly, it can be explained by examining the institutional framework. Is it due to Immigrant network? Are they more consolidated in California than in NYC? In this paper I will focus on analyzing the institutional framework to try to shed light on why Mexicans in LA in the aggregate are better off than Mexicans in LA.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>The Impact of Affirmative Action in Employment for Black Men and Black Women in Six Florida Cities</u> Kelli Moore, <i>University of Florida</i> Overview: There have been numerous claims about the current role and impact of affirmative action, one of the most controversial public policies. The purpose of this research is to examine data on affirmative action and black male and female employment in six representative Florida cities to see which sex benefits most.</p>	
Disc.	<p>Lewis Randolph, <i>Ohio University</i></p>	
30-7	<p><u>ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS: GREENING THE CORPORATION</u></p>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30	
Chair	Lettie McSpadden , <i>Northern Illinois University</i>	
Paper	<p><u>Environmental Equity and Management at the Firm Level</u> Evan J. Ringquist, <i>Indiana University</i> Michael Martin, <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: Most environmental equity studies use geographic areas as the unit of analysis, but such analyses say little about the processes that lead to inequities, if they exist. We employ</p>	<p>firm level data to examine whether private environmental management decisions contribute to environmental inequities.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Profits, Government Interventions, or Community Pressure? Forces Shaping Corporate Environmental Behavior and Performance in the Chemical Sector</u> Donald P. Haider-Markel, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: We examine the determinants of chemical industry facility environmental behavior and performance.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Do Voluntary Programs Matter? An Empirical Examination of ISO 14001 Adoption and Firms' Environmental Performance</u> Matthew Potoski, <i>Iowa State University</i> Aseem Prakash, <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: We conceptualize voluntary regulatory programs as club goods that provide non-rival but potentially excludable benefits to members. For firms, the value of joining an effective green club over taking the same actions unilaterally is to appropriate the club's positive reputation with stakeholders. Our analysis of about 3,700 US facilities investigates whether joining ISO 14001, an important non-governmental voluntary program, reduces facilities' pollution emissions..</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Environmental Regulation of the Private Sector: Connecting the Theory and Practice of Business Self-Regulation</u> Bernard T. Schuman, <i>University of New Hampshire</i> Overview: This article examines the results of the 2002 Corporate Responsibility in Manufacturing Survey of 300 manufacturing firms in New England and Mid-Atlantic states. The descriptive and factor analyses address the question, "To what degree are various forms of environmental self-regulation implemented in these firms?" Then, I develop a model to assess the degree to which institutional variables influence a firm's choice to self-regulate its environmental practices.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Advocacy Groups as Drivers of Participation in Private Governance Regimes: The Influence of Direct Targeting on Organizational Behavior</u> Erika N. Sasser, <i>Duke University</i> Benjamin W. Cashore, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: This paper examines the impact of direct NGO campaigns on the participation of firms in private, voluntary certification programs. Using the U.S. forest products sector as an example, it argues that, NGO campaigns have been effective in prompting the sector as a whole to move toward certification. However, contrary to predictions, firms that have been directly targeted by NGOs have actually been less likely to comply with NGO demands, preferring to adopt alternative certification programs.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Does Institutional Interactions between Government and Business Matter?: Examining Firms' Adoption of Environmental Management System</u> Seong-gin Moon, <i>University of Colorado, Denver</i> Peter Deleon, <i>University of Colorado, Denver</i> Overview: This paper examines how "national styles of regulation" influences corporate adoption patterns of environmental management system.</p>	
Disc.	Thomas Greitens , <i>Northern Illinois University</i>	
30-9	<p><u>AGENDAS AND PUNCTUATED EQUILIBRIA (Co-sponsored with Policy Studies Organization, see 38-2)</u></p>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30	
Chair	Bryan Jones , <i>University of Washington</i>	
Paper	<p><u>Explaining Policy Punctuations: A Multivariate Model of the Punctuated Equilibrium Model of Public Agency Budgets</u> Scott E. Robinson, <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i> Kenneth J. Meier, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Laurence O'Toole, <i>University of Georgia</i> Floun'say Caver, <i>University of Texas - Dallas</i> Overview: This paper seeks to advance the research on the dynamics of policymaking by introducing a multivariate approach to studying punctuated equilibrium policy processes. Using a large panel data set on budgetary decisions by</p>	

delivery to their respective constituencies. Borrowing from the literature on policy image and agenda setting, we examine the role of professionals in changing the way the problems of child abuse and mental illness are perceived.

- Paper** **Academic Influence: The Politics of Higher Education**
Eric L. Sexton, *Wichita State University*
 Overview: The relationship in policy communities can be looked at from the perspective of ideology and interests to determine the configuration and communication networks found in a policy community. This work intends to expand the efforts of other scholars to look at the policy community surrounding higher education in relationship to the framework proposed by Heinz et al.
- Paper** **Nonprofit Organizations and Information Networks: Building an Intersectoral Typology**
Kathleen M. Hale, *Kent State University*
 Overview: This study presents a typology of intersectoral networks engaged in dissemination of policy information about two distinct criminal justice policies. The typology is derived from nonprofit organizations engaged in national halfway house and drug court networks, and is based upon leadership interviews, organizational data and the information that these organizations share with state policy administrators. Halfway house and drug court policy illuminate different information networks types, including differences in intergovernmental funding and public/private implementation arrangements.
- Disc.** **Mark Carl Rom**, *Georgetown University*

31-4 **ADMINISTERING DEFENSE AND DISASTER**

- Room** TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30
Chair **Theodore J. Stumm**, *University of North Florida*
Paper **Understanding Army Transformation**
Leonard L. Lira, *United States Military Academy*
 Overview: This paper analyzes Army transformation from a public administrative perspective.
- Paper** **Are the Skies Any Safer: A Review of Post September 11, 2001 Changes in Aviation and Transportation Security**
Adam L. Silverman, *University of Florida*
 Overview: Policy review of proposed and implemented post September 11, 2001 aviation and transportation security changes, with suggestions for adopting a local policing alternative similar to that of the NY/NJ Port Authority Police
- Paper** **Learning from Disaster: Policy Change after Catastrophic Events**
Thomas A. Birkland, *SUNY Albany*
 Overview: This paper summarizes the results of a soon to be published book titled LEARNING FROM DISASTER. I argue that large, unexpected "focusing" events provide evidence of policy failure, and lead to learning opportunities among citizens, journalists, and elite policy makers, which in turn leads to ways to better understand how policy tools work, ways of understanding the implicit causal stories told about disasters, and ways to exploit catastrophes to improve appeals for policy change.
- Paper** **At the Crossroads of Privacy and Preparation: Bioterrorism and State Immunization Registries**
Brian K. Collins, *Texas Tech University*
 Overview: This paper investigates whether state level preparations for bioterrorism incidents are a function of administrative and political factors. Using data from a 50 state survey of state immunization program directors conducted in the summer of 2003, the paper describes how state immunization registries can be used in response to a bioterrorism incident. In addition, the paper assesses the impact of state political ideology and administrative organization on the likelihood that states will adopt an immunization registry that is, in theory, most effective in response to a bioterrorism incident.
- Paper** **Systems Theory and Dark Networks--Implications of an Evolving Threat**
Ryan M. Taylor, *Western Illinois University*
 Overview: Following the tragic events of September 11, 2001, greater attention has been given to the study of the "dark

networks" that exist within the hidden economy. Often these organizations show a greater level of complexity and flexibility than those legitimate organizations that are created to defeat them. This analysis illustrates how the principles of systems theory and a clear understanding of the complexity of dark networks will aid in the suppression of dark networks.

- Disc.** **Theodore J. Stumm**, *University of North Florida*
George Gordon, *Illinois State University*

33-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POLITICAL CULTURE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY**

- Room** TBA, TABLE 6, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30
Inf. Rnd. **Political Culture and Italian Security Policy: The Bosnian Case**
Pirani Pietro, *The University of Western Ontario*
 Overview: This paper focuses on the impact of political culture on the formulation of Italian security policy during the conflict in the former Yugoslavia in the period 1990-1995. Much of the work in the field Italian security policy is currently based on two traditional and contrasting theories. The first theory argues that Italian security policy has been dominated by domestic factors in order to prevent a further deepening of political divisions between contrasting ideological forces and political parties. The second theory, instead, argues that Italian security policy can be better explained as the result of constraints established by the international system. Using the Italian participation in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia as case study, I argue that neither approach alone seems to be able to provide adequate explanations regarding Italian security policy during the Yugoslav crisis. I propose instead that the analysis of Italian security policy can be properly addressed by introducing a new theoretical framework that takes into account the relevance of political cultural factors, without rejecting institutional and systemic considerations. This will help us to understand the several variations in Italian security policy during the conflict: solidarity (by participating in the delivery of humanitarian aid), protagonism (by demanding to play a diplomatic role, in particular, to be part of the Contact Group), realism (by limiting its militarily involvement) and retaliation (by refusing to allow the United States to use Italian bases for their Stealth planes). In conclusion, this paper will outline what general implications we can draw for the Italian security policy in the post-Cold War.

33-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CONCEPTUAL EXPLORATIONS IN POLITICAL CULTURE**

- Room** TBA, TABLE 7, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30
Inf. Rnd. **Towards a Working Definition of Disillusionment (Part 1)**
Elmer R. Block, Jr., *Ohio State University*
 Overview: I compiled a list of survey items that authors have used to measure disillusionment into a single questionnaire, and I use the data from that questionnaire to develop a working definition of disillusionment.
- Inf. Rnd.** **Culture and Organizational Structure: An Agent-Based Model**
Dan Corstange, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: This paper investigates the diffusion of culture through organizational hierarchies via an agent-based computer simulation that extends Axelrod's 1997 model. It confirms that many of the dynamics originally uncovered by Axelrod exist in hierarchies. Its central finding is that horizontally-oriented organizations are more homogeneous and more likely to spread their heads' culture through the rest of the organization than are their vertically-oriented counterparts.

34-101 **ROUNDTABLE: TEACHING UNDERGRADUATE QUANTITATIVE METHODS (Co-Sponsored with Methodology, see 21-101)**

- Room** TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30
Rndtbl. **Kyle Saunders**, *Northern Illinois University*

Moshe Haspel, *Spelman College*

Andrew Martin, *Washington University*

Overview: This discussion will focus on the challenges and opportunities of undergraduate instruction in quantitative methodology, with emphasis on content, strategies, methods of instruction, and outcomes.

35-103 **ROUNDTABLE: AGENTS OF CHANGE:
WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION
WORKING TO TRANSFORM THE
ACADEMY**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30

Chair Roberta S. Sigel, *Rutgers University, New Brunswick*

Rndtbl. Mary S. Hartman, *Rutgers University, New Brunswick*

Barbara J. Nelson, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Catherine E. Rudder, *George Mason University*

Donna E. Shalala, *University of Miami*

Overview: This roundtable will present a discussion among senior women in the profession who have had opportunities to bring fundamental changes to higher education by working within a variety of academic institutions.

36-3 **THE CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE OF
CLASSICAL POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30

Chair Matthew Franck, *Radford University*

Paper **Darwinism and Strauss on Cosmic Teleology and Natural Right**

Carson L. Holloway, *University of Nebraska at Omaha*

Overview: This paper criticizes the recent assertion that Darwinian biology can serve as a basis for classical natural right.

Paper **Xenophon and the Contemporary Crisis of Political Leadership**

Robert J. Phillips, *Wheeling Jesuit University*

Overview: This paper will compare and contrast Xenophon's understanding of political leadership with that found in the contemporary leadership literature. The paper will argue that Xenophon's understanding of political leadership is superior in three ways to that which is found in the contemporary leadership literature. First, by distinguishing leadership from kingship, tyranny, statesmanship and founding, Xenophon is able to provide a clearer understanding what the phenomena is and is not. Second, since Xenophon calls our attention to the fact that political action can take other forms, we learn that leadership may not be an appropriate form of political action in some political situations. Finally, in contrast to the contemporary leadership literature, Xenophon recognizes that even extraordinary political leadership may not always be politically beneficial.

Paper **Living Well, Ancient and Modern: Aristotle on Political Development**

Warner R. Winborne, *Hampden-Sydney College*

Overview: Though the ancient notion of history is incompatible with the premise of political development, nevertheless Aristotle's understanding of the best practical life, found in Book VII of *The Politics*, constitutes a corrective and a synthesis of modern scholarship on political development. Aristotle's three goods which contribute to happiness correspond to the goals of development assumed by most modern development scholars. But Aristotle's understanding of the relationship among these goods challenges the assumptions of development scholarship.

Paper **Man is Not the Measure: Plato's Critique of Protagorean Relativism**

Christopher E. Baldwin, *University of California, Davis*

Overview: An exploration of Plato's assessment of Protagoras' relativism which suggests that relativism, contrary to what is usually thought, is less an intellectual position than a moral, even moralistic, position.

Disc. Ann Charney Colmo, *Dominican University*

Constance Hunt, *Michigan State University*

37-1 **EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF LGBT
POLITICAL BEHAVIORS, BELIEFS AND
IDENTITIES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 10:30

Chair Kenneth Sherrill, *Hunter College, CUNY*

Paper **Between Empowerment and Marginalization: An Organizational Response to Girl's Talk of Identity and Sexuality**

Ruth Nicole Brown, *University of Michigan*

Overview: Building on theoretical understandings of contradiction and paradox within organizations, I explore everyday conversations and interactions as sites of power that simultaneously structure processes of marginalization in a mentoring program for girls. Data is presented as an ethnography demonstrating the ways in which organizational members construct and define talk of sexuality and the recognition of queer identity as paradoxes in their daily practice.

Paper **Is Sexual Behavior a Source of Foreign Policy Preferences?**

Jamie Patrick Chandler, *City University of New York*

Overview: Although most political scientists argue that strength of partisanship, political ideology, age, gender, education, geography, and race serve as the predominant sources of foreign policy preferences, when controlling for these factors, same sex behavior exhibits a considerable and significant influence on the tone and direction of foreign policy attitudes held by Lesbians, Gays, and Bisexuals.

Paper **Gay Voters and Gay Issues in U.S. Politics: An Increasing Partisan Divide**

Patrick J. Egan, *University of California, Berkeley*

Overview: More than ever, gay voters identify with the Democratic Party, and the Democratic Party is identified with gay issues. In this paper, I use data from exit polls conducted by the Voter News Service (VNS) and survey data from the American National Election Studies (ANES) to show that gay voters have become increasingly Democratic voters, and that identification with the Democratic Party is becoming an increasingly important factor in how voters feel about gay issues.

Disc. Kevin Barnhurst, *University of Illinois-Chicago*

Susan Hammond, *American University*

Saturday, April 17 – 1:30 pm – 3:15 pm

1-2 **RALPH BUNCHE - NOBEL LAUREATE AND INTERNATIONAL LEADER**

Room PDR 9, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30

Chair **Lawrence Finkelstein**

Paper **A Critical Evaluation of Ralph Bunche as International Civil Servant**

Yves Beigbeder, *Webster University, Geneva*

Overview: Ralph Bunche is widely thought to have been an exemplar of excellence in public service. The paper will systematically apply relevant criteria in examining his international civil service in the hope that doing so will be helpful to practitioners and of interest to scholars.

Paper **Ralph Bunche and Peacekeeping**

James Jonah, *City University of New York*

Overview: Ralph Bunche served for decades as the UN's main peacekeeper. He fought for peace in the trenches and he was a central theorist of UN peacekeeping. His contributions deserve consideration as the UN considers how it can serve the peace in today's circumstances.

Disc. **Paul Diehl**, *University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign*

2-9 **COMPARATIVE PUBLIC POLICY IN EUROPE, JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30

Chair **Laura B. Stephenson**, *University of Western Ontario*

Paper **Pronatal Policies in the Face of Declining Population**

Lon S. Felker, *East Tennessee State University*

Paul Trogen, *East Tennessee State University*

Overview: An examination of pronatal policies in Western and Eastern Europe.

Paper **Bureaucratic Politics Approach to Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) Policy Making: Ministerial Motives and Their Reflections on the Foreign Aid Policy**

Yoonho Kim, *Cornell University*

Overview: This paper challenges traditional studies on Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) policy making, which assumed Diet or Prime Minister as a key ODA decision-maker. That is, the author argues that primary ODA decision-making power in Japan has resided not in the politicians but in the bureaucracy. According to the author's quantitative and qualitative (interviews with ODA policy makers during the summer of 2003, in Tokyo, Japan) data analysis, the historical trend of Japan's ODA expenditure pattern reflects the ups and downs of ministries' power in the decision making (e.g., Ministry of International Trade and Industries' diminishing power vs. Ministry of Foreign Affairs' increasing influence), which was caused by the interministerial battle over the foreign aid policy.

Paper **The Role of Consumer Bankruptcy Law in the Welfare State: A Comparative Analysis of Bankruptcy Law in English Common Law and European Civil Law Systems**

Timothy M. Bowman, *Kent State University*

Overview: This paper will attempt to explain the differences in consumer bankruptcy systems in industrialized countries by examining the consumer bankruptcy/insolvency systems in Great Britain, the United States, Germany and the Netherlands and the role each plays in their respective welfare systems.

Paper **Punctuated Equilibria in German Budgets**

Christian K. Breunig, *University of Washington*

Overview: This paper examines whether and why the distribution of budget changes varies over time in Germany. Instead of explaining how specific institutional settings or policy-making processes create particular policy outcomes, this paper considers the annual allocation of budgets as collectively expressed policy preferences of democratic governments. Building on stochastic process methods, I compare the distribution of yearly budget changes across all government budget functions (education, health care, etc.). The hypotheses of the paper are that budgets exhibit mostly incremental changes punctuated by extreme shifts in allocations and that institutional

constraints determine each country's distribution of budget changes. In addition to an institutional explanation, the paper formulates two rival models: economic performance and partisan control of government. The three models are tested using national budgetary data from the fiscal years 1963-2000. The goal of the paper is to open up a new line of inquiry for comparative analysis, one that ties together the empirical understanding of how political institutions shape budgetary outputs and punctuated equilibria theory.

Disc. **Karl Kaltenthaler**, *Rhodes College*

3-10 **THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF FINANCE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30

Chair **Lawrence Saez**, *London School of Economics*

Paper **Capital Account Liberalization Policy in Developing Countries**

Nancy E. Brune, *Yale University*

Overview: In this paper, I focus on the determinants of capital account policy in the developing world, emphasizing interest group/sectoral politics. The first contribution of this paper is the use of a new dataset (Brune 2002) which identifies controls in 9 different areas (5 types of financial transactions, inflows and outflows on 4 of them) for 170 countries over the period 1973-2001. Using this dataset, I analyze the trends on controls of different types of financial transactions. Second, I explore the political and economic determinants of capital account liberalization policy. I focus on the size of the government, the level and nature of integration in the international economy, and interest group politics. Third, this paper attempts to identify and model the actors/interest groups that may support capital account policy in developing countries. Towards this end, I explore the level and nature of a country's integration in the world economy and consider how the concentration and composition of its export sector and structure of its economy may interact with political institutions to affect capital account liberalization policy outcomes.

Paper **Government Choice of Coalition Partners: Politics of Financial Regulation in Thailand, Singapore, Taiwan, and Korea**

Young H. Byun, *University of Texas at Austin*

Overview: This paper addresses a paradox of financial regime: why Thailand, a victim of the Asian financial crisis of 1997, features poor regulation of market even with high degree of central bankers' independence (CBI) from government, while Singapore, a crisis survivor, features central bankers' efficient regulatory ability (CBR) even with low degree of their independence. My hypothesis is 1) a country is less vulnerable to financial crisis if it has a central bank with efficient regulation ability, no matter how the bank is independent; 2) if politicians choose capital-intensive industry as their coalition partner, they are less likely to allow central bankers to regulate market; 3) if politicians choose countervailing groups (i.e., agriculture, small-medium sized enterprises(SME), and labor), they are more likely to allow central bankers to regulate market. By using structured and focused comparison of four cases (Thailand, Singapore, Taiwan, and Korea) of 1970s to 1980s, I found central banker's regulation of market is a function of the political cost/benefits political leaders associate with different coalition options.

Paper **The Politics of Banking Regulation in Developing Countries After Financial Liberalization: Thailand, and Argentina during 1990s**

Wongi Choe, *University of Washington*

Overview: The primary focus of this paper is to explain the national divergence in financial regulation and the persistence of what I call financial patronage, the use and abuse of financial regulation by political elites for electoral and other political purposes, in developing countries that have gone through extensive financial liberalization. I explore why financial regulation policies differ across developing countries after significant financial liberalization occurred, and why some countries are able to strengthen regulation and supervision of

- domestic banking sector while others are not. While considering both the constraining effects of international capital flows and assertion of financial market actors' interests, I argue that post-liberalization financial regulation is most importantly shaped by varied effects that electoral and party institutions exert on electoral strategies of politicians. More specifically, I argue that politicians under institutional settings of party-centered electoral system and mass-based political parties are more likely to embrace stringent prudential regulations and supervision than those under candidate-centered electoral system and elite-based political parties. I test my hypothesis by conducting in-depth case study of banking reform episode of Thailand and Argentina throughout the 1990s.
- Paper** **Democracy, Stability and Foreign Direct Investment: A Curvilinear Model of Development**
Michael L. Hess, *University of New Orleans*
 Overview: What developing countries are more likely to receive foreign direct investment. Past research indicates that democracies are more likely to get more FDI than other types of countries in the developing world. However, there are indications that stability plays a role in determining FDI. I model a curvilinear relationship, and find that democracies and autocracies are likely to get greater amounts of FDI than transitioning anocracies.
- Disc.** **Lawrence Saez**, *London School of Economics*
- 3-16** **VIOLENCE, STATE COLLAPSE AND RECONSTRUCTION**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30
Chair **David E. Leaman**, *Northeastern Illinois University*
Paper **Nationalism and Women Terrorists**
Margaret C. Gonzalez-Perez, *Southeastern Louisiana University*
 Overview: This analysis identifies two different categories of terrorist organizations and the roles of women within each. Terrorist groups with international agendas typically oppose imperialism or Western culture in general while nationalist terrorist organizations act against perceived forces of oppression within their own nation. Internationally-oriented terrorist groups assign traditional, limited gender roles to their female members, while nationalist terrorist organizations challenge domestic prohibitions, including those imposed on women, and encourage full and active participation of female members at all levels of terrorist activity.
- Paper** **Economic Liberalization and the Propensity for Ethnic Conflict: Political Entrepreneurs, Ethnic Mobilization and Economic Resources**
Nikolaos Biziouras, *University of California at Berkeley*
 Overview: Using a large-N multivariate statistical method combined with four intensive case studies (Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Bulgaria and Ethiopia) we argue that the relationship between economic liberalization and ethnic conflict in multi-ethnic societies is a non-linear, inverted-U shape. Our argument conceptualizes ethnic mobilization as a collective action problem, thus investigating both the role of political entrepreneurs as leaders of the mobilization drive as well as individual ethnic group members as potential participants in this mobilization.
- Paper** **In Genocide's Wake: Reconstruction and Reconciliation in Rwanda 1994-2004**
Sean C. Matheson, *Knox College*
 Overview: During the 100 days of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, approximately 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus – or nearly 10 percent of the Rwandan population – were murdered. Using extensive secondary data, interviews and observations collected from 2003 study at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICT-R), this paper reviews the progress made by the Rwandan people and government in the decade since in the areas of economic growth, criminal justice, human rights, democratization, and ethnic reconciliation. A possible section on environmental issues may also be included.
- Paper** **Post-Conflict Recovery in Developing Societies: Mainstreaming Mine Action**
Kay M. Knickrehm, *James Madison University*
Donna Stewart, *Mine Action Information Center*
 Overview: This paper builds a decision model for integrating risk reduction strategies, development activities and mine action in post-conflict situations using a decentralized approach. Two countries with landmine problems, Thailand and Ethiopia, are used to develop the model.
- Disc.** **David E. Leaman**, *Northeastern Illinois University*
- 3-20** **ELECTORAL DYNAMICS IN NEW DEMOCRACIES**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30
Chair **Harry E. Vanden**, *Illinois State University*
Paper **Coalitional Politics in Latin America: Assessing Bolivia's Electoral System and its Impact on Coalition-Building Capacity, 2002-2004**
Betilde V. Muñoz, *Florida International University*
 Overview: Coalition governments rather than one-party governments have occurred more frequently in South American presidential democracies, including Bolivia. Whereas the period from 1985 through 2002 was characterized by relative democratic stability and the existence of "pacted democracy" in Bolivia, current events might be signaling the possible collapse of coalitional politics. This paper contends that institutional design in Bolivia has had a dramatic impact on the capacity of the current government to maintain a ruling coalition that can effectively deal with the broad range of demands emerging from society. The impact of the electoral system on executive-legislative relations is evaluated against other factors that might be influencing their institutional interaction since June 2002.
- Paper** **An Aggregate Data Analysis of Campaign Effects in Mexico's 2000 Presidential Election**
Joseph L. Klesner, *Kenyon College*
Chappell Lawson, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
Kenneth Greene, *University of Texas at Austin*
 Overview: Using aggregate data from the municipal level we analyze the impact of candidate campaign appearances, coverage in the local media market, campaign expenditures, and the number of registered party activists on vote shares for the three major parties in Mexico's 2000 elections. We hypothesize that campaign effects should be substantial in Mexico's new democracy since voters have had very limited experience in aligning their personal preferences with the partisan options.
- Paper** **Elections, Exchange Rates and Central Bank Independence in Latin America**
Kevin Grier, *University of Oklahoma*
 Overview: In this paper we study the effect of elections on the real exchange rate process in Latin America and the effect of central bank independence on that effect.
- Paper** **Election System Change in a Democratizing Country: The Case of South Korea**
Dennis P. Patterson, *Texas Tech University*
Sang-Mook Lee, *Texas Tech University*
 Overview: Between 1948 and 2000 inclusive, sixteen elections were held for the South Korean National Assembly, and, in ten of these national contests, politicians stood for office under election rules that had been altered. While most of these changes were minor and involved shifts in the number of district and PR seats, three were substantial. The first involved the replacement of the SMD system with a mixed system while the second change involved retaining the PR portion of the mixed system but replacing the SMD portion with a system of multimember districts. The final change also retained the PR portion of the mixed system but abandoned the multimember districts by returning to a SMD format. Two of the substantial changes and half of the minor changes discussed above occurred before South Korea made the full transition to democracy. Indeed, the non-democratic governments that enacted these changes, while not extensively popular, were hardly in danger of being eliminated through the electoral process. This raises

	the interesting question of why these governments found it necessary to support such institutional changes. We show in this paper that such governments, like their counterparts in democratic nations, are concerned less with the imperatives of short-term seat maximization than with how the eventual inclusion of increasingly popular opposition groups will affect their ability to remain in power and influence policy outcomes.				
Disc.	Harry E. Vanden , <i>Illinois State University</i>			Paper	<u>Disaffected (New) Democracies? Identities, Institutions and Civic Engagement in Post-Communist Europe</u> Hubert Tworzecki , <i>Emory University</i> Overview: Disaffection with democracy and withdrawal from politics appear to be widespread among post-communist publics. This paper seeks to explain this phenomenon by testing the relative explanatory power of cultural hypotheses (disaffection and disengagement are due to lack of intellectual preparedness for participation in pluralist politics), as opposed to hypotheses that focus on the sphere of political institutions (politicians, legislatures, parties do not represent political identities that are relevant to most people, hence the tendency toward disengagement).
4-2	<u>ELECTORAL AUTHORITARIANISM IN MEXICO AND TAIWAN</u>			Paper	<u>Orthodoxy, Islam, and Intolerance in Russia</u> Vyacheslav Karpov , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Kimmo Kääriäinen , <i>Research Institute of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland</i> Overview: Using the data from the Values-2002 survey (N=2,842) this paper explores religion's influence on political and religious intolerance in Russia.
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30			Disc.	Donna Bahry , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i>
Chair	Peter Moody , <i>University of Notre Dame</i>			5-9	<u>THE POLITICS OF CULTURAL IDENTITY</u>
Paper	<u>The End of One-Party Dominance: A Comparative Study of Taiwan and Mexico</u> Ketty W. Chen , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: Maybe it is because of the geographic distance; Taiwan and Mexico are not often compared and studied together. Even though there are great differences between the KMT and PRI authoritarian regime, the end result of democratization and the eventual ousting of both parties from power were the same. The paper hopes to shed light on the reasons behind an elite-led liberalization by comparing two difference cases with the same end results.			Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30
	<u>Hegemonic Party Reform and Adaptability: No Longer Hegemonic But Still Going Strong in Mexico and Taiwan</u> Frederic Cady , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Eugene Kuan , <i>University of Texas - Austin</i> Overview: In this paper, we look at hegemonic party reform in Mexico and Taiwan after 2000. We examine how the former hegemonic parties have adapted to the new circumstances facing them. Electoral loss appears to be a key factor that has driven party reform. In some circumstances it also seems as if these parties enact reform in order to prevent losing before it occurs, akin to taking "preventive medicine."			Chair	Fred Solt , <i>Rice University</i>
Paper	<u>The Impact of Training Programs on the Development of Democratic Values in Transitional Societies</u> Arthur H. Miller , <i>University of Iowa</i> Natasha L. Ivanova , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: The paper presents outcomes of the study of the impact of five U.S. funded training programs on participants from four different countries (Bosnia / Herzegovina, Ukraine, Georgia and Kazakhstan) which was conducted during the period between 2000 and 2003. The analysis is based on the data collected during the study and first and foremost examines the extent to which training programs promote democratic values, opposition to limiting civil liberties, and support for workplace democracy. In addition we compare the program participant and control group attitudes toward the broader market economy and particularly the involvement of Western firms in the economy of the respondent's own country.			Paper	<u>The End of Britain? Challenges from Devolution, European Integration, and Multiculturalism</u> Nam-Kook Kim , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: The aim of this essay is to examine the future of Britain and Britishness considering simultaneous challenges of immigration, devolution, and further integration into the EU. The author explores whether Britishness has been shared or denied and reinforced or weakened among six different groups, namely Welsh and Scottish separatism, English nationalism, Conservative and Labor's British nationalism, and that of ethnic minorities.
Disc.	Matthew R. Cleary , <i>University of Chicago</i>			Paper	<u>Lessons Learnt through Implementation</u> Louri Zagoumenov , <i>Belarus Association of Think Tanks</i> Overview: TBA
4-10	<u>POST-COMMUNIST POLITICAL CULTURE</u>			Paper	<u>Between National Models and Group Determinism: Second-Generation Immigrant Socio-Economic Status in Britain and France</u> Rahsaan Maxwell , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Integration of non-white, non-Christian, second and third generation "immigrants" in West Europe inspires strong public reaction, whether lamenting the loss of homogeneous national identity or arguing for cultural diversity. However, the interesting question is not when these groups will integrate, but what current integration looks like, how it varies across groups, and what it means for future racial politics in West Europe. This paper combines individual/group-level and national-level analysis to explain the heterogeneity in integration processes already occurring.
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30			Disc.	Fred Solt , <i>Rice University</i>
Chair	Maryjane Osa , <i>Northwestern University</i>			6-7	<u>PARTY SYSTEMS AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONALIZATION</u>
Paper	<u>Coverage of Vladimir Putin's Presidency in Russia's Ultra-Nationalist and Anti-Democratic Press: Did the Authoritarian Restoration Take Place?</u> Vyacheslav G. Karpov , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Elena Lisovskaya , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Ekaterina M. Levintova , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Overview: We examine the attitudes of Russian ultra-nationalist and anti-democratic actors towards Putin. Content analysis of Russia's most visible nationalist/authoritarian periodical, the weekly newspaper <i>Zavtra</i> , demonstrates that the nationalist press had an ambiguous attitude towards Putin's policies. Although the anti-democratic/nationalist actors eventually started to criticize Putin for not going far enough in the authoritarian and xenophobic directions, they stress that his presidency, at least initially, had a potential for reversing Russia's tenuous democratic and tolerant course.			Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30
	<u>The Impact of Training Programs on the Development of Democratic Values in Transitional Societies</u> Arthur H. Miller , <i>University of Iowa</i> Natasha L. Ivanova , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: The paper presents outcomes of the study of the impact of five U.S. funded training programs on participants from four different countries (Bosnia / Herzegovina, Ukraine, Georgia and Kazakhstan) which was conducted during the period between 2000 and 2003. The analysis is based on the data collected during the study and first and foremost examines the extent to which training programs promote democratic values, opposition to limiting civil liberties, and support for workplace democracy. In addition we compare the program participant and control group attitudes toward the broader market economy and particularly the involvement of Western firms in the economy of the respondent's own country.			Chair	Thomas F. Remington , <i>Emory University</i>
Paper				Paper	<u>Party System Institutionalization and the Mandate Divide in Hungary, Ukraine, and Russia</u> Frank C. Thames , <i>Texas Tech University</i> Overview: I argue that the level of party system institutionalization will fundamentally determine whether a mandate divide will exist in a mixed-member legislature. Using roll-call voting data from three post-communist legislatures (Hungary, Russia, and Ukraine, I analyze patterns of party discipline to search for the existence of a mandate divide. The empirical results show that a mandate divide only existed in the legislature with the most weakly institutionalized party system, the Russian State Duma.

Paper **Economic Implications on Party Institutionalization in East Europe**
Joe W. Robbins, *Texas Tech University*
 Overview: This study examines the role economics plays on party institutionalization in East Europe. In the first round of elections the impact of economics is minimal. In subsequent elections, however, the salience of economics on party institutionalization increases.

Paper **Political Institutionalization of Party Systems in Post-Soviet Transitional Countries**
Andrey A. Meleshevich, *Allegheny College*
 Overview: The study presents a critical overview of different approaches to political institutionalization and develops a conceptual framework and operational indicators of institutionalization of a party system in a democratic country. On the basis of this conceptual framework, the study measures levels of political institutionalization of the party systems in the five post-Soviet transitional countries: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, and Ukraine.

Paper **Winning in Post-Soviet SMDs: Is Party Affiliation the Critical Electoral Resource for Women?**
Melanie R. Castleberg, *Texas Tech University*
Raminta Stockute, *Texas Tech University*
 Overview: Why do men do well when they run as independents in Russian and Ukrainian national elections while women running as independents gain very few seats? We argue that the affects of party affiliation are gender specific in Russian and Ukrainian national elections. Women who run as independents may be giving up an invaluable resource which, for them, may mean the difference between winning and losing.

Disc. **Irina Khemlko**, *Indiana University*
Thomas F. Remington, *Emory University*

6-8 **BETWEEN MARKET AND STATE IN CHINA'S POLITICAL ECONOMY**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30
Chair **Victor Shih**, *Northwestern University*
Paper **Walking a Tightrope: Chinese State Agents and their Role in Urban Redevelopment**
Jeffrey S. Payne, *Indiana University*
 Overview: Local administrative units in urban China are undergoing a process of institutional rearrangement to reflect an increasingly complex relationship between local state agents and residents. Local state agents, realizing that liberalization has severely limited the administrative control mechanisms at their control, manipulate forming civic organizations. This process strengthens local state agent administrative control by reestablishing their political authority over residents, while creating new mechanisms of political inclusion through civic organizations for residents to explore.

Paper **Political Beliefs of Chinese Private Entrepreneurs and The Political Transformation in China**
Jiangnan Zhu, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: The rising Chinese private entrepreneurs; also called Chinese new capitalists; are expected by many scholars and democratization theories to lead political democratization in China. However a comparison of two public opinion surveys shows they are quite conservative to this. Are they an exception or actually reflecting some general features of the capitalist class worldwide? What kind of role will they play in future Chinese political arena? These are the main questions in this paper.

Paper **The Chinese Publishing Market between Market and State**
Jungmin Seo, *The University of Chicago*
 Overview: This paper discussed the nature of Chinese publishing industry situated in-between dual forces of market and state. While agreeing with the scholars who emphasize the clash between newly emerging market force and the political inertia of socialist cultural management in contemporary Chinese cultural market, I argue that it is impossible to understand the market dynamics of discursive production in the Chinese book industry without recognizing the existence of

intermediary agencies, the book dealers, who blur the boundary between state and market.

Paper **E-Government in China and Its Implication on China's Transition to Democracy**
Xia Li Lollar, *University of Wisconsin - Whitewater*
 Overview: This article examines the emergence of E-Government in China and its implication on China's transition to democracy. It is widely accepted that E-Government will improve the quality of governance because it is in concert with values such as democracy, openness, accountability and effectiveness. This article reviews the current condition of E-Government in China by a detailed analysis of 30 provincial and metropolitan websites and discusses how E-Government sites vary by region of the country and what factors cause the differences.

Disc. **Victor Shih**, *Northwestern University*

6-11 **POLITICAL PATTERNS IN CHINA'S INSTITUTIONS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30
Chair **Theodore J. Gilman**, *Union College*
Paper **Institutional Paradox: Institutions, Institutional Change and the Politics of China's Central-Provincial Fiscal Interest Evolution**
Jinjie Liu, *The University of Nebraska-Lincoln*
 Overview: It is not enough to understand the evolution of China's central-provincial fiscal interest conflict by only focusing on the institutional changes within the tax regime. To better explain its evolution, it is required to locate this issue in a much broader analytic framework of the three-level institutional contexts as an explanatory mechanism. The evolution of China's central-provincial fiscal interest conflict is the result of this institutional punctuated equilibrium movement. The institutional breakout determines how both the central and provincial governments define their own fiscal interests that are different from each other by providing the institutional possibility for them to turn the potential strategy into a dominant drive. The institutional leaks that are by produced by the institutional breakout unintentionally provide the institutional stimulating mechanisms for both of them to turn their fiscal interest drive into a reality, which finally led to the actual fiscal conflict between the central and provincial governments.

Paper **Bargaining for Less Democracy: The Role of the State in Grassroots Elections in China**
Wei Shan, *Texas A&M University*
Qi Zhang, *Chinese Academy of Social Science, China*
Mingxing Liu, *Peking University, China*
 Overview: This paper attempts to develop and test a theory of how Chinese local governments behave in promoting village elections. It is argued that for local authorities, fulfilling one central policy assignment well will increase their bargaining power with the central government to get tacit permission to evade or resist other policies. That's what local officials have done in the implementation of central initiative of village elections.

Paper **Local Governments and Peasants in Hunan**
Wu Zhang, *Cornell University*
 Overview: This paper argues that market reforms in Central China have destroyed the revenue base of local governments and led to a severe conflict between the peasantry and the state. By giving managers and bureaucrats an incentive to turn state assets into private property, the reforms have contributed to the collapse of the state-owned enterprises and state farms. This has led the government to increase taxes and fees on the peasants who, however, resist paying anything because their incomes are declining. With increasingly violent confrontation between the peasants and local governments, the legitimacy of the Chinese state is in question.

Paper **Bygone Days and Ballot Boxes: Previous Democratic Experience and Current Village Elections in Rural Northwest China**
John J. Kennedy, *University of Kansas*

Overview: Does the lack of previous democratic experience in China's recent history hinder current attempts at democratic reforms at the local level? Using local historical records and survey data from the year 2000, we compare counties that had a history of local elections, in the 1930s and 1940s, with counties that had no such history. We demonstrate that previous democratic experience in northwest China has no significant influence on current democratization efforts at the village level.

Disc. **Theodore J. Gilman**, *Union College*
Lianjiang Li, *Hong Kong Baptist University*

7-204 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: AFTER WARS END

Room TBA, TABLE 1, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30

Inf. Rnd. **Deadly Tradeoffs: Public Health, Defense Spending, and the Budgetary Consequences of Violent Conflict**

Zaryab Iqbal, *Emory University*

Overview: This paper assesses the effect of violent conflict on the health and well-being of populations, taking into account relevant political and economic factors.

Inf. Rnd. **The Sorrow of War and the Hope of Peace: Durable Post-Conflict Settlements, 1945-2002**

Patrick M. McLeod, *University of North Texas*

Overview: For every conflict there is an end, but do the dynamics of the conflict live on to poison the peace that follows? Through the application of maximum likelihood estimation techniques, the goal of this paper is to begin to address questions of the success and/or failure of durable peace concerning the interaction of conflict spillover with an initial model of post-settlement environments found after civil wars occurring since World War II.

7-205 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: JUSTICE IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Room TBA, TABLE 2, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30

Inf. Rnd. **The Quality Of Mercy: The Role Of Forgiveness And Apologies In Post-War Reconciliation**

Loramy C. Gerstbauer, *Gustavus Adolphus College*

Overview: The development of new war crimes tribunals and the permanent International Criminal Court, comparative analyses of truth commissions, and a budding literature on transitional justice issues, all point to scholarly attention on achieving justice in post-war contexts. A concept that is more often ignored in these processes, and generally less noted in international politics, is mercy. Is mercy and its embodiment in apologies and forgiveness a tenable attribute of nation-states?

7-206 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: UNILATERALISM VERSUS MULTILATERALISM

Room TBA, TABLE 3, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30

Inf. Rnd. **International Security-Provision: Unilateralism Versus Multilateralism**

Rupayan Gupta, *Iowa State University*

Overview: This paper analyzes the issue of efficient security provision against global terrorism by an anti-terrorist coalition. Effort leading to anti-terrorist security may be provisioned by any member of the coalition, but has common public effects on other coalition members. The paper examines situations in which unilateral security provision by a single member of the coalition might arise as the equilibrium of a game between the members with regard to joint provision of security. We also examine the nature of incentive compatible multilateral agreements that might emerge among the members of the coalition that would lead the unilateral provider to provision the efficient level of security. The results of this paper indicate what types of multilateral agreements in an international organization (the United Nations) would lead to the achievement of a commonly agreed-upon efficient level of activism against terror, rather than unilateral action by a single nation.

8-9 POLITICAL ECONOMY OF EXCHANGE RATE REGIME CHOICE

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30

Chair **Thomas Pluemper**, *University of Konstanz*

Paper **Ties that Bind: Exchange Rate Regimes Under Central Bank Independence**

Angela J. O'Mahony, *University of British Columbia*

Overview: Under capital mobility, governments must choose between a fixed exchange rate and discretionary monetary policy. I argue that when a government faces an independent central bank with divergent policy preferences, the government becomes more likely to adopt a fixed exchange rate than endure the bank's preferred monetary policy. Although the central bank is generally seen as tying the government's hands, by adopting a fixed exchange rate, the government can tie the hands of the bank.

Paper **Sustaining an Exchange Rate Fix: An Integrated Approach to Understanding Survival**

Conor N. Healy, *Princeton University*

Overview: The goal of this exercise is to specify the role played by political determinants for hard exchange fix survival.

Turning away from explicitly economic analyses, I argue that the role of politics is central to survival. In particular, I argue that some basic areas of domestic and international structural capacity are the most important political determinants of hard fix longevity.

Paper **Fixed Exchange Rates and Independent Central Banks: A Correlated Choice of Imperfect Commitment Institutions**

Cristina Bodea, *University of Rochester*

Overview: This paper's contribution to the small literature on the correlated choice of exchange rates and independent central banks is both technical and substantive. First, as opposed to previous work, my paper uses a rational expectation framework. Second, I look into a different cause for institutional substitution or complementarity. This paper allows for fixed rates and central banks to be imperfect commitment instruments: exchange rates are not fixed forever and policy actions can be imperfectly observed.

Disc. **Thomas Pluemper**, *University of Konstanz*

9-11 DEMOCRACY AND FOREIGN POLICY

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30

Chair **C. Kent**, *Texas A&M University*

Paper **The Effects of Domestic Politics on the Effectiveness of International Institutions in the 1987 Montreal Protocol**

Joel R. Carbonell, *University of California*

Overview: One of the current research puzzles in international relations is understanding the link between domestic and international politics. In particular, scholars attempt to identify the political factors that increase the effectiveness of international institutions. This study examines how developing countries influence the effectiveness of international institutions in alleviating environmental degradation. The findings of the study suggest that changes in a country's national legislature have an impact on the effectiveness of international institutions.

Paper **Democracy and Compliance with International Agreements**

Xinyuan Dai, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Overview: A growing number of studies have posited that democratic states are better able to comply with international agreements than authoritarian states. The mixed empirical evidence accumulated thus far, however, contrasts this uniform theoretical claim. This paper fills the gap by spelling out the conditions under which democratic states comply with international agreements.

Paper **The Decision-Making Calculus of the House Committee on International Relations: A Study of the 106th Congressional Session**

John P. Flanagan, *University of North Texas*

Overview: This paper examines the voting behavior of members on the House Committee on International Relations. The purpose of this research is to explain how committee members vote. Votes from the 106th Congressional session (1998 to 2000) will be analyzed. During this session, the House

Committee on International Relations voted on 19 separate pieces of legislation. Theoretically, I draw support from the “self-interested” model of the legislator. This model originated in the work of David Mayhew.

Paper **The Democratic Signal: Explaining the Rise of International Election Monitoring**

Susan D. Hyde, *University of California, San Diego*

Overview: The role of international actors in the process of democratization has been insufficiently explored and documented. This paper explains why international election monitoring developed as an international standard of behavior, despite the fact that it was initially considered a violation of state sovereignty. International election monitoring has become an international norm because leaders of democratizing countries have the incentive to credibly signal their intent to democratize to international and domestic audiences.

Disc. **C. Kent**, *Texas A&M University*

11-1 **NATIONAL IDENTITY**

Room BURNHAM 5, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30

Chair **Zachary Elkins**, *University of Illinois*

Paper **Anti-Americanism and National Identity**

Zachary Elkins, *University of Illinois*

John Sides, *University of Texas, Austin*

Overview: Anti-Americanism has become more than just a curiosity. Of late, US foreign policy has produced widespread disenchantment among other nations, even among traditional allies in Western Europe. Uncovering the roots of anti-Americanism is thus a legitimate policy question. It also affords an opportunity to test for the impact of national identity and pride. While scholars have examined how national pride is related to attitudes towards immigrants, we look outside national borders, to how national pride in other countries affects their assessments of the United States. Drawing on a large cross-national survey, we build a general model of anti-Americanism, with both individual-level and country-level covariates. Our findings will demonstrate whether ingroup loyalty is related to outgroup hostility in this case, and further contribute to the growing literature on the vices and virtues of national identity.

Paper **Being and Doing: National Identity, Public Mood, and Participation**

Wendy Rahn, *University of Minnesota*

Overview: This paper builds on the “being-to-doing” model of Miller and Rahn (2002) in the context of national identity. In this model, we argue that the psychological centrality of public identities affects public action through both normative conceptions about what it means to be a “good x,” the so-called “logic of appropriateness” and the emotional arousal that accompanies the extension of the self in processes of identification. In this paper, I present evidence from several different survey sources that public mood, “a diffuse affective state... that citizens experience because of their membership in a particular political community” (Rahn, Kroeger and Kite 1996), is a distinct emotional concomitant of American national identity that has direct and indirect motivational consequences for certain forms of political action that are as important, if not more important, than skills, resources, and mobilization, the typical levers of participation studied in the political science literature.

Paper **Who's In and Who's Out: National Identity and the Setting of National Boundaries**

Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, *University of Nebraska*

Overview: When people think of an ingroup to which they belong, they tend to think of the prototypical member of the group. And people tend to think of themselves as prototypical members. What this means is that people tend to think of ingroup members as “people like me.” This process of establishing ingroup boundaries, boundaries that place the person firmly within the group, is an important one, especially when considering national groups. By establishing national group boundaries, Americans include some people, marginalize others, and fully exclude still others. The important point here is that some people who are marginalized or excluded may well be

Americans themselves. Even though they are objectively members of the ingroup (i.e., American citizens), being marginalized or excluded from the national ingroup means they lose out on the benefits of being an ingroup member. This paper explores the issue of establishing boundaries and its effects on national identity by drawing heavily on political theory and social psychology and by using a series of experiments for the empirical analysis.

Paper **Patriotism and National Identity**

Leonie Huddy, *SUNY, Stony Brook*

Nadia Khatib, *SUNY Stony Brook*

Overview: Broad disagreements over the nature of patriotism have lead to quite differing approaches to its study and measurement. The dominant strand of research on patriotism in the U.S. has been designed to account for variation in Americans’ reactions to foreign policy and typically assesses patriotism as affective attachment to national symbols or an unswerving allegiance to one’s country and its policies. In contrast, researchers interested in the political incorporation of immigrants to the U.S. have focused more clearly on domestic concerns and tap a shared sense of national identity that lacks the ideological flavor of usual patriotism measures. We contrast the origins and consequences of both types of national attachment using data from the 1996 GSS (ISSP module) and a study conducted with students at Stony Brook University in 2002. Findings highlight the distinction between national identity and patriotism. National identity has greater impact on civic and political participation whereas patriotism influences foreign policy views and animosity toward threatening outgroups. We discuss the broad implications of these findings for the study of patriotism and the development of national attachments more generally.

Disc. **James H. Kuklinski**, *University of Illinois*

11-101 **AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: JAMES L. GIBSON'S AND AMANDA GOUWS' OVERCOMING INTOLERANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30

Rndtbl. **Robert Rohrschneider**, *Indiana University*

George E. Marcus, *Williams College*

Mark Peffley, *University of Kentucky*

Paul M. Sniderman, *Stanford University*

William Mishler, *University of Arizona*

James L. Gibson, *Washington University*

Overview: This panel assesses James L. Gibson’s and Amanda Gouws’ study *Overcoming Intolerance in South Africa*. The goal of the panel is not just to praise the authors (as most Author-meets-Critics panels do) but to critically assess its contribution to three distinct literatures: (a) the political tolerance literature; (b) the democratic transition literature; (c) the process of democratization in South Africa.

12-12 **VOTING IN U.S. HOUSE ELECTIONS**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30

Chair **Jesse Marquette**, *University of Akron*

Paper **How Candidates Mobilize Voters: A Study of House Election Turnout**

Carol A. Cassel, *University of Alabama*

Overview: Political scientists know surprisingly little about how political elites mobilize voters. Recent experimental studies leave open the question about which types of contacts activate voters in real world campaigns. This study is the first to test the actual mobilization tactics of candidates including personal meetings and appearances, mail, and media exposure. Contrary to expectation, candidates mobilize voters impersonally, through mail and newspaper exposure. This supports a theory that mobilization is partisan and informational in nature.

Paper **The Culture War and Voting Behavior in U.S. House Elections**

Jonathan O. Knuckey, *University of Central Florida*

Overview: Recent studies of political behavior in the United States have stressed the growing importance of cultural values and social issues as determinants of vote choice and party identification. This paper examines whether cultural and social issues have come to structure vote choice in U.S. House elections in the same way that many scholars argue that they have in presidential elections.

Paper **Beautiful Losers: Explaining the Ideological Orientations of House Challengers**
Jeffrey W. Koch, *State University of New York at Geneseo*
 Overview: I maintain candidates vary systematically in the extent their ideological positions reflect those of their sponsoring political party and the district they seek to represent. I posit that as the prospects for winning office increases the role of political party decreases and that of district ideology increases for shaping candidate ideology. Incumbents typically hold ideological orientations less in line with their sponsoring party and more in line with their district than challengers.

Paper **PocketBook Voting Revisited: Partisanship, Economic Interests and Congressional Elections, 1963 – 1992**
Jeffrey W. Ladewig, *University of Connecticut*
 Overview: TBA

Paper **Candidate Emergence in Southern Congressional Elections, 1988-2002**
Seth C. McKee, *University of Texas*
 Overview: This paper documents and explains the emergence of quality candidates in southern congressional elections from 1988 to 2002. I assess the importance of factors expected to affect the emergence of quality candidates of both parties. I emphasize the role of district congruence (is the district represented by a member whose party won a majority of the presidential vote), open seats and redistricting as key variables that condition the emergence of quality candidates.

Disc. **Robert Van Houweling**, *University of Michigan*
Jesse Marquette, *University of Akron*

12-16 **VOTING FOR MPS AND MEPS: WESTERN EUROPEAN ELECTIONS**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30
Chair **Ken W. Kollman**, *University of Michigan*
Paper **The Importance of Conviction and Context in Voting for the Loser: Evidence from the French Greens**
Jae-Jae Spoon, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: Why do some like-minded voters choose the Greens and why do others not? Looking specifically at the voters of the French Green Party in various legislative districts, I demonstrate that the intensity of conviction on the issues and the local context—both the presence and activity of the Green party at the local level and municipal election results—are the dominant factors that impact the voter's decision to vote Green in the national elections.

Paper **Accommodation versus Detachment: The Determinants of Spatial Interaction Between Extreme Right Parties and Center Right Parties**
Odul Celep, *Binghamton University*
 Overview: This paper aims to explain the possible factors that may encourage the established center-right parties to accommodate the political demands and issue stands of the extreme right parties by shifting towards more to the right, hence, closer to the position of the ERPs.

Paper **Individual Voting Behavior in Denmark 1998-2001**
Soren R. Thomsen, *University of Aarhus, Denmark*
 Overview: The paper presents an application of a comprehensive conditional logit model for individual voting behavior including the effects of party identification, issue voting and leadership sympathy. The model has high explanatory power for Danish voting behavior 1998-2001, and the analysis suggests that party identification is meaningful and important in a European context.

Paper **Get Your Act Together: Party Performance in European Parliament Elections**
Federico Ferrara, *Harvard University*
Timo Weishaupt, *University of Wisconsin*

Overview: Europe does not matter. This appears to be the verdict that, with few exceptions, two decades of research on the elections to the European Parliament (EP) have delivered. EU-related issues, however, have exerted a significant impact on the performance of some political parties in EP elections, particularly in places like Sweden and Denmark where strong disagreements persist over the extent to which those countries should be, if at all, integrated with the rest of Europe. Is there anything systematic about how and how much European issues affect surges and declines in the performance of parties in EP elections relative to national legislative elections? Does Europe matter for party strategy and voting decisions only where dissatisfaction with the EU is widespread, or are such effects observable throughout the continent? Through our empirical analysis of the three most recent EP elections, we begin to answer these open research questions by modeling performance differentials as a function of both European and non-EU related factors. We find that parties that do not “have their act together” on European issues, whose internal fractionalization leads to ambiguities about their stance on EU integration, systematically perform worse in EP elections. This pattern is more pronounced for governing parties than for opposition forces and is observable in countries with both high and low contestation.

Paper **Voter Participation in Elections to the European Parliament: The Neglected Role of Electoral Competition**
Steven E. Galatas, *Georgia Southwestern State University*
 Overview: Using data from European Parliament elections, this paper investigates the role of electoral competition and other variables, such as compulsory voting and strategic voting, as factors in EP elections. While findings confirm existing research on factors such as compulsory voting and weekend voting as significant variables in the turnout equation, the findings also suggest an additional factor absent from much of the current literature on EP elections: electoral competition.

Disc. **Irfan Nooruddin**, *Ohio State University*
Ken W. Kollman, *University of Michigan*

12-31 **ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF POLICY VOTING (Co-sponsored with Methodology, see 21-13)**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30
Chair TBA
Paper **The Electoral Outcomes of Parties' Policy Shifts: Proximity, Directional, or Context-Specific Effects?**
James Adams, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
Michael Clark, *University of California Santa Barbara*
 Overview: Previous studies on the empirical status of proximity versus directional voting (as well as alternative models due to Lacy and Paolino, Kedar, and others in which voters discount the parties' policy promises) are hampered by difficulties surrounding the analysis of election survey data. We employ an alternative approach in which we analyze the electoral effects associated with shifts in political parties' policy positions in Western European elections. We ask the question: Do parties tend to gain votes when they move towards the center, as proximity theory predicts, or is such policy moderation associated with vote losses, as directional theory implies?

Paper **Explaining Vote Shares across Western Europe**
Lawrence J. Ezrow, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
 Overview: We present cross-national analyses – both cross-sectional and longitudinal -- estimating the vote shares for approximately eighty parties across Western Europe from 1984-98. The results indicate that parties' policy proximity to the center of the voter distribution plays a role in election outcomes, although the effects are relatively small. These findings corroborate the theoretical results reported by Lin et al. (1999), and they also support the conclusions reported by other authors who rely on simulations on individual level data from national election surveys (Adams & Merrill, 1999, 2000; Alvarez & Nagler, 1995, 1998; Glasgow & Alvarez, 2002; Dow 1997; Schofield, 2003; Schofield et al., 1998a b).

Paper	<p><u>Vertical Balancing: Voter Behavior in State and Federal Elections, with Evidence from Germany</u> Orit Kedar, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: This study offers a systematic analysis of voter behavior in federal contexts, analyzing the relationship between voter behavior in state and federal elections. Using data from German federal and Länder elections between 1965-2002, I establish voting patterns in state elections and their relationship to voting in federal elections. The institutional design of the German system by which electoral cycles are unsynchronized both across states and between states and federal levels allows for a particularly interesting comparative analysis.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Impact of Community Organizing on Political Engagement</u> Nancy B. Carrillo, <i>University of New Mexico</i> Overview: I examine how neighborhood political organization influences individual-level political engagement. Utilizing survey research in a quasi-experimental approach, individuals living in three Albuquerque neighborhoods organized by the community group ACORN are compared with citizens in demographically similar but unorganized neighborhoods following three local elections. Community organization may change a neighborhood's social context such that citizens are likely to discuss politics more often and may therefore increase political efficacy, knowledge and participation.</p>
Paper	<p><u>An Experimental Test of Proximity and Directional Voting</u> Dean Lacy, <i>Ohio State University</i> Philip Paolino, <i>University of North Texas</i> Overview: There has been a controversy about how voters use issues to choose between candidates. The basic Downsian model (e.g. Downs 1957, Enelow and Hinich 1984) argues that voters choose the candidate closer to their position. In contrast, Rabinowitz and Macdonald (1989) argue for a directional model, where voters choose the more intense candidate who agrees more with their positions across issues. Using survey data to determine which model is more accurate has proven problematic because the assumptions used in testing these models are not completely neutral (Lewis and King 2000). In this paper, we resolve to break the deadlock experimentally.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Civic Generation Over Time: Organizational Memberships, 1950-98</u> Suzanne Mettler, <i>Syracuse University</i> Theda Skocpol, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This paper explores patterns of organizational joining among individual members of the civic generation in order to illuminate the political significance of both the vibrant organizational life of the postwar era, and its decline later in the twentieth century.</p>
		Disc.	<p>Scott D. McClurg, <i>Southern Illinois University</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Analyzing Models of Issue Voting</u> Stuart E. Macdonald, <i>University of North Carolina</i> George Rabinowitz, <i>University of North Carolina</i> Ola Listhaug, <i>Norwegian University of Science and Technology</i> Overview: We consider some of the key controversies that have arisen in analyzing models of issue voting. Of particular interest is the role of perception. We consider two perceptual models: one in which voters have a common perception of the parties or candidates but differ in their understanding of the issue scales; the other in which differences in perception arise because voters assimilate and contrast perceptions to match their affect for parties or candidates. We also consider two models of issue voting, the proximity model and the directional model.</p>	13-8	<p><u>POLITICAL SOPHISTICATION AND BELIEF SYSTEMS</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30 William G. Jacoby, <i>Michigan State University</i> Political Perception and the Micro-Macro Paradox Evan Parker-Stephen, <i>University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill</i> Overview: Macro-level scholars show that collective opinion is informed and responsive. At the micro-level, however, citizens' political perceptions are neither accurate nor impartial. To resolve this paradox, I examine how partisans' misperceptions influence aggregate opinion. I find that these biases are countervailing and thus cancel in the aggregate, suggesting that nonpartisans shape the intelligent aggregate signal.</p>
Disc.	<p>Michael S. Lewis-Beck, <i>University of Iowa</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>(Re:) Measuring Political Sophistication</u> Robert C. Luskin, <i>University of Texas at Austin</i> John Bullock, <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: What exactly makes for the best measurement of political knowledge? We compare both different types of knowledge items and different ways of doing them up with respect to both their correlations with a dozen criterion variables and their performance in a regression model featuring knowledge as the key conditioning variable. We give special attention to the treatment of DKs and the possibility of corrections for guessing.</p>
13-7	<p><u>ORGANIZATIONAL MOBILIZATION AND POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30 Michael Lewkowicz, <i>University of Illinois</i> Contacting and Identification as a Independent Learning Partisan Colleen M. Barry-Goodman, <i>University of Houston</i> Overview: I propose that the decrease in the proportion of individuals who identify with one of the two major parties over the last thirty years can be attributed to a decrease in person-to-person contacting on the part of the two major political parties. This contacting serves as a priming mechanism, causing those who are contacted to be more cognizant of the connections between their own political stances and the stances of the political parties.</p>	Paper	<p><u>An Explanation of Public's Support for Defense Spending and Troop Use: A Unified Perspective of Cognition, Emotion, and Bounded Rationality</u> Dukhong Kim, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: I address what explains the mass public's opinions on foreign policy issues. In addressing the issue, I utilize an approach that emphasizes political psychology and bounded rationality. I argue that the mass public can reach reasonable judgments on foreign policy. The opinions they form depend on values, heuristics, and emotional cues. Also, their support for foreign economic aid and foreign troop deployment is influenced by their perception of the geopolitical importance of certain countries.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Using Panel Data to Question the Relationship Between Civic Participation and Political Participation</u> Mayling E. Birney, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: Existing studies of political participation and civic participation make use of cross-sectional data. However, unobserved heterogeneity may account for a substantial portion of their observed correlation between political and civic participation. To address this problem and establish causality, this study tests similar models with panel data. In addition, this paper uses panel analysis to better understand what mechanisms may be at work, distinguishing "situational" (e.g., network- or information-based) from "educative" (e.g., efficacy- or skill-building) mechanisms.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Partisanship among Four Kinds of Political Sophisticates</u> Brendon Swedlow, <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Kyle Saunders, <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Mikel Wyckoff, <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: Using newly available data, we model factors prior to the vote (including partisanship and issue positions) using measures of the value commitments – whether to liberty, equality, or order – of liberals and conservatives, while also looking at varying levels (and different measures) of political sophistication. By identifying ideologues who are more</p>

Paper	libertarian than liberal or conservative, we hope better to be able to predict ideologically-based political attitudes and behavior.	Paper	<u>Media Favoritism and Presidential Primaries: Reviving the Direct Effects Model</u>
	<u>When Complexity Becomes an Issue: A Null Model for the Evolution of Belief Systems</u> <i>Thomas C. Craemer, Stony Brook University</i> Overview: Converse (1964) introduced the notion of range as a measure for complexity of belief systems. Assuming that it is cognitively more taxing to hold complex belief systems than simple ones, simple systems should always prevail. Contradicting this assumption, an evolutionary null model is developed that predicts increasing complexity by pure chance. The functional form of increase is nonlinear and lends itself to the development of statistical estimators for complexity data of any kind.		<i>David C. Barker, University of Pittsburgh</i> <i>Adam B. Lawrence, University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: This paper examines media favoritism toward John McCain in the 2000 nomination campaign, and its consequences on voter candidate evaluations. Using content analysis we determine that the bias was considerable, and survey data analysis provides compelling evidence that it affected voter evaluations.
Disc.	William G. Jacoby, Michigan State University	Paper	<u>Will the Real Actor Please Stand Up? The Role of the Media in Predisposing the October 7 California Recall Election</u> <i>Michael W. Wiley, State Bar of Texas</i> Overview: The recall election in California underscores the power of the national media to sway political behavior and belief in state politics. Though a "local" event, the national media used this electoral event to not only predispose the outcome of the recall of Gov. Gray Davis, but flexed its muscle in rendering its preference and, ultimately, the next governor of that State. The problem confronting the local electors subsequent to their collective seduction is the harsh reality that their vote was driven by sound bites and not their conscience. While numerous papers document the power of the media to influence voter opinion, few examine the hindsight of the voter. My paper will demonstrate that the undue and overpowering intrusion by the national media into local politics leave nothing but upheaval in its wake and are, in fact, counter to the sentiment of the electorate.
13-9	<u>PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES</u>	Paper	<u>Politics of Sight and Sound: Appeals in Iowa Caucus Ads for 2004</u> <i>John S. Nelson, University of Iowa</i> <i>Anna L. Nelson, Harvard University</i> Overview: What politics surface in telespots? Issue positions fit the Left-Right spectrum but feature words and ignore the sights and sounds that make spots potent. Ads reach beyond ideologies (liberalism, conservatism, socialism) to movements (feminism, environmentalism) and styles (democratism, populism, republicanism). The essay analyzes sights, sounds, and words to measure how these politics appear in spots. Focusing on the 2004 Iowa caucuses, it targets popular genres, speech acts, voices, and other ad properties beyond issue positions.
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30		
Chair	Marc Hetherington, Bowdoin College	Paper	<u>Priming Political Reactions in a Primary Debate</u> <i>Andrew Paul Williams, University of Florida</i> <i>Justin D. Martin, University of Florida</i> <i>Kaye D. Trammell, University of Florida</i> <i>Lynda Lee Kaid, University of Florida</i> Overview: This current study aims to measure the effects of the October 9, 2003 televised Democratic primary debate. Broadcast on CNN during prime time hours, this national political event is even more of a spectacle than the average face off, as it had 9 candidates vying for both media and public attention. In order to measure the effects of the debate on vote intention and potential political participation, researchers used a pre-posttest experimental design with respondents at a major south eastern university.
Paper	<u>Uncertainty and Public Confidence in Governmental Institutions during and after the Clinton Impeachment Trial</u> <i>Stephen P. Nicholson, Georgia State University</i> <i>Robert M. Howard, Georgia State University</i> <i>Gary T. Henry, Georgia State University</i> Overview: We examine the determinants of public confidence in governmental institutions during and after the impeachment of President Clinton. We investigate whether the foundations of support vary across institutions and political time. Since impeachment represents an adversarial process, we expect that the ingredients of confidence in these institutions will differ.	Paper	<u>How Campaigns Matter: The Relative Impacts of Television Advertising, Candidate Appearances and News Coverage in the 2004 Presidential Nomination Race</u> <i>Travis N. Ridout, Washington State University</i> Overview: This paper addresses the question of how campaigns matter by examining the relative impacts of television advertising, candidate appearances and news coverage on both voter knowledge and favorability toward candidates. The context for my investigation is the 2004 Democratic presidential nomination campaign.
Paper	<u>The Supreme Court and Public Opinion: The Impact of Information on Confidence in the Court</u> <i>Craig P. Cummings, Columbia University</i> <i>Robert Y. Shapiro, Columbia University</i> Overview: Existing research shows that the public knows the least about the Supreme Court, but affords the Court more favorable ratings than it does to the legislative and executive branches. This paper examines the effects of increased information about the Supreme Court on public confidence in the Court. More specifically, the paper seeks to understand how public confidence in the Court changes after respondents are presented with information about multiple and still binding Court decisions on salient issues.	Disc.	Michael G. Hagen, Rutgers University
Paper	<u>Better Radar for Stealth Democracy: Explaining Paradoxical Public Attitudes toward Political Processes</u> <i>Neil E. Carlson, Duke University</i> Overview: A reanalysis of the data from Hibbing and Theiss-Morse's book <i>Stealth Democracy</i> (2002) with heteroskedastic choice methods introduced by Alvarez and Brehm in <i>Hard Choices, Easy Answers</i> (2002). Expressions of support for direct-democracy reforms are expected to exhibit signs of ambivalence, with with increased levels of political information and contradictory policy and partisan preferences causing higher levels of error variance.	15-201	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE RUNNING WOMEN: GENDER AND CHALLENGER QUALITY, 1972-2000</u>
Paper	<u>Attitudes Toward the News Media and the Formation of Public Opinion</u> <i>Jonathan Ladd, Princeton University</i> Overview: This paper examines the impact of negative public attitudes towards the press on the news media's ability to influence public opinion. Its main finding is that attitudes toward the press are strongly related to which particular news source people choose to be exposed to. People with negative attitudes towards the news media are more likely to utilize alternative sources of news such as talk radio. The implications of this for public opinion formation are analyzed and discussed.	Room	TBA, TABLE 4, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30
Disc.	Paul R. Abramson, Michigan State University		
14-6	<u>THE MASS MEDIA & CAMPAIGNS IN THE UNITED STATES</u>		
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30		
Chair	Francis Neeley		

Inf. Rnd. The Running Women: Gender and Challenger Quality, 1972-2000

Costas Panagopoulos, *New York University*

Overview: Challenger quality is a powerful predictor of electoral outcomes. While scholars have debated how to measure quality, few studies have examined the dynamics of aggregate challenger quality over time. This study explores challenger quality in races for the U.S. House between 1972-2000 and investigates, specifically, whether or not we observe gender differences in the dynamics of aggregate challenger quality over this period.

15-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: WOMEN AND MOBILIZATION IN LATIN AMERICA: ANALYZING THE DIFFUSION OF GENDER QUOTAS

Room TBA, TABLE 5, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30

Inf. Rnd. Women and Mobilization in Latin America: Analyzing the Diffusion of Gender

Adriana M. Patti-Cocker, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: The proposed paper will describe and explain the diffusion of gender quota legislation -originally adopted for candidates in Argentine congressional elections- to ten other Latin American countries. The paper will focus on international and regional conferences and international and regional organizations that were key in disseminating the Argentine experience. The proposed paper will also include interviews and a survey conducted by the paper's author to better explain the diffusion process, and original documentation of the conferences where the Argentine experience was discussed.

15-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LEGISLATIVE PROFESSIONALISM AND WOMEN LEGISLATORS

Room TBA, TABLE 6, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30

Inf. Rnd. Legislative Professionalism and Women Legislators

Adrian J. Hemond, *Michigan State University*

Overview: The paper explores the relationship between legislative professionalism and the representation of women in the American states, with the expectation that the component parts of professionalism indices used by previous researchers may have differing effects on level of women's representation, and that such effects take at least one electoral cycle to take hold.

16-4 MOBILIZING THE VOTE: NEW RESEARCH ON RACE AND ETHNICITY

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30

Chair **Gary Segura**, *University of Iowa*

Paper Do Co-Ethnic Candidates Change the Stakes for Latino and Asian Voters? Estimating Voter Turnout in 2002

Matt A. Barreto, *University of California, Irvine*

Natalie Masuoka, *University of California, Irvine*

Overview: Using County Registrar records, this paper examines Latino and Asian voting patterns to determine what impact Latino and Asian candidates for office have on minority turnout. Employing individual level data for more than 5 million registered voters in Southern California, we estimate probit regression models for voter turnout in the November 2002 election. We find both Latinos and Asians are more likely to vote in jurisdictions where more co-ethnic candidates are on the ballot.

Paper Mobilizing Minorities Using Partisan Propaganda

Melissa R. Michelson, *California State University, Fresno*

Overview: This paper examines a field experiment in voter mobilization, focusing on young (age 18-25) voters in Fresno, CA participating in the special gubernatorial election of October 7, 2003. The experiment tests whether partisan or non-partisan messages are more effective at increasing participation, and whether this varies between Latinos and non-Latinos.

Paper Latino Political Participation: Group Mobilization and Survey Reliability

David L. Leal, *University of Texas at Austin*

Jerry L. Polinard, *University of Texas at Pan American*

Robert W. Wrinkle, *University of Texas at Pan American*

Overview: This paper uses a new survey of 1,000 Latino respondents in Texas to better understand the political mobilization of this electorate. Specifically, we are interested in the role of churches, faith-based organizing groups, and Latino advocacy organizations in promoting electoral and non-electoral participation. In addition, we test whether new types of question wording can reduce the over-reporting of both electoral and non-electoral participation.

Paper The Effects of Skin Color on African Americans' Political Participation

Jennifer L. Hochschild, *Harvard University*

Traci Burch, *Harvard University*

Vesla Weaver, *Harvard University*

Overview: We use 5 public opinion surveys, from 1962 to 1994, to examine the effects of skin color on African Americans' political participation. Lighter-skinned blacks have higher SES; we will explore whether they also are more politically engaged and effective, or whether political dynamics differ substantially from social and economic dynamics. We will also examine whether the effects of skin color change over time.

Disc. **Gary Segura**, *University of Iowa*

16-12 THEORY AND PRAXIS IN MINORITY POLITICS

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30

Chair **Larry M. Preston**, *Union Institute & University*

Paper Applying Social Capital Theory in Latino Communities: Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

Lisa Garcia Bedolla, *University of California, Irvine*

Becki Scola, *University of California, Irvine*

Overview: This paper surveys the literature on social capital in order to see how to best apply it to Latino communities. From this theoretical standpoint, it then looks at the best methodological approaches for operationalizing this concept within Latino communities.

Paper Disillusionment with American Liberalism and Support for Black Nationalism

Elmer R. Block, *Ohio State University*

Overview: This project examines the idea that disillusionment with American liberalism influences support for Black nationalism. Preliminary results using the 1993-94 National Black Politics Survey suggest that disillusionment with American liberalism and support for Black nationalism are mutually-reinforcing sentiments: On the one hand, disillusionment might fuel Black nationalism's popularity. On the other hand, nationalistic socialization might possibly contribute to the development of disillusionment among Blacks.

Paper Reconsidering the Deaf Community as a Cultural Minority Under the Framework of International Law

Maya Sabatello, *University of Southern California*

Overview: The paper addresses trends embracing the Deaf community as an ethnic/ linguistic minority group under international law and their arguable corollary rights, particularly regarding educational and medical decisions concerning deaf children. Taking a human rights perspective, it examines the tension between deaf children and the Deaf community's identity, and advocates for the development of an independent linguistic right for deaf children.

Paper Representation of the Politically Vulnerable: A Class-Based Analysis of African American Political Representation

Catherine Paden, *Northwestern University*

Overview: This paper examines the factors that contributed to civil rights organizations' decisions to advocate on behalf of welfare recipients. I analyze CORE's, NAACP's, NUL's, and SNCC's activities concerning the Economic Opportunity Act in 1964, and the SCLC's response to the EOA Amendments in 1967. A comparison of the incentives responsible for this

	representation demonstrates the importance of organizational structure and inter-group competition in an organization's decision to prioritize the representation of the poor.				
Paper	<u>Institutionalized Violence and the Issue of Race in America's History</u> Sherrow O. Pinder , <i>Marymount Manhattan College</i> Overview: I examine institutionalized violence and race in America's history. I focus specifically on the violent history of Ku Klux Klan (KKK). I argue that the terroristic history of the KKK was a form of violence, which was institutionalized and thus, was supported by the state and local police. I conclude by showing that in many cases institutionalized violence is not easily recognized, especially when it is practiced within the legal bounds of the system, i.e. police officers beating, shooting and killing many Blacks in the U.S.			Paper	<u>Oakeshott's Dilemma: An Ideology for Gentlemen</u> Steven J. Wulf , <i>Lawrence University</i> Overview: Michael Oakeshott developed a philosophical defense of a genteel political order and way of life. Because this ideal segregates philosophy from political activity, Oakeshott needed to find a way to advance his vision of the good life in a good society without engaging in propaganda. His writings on education represent an uncertain solution, intimating a cultural (rather than political) remedy for collectivist tyranny and war.
Disc.	Larry M. Preston , <i>Union Institute & University</i>			Paper	<u>Vastness Beyond Sensing: The Role of the Sublime in the Political Thought of Edmund Burke</u> Steven P. Millies , <i>University of South Carolina - Aiken</i> Overview: A re-evaluation of the works of Edmund Burke is underway since the end of the Cold War. This effort seeks to understand Burke not as a conservative, but in his own terms. One term that recurs frequently in Burke's writing is "sublime," a term that should provoke great interest in Burke's readers. Following the work of Stephen K. White, this paper will seek to follow the sublime through Burke's work and understand Burke with reference to sublimity.
17-10 Room Chair Paper	<u>HOBBS, LOCKE, AND RELIGION</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30 Russell Hanson , <i>Indiana University</i> <u>Liberal Democratic Theory and Religion: Are They Compatible?</u> Seth B. Benjamin , <i>Japan Local Government Center</i> Overview: Hobbes is often credited with being the foremost exponent of liberal democratic theory. It is the case also that his theoretical formulation is most clearly represented by the separation of religion from the state. Yet, his works are permeated with religious consideration. How can this be? This paper explores the question that in truth liberal democratic theory assumes a religious foundation.			Paper	<u>Terror and the Sublime: The Impact of Burke's Aesthetics on His Political Thought</u> Chris Stangl , <i>University of Wisconsin - Madison</i> Overview: I seek to examine the aesthetic perspective of Edmund Burke, as revealed in his <i>Philosophical Enquiry Into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful</i> . Then, applying this aesthetic perspective, I claim that the claims made in his <i>Reflections on the Revolution in France</i> feature a level strategic calculation. I seek to explain the conscious shift in Burke's thought and resolve the apparent inconsistencies in his thought.
Paper	<u>Do Reason and Revelation Agree? Reading Locke in the Light of Las Casas</u> Paul J. Cornish , <i>Grand Valley State University</i> Overview: The presentation is a contrast between the treatment of greed in Bartolome de las Casas descriptions of the Spanish conquest in the New World during the early 16th century, with John Locke's casual approval of the "heaping up" of money in the Second Treatise (ss46). The paper concludes that contemporary interpretations that stress the continuity of Locke's philosophy with medieval Christian theology and medieval natural law philosophy are problematic in the light of Locke's implicit rejection of the orthodox view of the effects of original sin.			Disc.	Steven A. Gerencser , <i>Indiana University- South Bend</i>
				19-13	<u>QUESTIONING THE APPLICABILITY OF THE NATURAL SCIENCE MODEL TO POLITICAL SCIENCE</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30 Stephen K. White , <i>University of Virginia</i> <u>Bringing the Social Back into Social Science: Lessons from Max Weber</u> Patrick T. Jackson , <i>American University</i> Overview: Recent debates in Political Science about the epistemological, ontological, and methodological character of research into social phenomena have tended to devolve into struggles between partisans of two positions: the neopositivist Scientists, who argue that formal and quantitative techniques are necessary to the production of valid social knowledge, and the Anti-Scientists, who argue that the very quest to produce "valid social knowledge" is seriously flawed and should be replaced by a more explicitly political research endeavor. In this paper I will stake out, explore, and defend a third position: systematic, valid social knowledge can be produced without the use of formal and quantitative techniques, but this knowledge is still logically distinct from purely partisan politics. My reference-point for this position will be the often-misunderstood methodological reflections and prescriptions of Max Weber, who sought to articulate a similar stance a century ago. I will argue that a properly Weberian stance on the question of "social science" requires a distinction between "methodology" (the philosophical logic of research) and "method" (specific techniques of data acquisition and data manipulation), and also requires an abandonment of the "view from nowhere" that constitutes the governing ideal of neopositivist Science in favor of a more restricted and delimited understanding of "objectivity." I will also suggest ways that this Weberian stance provides a way beyond the current debates by opening disciplinary discursive space for a variety of research traditions.
Paper	<u>Boundaries Civil and Ecclesiastical: The Values and Principles Underlying the Separation of Church and State in the Formation of Classical Liberalism</u> Diana M. Judd , <i>Rutgers University</i> Overview: John Locke and Thomas Hobbes saw eye to eye when it came to the superiority of the state over the church for the promotion of the public good. This paper outlines and evaluates the role of religion in the state in both Hobbesian and Lockean thought, and relates it to current issues surrounding the role of religion not only in the formation of the American state, but also in terms of current challenges facing a post-September 11th United States.			Room Chair Paper	<u>The Natural Science Model in American Political Science: When Is It Natural, Why Is It Science, and Why Is It a Model?</u> Timothy W. Luke , <i>Virginia Polytechnic Institute</i> Overview: In the spirit of contemporary science studies, as they might be represented by Andrew Pickering, Karin Knorr Cetina,
Disc.	Scott Yenor , <i>Boise State University</i>				
18-6 Room Chair Paper	<u>TENSIONS IN CONSERVATIVE THOUGHT</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30 John F. Sitton , <i>Indiana University of Pennsylvania</i> <u>Solidarity, Friendship, and Practical Reason: Gadamer's Hopeful Politics</u> Darren R. Walhof , <i>Grand Valley State University</i> Overview: Gadamer has long been criticized for the inherent conservative bent to his thought, but some of his writings explicitly defend leftist positions. In this paper, I explore this contradiction, arguing that Gadamer's leftist politics are not at odds with, but rather flow from, his hermeneutical approach. I argue that the key to this lies in the interplay of solidarity, friendship, and practical reason in his later essays.			Paper	

Bruno Latour, John Law, or Michel Callon, this paper "follows the actors" into "the mangle of practices" to examine critically the extraordinary understanding of, as well as the high regard for, "the natural science model" in contemporary American political science. Many critiques have been made of this model, but it remains fairly well-entrenched in most subfields of the discipline. By looking at this issue from the perspectives of actor network theory, the social construction of knowledge, or the political economy of knowledge production, this paper explores how and why the natural science model continues to be accepted as natural, scientific, and a model, especially in the modern American research university. It makes these moves in order to point toward other understandings of how political scientists as actors might, and, in fact, do operate in many other different networks of knowledge production that do not perpetuate the mythologies of "model natural sciences" as the natural science model favored in the modern research university. It asks if, in fact, the same clusters of educational and scientific institutions, which have helped to create and sustain such model sciences, are themselves changing. And, since they do seem to be changing considerably, then American political scientists must rethink their disciplinary practices as they enter their second century as an organized professional-technical society of scholars.

Paper **Unearthing the Roots of Hard Science**

Gregory J. Kasza, *Indiana University*

Overview: Quantitative analysis, formal modeling, and other forms of hard science dominate the leading journals and research institutions of American political science today. To justify a hard scientific approach to the study of politics demands elaborate philosophical argument. In particular, it demands answers to three questions: What is the character of political life (the ontological question)? How and what can we know about politics (the epistemological question)? What purpose should political knowledge serve (the normative question)? Yet few of today's hard scientists offer sophisticated answers to these questions because one by-product of their hegemony in the discipline has been the banishment of political philosophy to the margins of the curriculum. Indeed, political philosophy has been the most distinguished victim of normal science. This paper offers graduate students a program by which to test the claims of hard science in a radical manner. It demonstrates how reflection on personal experience, the study of history, and the study of philosophy offer different ways of scrutinizing the ideology of hard science, and it explains why the author finds that each raises insurmountable objections to the hard-scientific project.

Paper **Why Natural Science Method Is Inappropriate for Political Science: The Problem of Self-Disconfirming Analysis**

Ido Oren, *University of Florida*

Overview: A critical examination of the applicability of the natural science model to political science.

Disc. **Dvora Yanow**, *University of California, Berkeley*

20-11 **GAME THEORETIC MODELS OF POLITICAL PROCESSES AND OUTCOMES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30

Chair **Natasha Zharinova**, *Princeton University*

Paper **Kleisthenes and the Ascent of Democracy**

Krishna K. Ladha, *New York University*

Overview: Based on Athenian history, this paper presents a dynamic game of complete information that Kleisthenes of Athens faced in 508 BCE. The innovative solution to the game is a new system of government called democracy, which offered stability against both internal uprising and external aggression. Thus, democracy in this paper emerges not just as a compromise between Athenian hoplites and nobility, but also as a system of government that could survive against Spartan invasion.

Paper **The Terrorism of the Deed: Terror as a Tool for Mobilization**

Eric Dickson, *New York University*

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

Overview: We develop a strategic model of terrorism as a tool for mobilization. Briefly, political extremists may sometimes commit acts of terrorism in order to provoke an opposing government into responses that will affect the host public's beliefs about the government's type (i.e., its preferences over political settlements), and therefore affect the host public's willingness to mobilize for mass political action. We analyze various comparative statics of the model's equilibria and demonstrate their empirical plausibility.

Paper **Pre-Negotiation Public Commitment in Domestic and International Bargaining**

Bahar Leventoglu, *Stony Brook University*

Ahmer Tarar, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: We develop a formal bargaining model to examine why, in many domestic and international bargaining situations, one or both negotiators may find themselves making public commitments to some policy or benefit which it would be costly to back down from. When only one negotiator can make such a public commitment, it enhances her bargaining position. However, when both negotiators can make public commitments, a prisoner's dilemma is created in which both sides make high public demands which can't both be satisfied and both would be better off if they could commit to not making demands. However, making a public demand is a dominant strategy for each negotiator, and this leads to a suboptimal outcome. Escaping this prisoner's dilemma provides a rationale for secret negotiations.

Paper **A Model of Adversarial Committees**

Jaehoon Kim, *University of Rochester*

Overview: We generalize the Condorcet Jury Theorem to an environment with private information and private values. We show that, in equilibrium under unanimity rule, the probability of making a wrong choice for one type of voters has either a lower bound or an upper bound depending on which type has the larger expected fraction in the population.

Disc. **Natasha Zharinova**, *Princeton University*

21-9 **MMM...SOMETHING: HIGH-TECH POTPOURRI**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30

Chair **Christopher Zorn**, *National Science Foundation*

Paper **Applying Beta Maximum Likelihood Estimation to Censored Proportion Data**

Hyo Bin Im, *University of Texas at Austin*

Overview: This paper addresses that the maximum likelihood estimation of censored proportion data such as the voteshare of extremist right-wing parties using the censored beta distribution may provide more accurate and more precise statistical results than OLS or Tobit estimation using the normal distribution.

Paper **Is Bayesian Analysis Superior? A Benchmark Comparison of Regression and Bayesian Analysis on Incomplete State-level Data**

Scott Granberg-Rademacker, *University of Southern Indiana*

Overview: The question addressed in this paper is whether or not Monte Carlo Markov Chain (MCMC) Bayesian analysis does a superior job of assessing probable parameters when compared to standard Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) given state-level data with a significant amount of missing data.

Paper **How to Count Parties: Estimation of Models with Effective Number of Parties as Dependent Variables**

Won-ho Park, *University of Michigan*

Overview: The effective number of parties is one of the most often used aggregate quantities to describe partisan configurations, and has extensively been used in the comparative political party literature. More importantly, researchers have tried to explain the effective number of parties and include it in statistical models as dependent variables. The usual practice to estimate such models has been to assume normality, although the distribution is obviously non-normal, with a lower bound at unity and is severely asymmetric. I derive the distribution of the effective number of parties and develop a maximum likelihood model that corrects the problem in the existing literature. Monte-Carlo simulation results and re-

	estimation of results from Cox (1997, Making Votes Count) are also provided.				the administrative presidency strategy is incomplete without an account of strategic delegation.
Paper	<u>Unemployment and Violence in Northern Ireland: A Missing Data Model for Ecological Inference</u> James Honaker , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: Time-series models of "the troubles" in Northern Ireland have found no evidence that economic conditions effect the intensity of violence. I examine methodological flaws of previous models, key of which is that all measures aggregate Protestant and Catholic unemployment rates. Using a model that combines Multiple Imputation to recover missing data with Ecological Inference I show how to estimate the disaggregated unemployment rates, which are shown to be a leading cause of the violence.		Disc.	James D. King , <i>University of Wyoming</i>	
23-7	<u>THE FIGHT FOR BUREAUCRATIC CONTROL</u> PDR 7, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30		23-8	<u>REFORMING THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION PROCESS</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30	
Room	Joel D. Aberbach , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i>		Room	Clifford W. Brown , <i>Union College</i>	
Chair	<u>Presidential Popularity and Congressional Control of the Bureaucracy: The Clinton Administration and the Contract with America</u>		Chair	<u>Selecting the Second: Vice-presidential Selection, Old and New</u>	
Paper	David Hedge , <i>University of Florida</i> Renee Johnson , <i>University of Florida</i> Jeff Gill , <i>University of Florida</i> Overview: Our paper looks at congressional control of the bureaucracy during the Clinton administration. Quarterly enforcement data from two regulatory agencies OSHA and the NRA - are used to examine how presidential standing conditioned the ability of congressional Republicans to reduce the rate of federal regulation following the 1994 election.		Paper	Jody Baumgartner , <i>East Carolina University</i> Overview: In this essay I examine vice-presidential selection, first by expanding on a data set produced in the early 1980s detailing the characteristics of vice-presidential candidates from roughly 1936 through 1980. After adding a few categories, I fill this data set out to include all of the major vice-presidential candidates throughout the history of the Republic. I then examine the data in an attempt to discover what (if anything) and how the process of vice-presidential selection has changed in the modern era.	
Paper	<u>Latino/Latina Political Appointees and the Policymaking Process: An Examination of the Characteristics, Career Paths and Impact on Executive Decision making of the Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, Bush and Clinton Administration Appointees</u> Frances Marquez , <i>Claremont Graduate University</i> Overview: This paper examines the impact of Latino/Latina federal appointees in the Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Carter, Reagan, Bush and Clinton Administrations. Key characteristics; career paths; and influence on policymaking will be analyzed using in-depth interviews and statistical analysis. Fifty Latino appointees from the Cabinet level (Presidential Appointee with Senate Confirmation-PAS) to the Schedule C levels will be interviewed to assess policy proposals and success.		Paper	<u>Will Congress Ever Reform the Alma Mater of Presidents? A Study of the Systematic Biases Affecting Congressional Voting on Electoral College Reform</u> Mark J. McKenzie , <i>University of Texas at Austin</i> Overview: A number of politicians, such as Hilary Clinton, promised to push for Electoral College Reform after 2000. Yet, only a few years out from the Bush v. Gore debacle, the subject of reform has virtually disappeared. This is not surprising given the history of reform attempts in Congress. This paper examines the biases affecting votes on constitutional amendments on the Electoral College in congress.	
Paper	<u>The Confirmation of Subcabinet Officials 1968-2000: Presidential and Senatorial Strategic Considerations</u> Kevin J. Parsneau , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: This study looks at the institutional and political factors that shape presidential and senatorial strategies during the confirmation of subcabinet officials. It focuses on opposition senators' use of the confirmation power to oppose presidents. It builds on past works that have examined the length of time between nomination and floor vote by examining presidential considerations prior to nominations as well as senatorial actions in hearing.		Paper	<u>Founding Follies: The Creation of the Presidency Reconsidered</u> Peter Schultz , <i>Assumption College</i> Overview: My paper will reconsider the creation of the presidency with a critical eye to the efforts of the Framers to create an institution that was both energetic and safe.	
Paper	<u>What determines how long political appointees serve?</u> B. Dan Wood , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This study explores the determinants of terminations and durations of political appointees from 1981-2003. Using data from the Office of Personnel Management, I show that appointee terminations have increased in frequency through time, and that the durations of political appointments have declined.		Paper	<u>Madisonian Majority Tyranny and the Electoral College: A New Defense for the Electoral College</u> Katherine Brandt , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: The Electoral College came under attack after the 2000 election, and must be reexamined in order to understand its purpose and its current usefulness. Although Madison defended minority rights mostly through the example of property rights being trampled in a democracy, his theory could now be used to defend the rights of racial groups, genders, sexualities, religious practices, etc.	
Paper	<u>Strategic Presidential Appointments</u> Tony Bertelli , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Eric Gonzalez Juenke , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: We empirically examine competing articulations--an ideological ally vs. a strategic delegation principle--of the administrative presidency strategy (Nathan 1983). Our data include appointee characteristics and preference estimates for legislators and presidents from 1932-1982. Results suggest that		Paper	<u>The Electoral Landscape and Near Absence of Presidential Election Reform</u> Gary Bugh , <i>University at Albany</i> Overview: Why has Congress not considered amending the presidential election system since the 2000 election? This paper explores the contribution that the electoral landscape makes to such efforts. Since the last time that a chamber of Congress voted on reforming the Electoral College, several electoral structures have changed. Today, the state of these structures may make calls to reform the national electoral system less persuasive than during the mid-twentieth century.	
			Disc.	Sean J. Savage , <i>Saint Mary's College</i>	
			26-301	<u>POSTER SESSION: JUDICIAL POLITICS</u>	
			Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30	
			Poster	<u>A Descriptive Analysis of the U.S. Supreme Court's IFP Docket</u> Wendy L. Watson , <i>The Ohio State University</i> Overview: This paper examines a sample of the unpaid petitions for review filed with the U.S. Supreme Court from the 1976 through 1985 terms and compares them to a similar sample of paid petitions. In addition to a general descriptive analysis of the IFP docket, this study also examines more closely whether certain groups of litigants and certain issue areas are disproportionately or exclusively represented on the IFP docket.	

Poster	<p><u>What About Unanimous Decisions: A Study of the Correlates of Unanimous Decisions on the Supreme Court</u> Kerry M. Krienitz, <i>University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee</i> Overview: This paper will provide a systematic analysis of the unanimous decisions on the Supreme Court that will be similar to those conducted on split-vote decisions. It will begin with a review of the relevant literature and a discussion of the current models of decision-making. It will provide a discussion of the methodology and a presentation of the results and their implications. The study will employ logit analysis in which the Court decision will serve as the dependent variable. The analysis will also include variables common to the Attitudinal Model, the legal model, and measures of public opinion. The model will then be able to provide an evaluation of the ability of each decision-making theory to predict the occurrence of a unanimous decision. I hope that an examination of the unanimous decision will provide a significant contribution to the current body of knowledge concerning decision-making at the Supreme Court level.</p>	limits argue that term limits will lower government spending by replacing career politicians with citizen-legislators who are more likely to favor a more limited government. Using fiscal data from 48 states from 1977 to 2001, this paper finds that term limits lead to an increase in expenditures per capita.
Disc.	<p>Steve Van Winkle, <i>University of Wyoming</i></p>	<p>Paper <u>A Quarter-Century of (data on) Corruption in the American States</u> Richard F. Winters, <i>Dartmouth College</i> Amanda Maxwell Overview: We update previous analyses of the numbers of statewide convictions of elected officials as a measure of political corruption. Our replication of Meier and Holbrooke (1992) suggests that few of their factors remain as relevant predictors. We focus on an alternative four factor, seven-variable model of corruption (the civic well-informed political culture, size of state, social diversity, and the size of the relevant 'corruptible' constituencies) that accounts for 76% of the variance in the number of corruption convictions per 100 elected officials.</p>
27-301	<p>Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30 Poster <u>The Are of Justice: An Examination of the United States Court Building as a Mode of Political Expression</u> Erin M. Kriynovich, <i>College of Wooster</i> Overview: This project is an examination of the architectural style of the Supreme Court building and the political situation of the Court and the country during the late 1920's and early 1930's. By studying the design and building process of the Court, I will determine whether the conservative, neoclassical style of the Supreme Court indicates a disconnect between the socio-political values of the Supreme Court and its patrons and those of mainstream America at the time of its construction.</p>	<p>Disc. Jeffrey Karp, <i>Texas Tech University</i></p>
Poster	<p><u>Midwestern State Constitutions: A Comparative Analysis</u> Jonathan P. Euchner, <i>Missouri Western State College</i> Overview: This paper seeks to examine substantive differences in the Constitutions of Midwestern States with particular emphasis on recent amendments, individual rights, and electoral processes.</p>	<p>28-16 <u>LEAVING NO CHILD BEHIND: EDUCATION POLICY IN THE STATES</u> Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30 Chair Melissa Marschall, <i>Rice University</i> Paper <u>State Compliance and the No Child Left Behind Act</u> Lisa J. Dotterweich, <i>Kent State University</i> Ramona S. McNeal, <i>Kent State University</i> Overview: The purpose of this research is to examine why some states have complied with the No Child Left Behind Act more extensively than others. We will examine the extent of compliance using multivariate statistical methods and Goggin et al.'s (1990) Communications Model for implementation of intergovernmental policy.</p>
28-7	<p><u>TERM LIMITS, LEGISLATIVE CAREERS AND CORRUPTION</u> Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30 Chair Christopher Mooney, <i>University of Illinois at Springfield</i> Paper <u>Legislating for the Short Run: Time Allocation and Information Gathering in Michigan's Term-Limited State House</u> Margaret Comins, <i>Wayne State University</i> Overview: For the past six years a group of scholars from Wayne State University studied the Michigan House of Representatives. They produced a unique data set that allows them to compare the way these three cohorts of representatives performed their jobs. The proposed paper will examine the changes wrought by term limits on the time legislators spend doing eleven different tasks.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Management, Control, and the Challenge of Leaving No Child Behind</u> Paul Manna, <i>College of William and Mary</i> Overview: I integrate scholarship on federalism, public management, and organizations to develop a management-oriented approach to the study of intergovernmental policy implementation. I apply my approach to the early implementation of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, the main U.S. federal law addressing K-12 education, and then contrast my approach with principal-agent orientations, which I argue are implicitly quite common in this area, but are limited for several substantively important reasons.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Testing the Effects of State Term Limits on Individual Members' Ambitions: Does Political Careerism Really Ever End?</u> Eric S. Heberlig, <i>University of North Carolina Charlotte</i> Suzanne Leland, <i>University of North Carolina, Charlotte</i> Overview: We compare the effects of political opportunity structures on the career paths of members of 6 state legislatures from 1990-2002. We use a quantitative comparative case study method to select states with varying levels of professionalism. Our time period allows us to compare career decisions in states before and after the institution of term limits as well as to states which have not instituted term limits.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Transforming Schools: Can Texas Schools Implement the No Child Left Behind Act (2001) in an Era of Scarce Resources?</u> Corliss Lentz, <i>Sam Houston State University</i> Overview: This paper provides an assessment of the difficulties of implementing expensive programs in an era of scarce resources. Texas cut its education appropriations in 2003. The findings will show that school administrators must act creatively and as instruments of change in order to provide the required results.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Term Limits and Economic Policy Choices: An Examination of U.S. State Spending</u> Helen A. Erler, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: This paper investigates the impact of legislative term limits on state government spending. Supporters of term</p>	<p>Disc. Kevin Smith, <i>University of Nebraska</i> Mark Cassell, <i>Kent State University</i></p>

29-101 ROUNDTABLE: POLITICS IN THE ENTERTAINMENT CITY

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30
Rndtbl. Terry N. Clark, *University of Chicago*
 Susan Fainstein
 Douglas Judd, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 John Mollenkopf
 Lily Hoffman
 Overview:

30-16 ADVOCACY COALITIONS AND NETWORKS II

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30
Chair Graham K. Wilson, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*
Paper Collaborative Policy: A View from the Grassroots
 Mark Lubell, *University of California, Davis*
 Overview: Tests explanations of farmer cooperation in the context of a collaborative watershed partnership.

Paper Conflict of Interests: A Theory of Policy Competition Between Organized Interests
 Matthew C. Fellowes, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*
 Overview: What explains why some lobbying organizations compete for policy while others do not? Using survey data on over 200 organizations I test a theory that organizations can minimize costly confrontations with policy opponents through internal decisions about lobbying strategies, policy entrepreneurship, budget emphasis, and alliance propensity. Nonetheless, small organizations are unable to achieve complete control over the level of lobbying competition they encounter because of the incentive large organizations have to burden the policy agendas of small organizations.

Paper Divisions Within and Between Advocacy Coalitions: A Network Analysis of the California Marine Protected Areas Policy Subsystem
 Christopher M. Weible, *University of California, Davis*
 Overview: The Advocacy Coalition Framework structures the analysis of policy disputes by grouping stakeholders into competing coalitions based on shared beliefs and coordinated activities. This paper uses interview and survey data of the process to establish Marine Protected Areas in California to conduct a network analysis among stakeholder groups based on the logic of the ACF. These results suggest that creating coalitions based only on beliefs over-simplifies the interaction among stakeholders and provides a distorted lens for viewing policy disputes.

Paper Border Water and Sanitation Policy Networks
 Daniel M. Sabet, *Indiana University*
 Overview: This study compares policy networks that have developed to address problems of water and sanitation in the Mexican border communities of Ciudad Juarez and Tijuana. The study looks for descriptive differences in the two networks and controlling for structural, cultural, and institutional variables, seeks to determine (1) how human agency variables affect network development and (2) how differences in networks affect the way in which water and sanitation issues are addressed.

Disc. Amy L. Lovecraft, *University of Alaska Fairbanks*

30-101 ROUNDTABLE: PRIVATIZING THE PUBLIC SERVICE: HOW FAR CAN THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION GO? (Co-sponsored with Public Administration, see 31-103)

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30
Chairs Paul J. Culhane, *Northern Illinois University*
 Robert Maranto, *Villanova University*
Rndtbl. E. S. Savas, *Baruch College, CUNY*
 Terry Moe, *Stanford University*
 Irene Rubin, *Northern Illinois University*
 Donald F. Kettl, *University of Wisconsin*
 Kenneth J. Meier, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: : Following a decade of "reinvention" programs, the Bush Administration has proposed to increase privatization of the federal civil service Former HUD Assistant Secretary E.S. Savas (*Privatization and Public-Private Partnerships*) and recent Herbert Simon Award winner Terry Moe (*Schools, Vouchers, and the American Public*) debate the theory and empirical prospects of this scheme with another recent Simon Award winner, Ken Meier (*Reinventing the Presidency*), Brookings scholar Don Kettl (*The Transformation of Governance*), and Aaron Wildavsky Award winner Irene Rubin (*Balancing the Federal Budget: Eating the Seed Corn or Trimming the Herds?*).

31-6 REGO REDUX

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30
Chair Steve Condrey, *University of Georgia*
Paper Disparate Measures: Public Managers and the Use of Multiple Performance Measures
 Nick A. Theobald, *Texas A&M University*
 Sean Nicholson-Crotty, *Texas A&M University*
 Jill Nicholson-Crotty, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: We argue in this essay that managers are often compelled to collect redundant measures of the same output, each of which may satisfy a different political goal. We also suggest that the measure that managers choose to assess their own organization's performance can have serious consequences for both the estimation of agency problems and programmatic solutions offered for those problems. We test these assertions in an analysis of educational organizations in Texas.

Paper Public Administrative Governance: Balancing Efficiency In a Political Legal Environment
 Morris A. Taylor, *Southern Illinois University*
 Overview: The administrative state and public administration are firmly rooted in public law and not traditional management principles. As such, this paper argues that inefficiencies rooted in constitutional law, administrative law, and the political process itself will impede public organizational efficiency. Issues dealing with due process concerns, judicial review of administrative decisions, and administrator accountability concerns will be discussed that elucidate these "necessary" inefficiencies. Thus, rather than public organizations attempting to adopt "market like" attributes, it may be more reasonable to consider how the law and politics can be understood and used to change organizational structures and behaviors that may be more compatible with the legal/political environment.

Paper At the Regulatory Frontlines: Supervision, Control, and Accountability
 Robert S. Wood, *University of North Dakota*
 Overview: The idea that street-level bureaucrats – those workers at the front lines of service delivery – shape policy through their discretionary behavior is well established, yet there is still considerable debate over whether their discretion enhances or undermines

Paper Strategic Innovation in Human Resource Management: Meeting the Challenges of Globalization
 Ali Farazmand, *Florida Atlantic University*
 Overview: Based on the forthcoming books on Sound Governance and Strategic Public Personnel Administration, this paper addresses the imperative of innovations as capacity building in public human resource management. It outlines a number of key, strategic innovations to build and enhance capacity in public sector human resource management, with various approaches to engage and implement such innovations. Capacity to manage is central to public administration and governance in the age of globalization, and capacity building can be developed through innovations and creative approaches to the study and practice of human resource management in government and nonprofit organizations. As part of the paper, several best practices are also presented to serve as benchmarks in capacity building and development. capacity building and strategic innovation are central to sound governance and administration. Author: Ali Farazmand is Professor of Public Administration at Florida Atlantic University, where he teaches Public Personnel and Labor Relations, organization Theory and

	Behavior, Organizational Change and Public Management, Ethics, and Globalization. He is the author and editor of 19 books and handbooks, and over 80 refereed articles and books chapters, as well as the author of over 140 papers presented at national and international conferences.				
Paper	<u>Being Perfect: Bureaucracies and the Emergence of Total Quality Management</u> Kimberly A. Pelesz , <i>Binghamton University</i> Overview: The common theory beyond the development of the Total Quality Management structure is that it developed in contrast to the bureaucratic structure. Although the structure of this administrative style is the polarization of the bureaucratic form, the argument made here is that the failings of public sector hierarchies created the structure of the inverted triangle form Total Quality management promotes.				
Disc.	Louay Constant , <i>RAND</i> David R. Connelly , <i>Western Illinois University</i>				
32-2	<u>PRESIDENTS AND THE HISTORICAL DIMENSIONS OF POLITICAL TIME (Co-sponsored with Presidency and Executive Politics, see 23-13)</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30 Amy Burke , <i>Brandeis University</i> <u>"A Great and Mighty President, with...the Powers of a King": The Strange Story of Executive Leadership in the Pre-Civil War Presidents</u> Michael E. Bailey , <i>Berry College</i> Overview: Here I study the use of daring (i.e. prerogative) presidential leadership in the Pre-Civil war presidential administrations. In particular I look at what occasioned the use of strong presidential leadership, how such presidential activity was justified, and why, so often, strong presidential leadership was very dismissed as a legitimate possibility. This examination helps us better understand how the modern presidency is, in fact, a departure from earlier political understandings.				
Paper	<u>Ford in Time</u> Douglas J. Hoekstra , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: "Ford in Time" tests political time concepts in relation to how views of political time were developed within the Ford presidency. Archival materials are used to examine the ways in which Ford and his cohorts tried to understand their own post-Watergate period, as well as the struggle between advisors with rival views of Ford's era. The limits of political time approaches are discussed, as well as the need to include transaction and opportunity costs within analyses of how presidents come to understand their own times.				
Paper	<u>Assessing the Impact of Communications by "Pre-Modern" Presidents</u> Melvin C. Laracey , <i>University of Texas at San Antonio</i> Overview: Continuing the author's study of the evolution of the presidential practice of going public, this paper seeks to assess the impact of some presidential communications in the nineteenth century. The paper examines how political communications that appeared in presidentially-sponsored newspapers were understood by opposition newspapers of the time.				
Paper	<u>Challenge and Response: Skowronek's Presidential Regime Theory Revisited</u> Curtis W. Nichols , <i>Georgia State University</i> Daniel P. Franklin , <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: We propose to build upon the work of Stephen Skowronek and create a more dynamic model of the cycles of presidential history by incorporating the concept of regime change as both a cause and effect of presidential action. Using Toynbee's formulation of challenge and response we link presidential regime building with the advancement and enshrinement of presidential power structures, and better associate recent events with a process of an evolving presidency.				
Disc.	Matthew Dickinson , <i>Middlebury College</i> Scott James , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i>				
33-4	<u>POPULAR CULTURE AND POLITICS</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30 Katina R. Stapleton , <i>Syracuse University</i> <u>Ghosts of the Future: Collective Nostalgia and the Kennedys</u> Joshua A. Compton , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Miglena Daradanova , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Tiffany Mindt , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Terry Moellinger , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Jill A. Edy , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: Political nostalgia is both a psychological state and a social phenomenon that can emerge in mass communication. John F. Kennedy, Jr.'s death evoked from the news media a nostalgic gaze toward the lost legacy of the Kennedys and in the process revealed reporters' longings for a political culture that never existed. This study explores how the interplay between nostalgia for the "Camelot" past and cynicism about the political present reveal journalists' ideals for political culture.				
Paper	<u>Constructing Memory through Film: Comparing Political Culture in Spain, Russia, and Argentina</u> Anne W. Hamilton , <i>University of Wisconsin-Whitewater</i> Overview: This paper compares the ways in which films produced in Argentina, Spain, and Russia have contributed to the construction of the memory of repression and the implications of this memory for political developments in those countries.				
Paper	<u>The Politics of Public Art in Zoos</u> Erik K. Trump , <i>Saginaw Valley State University</i> Jesse C. Donahue , <i>Saginaw Valley State University</i> Overview: America's public zoos contain significant collections of public art that serve several political purposes. It provides visual evidence of animals' cultural importance, it sidesteps animal welfare issues, it helps the zoo meet ADA requirements, it raises money from the public and private sectors, and occasionally it challenges visitors with environmental messages. Yet, memorials to individual animals and animal-created art also provide ammunition to zoos' political opponents in the animal rights movement.				
Paper	<u>The Only Good Injun is a Dead Injun: The Cinematic Western and Presidential Rhetoric During War Time</u> G.L. Tyler , <i>University of Colorado at Boulder</i> Overview: Examines Presidential rhetoric of Teddy Roosevelt, Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush during war/conflict and its synthesis with the cinematic/literature Western to discount the Other. How this rhetoric solidifies itself into cultural symbolism further discounting the Other in times of relative peace.				
Disc.	Katina R. Stapleton , <i>Syracuse University</i>				
36-5	<u>PHILOSOPHY, EDUCATION, AND CITIZENSHIP</u> CLARK 3, TBA FLOOR, SAT 1:30 Edward W. Clayton , <i>Central Michigan University</i> <u>The Role of Shame in Plato's Dialogues: Understanding Platonic Philosophy Through the Lens of Aristotle's Rhetoric</u> Marlene K. Sokolon , <i>West Texas A&M University</i> Overview: In this paper, I explore the role of shame in Plato's understanding of the confrontation between a philosopher and the customs and laws of a political system. Using Aristotle's detailed examination of shame in the Rhetoric, I analyze the role of shame in constraining truth in both the Crito and Gorgias. We discover that those interested in truth are not only unconstrained by conventional shame, but are the city's true friend.				
Paper	<u>Well-Spoken: Parrhesia, Rhetoric, and Socrates</u> Elizabeth K. Markovits , <i>University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill</i> Overview: In ancient Athens, the ethic of parrhesia (frank-speech) was meant protect the democracy from deceptive oratory. Parrhesia was thought of as speech without rhetorical ornamentation that disclosed exactly and fully what the speaker had in mind. While Socrates has often been presented as the Athenian who best fulfills this ethic, this paper argues that Socrates, through his ironic practices, instead treats parrhesia as				

a rhetorical topos, drawing attention to the rhetorical quality of all speech.

Paper **Plato's Non-political Solution to the Political Problem: A Look at the Cave Image in Republic VII**

Evanthia Speliotis, *Bellarmino University*

Overview: Socrates' image of the cave (Republic VII.514a-521b) presents citizens as chained to laws and opinions. One solution to this grim darkness is that an enlightened individual return to the cave and rule in the light of truth. Such a solution, however, perpetuates the chains. The only real solution is to free the citizens from their chains. This can only be done privately, however, through a Socratic-style elenchus. And, once done, it threatens the unity of the city.

Paper **Socrates and the Politics of Ethical Individuality**

Ross E. Swartwout, *University of Massachusetts - Amherst*

Overview: This paper presents the philosophical project of the early Socratic dialogues as unified whole, reconciling tensions found between The Apology and The Crito. Moreover, this paper asserts that the Socratic project was also democratic in its nature. Rather than a call to avoid politics, the Socratic project was profoundly pro-Athenian and respected for laws of Athens. The individualism called for is not a withdrawal from politics but rather a rejuvenation of the individual and a realization of the true political capacity of the citizen.

Disc. **Edward W. Clayton**, *Central Michigan University*
Patrick Peritore, *University of Missouri*

Saturday, April 17 – 3:30 pm – 5:15 pm

1-105 ROUNDTABLE: BROWN AT 50 (Co-sponsored with Public Law, see 27-103)

Room PDR 9, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Chair Barry E. Friedman, *New York University*
Rndtbl. Mark Tushnet, *Georgetown University*
 Gerald Rosenberg, *University of Chicago*
 Linda Williams, *University of Maryland*
 Jennifer Hochschild, *Harvard University*

2-1 ELECTORAL INSTITUTIONS, PARTY STRATEGIES, AND PATTERNS OF COMPETITION

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Chair Sven Feldmann, *University of Chicago*
Paper Party Competition in "Patrimonial" Systems
 Johanna K. Birnir, *University at Buffalo, SUNY*
 Overview: Recent theories based on extensive survey research from Eastern Europe suggest that path dependence is the best predictor of party system development and governance in these new democracies. I use data from Romania to challenge this contention, arguing instead that alternative explanations, including economic and demographic changes occurring after the transition, are a better predictor of electoral competition and party system evolution than historical legacy.

Paper Electoral Rules and Alternation: Examining Differences in Vote and Seat Volatility in Japan
 Ross Schaap, *Harvard University*
 Overview: Japan's Liberal Democratic Party dominated government for 38 years by holding a continuous majority in the House of Representatives. In 1994 an electoral rule change was enacted that reduced average district magnitude to one. This reform was meant, among other things, to induce two-party competition and reduce the probability that the LDP would be able to reestablish its hegemony. I argue that increased electoral volatility associated with lower district magnitude has increased the probability of partisan alternation.

Paper Competing in the Big Leagues: How Differing Institutional Environments Influence Party Strategy—Evidence from the French Greens
 Jae-Jae Spoon, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: I test the hypothesis that institutional context influences party behavior by looking at the strategic decisions of the French Green Party from 1997 to 2002 in various electoral contests. I demonstrate that for the Greens to compete with the more established parties, they have to recognize the demands of the institutional context and act accordingly. Specifically, I explore when the party enters into a pre-election alliance with the Socialists and when it does not.

Paper Strategic Electoral Entry and District-Level Competitiveness: Simulated, Japanese, and American Evidence
 Robert J. Weiner, *Cornell University*
 Overview: Existing Duvergerian theories show that in equilibrium, elections might be either uncontested or contested (with varying degrees of closeness). But how common each type should be remains indeterminate. To gain some predictive traction, I construct simulated sets of districts, randomly assigning uncertainty levels, numbers of potential entrants, and other parameters of interest. Uncompetitive elections prove common even under non-extreme assumptions. The simulated results are also borne out by observed outcomes in Japanese and American elections.

Paper Satisfaction with Democracy: Evidence from Westminster Systems
 Ailsa Henderson, *Wilfrid Laurier University*
 Overview: Attempts at institutional reform in Westminster systems seek implicitly to redress declining voter satisfaction. This paper examines voter satisfaction with democracy in Westminster systems in an effort to determine which factors can best account for declining confidence, satisfaction, efficacy and trust in politics. It pays particular attention to the influence of

electoral systems, the role of politicians, and other civic institutions to determine whether the Westminster system itself is producing citizen malaise, or whether certain design features can be held responsible.

Disc. Christian B. Jensen, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Michael Thies, *University of California, Los Angeles*

3-11 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF REFORM IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Chair Raj M. Desai, *Georgetown University*
Paper The Deregulation of Chinese Economy -- The Case of Telecommunications Industry
 Zhou Fang, *University of Michigan*

Overview: The paper elucidates the evolution of Chinese telecommunications reform from the perspectives of market restructure and regulatory reform and why progress has been achieved in such a specific manner, and the prospects of the further reform in this sector

Paper The Realization of Economic Reform: An Empirical Analysis of Privatization
 Christina Schatzman, *University of New Mexico*
 Overview: This research examines the realization of economic reform, specifically privatization. Drawing from the economic reform literature, a theoretical model of the determinants of privatization is created and tested using survival analysis on two samples over the period 1988-1997: first, a sample of both state owned enterprises and privatizations in Brazil and Mexico; second, a sample of all privatization in 183 IMF-member countries. Contrary to some recent research, the analysis supports the primacy of domestic factors.

Paper Common Threads and Regional Effects: Political and Economic Liberalization in Latin America and Post-Communist States
 Andrew Barnes, *Kent State University*
 Marcus J. Kurtz, *Ohio State University*
 Overview: Using time-series/cross-sectional tools, we compare the effects of economic liberalization, agrarian dominance, and international linkages on democratization in Latin America and the post-communist states. While the experiences of the two regions are not identical, we generally find that creating markets has little to do with the consolidation of democracy, large agrarian sectors tend to impede democratization, and international ties must be democratically conditioned in order to have a positive influence on political development.

Paper When Do Institutions Stick? Institutional Adoption and Adaptation in the Indonesian Financial Sector
 Kevin S. Strompf, *Cornell University*
 Overview: Since the emerging market financial crises of the 1990s, financial sector institution-building has been a priority among domestic and international reformers alike. Yet, little is known about the conditions under which formal institutional reforms are likely to affect actual practices and outcomes. This paper examines the process of institutional adoption and adaptation in post-crisis Indonesia, focusing in particular on bargaining between competing coalitions.

Disc. Raj M. Desai, *Georgetown University*

4-11 PARTY POLITICS IN HOSTILE ENVIRONMENTS

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Chair Martin W. Slann, *Pennsylvania State University*
Paper The Introduction of the Movement System and the Challenges and Prospects of Democratization in Eritrea: Some Lessons from Uganda.
 Daniel G. Ogbaharya, *Northern Arizona University*

Overview: This paper examines the deteriorating state of human rights and the overall predicament of democratization in Eritrea. Through a critical review of the history of the armed struggle for national independence in Eritrea, the institutional, structural, and ideological evolution of the Government of the State of Eritrea (GOE) is systematically introduced in an attempt to expose the de facto Movement System (MS)

	<p>democracy that is gradually evolving in Eritrea. The author argues that the crisis of human rights and democratization in Eritrea results from the ideological stance of the ruling party, the People's Front for democracy and Justice (PFDJ), which assigns greater priority to economic development, national unity and political stability as opposed to the unconditional implementation of the 1997-constitution and the introduction of pluralistic politics. The central objective of the paper is to show how the political ideology of the PFDJ, the Movement System (MS), has obscured the democratization of the country by undermining fundamental individual freedoms such as freedom of speech and freedom from arbitrary arrest, decelerating the development of a vibrant civil society, and discouraging a truly tolerant and inclusive political environment. In doing so, the paper sheds light on a similar political situation in Uganda where the implementation of the MS has resulted in gross violations of human rights and disturbing course of democratization.</p>							<p>Overview: The post-communist countries have wildly different records success with of economic reform. I test whether markets are more responsive to signs of approval from international institutions or to actual reform measures implemented on the ground. I find that markets gave countries that had early on received strong signals from the EU much wider room to make mistakes than countries that fell behind from the outset.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Religious Parties and Democracy: The Cases of Israel and Turkey</u> Sultan Tepe, <i>University of Illinois at Chicago</i> Overview: This paper calls into question the prevailing explanations that consider religious parties as reactionary temporary movements; Jewish and Islamic political movements as "incommensurable," and the Middle East as an "exceptional region." It shows that Israel's and Turkey's religious parties do not simply reject or support their respective secularist nationalisms. On the contrary, they reconcile polarizing positions attributed to the religious and secular through two different processes: sacralization and internal secularization. Despite their capacity to challenge secular nationalism and expand the boundaries of political discourse none of the religious parties emerges as a religious liberal alternative to authoritarian secular nationalist ideologies.</p>							<p><u>Minority Rights for Post-Communist Countries of Europe: Are There "Required Minority Rights" for EU Accession?</u> Carter R. Johnson, <i>University of Maryland</i> Overview: This paper compares EU-member states, the eight accession countries of Eastern Europe, and the remaining post-communist non-accession countries of Europe to ascertain both which minority policies are required for acceptance in the EU and how far away the non-accession countries are from that goal.</p>
Paper	<p><u>What is Left and Right in Iranian Party Politics?</u> Mirjam Kuenkler, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: The paper examines the transformation of the Iranian party system between 1990 and 2000. It discusses the emergence of new parties as well as the repositioning of established ones along dimensions of economic policy, cultural policy and their political stance in regards to the role of the 'velayate faqih' (Spiritual Leader).</p>							<p><u>Pocketbooks, Politics, and Parties: The 2003 Polish Referendum on EU Membership</u> Joshua A. Tucker, <i>Princeton University</i> Radoslaw Markowski, <i>Polish Academy of Sciences</i> Overview: We analyze the results Poland's June, 2003 referendum on membership European Union. We find that demographic factors did not play a large role in determining vote choice in the referendum. As alternatives, we propose economic, political, and party based hypotheses, and find empirical support for all three. We also examine the decision to participate in the referendum. Analysis is conducted on both the aggregate and individual level, utilizing an original county-level dataset and a national public opinion survey.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Regime Change and Democratization in Kenya, 1990-Present: The Role of Contentious Politics and the rise of the Social Movement for Democracy</u> Raymond Muhula, <i>Howard University</i> Overview: Raymond Muhula is a PhD candidate in the Department of Political Science at Howard University. His research interests include democracy and democratization, international security, and political participation.</p>							<p><u>East of the "Iron Curtain": Why Are Post-Communist Countries Joining NATO?</u> Tatiana P. Rizova, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: Why did East and Central European countries decide to join NATO after the Warsaw Pact dissolved? The paper sheds light on the conceptual blindspots of neo-realist explanations of foreign policy making by analyzing NATO expansion from the perspective of the Central and East European applicants for NATO membership.</p>
Disc.	TBA							<p><u>FOREIGN POLICY AFTER SEPTEMBER 11TH</u> Gregory Miller, <i>Ohio State University</i> <u>Constraining U.S. Policy: Adherence to International Norms Post-September 11th, 2001</u> Erica Chenoweth, <i>University of Colorado at Boulder</i> Jessica C. Teets, <i>University of Colorado at Boulder</i> Overview: We assert that policy outcomes are not shaped by purely material interests, but also by ideational factors such as norms that regulate and constitute states' behaviors and identities. Specifically, we seek to analyze whether international norms have constrained U.S. behavior in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. We find that four norms—low collateral damage and discrimination, non-assassination, sovereignty, and multilateralism—constrained the U.S. during several key conflicts. However, we find that some norms have been more influential than others. In fact, the U.S. has entered a period of norm challenge and is seeking to create new security norms in the international community.</p>
6-10	<p><u>FACING WEST: POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES AND EU/NATO INTEGRATION</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30 Darius Furmonavicius, <i>University of Bradford</i> <u>Cultural Values or Social Protest? Explaining Opposition to the European Union in Estonia and Latvia</u> Aleksander Lust, <i>Cornell University</i> Overview: One third of Estonians and Latvians voted against their countries' membership in the European Union (EU), more than in any other East European candidate country. Analysts have attributed Baltic euroskepticism to nationalism, authoritarianism, and free market values. I will show that the anti-EU vote in Estonia and Latvia was an expression of social protest against liberal economic reforms, which have led to the most unequal distribution of income in East-Central Europe, and non-participatory political systems dominated by parties of the right.</p>							<p><u>In Search of U.S. Foreign Policy Toward North Korea: An Explanation on Two Nuclear Crises in the Post-Cold War Era</u> Hee-jin Han, <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: The United States faced two nuclear crises in 1993 and 2000 precipitated by the actions of the Democratic People's Republic Korea. Despite the strategic significance and high-profile nature of the crises, the policy-making processes of each administration designed to resolve the episodes were slow and long. Drawing from crisis decision making literature and presidential leadership style literature, this paper focuses on each president's roles in decision making process to resolve</p>
Paper	<p><u>Good Policies or Just Good Neighbors? Economic Reform Measures and EU Accession</u> Julia Gray, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i></p>							

	North Korean nuclear crisis. To conduct a meaningful contrast and comparison, this paper examines 3 different variables that compose the presidential leadership style in both administrations in a symmetrical manner: 1) presidential interest and expertise regarding the issue, 2) managerial style and operational capacity and 3) presidential sensitivity to domestic and international constraints. Overall, the paper's findings will provide scholars and policymakers with useful insight on the factors that shape U.S. foreign policy toward North Korea. The investigation also carries added significance given the continued attention surrounding developments related to North Korea's nuclear program and its implications for peace and security in Northeast Asia.	
Paper	<u>Beyond the Rhetoric of Burden Sharing in Iraq: the Micro-Foundations of International Public Goods and the Development of Free-Riding.</u> Victor Menaldo , <i>Stanford University</i> Samuel S. Seljan , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: In the spirit of public choice literature, we countenance the view that supply of international public goods is economically problematic and politically contentious. We find that this perspective is fruitfully applied to Washington's current travails in Iraq, where it struggles to sustain the political will to fund Iraq's reconstruction. Our contribution specifies and explicates the micro-foundations of a peculiar equilibrium, one recognized by both neo-realists and political economists.	
Paper	<u>Rogue States in U.S. Foreign Policy: Iraq and North Korea</u> Wael J. Haboub , <i>Northeastern Illinois University</i> Ribhi I. Salhi , <i>Roosevelt University</i> Overview: This paper contrasts the factors that shape soft line US security strategy in Northeast Asia with its hard line strategy the Persian Gulf. The US has adopted appeasement and engagement policies in northeast Asia while containment, regime change, and war resolution in the Persian Gulf.	
Disc.	Andrew Civettini , <i>University of Iowa</i>	
7-102	<u>ROUNDTABLE: DIFFERENTIATING IGOs: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS, EMPIRICAL IMPLICATIONS</u>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30	
Rndtbl.	Timothy Nordstrom , <i>University of Mississippi</i> Jon Pevehouse , <i>University of Wisconsin</i> Charles R. Boehmer , <i>University of Texas, El Paso</i> Chris Leskiw , <i>University of Vermont</i> Alex Montgomery , <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: With the continued importance of the Kantian Peace research agenda, the study of International Governmental Organizations (IGOs) has received greater scholarly attention over the past decade. Along with democracy and trade, IGOs are considered to be a theoretically important element for peace. Existing research, however, has shown only mixed empirical results. One reason for this may be the fact that extant research treats IGOs as a homogenous group and thus assumes that all IGOs have the equal ability to promote peace between states. This panel will address the issue of IGO heterogeneity and the implications of relaxing the assumption that all IGOs are the same. Roundtable participants will discuss various theoretical motivations for differentiating IGOs and how these motivations suggest dimensions along which scholars may expect heterogeneity. Additional issues to be addressed include the empirical ramifications of IGO heterogeneity and how the study of other international processes such as trade may also be affected by differentiating institutions.	
8-10	<u>THE INNER WORKING OF ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE AND CONFLICT</u>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30	
Chair	Brian Pollins , <i>Ohio State University</i>	
Paper	<u>The Role of Economic Freedom in the Trade-Conflict Relationship</u> Katherine Barbieri , <i>Vanderbilt University</i>	Overview: This paper explores the question of whether trading states are more peaceful than other states while incorporating a measure of economic freedom into the analysis.
Paper	<u>Examining Dependencies in International Commerce</u> Michael Ward , <i>University of Washington</i> Mohan Rao , <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: The paper by Ward and Rao in the panel develops a refined model of international commerce that explicitly takes into account the interdependency of international commerce, which utilizes a bilinear random effects model to represent statistical dependencies that often characterize trade data.	
Paper	<u>Disaggregated Bilateral Trade and Militarized Interstate Conflict</u> Quan Li , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Rafael Reuveny , <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: This paper investigates the effect of disaggregated trade on militarized interstate conflict, a topic of research that has been repeatedly called for in the trade and conflict literature, but so far received limited attention.	
Paper	<u>Signaling and the Liberal Peace</u> Erik Gartzke , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: The paper by Gartzke uses a game theoretical model to evaluate two signaling explanations of liberal peace, which are based on audience costs and interdependence, respectively.	
Disc.	Solomon Polachek , <i>State University of New York</i>	
9-12	<u>POLITICS OF CIVIL WAR</u>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30	
Chair	Aslaug Asgeirsdottir , <i>Bates College</i>	
Paper	<u>Power in the Pursuit of Peace: Inter-Ethnic Security Pacts and the Making of Minimal Bargains in the Israeli-Palestinian and Northern Irish Cases</u> Shelley M. Deane , <i>Dartmouth College</i> Overview: Negotiated peace agreements to regulate ethnic conflicts need to be understood as a process of intra-ethnic as well as inter-ethnic elite bargaining. The proposition advanced here is that the nature of the agreement depends upon the dynamics within each respective ethnic-bloc. It argues that ethnic-blocs are not unitary actors. Instead, ethnic-blocs consist of a constellation of factions that shape elite incentives and preferences in negotiating an inter-ethnic bargain. The nature of the bargain, whether a comprehensive maximal peace agreement or a limited minimal security pact, is influenced by three important variables concerning the nature of ethnic-blocs: 1) actor constellation, 2) actor orientation, and 3) external resource dependence.	
Paper	<u>Bargaining for Autonomy: Why Governments Make Concessions to Separatists</u> Kathleen Gallagher , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: Why do some governments make concessions to separatists while others engage in costly fighting? I argue that the structure of the state – in terms of the number of veto players that can block concession attempts, and the heterogeneity of separatist group preferences determine when governments are likely to fight or make concessions. A large-n study including 113 cases over 62 years shows support for this theory.	
Paper	<u>The Revolution Will Not Be Televised: A Study of the Repression of Human Rights during Domestic Crises</u> Denese McArthur , <i>Binghamton University</i> Maria Elena Sandovici , <i>East Stroudsburg University</i> Overview: This paper is an attempt at producing a model of government response to domestic threat that may be generalized across regime types.	
Paper	<u>The Effects of Prior Institutionalization on the Success of Interventions in Civil Wars</u> Gaye B. Muderrisoglu , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: The object of this paper will be to examine the influence the domestic level of institutionalization on the success of international interventions in civil wars. The theoretical framework for the question builds on prior research that emphasizes the importance of pre-existing rules governing economic, social and political behavior in the success of negotiations after civil conflict. Through a comparison of the	

extent of constitutional and other regulatory provisions for the distribution of resources and power across regions of civil conflict since 1945, this study argues that prior institutional features will make it more likely that the country will see an end to the intrastate war. Controls for the size and scope of the third party involvement, as well as, for the level of international support ensures that these confounding factors are also accounted for.

- Paper** **Predicting Intervention Strategy in Civil Wars**
Daniel A. Norton, *Binghamton University*
 Overview: As civil wars have increasingly become the most visible and, in many ways, the most destructive form of warfare in the post cold war era more and more scholarly attention has been directed toward analyzing and understanding the process by which they begin and end. One of the more fruitful lines of research has involved how third party intervention strategy affects the probability of successfully bring the conflict to an end. Some have made suggested that picking the right strategy is essential for stopping the violence (Regan 2000). Intervention strategy appears to be vital in the process of ending civil wars. Despite the importance of strategy few have examined whether there are any factors that systematically influence what strategy states choose. It may be that certain conflicts and certain states are more likely to implement unsuccessful strategy. For example given the unique domestic issues faces by democratic leaders, democratic states may be more likely to intervene with economic aid even if military intervention would be more successful at stopping the violence. Using a multinomial logit model I examine whether there are characteristics of the conflict as well as characteristics of the intervening state that systematically influences a states choice of strategy. The results suggest that indeed conflict and regime characteristics influence what strategy is employed.
- Disc.** **Aslaug Asgeirsdottir**, *Bates College*

10-11 **CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACEMAKING**

- Room** TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Chair **Marc Simon**, *Bowling Green State University*
Paper **Conflict Resolution Evaluation: Constructing a Disputant Self-Evaluation Guide for International Negotiation**
Margaret W. Keiley-Listermann, *Georgia Perimeter College*
 Overview: This paper seeks to construct a tool of evaluation for the field of conflict resolution. Peace studies Literature has recently focused upon the power of conflict transformation while lamenting the availability of practitioners to receive feedback during the peace processes. By integrating the disputant's self-evaluations into the conflict resolution process, the disputants invest themselves in the process, thereby legitimizing the peace attempt and building trust with the mediator/arbitrator.
- Paper** **When Doves Fly: An Analysis of the Diffusion of Peace in the International System**
Michael Greig, *University of North Texas*
 Overview: This paper uses spatial data analysis to examine the ways in which successful conflict management impacts other conflicts linked by geography, alliances, or patron-client relationships.
- Paper** **Applicability of Confidence and Security Measures (CSBMs) in Northeast Asia: Drawing from the Example of the OSCE**
Thomas A. Wuchte, *U.S. Government*
 Overview: The OSCE offers a model but not a formula designed for easy replication in Northeast Asia. The author will examine how OSCE experiences, particularly the strong relationship forged with Russia in the OSCE, could provide lessons learned for resolving long-standing security problems in Northeast Asia through a similar organization.
- Paper** **Female Suicide Bombers: Agents or Victims? The Cases of Chechnya and Israel**
Kathryn L. Lawall, *University of Notre Dame*
Sarah E. Spengeman, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: Does the recent increase in women as suicide bombers challenge the conventional view of women in conflict? Feminist theory of women in conflict typically view women as peacemakers. Furthermore, recent scholarship on terrorism has examined the strategic logic of suicide bombings. But, both of these traditions have neglected to examine the current trend of women as suicide terrorists and, therefore, on their own, cannot provide an adequate account. Focusing on the cases of Chechnya and Israel, we argue that greater knowledge of women suicide bombers can further our understanding of terrorism in general while also furthering feminist understandings of women in conflict.

- Paper** **Correlates of State Killing**
Stephanie K. McWhorter, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: Why do governments kill their own citizens? Many explanations for genocide, massacres, and other episodes of state violence exist, but have not been systematically tested against cross-sectional, time-series data. Using a data set of state violence between 1946 - 2002 for all independent states, I test these explanations of conditions under which governments will begin to kill their civilians
- Disc.** **Marc Simon**, *Bowling Green State University*

11-9 **FRAMING AND AGENDA SETTING**

- Room** TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Chair **Jonathan S. Morris**, *East Carolina University*
Paper **Political Preference Formation: Competition, Deliberation, and the (Ir)relevance of Framing Effects**
James N. Druckman, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: This paper explores the robustness of elite framing effects in the presence of competition and inter-personal discussion.
- Paper** **Think of It This Way: Issue Framing, Salience, and Public Opinion Change**
Michael W. Wagner, *Indiana University*
 Overview: In their model of partisan change, Carmines and Stimson (1989) note that elites establish and shape the reputation of political parties on issues. But what mechanisms do elites use to do that? Through a content analysis of three issues in four major newspapers, I demonstrate that the framing of issues impacts the public's belief that an issue is important. Additionally, partisan framing appears to impact opinion formation and change on political issues.
- Paper** **The Mechanism of Transference: Projection and Conformity in the Agenda-Setting Process**
Craig S. Gordon, *Georgia State University*
Gary Henry, *Georgia State University*
 Overview: This transference of issue importance from the media to the public raises a fundamental question; what is the mechanism by which the public forms opinions about the importance of a social problem? We test two competing hypotheses, projection and conformity. The results of the analyses are consistent with the hypothesis that individuals are likely to project their own personal beliefs about an issue onto the larger community, though there is evidence of a conformity effect.
- Paper** **Media Agenda-Setting: Does Content Matter?**
Joanne M. Miller, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: Previous agenda-setting studies confound accessibility and content. Therefore, it is impossible to clearly determine the mechanism that underlies the effect. The current study unconfounds accessibility and content by assigning some respondents to read media stories about crime and others to complete a word search task to increase crime accessibility in a content-free manner (another group did not complete any task related to crime). The study reports the effects of the manipulations on agenda-setting and examines additional possible mediators.
- Disc.** **Zoe M. Oxley**, *Union College*

12-3 **STILL NOT FORGOTTEN: THE 2000 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Chair Tom Schaller
Paper **Candidate Agendas and the Public Agenda in the 2000 Presidential Campaign**
Michele P. Claibourn, *University of Oklahoma*
Overview: This paper examines agenda setting by candidates in the 2000 presidential campaign. The data consist of a year-long rolling cross section survey supplemented with daily content analysis of campaign advertising and television and newspaper coverage of the campaign.

Paper **Going from Green to Gore: Who Voted Strategically in the 2000 Presidential Election, and Why?**
Patrick J. Egan, *University of California, Berkeley*
Overview: Who votes strategically, and when do they do so? There has been much theoretical speculation on strategic voting, but little empirical work has been conducted on the topic. This paper uses the unprecedented statistical power offered by the National Annenberg Election Survey (NAES) to explore the conditions under which supporters of Green Party candidate Ralph Nader voted strategically for Democrat Al Gore in the 2000 Presidential election.

Paper **Southern Discomfort: Ideological Cross-pressures in Presidential Voting**
Sunshine Hillygus, *Harvard University*
Todd Shields, *University of Arkansas*
Overview: The South has undergone dramatic changes in recent decades, leading scholars to conclude that the 'new South' is losing its unique voting patterns. Using an extensive data set with sufficient regional samples, we estimate an interactive model of vote choice in the 2000 presidential election to compare the decision-making of Southern and Non-Southern respondents. We find the voting calculus of Southern voters remains distinct, particularly for those struggling with cross-pressures between ideology and party identification.

Paper **'Get on the Plane': The Electoral Impact of Candidate Visits in the 2000 Presidential Campaign**
Andrew J. LoTempio, *Syracuse University*
Overview: Presidential campaign strategy is built upon the assumption that there is a positive relationship between candidate visits in a state and the probability of winning the election. However, much of what scholars of American politics have learned about this relationship casts doubt on the correlation between the campaign and the outcome. Employing tracking polls for specific states, I investigate the impact of nominee visits on voter support in the 2000 General Election Campaign.

Paper **Moral Versus Economic Legacies of Bill Clinton**
Sanser Yener, *State University of New York at Stony Brook*
Overview: Economic voting maintains that public opinion is driven by the substance of party performance, especially by economic prosperity. It has been argued that the 2000 presidential election contradicts this claim in that the disapproval of Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky outweighed the approval of his economic performance. However, this paper shows that Clinton's moral legacy in fact did have no effect on the perception of his economic performance. On the other hand, Clinton's economic performance positively affected how people perceive his affair with Monica Lewinsky.

Disc. Tom Schaller

12-30 **ISSUES AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Chair William G. Jacoby, *Michigan State University*
Paper **Do Issues Decide? Partisan Conditioning and Perceptions of Party Issue Positions Across the Electoral Cycle**
Geoff Evans, *Oxford University*
Robert Anderson, *McMaster University*
Overview: We employ a five-wave inter-election panel study to demonstrate the impact of partisanship on perceptions of party issue positions. The reciprocal influences between party support

and issue perceptions over the electoral cycle reveal contemporaneous and lagged effects of partisanship on perceptions of issue proximity that far outweigh the contemporaneous effect of proximity on party choice. Party influences issue perceptions rather than vice versa.

Paper **Party Labels and U.S. House Elections**
Jonathan Woon, *Stanford University*
Jeremy C. Pope, *Stanford University*
Overview: What is the link between congressional parties and elections? We show that if voters face uncertainty about the ideological positions of congressional candidates, then information contained in party labels---the mean and variance of each party's incumbent positions---will affect candidates' vote shares. Examining U.S. House elections between 1952 and 2002, we show that election returns are affected by both the relative locations of the party centers and by relative heterogeneity.

Paper **Changing Taxes, Changing Votes, Changing Elections**
Richard F. Winters, *Dartmouth College*
Overview: Pooled analysis and cross-sectional exit poll analysis in the states established weak negative impacts of changing taxes on vote outcomes and behavior. We investigate legislated changes in the sales, income, and "sin" taxes on voting using exit polls from 43 states in 228 elections from 1982-2000 yielding 315,000 respondents. We find negative effects of changes in the sales tax on vote choice, but little impact of changes in income or sin taxes. Republican candidates defending taxing do worse than Democrats. There is little variation in the impact of tax changes on lower or upper income classes nor by party identification of the voter.

Paper **Taking Social Structure Seriously: Education and Voter Turnout**
Meredith R. Rolfe, *University of Chicago*
Overview: In this paper, I argue that education increases voter turnout not by creating better citizens, but by sorting people into different social worlds. Rather than teaching people to value democracy, or even helping them acquire resources and skills that make political participation easier, education ushers people into social spaces where they create personal friendship networks that are more conducive to solving the large-scale collective action problem that elections pose. I use national survey data to show that people can generally belong to one of two worlds--a low education world and a multi-educational world. I then show that turnout is strongly related to these two worlds, with turnout being uniformly higher (regardless of individual education) in the multi-educational world than in the low-education world. Finally, I use simulations to make the case that the clear differences in personal network properties between the two worlds, not a difference in individual characteristics, may account for most if not all of this difference.

Disc. Stephen T. Mockabee, *University of Cincinnati*
William G. Jacoby, *Michigan State University*

13-10 **PUBLIC OPINION AND CONTEMPORARY ISSUES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Chair Daniel Ciceña, *University of Georgia*
Paper **Public Opinion toward Immigration: Reconsideration of Economic and Psychological Motivation**
Sung Jin Yoo, *SUNY at Stony Brook*
Bon Sang Koo, *SUNY at Stony Brook*

Overview: Existing research shows that the level of economic and cultural threat is influential to public opinion toward immigration. Although the hypothesis looks plausible, there is no empirical research for testing it at the national level. By using 1994 General Social Survey data and selected demographic data from 1990 census, I examine relevant hypothesis and suggest more elaborated effects of economic and psychological factors on immigration.

Paper **National Mood and Issue-Specific Opinion**
Paul M. Kellstedt, *Texas A&M University*
Lawrence J. Grossback, *West Virginia University*

	Overview: When, at the aggregate level, do issue-specific opinions follow national Mood, and when and why do they deviate from it? We examine the role of policy feedback and issue salience on why issue-specific opinion sometimes follows Mood, and sometimes moves independently of it.				
Paper	<u>Disentangling the Sources of Changing Attitudes Toward Immigration: Media Coverage, Economic Evaluations, Political Leadership, and Local Context</u> Christopher Muste , <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: This paper assesses a range of potential sources of declining support for immigration in the U.S. from 1992-94. The effects of news media cues, individuals' economic assessments, political leaders' actions, and local context are evaluated using data from the 1992-94 NES panel, local news coverage of immigration, and local contextual measures			Paper	<u>A Reanalysis of Priming Studies Finds Little Evidence of Issue Opinion Priming and Much Evidence of Issue Opinion Change</u> Gabriel S. Lenz , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: I argue that past research on priming by campaigns and the media has not paid sufficient attention to alternative explanations. I reanalyze five cases where previous research found evidence consistent with priming and test for alternative explanations. To my surprise, I find little evidence of issue opinion priming. In contrast, the reanalysis suggests that political messages cause people to change their opinions on the issues to reflect their approval of the President or their vote choice.
Paper	<u>Explaining Support for Congressional Term Limits</u> James C. Garand , <i>Louisiana State University</i> Rhonda Wrzenski , <i>Louisiana State University</i> Steven Procopio , <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: In this paper we utilize data from the 1992, 1994, and 1998 ANES surveys to explore the determinants of mass support for congressional term limits. Our core model includes a variety of independent variables, including political attitudes, political system support, legislative support, political knowledge, demographic variables, characteristics of citizens' legislators, and changing party control of the U.S. Congress. We also consider possible interaction effects between political knowledge and various determinants of support for term limits.			Disc.	Brian J. Brox , <i>University of Texas at Austin</i> Melissa K. Miller , <i>Northwestern University</i>
Disc.	Deborah J. Schildkraut , <i>Oberlin College</i>			13-101	<u>ROUNDTABLE: PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY: THE STATE OF THE ART</u>
13-20	<u>VOTER MOBILIZATION, PARTICIPATION, AND CAMPAIGN STRATEGY</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30			Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Chair	Melissa K. Miller , <i>Northwestern University</i>			Chair	Paul R. Abramson , <i>Michigan State University</i>
Paper	<u>The Characteristics and Geographic Clustering of Absentee Voters</u> James G. Gimpel , <i>University of Maryland</i> Daron R. Shaw , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Joshua J. Dyck , <i>University of Maryland</i> Overview: In this paper, we use voter lists in connection with a Geographic Information System (GIS) to understand absentee voters. By geocoding the addresses of voters from these lists, then examining their vote history and use of the absentee ballot in the 2000 and 2002 elections, we will be able to map the spatial distribution of the absentee vote. Cluster detection software can be used to determine whether the absentee vote is significantly concentrated, or randomly dispersed. The findings from this research have implications for campaign strategy as well as for our understanding of who absentee voters are, and where they live.			Rndtbl.	Richad Sobel , <i>Harvard University</i> James McCormick , <i>Iowa State</i> Peter Furia , <i>Wake Forest</i> Andrew Katz , <i>Denison University</i> Russell Lucas , <i>Oklahoma University</i> Overview: This panel will include four presentations on how public opinion affects foreign policy crossnationally. They will individually and collectively assess and advance the state of the art in the study and theory of the impact of public opinion on foreign policy. The presentations include 1)"International Public Opinion and Intervention Crisis: Toward a Theory of the Public in Foreign Policy" by Richard Sobel, and Eric Shiraev; 2)"International Relations Theory and the Interaction of Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Dissecting the POF Link in Three Cases" by Andrew Katz; 3)"Predispositions or Political Events? Testing Hypothesized Influences on Arab Foreign Policy Opinion" by Peter A. Furia and Russell Lucas. 4)"US-UK Special Relationship: Some Recent Evidence from a British Workshop," by James McCormick. The panel is part of an ongoing series of discussions to advance the study and understanding of the role of public opinion in the making of foreign policy.
Paper	<u>Habit or Mobilization: A Closer Look at Habitual Voting</u> Chris T. Owens , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: In this paper I address the mechanism through which voting might stimulate a repeated behavior. My central argument is that first time voters catch the attention of political elites (parties, candidates, interest groups) and are much more likely to be contacted to participate in subsequent elections. So, what appears to be habitual behavior is in fact a reaction to the actions of political elites.			14-9	<u>THE MEDIA IN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE</u>
Paper	<u>Campaigns Matter: Learning From Advertising in the 2000 Presidential Primaries</u> Laurie L. Rice , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: This paper focuses on one prerequisite for campaigns to affect vote choice: voters must learn something from campaigns. Using data from the Vanishing Voter Project merged with campaign advertising data from the Wisconsin Advertising Project, I test whether candidate advertising stimulates voter learning, examining both the role of motivation and exposure. My findings suggest that incidental and intentional learning occur through candidate advertising - campaigns matter but are tempered by voters' motivation to consume information.			Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
				Chair	Nicole Krassas , <i>Eastern Connecticut University</i>
				Paper	<u>Conflict, Media, and the Impact of Public Opinion: An Irish, British, Arab, Israeli and American Perspective</u> Nancy B. Burgoyne , <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: This work tracks the relationship of media, public opinion and foreign policy making. The paper includes an analysis of the British, Irish, Arab, Israeli and American broadcast and print media in relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict.
				Paper	<u>The Media in State-Society Relations: Does Commercialization Change Political Control?</u> Orion A. Lewis , <i>University of Colorado at Boulder</i> Overview: This paper asks the question of whether the introduction of market mechanisms in the media changes the nature of state-society relations in single party authoritarian countries. This cross-national study compares the variation in media structures in China, Malaysia, Singapore and Mexico in order to assess the types of institutional reforms that result in greater liberalization of the media. By looking at both the market logic of media firms and the nature of state regulation, this study thus seeks to illuminate the key causal factors that control the plurality of perspectives in the media, and it concludes with a discussion of the broader implications for civil society and democracy.

- Paper** **Television and the Rise of a New Politics in Latin America: Media Effects in Brazil and Peru**
Taylor C. Boas, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: This paper examines the role of television in the electoral success of neopopulist presidential candidates in Latin America. Using survey data, I assess the impact of television in Brazil's 1989 election and Peru's 2000 and 2001 elections. I document media effects in the first two elections (where coverage was biased) but not in the third. These results suggest the impact of television in Latin American elections derives from media control rather than candidates' campaigning style.
- Paper** **The Impact of Conflict in TV News on Satisfaction with Democracy and Engagement in Politics**
Jochen Peter, *University of Amsterdam*
Claes H. de Vreese, *University of Amsterdam*
Edmund Lauf, *University of Amsterdam*
 Overview: Research suggests that news driven by conflict leads to an apathetic and negative public. In the context of multi-level governance, it remains, however, unclear whether conflict in news about the European Union negatively influences citizens' attitudes towards democracy and participation in EU politics. Based on media content analysis and post-election survey data, our study suggest that citizens are more content with the functioning of EU democracy and more engaged in politics if receiving cues that politics results from the core of democratic decision-making – healthy disagreement.
- Disc.** **Michael Gauger**, *Independent Scholar, Milwaukee*

15-4 **REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION IN THE CONTEXT OF GENDER, RACE AND IDENTITY**

- Room** TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Chair **Paul Kriese**, *Indiana University*
Paper **Discerning the Political**
Zenzele Isoke, *Rutgers University, New Brunswick*
 Overview: This analytic paper seeks to simultaneously catalogue and deconstruct the meanings and usages of the word "political" in the disciplines of political science, history and women's studies. The author argues that how disciplines conceptualize, or fail to conceptualize, "the political" has serious consequences on who gets represented as interesting or important subjects of study in the production of disciplinary knowledge.
- Paper** **African American Women and the Dynamics of Politicization and Political Participation**
Nicole E. Johnson, *University of South Florida - St. Petersburg*
Alesha E. Doan, *California Polytechnic State University*
 Overview: The purpose of this research is to examine the impact of life experiences on the political participation of African American women, comparing data from the Million Woman March and the National Black Election Studies Survey.
- Paper** **Crossing Intersections: Race, Gender and Mobilizing Identities**
Natalie Masuoka, *University of California, Irvine*
Becki Scola, *University of California, Irvine*
 Overview: Through examining women of color organizations, this paper seeks to empirically locate the intersections that lie between racial and gender identities. Using a coding scheme analyzing mission statements, policy positions and press releases, we find that these women's racial identities do not trump their gendered identities as many scholars have proposed, but rather that they balance and negotiate the two simultaneously.
- Paper** **In a Different Path: The Process of Becoming a Judge for Women and Men**
Margaret S. Williams, *Ohio State University*
 Overview: This research presents the analysis of survey results from a survey of attorney and judges in the state of Texas. The purpose was to determine the process of becoming a judge in the state and if the process differs for women and men.
- Disc.** **Lewis Randolph**, *Ohio University*

15-5 **GENDER AND LAW: THEORY AND PRACTICE IN THE U.S.**

- Room** TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Chair **Dorothy McBride Stetson**, *Florida Atlantic University*
Paper **How a Theoretical Feminist Perspective and a Practical Legislator Perspective Can Inform Each Other and Improve Criminal Justice Policy**
Chyleen A. Arbon, *Brigham Young University*
 Overview: The traditional concept of justice is based on the ideals of neutrality and impartiality, the search for and adherence to universal or generalized principles, and rational expertise. Feminist scholars have provided an alternative concept of justice that is based on the recognition of difference, particularities, contexts, emotions, and participation. This paper concludes that this alternative concept of justice can be used to guide policy makers in creating more effective criminal justice policy. However, the practical experience of legislators can also inform the feminist theoretical perspective about how to overcome the status quo perpetuated by the ideal of impartiality.
- Paper** **Taking Sides: The Impact of Judicial Gender on Decisions in Family Law Cases**
Elaine Martin, *Eastern Michigan University*
Barry Pyle, *Eastern Michigan University*
 Overview: Are courts with more women more or less likely to produce gendered decisions in family law cases? Are courts with women judges more liberal in family law decisions than courts without women judges? We compare four different models: states with no women, states with one woman, states with two women and states with three or more women. Analysis includes three sets of independent variables: 1) personal attributes; 2) political environment; 3) case characteristics.
- Paper** **Trait Discrimination as Sex Discrimination**
Kimberly A. Yuracko, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: Much of the discrimination taking place today targets not women per se but only those with particular traits or attributes. This paper addresses the question of whether, and if so when, federal antidiscrimination law should care if an employer willingly hires women (or men) but simply refuses to hire women (or men) with particular traits--such as short hair, or masculine mannerisms. In sum, this paper addresses the question of when trait discrimination should be an actionable form of sex discrimination.
- Disc.** **Jilda M. Aliotta**, *University of Hartford*
Sally Jo Vasicko, *Ball State University*
- 16-13 **JUDICIAL INTERVENTION AND SOCIAL CHANGE: NEW RESEARCH ON RACE AND ETHNICITY****
- Room** TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Chair **Hawley Fogg-Davis**, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*
Paper **Prejudice, Markets, and the Limits of Legal Action**
Hosea H. Harvey, *Stanford University*
 Overview: Can anti-discrimination laws ever eradicate prejudice? How do individual racial preferences move from political choices to cultural ones? In this paper, I examine theories of racial bias and their application to individual economic choices in a potentially discriminatory marketplace for goods and services.
- Paper** **The Supreme Court and Affirmative Action: 1989-Present**
Ronnie B. Tucker, *Shippensburg University*
 Overview: The paper will assess the impact of the Supreme Court in the area of affirmative and the hiring practices of a southern state (Arkansas). The paper assess the impact of Supreme Court and Federal Circuit Court decisions and actual EEO-4 data from the Personnel Board of Arkansas, as it relates to the hiring practices of African Americans.
- Paper** **Hopwood and Proposition 209: Judicial and Legislative Intervention in American Public Higher Education**
Alisa Hicklin, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: This study examines the effects of Hopwood and Proposition 209 on minority student participation in American public higher education. Analysis considers the effect that

	political institutions can have on bureaucratic outcomes, both substantive and symbolic.				
Disc.	Hawley Fogg-Davis, University of Wisconsin-Madison	Paper			community in the Republic, whereas the Laws describes more of a hope.
17-5 Room Chair Paper	<u>CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30 Robert C. Grady, Eastern Michigan University <u>The Constitution's Theory of Sovereignty</u> Paul R. DeHart, University of Texas at Austin Overview: What is the Constitution's theory of sovereignty? I argue that we must ascertain this theory by reasoning from the Constitution's very structure. In general, there are four broad understandings that the Constitution might presuppose. It might seek to effect (1) an unconstrained, non-popular sovereign, (2) a constrained non-popular sovereign, (3) an unconstrained, popular sovereign, or (4) a constrained, popular sovereign. We can figure out into which category the Constitution falls by looking for contradictions in the Constitutional structure with any of these understandings. I will argue that options (1) through (3) stand in tension with structural features of the Constitution and that (4) explains more about why we have the institutions we do, arranged as they are, than the other options do. This has significant implications for how we understand the Constitution's normative framework.			<u>Aristotle's Philia In Relation to Contemporary Theories of Human Cooperation</u> Carolyn V. Lewis, University of Houston Overview: Aristotle's concept of friendship is important in the contemporary political context. The importance of philia or friendship in the political context was lost or overshadowed during the modern political era by such theorists as Machiavelli and Hobbes. Although something like philia is present in Rousseau with his notion that man is capable of natural pity toward others in the state of nature. It seems to me that today certain writers like Robert Axelrod (i.e., Evolution of Cooperation), Robert Frank (i.e., Passions with Reason) and Robert Solomon (i.e., Passion for Justice) are trying to get back to Aristotle's political concepts like friendship and cooperation. For this paper I will describe Aristotle's understanding of philia and its political significance, and then comment on the above mentioned writers as they relate to Aristotle's ideas on friendship.	
Paper	<u>The Post-Republican Presidency: Constitutionalizing Virtue in a Liberal Regime</u> Clement Fatovic, Vassar College Overview: Contrary to scholars who contend that the institutional machinery of the Constitution was designed to obviate the traditional republican reliance on virtue for the preservation of liberty, this paper argues that key Federalists expected the presidency to become the prime repository of those republican virtues that were formerly required of all citizens. In doing so, they established a post-republican politics of virtue that effectively eroded the soil that nourished "fit characters" in the first place.	Paper		<u>Aristotle and the Unity of the Polis</u> Jacqueline L. Pfeffer Merrill, St. John's College Overview: Why does Aristotle's sharp critique of the political philosophy in Plato's dialogues focus so exclusively on the proposals for abolition or reform of the family and household? Aristotle's account of political life motivates his argument that family and household have a necessary role in establishing the unity proper to the best polis, and so that there is a harmony rather than enmity between family and polis.	
Paper	<u>Original Intent and Popular Government: A Madisonian Perspective</u> Russell L. Hanson, Indiana University Overview: In this paper I challenge the doctrine of "original intent," which holds that Constitutional questions of the day ought to be resolved in accordance with the Founding Fathers' intent. The two leading exponents of the Constitution, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison never intended that future generations were bound by the Founders' intent. Each developed a view of Constitutional meaning and its production that was politically dynamic. Thus, there is no basis in these Founders' intent for relying on their specific interpretation of the Constitution, canonized as the original formulation.	Paper		<u>Together Again: Virtue and the Reintegration of Politics and Ethics in Democratic Theory</u> Francis Vander Valk, University at Albany Overview: Mr. Vander Valk's paper addresses recent attempts to revive Aristotle's understanding of the relationship between politics and ethics. Vander Valk suggests that contemporary attempts to make Aristotle a flagbearer of the cause of liberalism fail to take into account some of the more disturbing implications of Aristotle's thought. The author presents a number of non-communitarian options for reintegrating politics and ethics through the concept of virtue.	
Paper	<u>Natural Law, Common Law, and the Constitution</u> James R. Stoner, Louisiana State University Overview: Common law and natural law are both unwritten, and both claim the authority of human reason. But whereas common law admits the authority also of custom and insists on the authority of precedent, natural law eschews an appeal to tradition, confident that reason can build on its own an adequate framework of justice and human rights. What does natural law theorizing imply for the role of courts in modern constitutional regimes with common law legal systems?	Disc.		<u>Paul Cornish, Grand Valley State University</u> Ronald Weed, Tyndale University College, Toronto	
17-14 Room Chair Paper	<u>CLASSICAL CONCERNS</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30 Cary Nederman, Texas A&M University <u>Cicero: A Philosopher without Ideals</u> David S. Fott, University of Nevada, Las Vegas Overview: Contrary to the generally held view, Cicero's Republic does not present the Roman republic as an "ideal state," but rather as the best practicable form of government. In Laws he does propose laws that diverge in places from actual Roman laws, but he does so in order to clarify the meaning of natural law. Unlike Plato, Cicero presents an actual political		18-204	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: MARX, KANT, AND NIETZSCHE</u> TBA, TABLE 1, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30 Inf. Rnd. <u>Moral Feeling and Autonomy in On the Genealogy of Morals: Nietzsche's Radicalization of Kant</u> William W. Sokoloff, El Camino College Overview: Nietzsche and Kant are generally viewed as occupying opposing places on the philosophical spectrum. I challenge this widespread claim and argue that Nietzsche is working both with and against Kant in terms of his new morality. Nietzsche's often harsh rhetoric against Kant serves as a mask that, on closer examination, conceals major points of similarity.	
Disc.	Albert W. Dzur, Bowling Green State University		18-205	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: MODERN PERSPECTIVES ON INTERNATIONAL POLITICS</u> TBA, TABLE 2, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30 Inf. Rnd. <u>Political Theory in an Era of Globalization: Drugs Testing by Western Companies in Thirdworld Countries</u> Roland Pierik, Tilburg University/Columbia University Overview: This paper discusses normative questions concerning child labor, especially in relation to policies of liberal-democratic governments. It discusses fundamental issues underlying this debate: socioeconomic causes of child labor, different conceptions of childhood, and the distinction between child work and child labor. The paper concludes with four concrete recommendations for Western governments.	
			Inf. Rnd.	<u>Kelsen's Positivism: International Law and Political Justice</u> Bajeera McCorkle, Columbia University	

Overview: It is open to contestation whether or not international law can be regarded as law in the same sense as national law; international law is decentralized, irregularly enforced, does not necessarily have a mode of adjudication and lacks a legal sovereign. This paper will explore the tension between law and politics in international law, examining Han Kelsen's justifications for an understanding of international law as law.

18-206 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: IDENTITY AND POLITICS

Room TBA, TABLE 3, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30

Inf. Rnd. Consenting Adults? Amish "Rumspringa" and the Quandary of Exit in Liberalism

Steven V. Mazie, *Bard College*

Overview: According to liberal consent theory, every just society must give its citizens a right to leave. But what constitutes a meaningful right of exit? By examining the Amish practice of Rumspringa, in which 16-year-olds are allowed to run free of church strictures before deciding whether to be baptized, this paper re-evaluates the liberal notion of consent and the debate between "tolerance" and "autonomy" liberals. It contains sobering lessons for both camps.

19-14 RECENT FRENCH POLITICAL THOUGHT

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30

Chair **Christian D. Dean**, *Dominican University of California*
Paper Republicanism and Multiculturalism: Contradiction or Sociological Reality?

Charles M. Hoffman, *Indiana University*

Overview: TBA

Paper The American Michel Foucault Towards a Sociology of Theories

Sylvain Meyet, *University de Blois*

Overview: Working on the reception of Michel Foucault's work in the United States, my aim is not to understand why his theories became successful, but to analyse the social and intellectual processes through which some interpretations went. In brief, to answer the following question: How can we explain the multiple forms taken by the interpretations of his work in the United States? I concentrate on the reception of his theory of power in political science.

Paper Beyond the Republican Mold: Difference Politics and the Americanization of French Political Theory

Olivier Ruchet, *Institute of Politics, Paris*

Overview: Looking at the debate about secularism in French school and the Muslim veil controversy, this paper will propose an interpretation of the way French political theory has become increasingly influenced by its Anglo-Saxon counterparts to include notions of culture and identity in theoretical and sociological analyses of immigration and integration, breaking away from the traditional French Republican model.

Paper (En)gendering Representation: Sovereign Identity and Its Discontents

Verity Smith, *Harvard University*

Overview: This paper addresses recent constitutional debates in France over *parité* laws. The *parité* debates were considered by many to have created a crisis in representation. I turn to parallel debates regarding the relationship of sovereignty to representation in the 18th century, among thinkers such as Sieyès, Paine, Burke, Rousseau and Constant in order to show what it at stake in terms of national identity. I then draw on contemporary feminist and democratic theorists of identity and representation such as Scott, Butler, Cornell, Pitkin, and Scarry, in order to rethink the terms of the relationship. Ultimately, I advance an argument for a non-corporate understanding of sovereignty which relies on what I call "a politics of supplementarity" vis-a-vis representation. I conclude with suggestions as to institutional forms of representation appropriate to such a politics.

Disc. **Stephen F. Schneck**, *Catholic University of America*

20-12 GAME THEORETIC MODELS IN HISTORICAL AND CROSS-NATIONAL CONTEXT

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30

Chair **Ben Bishin**, *University of Miami*

Paper To Build or Not to Build – Applying a Prisoner's Dilemma to the Race for the Atomic Bomb in World War II

George P. Lynch, *Liberty Fund*

Overview: Why did Germany fail to build an atomic bomb during World War II? Historians have speculated that the head of the German nuclear research program, Werner Heisenberg, may have consciously obstructed Nazi progress on a bomb. I use several different constructions of the basic prisoner's dilemma model to explain why Heisenberg believed his actions would not only prevent construction of a German bomb but also may have limited Allied efforts to build an atomic weapon as well. I draw on existing historical research in this paper.

Paper The Influence of Presidential Power on Government Formation Process in Semi-Presidentialism

Shin-Goo Kang, *University of Rochester*

Overview: This paper presents two models of government formation process in semi-presidentialism: premier-presidentialism and president-parliamentarism. By comparing equilibrium outcomes drawn from two models, this paper provides different theoretical expectations about government formation process in two different institutional arrangements of semi-presidentialism.

Paper Tests for Strategic Voting in Recent French Elections

Jay K. Dow, *University of Missouri*

Overview: This study conducts individual-level tests for strategic voting in the first ballot of the 1988 and the 1995 French presidential elections. The study implements the Cox (1997) game theoretic model of voter decision calculus in dual-ballot elections as a statistical model of voter choice, using data obtained from the 1988 and 1995 French National Election Studies (FNES) and widely publicized polls. The French elections present important test cases for the existence of strategic voting in mass elections.

Disc. **Krishna Ladha**, *New York University*

21-6 PLEASE DON'T MAKE ME SHOCK YOU: EXPERIMENTAL AND QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL METHODS

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30

Chair **Christopher Achen**, *University of Michigan*

Paper Opportunities and Constraints of Using Quasiexperimental Inquiry Based Methods in Public Policy Analysis

Adrian S. Petrescu, *University of Toledo*

Senol E. Duman, *Atilim University, Ankara Turkey*

Overview: In this paper, we offer a systematic description of the use of quasiexperimentation and pragmatic eliminative induction in several policy analytical or program evaluation cases. We underscore the advantages and practical challenges to the methods' application. We exemplify by briefly applying the combined methods to such cases as assessing success of innovation or science and technology policies, forecasting or assessing success of implemented privatization policies, and assessing success of some Public Health programs. Combining Pragmatic eliminative induction with the use of other policy impact analytical tools should empower policy analysts and political scientists with a powerful, quasi-complete and now relatively affordable tool in their methodological toolbox.

Paper Experiments on the Uncovered Set

Gary J. Miller, *Washington University*

William Bianco, *Pennsylvania State*

Itai Sened, *Washington University*

Overview: The uncovered set is the object of a great deal of theoretical speculation, but no controlled laboratory experimentation. We report the results of the first systematic experiments testing the uncovered set as a solution concept. In particular we report test the robustness of the uncovered set

	<p>solution concept to subject level of sophistication, organizational and institutional design.</p> <p>Paper <u>Shaken, Not Stirred: Evidence on Ballot Order Effects from the California Alphabet Lottery</u> Kosuke Imai, <i>Princeton University</i> Daniel E. Ho, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: We investigate the effect of candidate ballot placement on voting by analyzing a rare natural experiment. Since 1975, California elections law has randomized the ballot order for statewide offices across Assembly Districts. Using a minimal set of assumptions, we introduce widely applicable statistical methods of analyzing experiments in political science. In contrast to the existing literature, we find that major candidates rarely experience any ballot order effect, while the effect on minor candidates is substantial.</p>	<p>issue advocacy. Recent campaign finance reform legislation and literature have attempted to collapse the distinction between these two types of advocacy, arguing that the “magic words” test is useless, and that issue advocacy is functionally indistinguishable from independent expenditures. However, the claim that issue advocacy and independent expenditures are indistinguishable raises an important question: why do interest groups make independent expenditures at all? We argue in this paper that the “magic words” test is in fact a meaningful distinction to politically active interest groups, and test this assumption by reviewing the contribution patterns of independent expenditure committees and interviewing a range of interest group contributors. We conclude that the “magic words” test is valid, and note that independent expenditures, unlike issue advocacy, can affect election outcomes.</p>
	<p>Paper <u>Comparing Experimental and Matching Methods using Two Large-Scale Field Experiments on Voter Mobilization</u> Kevin Arceneaux, <i>Yale University</i> Alan S. Gerber, <i>Yale University</i> Donald P. Green, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: Using data from a field experiment on voter mobilization, we assess propensity score matching methods. Matching has been increasingly suggested as a way to approximate an experimental design using observational data, which is often easier to obtain than experimental data. Despite the intuitive appeal of matching, it does not appear to eliminate the selection bias problems associated with observational data.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Party Finance Laws and Confidence in Politics</u> Susan E. Scarrow, <i>University of Houston</i> Overview: Many democracies have faced the challenge of devising rules to effectively limit the influence of money in elections. Countries have chosen a variety of approaches to this problem, ranging from capping spending and/or donations to requiring both donors and recipients to disclose their financial links. This paper asks whether a country's choice of regulatory emphasis seems to affect public perceptions of politics. Do some approaches seem to foster greater confidence that a country is being governed for the general benefit? To answer these questions the analysis employs data from both new and established democracies, including indices prepared by Transparency International, IDEA, and Freedom House, as well as data from the World Values surveys.</p>
Disc.	Andy Whitford , <i>University of Kansas</i>	Disc. David A. Dulio , <i>Oakland University</i>
22-11	<u>CAMPAIGN FINANCE IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE</u>	23-2 <u>THE INSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENCY</u>
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30	Room PDR 7, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Chair	Chapman B. Rackaway , <i>Fort Hays State University</i>	Chair Shirley Warshaw , <i>Gettysburg College</i>
Paper	<u>The Corruption of Campaign and Party Finance Laws</u> Carolyn M. Warner , <i>Arizona State University</i> Overview: This paper attempts to explore systematically the relationship between campaign/party finance laws and corruption. This paper, assuming strategic rationality on the part of politicians and firms, analyzes the incentives which party and campaign finance laws create for corruption, and the incentives (or lack thereof) which politicians have to regulate themselves and their parties. Evidence comes from a comparison across time of France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and the UK.	Paper <u>Budgeting for a New Imperial Presidency, 1974-2004</u> Andrew C. Rudalevige , <i>Dickinson College</i> Overview: This paper explores the history of the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control on its thirtieth birthday in 2004: has it succeeded in returning control over the budget process to Congress? If not, does contemporary budgeting simply reflect the need for a strong central executive in a government infinitely more complex than the Framers could have imagined? Or is the issue not an imperial president, but a Congress eager to shirk hard choices?
Paper	<u>Money to Burn: Party Finance and Party Organization in Germany and Austria</u> Claire M. Smith , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: To what extent have changes in party finance laws transformed party organizations in Germany and Austria? Hypotheses regarding fundraising, bureaucratic professionalism and membership relations are developed. These hypotheses are tested via interviews, survey data and financial reports of political parties in Germany and Austria. Results indicate that parties in Germany and Austria are becoming more sophisticated in their fundraising techniques. Furthermore, parties in both countries are becoming increasingly “professional” and bureaucratic. However, parties are not increasing membership recruitment or communications with current members.	Paper <u>Presidential Decisionmaking Effectiveness, 1940-2004: A Theory and Test</u> Matthew J. Dickinson , <i>Middlebury College</i> Overview: This paper proposes a formal theory of effective presidential decisionmaking, and tests that theory by analyzing the ways in which different presidents organized the presidency for decisionmaking during the period 1940-2000. It draws on these findings to issue guidelines for organizing the presidency for the 21st century. The focus is on presidential use of advisers
Paper	<u>Regulations Matter: How Interest Groups Navigate Campaign Finance Laws</u> Michael M. Franz , <i>University of Wisconsin - Madison</i> Overview: This paper is about how interest groups navigate the complex maze of rules and regulations surrounding campaign finance law. I investigate my claims by coding Advisory Opinions from the FEC (back to 1977, of which there are over 1,500) and court case abstracts (back to 1978, of which there are over 320).	Paper <u>Presidents and the Politicization of the Institutional Presidency</u> David E. Lewis , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: This paper analyzes when presidents politicize agencies in the Executive Office of the President (EOP). I explain when presidents have incentives to place loyal political appointees into important bureaucratic posts formerly held by career professionals or in new positions over career employees. I test claims with data on EOP agencies from 1939-2002.
Paper	<u>Interest Group Advocacy and the Power of “Magic Words”</u> D. E. Apollonio , <i>University of California, San Francisco</i> Margaret Carne , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Historically, U.S. campaign finance law has distinguished between interest group express advocacy and	Paper <u>A Framework for Understanding the Mind of White House Staff</u> Michael J. Burton , <i>Ohio University</i> Overview: This paper explores the worldview of presidential aides, who see the world as essentially chaotic, forever in need of leadership, and always in opposition to the premises of idealist thinking. The paper is based on the author's own professional experience in the Clinton White House (1993-98) as well as ongoing interviews with selected White House staffers (1981 to the present).
		Disc. Terry Sullivan , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i>

24-16 COMMITTEE AND PARTY LEADERSHIP SELECTION

Room BURNHAM 5, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30

Chair Frances E. Lee, *Case Western Reserve University*

Paper Rivals for Power: Leadership Challenges in the U.S. Congress

Matthew N. Green, *Yale University*

Overview: Members of Congress have at times attempted to replace their incumbent party leaders. Though such challenges are relatively rare, they can have considerable effects on legislative outcomes. Unfortunately, this phenomenon is relatively understudied, and the factors that make such challenges likely are not well understood. In this project I examine several historical cases of such events as evidence for a possible theory of congressional party leadership insurgency. I hypothesize that ideological preferences do not play as significant a role as one would expect in determining when or why a legislator would support a leadership opposition campaign. Rather, the likelihood that an individual legislator supports a challenge is affected by the degree to which the leader is perceived to have accomplished the collective goals of the party, and the particular stage of the leadership challenge.

Paper Does Where you Sit Depend on Where you Stand? An

Analysis of Members' Committee Positions

Kathryn Pearson, *University of California, Berkeley*

Overview: Do congressional party leaders exert discipline by rewarding loyalty when they allocate committee assignments, committee chairmanships, conference committee assignments, and legislative task force assignments from 1987-2002? The results support a "policy control" hypothesis: leaders indeed reward loyalty in voting. Leaders also pursue electoral goals by allocating key assignments to vulnerable members and to members who raise money for their party. The prioritization of leaders' policy and electoral goals depends on varying institutional and electoral factors.

Paper Committee Leadership, Seniority, and Orthodoxy

Russell D. Renka, *Southeast Missouri State University*

Daniel E. Ponder, *University of Colorado at Colorado Springs*

Overview: We model determinants of U.S. House standing committee chair positions from 1947 through 2003. Committee seniority survives since 1975 (with Democrats) and 1995 (Republicans) as a significant contributor, but is no longer dominant as it had been before 1975.

Paper Bigger is Not Always Better: Understanding Bias in Senate Committees

J. Mark Wrighton, *University of New Hampshire*

Geoffrey D. Peterson, *University of Wisconsin - Eau Claire*

Danielle L. Piper, *University of Wisconsin - Eau Claire*

Overview: Congressional parties play a pivotal role in the selection of committee members. The party caucus and conference decisions clearly affect the natures of represented preferences on committees. Given the importance of party as an organizing force in the United State Congress, we expect that the selection process is a nonrandom one driven by the decisions of a party's leadership. Further, as we have demonstrated elsewhere (Peterson and Wrighton 1998), failure to account for party contingents within committees misspecifies the assignment process. In the proposed conference paper, we assert that the inclusion of party contingents should produce significantly different results from previous efforts. Finally, we expect committees with particularized interests to possess party contingents which are ideologically distinguishable from the Senate as a whole, while those which affect a wider range of interests will have contingents indistinguishable from the Senate. Employing a Monte Carlo simulation technique and Wilcoxon difference-of-medians tests using multiple interest group ratings, we expect to be able to clarify the nature of ideological bias in committees of the United States Senate

Disc. Frances E. Lee, *Case Western Reserve University*

La Trice Washington, *Otterbein College*

25-4 THE CONSEQUENCES OF CONTRIBUTING: INDIVIDUALS, PARTIES AND PACS

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30

Chair Justin M. Buchler, *University of California, Berkeley*

Paper The Costs of Japan's Mixed-Member Electoral System

Matthew M. Carlson, *University of California, Davis*

Overview: I offer an empirical test whether there are discernible differences in the reports filed by candidates elected under different electoral rules—plurality rule and proportional representation—while controlling for the level of competition as well as district and candidate-specific characteristics. I demonstrate that the shift to new electoral rules has only lead to a small discernible difference in the amounts of income and expenditure utilized by politicians in Japan.

Paper The Signaling Effect of Political Party Contributions in Congressional Races

Garrett Glasgow, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

Sean Cain, *University of California, San Diego*

Overview: Political party contributions to Congressional candidates may be intended to signal close races to other types of contributors. We use FEC data from all competitive House races in 2000 and 2002 to test whether party contributions lead to a greater likelihood of contributions from other sources. We find that party contributions do have a signaling effect for PAC contributions, but not for individual contributions.

Paper PAC Campaign Contributions and Congressional Voting: Have Oil & Gas PAC Dollars bought the Drilling Rights in ANWR?

Zihua Liu, *SUNY at Buffalo*

Overview: This paper intends to explore the relationship between PAC campaign contributions and congressional voting. The study examined the House voting on Roll Call 317 in 2001, which aimed to ban the oil drilling in ANWR. The main hypothesis is that the PAC campaign contributions from the oil & gas industry (1999-2000) would increase the legislators' propensity to vote against the ban in the 107th Congress.

Paper Does Party Support Make Congressional Elections More Competitive?

Robert Lowry, *Iowa State University*

Overview: Previous research concludes that political parties focus their support for congressional candidates on the closest races. Does this make congressional elections more competitive, or does it just increase the intensity and expense of a few races that would be competitive anyway? I explore this question using data on individual House races, as well as statewide data where party support includes hard and soft money transferred to state and local committees.

Paper The Representative Relationship: Contributors' Contacts with their U. S. Senators

Lynda Powell, *University of Rochester*

John Green, *University of Akron*

Paul Herrnson, *University of Maryland*

Clyde Wilcox, *Georgetown University*

Peter Francia, *University of Maryland*

Overview: We examine who contacts their U. S. Senators and for what reasons. Using a survey of congressional campaign contributors, we model the contacting decisions of contributors as a function not only of their own goals, resources and party and issue compatibility with each Senator, but also in terms of the distinctive reputation each senator has created in contrast to the other senator in the state.

Disc. William V. Moore, *College of Charleston*

25-5 CAMPAIGN AGENDAS, ACTIVITIES AND STRATEGIES

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30

Chair Costas Panagopoulos, *New York University*

Paper Struggling to Set the Campaign Agenda: Re-examining Media Bias

Kristin L. Campbell, *McKendree College*

Overview: Scholars have examined a number of factors that affect the outcome of congressional elections, including

	challenger spending, incumbent spending, challenger quality, district and national partisan forces, and incumbent involvement in scandals (Jacobson 2001; Bond, Covington, and Fleisher 1985; Krasno and Green 1988). Yet, much less scholarly work exists on the role of the media in influencing congressional outcomes. This study will examine data collected from fourteen Senate races during the 1998 and 2000 election cycles, comparing candidate campaign messages and newspaper coverage over a three month period (August-November) to electoral outcomes.				
Paper	<u>Uncertainty, Information, and Polling in Congressional Campaigns</u> Quin Monson , <i>Brigham Young University</i> Overview: In congressional campaigns some of the best information informing strategic decisions comes from polling. However, there is considerable variation across campaigns in the amount of polling commissioned as well as the quality of data and the uses to which it is put. This paper provides a unifying theory about the role of polling in congressional campaigns and the factors that drive its use across a variety of campaign players and settings.			Paper	<u>Federal Court Nominations, the Role of Ideology, and the Threat of Filibuster</u> Jeff Hubbard , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: A game theoretic model of Judicial nominations making use of the ideologies of the President, the Senate, and the departing Justice to predict when we might expect a filibuster to occur. Then adding the "filibuster player" to the mix to more accurately predict the President's "points of constraint."
Paper	<u>Determinants of City Council Candidates' Campaign Activities</u> Paul B. Raymond , <i>University of Southern Indiana</i> Overview: This study examines the determinants of city council members' campaign activities and communications. Data is obtained from a questionnaire mailed to a regionally stratified, random sample of candidates seeking election to city councils across the United States. An analysis of these data suggests that city council candidates engage in more vigorous, complex, and sophisticated campaigns than is often presumed. The analysis reveals some differences in specific campaign practices that reflect candidate characteristics.			Paper	<u>Confirmation Criteria Revisited: Confirmation Criteria of Judicial Appointments in the Senate Judiciary Committee</u> Matthew A. Wavro , <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: The Senate Judiciary Committee has taken a much larger role in the confirmation of Article III judges over the last four congresses. This project is aimed at putting forth a model that attempts explanation of varying criteria over time. Using a coding method previously used for Supreme Court nominees, this analysis shows to what extent ideology and political calculations affect the criteria the committee uses to send nominations to the Senate floor for full consideration.
Paper	<u>Explaining Scope and Variation in Congressional Campaign Agendas</u> Tracy Sulkin , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Jillian Evans , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: We examine patterns in aggregate campaign agendas for a sample of approximately 1000 House and Senate candidates in the 1986-2002 elections. Contrary to some of the predictions of the larger congressional elections literature, our results indicate that these agendas are quite diffuse. We also find evidence of systematic variation in the scope, concentration, and content of candidates' agendas, across parties, across electoral status, and across time.			Paper	<u>Dollars and Sense: Campaign Contributions and State Supreme Court Elections</u> Chris W. Bonneau , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: In this paper, I examine the amount of campaign money that candidates for the state high court bench are able to raise. Specifically, looking at all contested state supreme court elections from 1990-2000, I ask: What factors enable candidates to raise money for their campaigns? Given the increasing costs of these elections, this is an important question that has yet to be answered.
Disc.	Scott J. Basinger , <i>SUNY - Stony Brook</i>			Paper	<u>Electing Trial Court Judges: Is this What We Expected: The California Experience?</u> Michael Semler , <i>California State University, Sacramento</i> Overview: California's trial court judges are elected officials, not just appointed. Over the past twenty years, these judges have participated in highly contentious and expensive election battles. Even though they are elected on a nonpartisan ballot, these judicial candidates appear to seek election and re-election using the same techniques as do other candidates for public office. This eight year study of trial court elections ask how independent are these judges?
26-9	<u>THE POLITICS OF DEATH IN THE UNITED STATES</u> Room Chair Paper TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30 Francis J. Carleton, III , <i>University of Wisconsin at Green Bay</i> The Texas Court of Criminal Appeals and the Death Penalty Craig F. Emmert , <i>Texas Tech University</i> Carol A. Traut , <i>University of Texas - Permian Basin</i> Overview: In this paper, my co-author Carol Ann Traut and I plan to examine death penalty cases decided by the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals from 1976-2000. We will analyze the effects of case characteristics and judges' attitudes on their decisions in these cases. We will also focus on the impact of victim and offender race.			Disc.	Elliot E. Slotnick , <i>The Ohio State University</i> Bradley C. Canon , <i>University of Kentucky</i>
Paper	<u>Staying Alive: Convicts' Level of Education and Chance of Escaping Execution</u> Jan P. Vermeer , <i>Nebraska Wesleyan University</i> Anthony Schmidt Overview: Offered as a poster presentation proposal, this research examines the factors that account for condemned prisoners on death row escaping execution.			28-201	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLES: ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY</u>
Disc.	Jeremy Buchman , <i>Long Island University</i> Tobias T. Gibson , <i>Washington University in St. Louis</i>			Room	TBA, TABLE 4, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
26-15	<u>THE POLITICS OF JUDICIAL SELECTION</u> Room Chair TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30 Elliot E. Slotnick , <i>The Ohio State University</i>			Inf. Rnd.	<u>Madison, Hume, and System Solutions for Atlanta's System Level Air Quality Problems</u> George W. Meals , <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: Atlanta's chronic air quality noncompliance requires system level solutions to address system level failures associated with federalism. This paper traces the links connecting Hume, Madison, and Atlanta's ozone compliance issues, and provides a dynamic simulation. The case study can be generalized to other urban areas.
				Inf. Rnd.	<u>Trustful and Influential?: An Analysis on Networks in Estuaries</u> Wendy Xinfang Gao , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: Using network data on 22 estuaries, this paper is to test how strength of an organization's ego network, which limited to contacts around a specific individual or organization, influenced its trustworthiness and its influence on opinions of other organizations within the network.
				Disc.	Larry B. Handlin , <i>Washington University</i>
				29-11	<u>MAKING URBAN POLICY</u>
				Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
				Chair	Robert M. Stein , <i>Rice University</i>
				Paper	<u>Shaping Urban Agendas: An Examination of State Intervention in Local Policy Arenas</u> Chelsea L. Haring , <i>Michigan State University</i> Richard Hula , <i>Michigan State University</i>

	Overview: The long-term trend of decentralization within the American federal system has provided state legislatures with greater power and responsibility. A common response of many state governments to expanded authority has been an increased willingness to restructure local politics in ways that reinforce state policy priorities. States influence local policy agendas in a variety of ways. In order to further explore and illustrate the nature and impact of this relationship we will focus on two key policy areas: education and environmental policy.	
Paper	<u>Two Cities: A Study of Agenda-Setting</u> Tony E. Wohlers , <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: Some policy issues tend to capture more serious attention by government than others. The research focus of this study is how issues rise, compete, prevail or fail to emerge on the local policy agenda. Relying on qualitative and quantitative methods, this paper will examine the relationship of the policy agenda to the public agenda, the media agenda, and positive feedback processes in the Cities of Rock Island, Illinois and Davenport, Iowa. The research questions are: 1) How is the policy agenda set in relation to the public agenda, the media agenda and positive feedback? 2) What prevents issues from penetrating the policy agenda or contributes to their displacement from it? and 3) To what extent do these types of agendas influence each other?	
Paper	<u>Benefits in the Absence of Pain? The Fiscal Effects of Rejecting Local Government Reform</u> Jered B. Carr , <i>Wayne State University</i> Wenjue Lu , <i>Wayne State University</i> Overview: This paper examines the question of whether attempts to substantially reform local governments may produce fiscal benefits to the community even when the reform is rejected by voters. The specific reform examined is city-county consolidation. Efforts to consolidate city and county governments are rarely approved by the communities in which they are proposed, but many analysts have suggested that the activity itself may often provide a benefit to the community. These suggestions, often appearing in individual case analyses of consolidation efforts that were rejected by the communities involved, are that the effort to restructure the two most important local governments in the area often results in other, less radical, changes being adopted following the rejection of the consolidation proposal. These less radical changes may include a greater use of interlocal agreements and contracting-out to achieve selected services consolidation or the formation of special district governments to provide selected services on a regional basis. Other changes may not be due to structural changes, but simply result from the efforts of public managers to seek out opportunities to improve productivity and reduce the cost of local government. To date, this question has not been subjected to systematic empirical analysis. Using a quasiexperimental design, this study examines the fiscal effects of rejecting reform in 25 different communities. Whether the analysis provides confirmation of the notion that the process has effects independent of the reform itself, or it shows that there is no evidence for this proposed effect, this study will fill an important gap in the literature on local government reform.	
Paper	<u>Architects of Their Own Demise: Conditions Affecting the Fall of Urban Empires</u> Jessica L.T. Hills , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: TBA	
Disc.	Brady Baybeck , <i>University of Missouri St Louis</i> Robert M. Stein , <i>Rice University</i>	
29-301	<u>POSTER SESSION: MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES IN URBAN POLITICS</u>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30	
Poster	<u>Fighting the Growth Machine: Can Minorities be saved from its Harmful Effects?</u> Nicole Reale , <i>Emory University</i> Overview: The urban growth machine has had a devastating effect on minority communities throughout the United States. Minorities are often saddled with the burdens of growth--	
	pollution, traffic, and declining tax base while more affluent communities are able to enjoy the benefits of growth. This paper seeks to examine how local officials, specifically county commissioners are dealing with this problem as well as the restraints they may face in the struggle to allocate resources equitably.	
Poster	<u>Redistricting and the Political Process: How the Return to Single-Member Districts Affects the Style of Representation and the Proceedings of City Councils</u> Michele Ann Davis , <i>University of Virginia</i> Overview: This paper shows the return to single-member districts in cities produces representatives more concerned about neighborhood priorities and concerns, but only in less affluent districts. Furthermore, it illustrates that the return to districts create a style of politics that is more contentious and decentralized. Finally, it shows the city manager and city staff assume greater responsibility for directing municipal policy in districted city councils.	
Poster	<u>Conditional Annexations: The Separation of Political and Economic Rights</u> Cynthia Jackson-Elmoore , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: A conditional land transfer agreement allows two jurisdictions to exchange land and share in tax revenues for the explicit purpose of economic development. These land transfers can result in a separation of political and economic rights; providing leverage on the role of institutions and governance that can be difficult to sort out in other situations. This paper examines these points in the context of examples from the state of Michigan.	
Poster	<u>Legislators and Lobbyists on What Makes Social Service Nonprofit Organizations Influential in State and Local Politics</u> Claudia A. Petrescu , <i>Eastern Michigan University</i> Overview: This paper analysis what makes social service nonprofit organizations influential in state and local politics, and how these organizations use their influence.	
Poster	<u>Electoral Systems, Government Structures, and Relationships between Elected and Appointed Officials: An Analysis of Factors affecting Efficiency and Effectiveness of Local Governments</u> Bonnie G. Mani , <i>East Carolina University</i> Patricia J. Mitchell , <i>East Carolina University</i> Overview: This is an analysis of factors that affect policy decisions that local government officials make. The hypotheses are that local government structure, the government's electoral system, and the race and sex of elected and appointed officials affect the distribution of services and programs to the community. The results may improve efficiency of local governments by reducing turnover of city and county managers--a significant problem in Pitt County and the City of Greenville, North Carolina.	
30-12	<u>WORK, WELFARE, AND CONSEQUENCES</u>	
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30	
Chair	Donald P. Haider-Markel , <i>University of Kansas</i>	
Paper	<u>The Threat of Welfare Migration: A Spatial Approach</u> Ryan T. Moore , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: In this paper, I investigate how the geographic distribution of population influences antipoverty policymaking in the states. Specifically, I test whether welfare benefit levels and time limits are affected by the size of poor or minority populations living near state borders. I estimate that doubling the black population living within fifty miles of the average state's borders would decrease that state's maximum annual welfare benefits by about \$220.	
Paper	<u>Battered Women's Shelter Staff and Welfare Reform</u> Sharon Chanley , <i>University of Illinois at Springfield</i> Overview: Congress adopted the Family Violence Option (FVO) to welfare reform of 1996, allowing states to waive the welfare limits for women escaping domestic violence. Arizona opted for the FVO in its welfare reform package. In this study, I contacted the battered women's shelters in Arizona to determine workers' knowledge base regarding the FVO. Findings	

Paper	<p>indicated: (1) lack of knowledge about the option and (2) lack of support by workers for welfare for battered women.</p> <p><u>How Do the Work Attachment Strategies Influence the Well-being of Welfare Leavers in 1999</u> Kyounghag Lee, <i>West Virginia University</i> Overview: This study explores whether different work first strategies of states are related to social, economic, physical, and psychological well-being of welfare leavers. In addition, this study attempts to explain what factors relate to the well-being of welfare leavers. This study contributes to analysis on the impact of different work first strategies of states on the well-being of welfare leavers.</p>	<p>representative democracy. The specific aim of this paper is to explore this question: what is the effect of professional associations on state and local public health officials in shaping the national bioterrorism policy? The methodology employed will use a case study approach to analyze the Homeland Security Act 2002.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Examining the Causal Story Behind Individuals and Bureaucratic Outputs</u> Vicky M. Wilkins, <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: Does the demographic make up of an agency influence the bureaucratic outputs it produces? This paper uses original individual level data to answer this question and provides further evidence of the link between descriptive and substantive representation for gender.</p>	<p>31-7 <u>BUREAUCRATIZATION AND ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP</u> Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30 Chair Mary Grisez Kweit, <i>University of North Dakota</i> Paper <u>Bureaucratization and Active Citizenship: Approaches to Administrative Reform</u> Thomas A. Bryer, <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: This paper presentation examines the relationship between the federal government and citizens from the nation's founding, through reinvention efforts, and into the future. It explores the theoretical bases of key administrative reform efforts in the context of how the people are perceived by public administrators. It also proposes a two dimensional framework of active citizenship and bureaucratization, within which is a classification construct containing four administrative approaches: administrative/law, reinvention/market, institutional participation, and post-modern participation.</p>
Disc.	<p><u>Understanding State Economic Development Policy in the New Economy: A Theoretical Foundation and Empirical Examination of State Innovation in the U.S. from 1990-2000</u> Jeremy L. Hall, <i>University of Kentucky</i> Overview: This research investigates new economy development capacity in the 50 U.S. states (and DC). Using most recent National Science Foundation State Science and Engineering Profile data, factor analysis is employed to arrive at common factors that explain the variability of state new economy development capacity in fewer dimensions. Data from a ten-year period is then compared to demonstrate changes in innovation capacity and the resultant impacts of those changes on state economies over time.</p>	<p>30-201 <u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: BUSINESS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT</u> Room TBA, TABLE 5, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30 Inf. Rnd. <u>A Sectoral Governance Perspective on the Role of Business in Public Policy</u> Richard Lehne, <i>Rutgers University</i> Overview: This paper examines middle-range perspectives on the place of business in the public policy literature. It adopts the actor-centered institutionalist framework suggested by Fritz Scharpf in Games Real Actors Play (1997). The paper argues that economic sectors are characterized by systems of sectoral governance that are the center of efforts by political and sectoral actors to shape the process of institutional development. These topics are explored by examining specific issues in modern communications policy.</p>
Disc.	<p><u>Professional Associations: Defining a Collaborative State and Federal Approach to the Homeland Security Act 2002.</u> Victoria A. Doyon, <i>George Mason University</i> Overview: This paper asserts that the role of associations in policy formation serves to synthesize the diversity of perspectives is central to intergovernmental relations and</p>	<p>Paper <u>Municipal Services, Citizen Involvement, and the Separation of Powers: Cracking the Chestnut Street Issue</u> Matthew R. Fairholm, <i>University of South Dakota</i> Drake T. Olson, <i>University of South Dakota</i> Overview: The case of Chestnut Street in a small, rural Mid-west city offers lessons that help illuminate issues surrounding direct democracy in local government policy making, by exploring the impact of direct democracy on local government and the ensuing interaction between the three branches of government. Recognizing the integration of the legislative, executive and judicial elements of local policy making will improve the content as well as the process of making collective decisions in municipal contexts.</p> <p>Paper <u>Living Up To The Ideals: Espoused Values and Their Link To American Values</u> Anna Marie Schuh, <i>Roosevelt University</i> Geralyn M. Miller, <i>IPFW</i> Overview: An analysis of the degree to which the espoused values of public managers are aligned with the set of core American ideals.</p> <p>Paper <u>Walking the Walk of Public Service: Civic Participation of Public Employees Through Volunteer Activities</u> David J. Houston, <i>University of Tennessee</i> Overview: The purpose of this project will be to examine the behavioral implications of the public service motive. This project will compare the volunteer activities of individuals employed inside and outside the public sector. Data from the 1998-2002 cumulative General Social Survey will be examined. Multivariate logistic regression models will be estimated to control for social and demographic factors that may confound the observed correlation between sector of employment and reported volunteer activities.</p>
Inf. Rnd.	<p><u>The USA PATRIOT Act: Implications for Private Email</u> Tina Ebenger, <i>Calumet College of St. Joseph</i> Overview: The USA PATRIOT Act gave law enforcement increased authority to monitor your private email. But have they? The privacy policy at three public ISPs, three educational institutions, and three private ISPs (businesses offering internet access to their employees) were investigated and the results were that your private email is just as private as before. Although the USA PATRIOT Act has been an infringement on civil liberties, it has not, as of yet, affected private email.</p>	<p>Paper <u>A Transcendence of Market and Hierarchy: E-government and Information Governance</u> Yuntsai Chou, <i>Yuan Ze University</i> Overview: By getting public services online, e-government is said to transform the public sector as an incentive-driven governance form. However, e-government is so distinct from the market governance as the latter fails to solve the information difficulties during transaction. This paper argues that e-government indeed transcends the two governance forms defined by Williamson to constitute a new governance structure—e-governance. The paper asserts the formation of e-governance by a comparative study of governmental and commercial portals. Both the means of advertisement and service charges were empirically tested to improve the portal performance and, therefore, e-governance.</p> <p>Disc. Mary Grisez Kweit, <i>University of North Dakota</i> Terence Garrett, <i>University of Texas-Pan American</i></p>

31-102 **ROUNDTABLE: PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PHILANTHROPY I MUSLIM SOCIETIES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Rndtbl. **Leslie Omoruyi**, *East Carolina University*
Ailele Okpogie, *The Grassroots Project*
Eghosa Osaghae, *University of Ibadan*
Amelia Fauzia, *University Islam Negeri Jakarta Indonesia*
Marwa El-Daly, *Center for Development Services*
Radwa El-Gaaly, *Philanthropy for Social Investment*

32-4 **COURTS, CITIZENSHIP, RIGHTS AND STATUS (Co-sponsored with Public Law, see 27-10)**

Room CLARK 3, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Chair **David Karol**, *University of California, Berkeley*
Paper **Statutory Business Incorporation Law in the States, 1865-1900**

Jonathan Chaus, *University of Texas at Austin*
 Overview: This paper examines the trajectory of statutory business incorporation law in the states from 1865-1900. This was the period of initial rapid industrial development in the United States, and fundamental rights of corporations changed drastically at this time. Drawing on Alfred Chandler to establish a standard of comparison, I then trace the trajectory of business incorporation law in the 38 states. I present frequency tabulations of major provisions and a statistical analysis on economic indicators.

Paper **Aboriginal Rights in Canada and the United States**

Ryan R. Hurl, *Cornell University*
 Overview: This paper compares the evolution of aboriginal rights jurisprudence in Canada and the United States over the course of the twentieth century, with special attention placed on the influence of changing legal-political ideology.

Paper **Beyond Coverture: Suffrage Discourse and Common Law Understandings**

Richard J. Meagher, *CUNY*
 Overview: Karen Orren has argued that the American labor movement forced judges to finally abandon common law understandings of workplace relations. The woman suffrage movement similarly confronted the legal doctrine of coverture, but appeared to have little effect upon judicial understandings of family relations. I suggest that this "failure" is related to the movement's use of two distinct, even contradictory, narratives or discourses.

Paper **The Not-So-Great Writ: Habeas Corpus and Slavery**

Justin Wert, *University of Pennsylvania*
 Overview: This paper will examine the Writ of Habeas Corpus within the milieu of ante-bellum chattel slavery. The political-legal status of the slave and his access to the writ is ambivalent and suggests that race challenges the historical (and current) understanding of Habeas Corpus as the "Great Writ." Shepardized cases during this period reveal that Habeas was employed as a mechanism for freeing fugitive slaves AND for returning slaves to their rightful owners.

Disc. **Howard Schweber**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

33-5 **ISLAMIC POLITICAL CULTURE**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Chair **Gunes Murat Tezcur**, *University of Michigan*
Paper **Muslims' Intellectual Civil Wars: The Democracy Debate**
Moataz M. Fattah, *Central Michigan University*
 Overview: This paper aims at unveiling the cultural sources from which ordinary Muslims draw their inferences about democracy. Based upon extensive interviews, focus groups discussions and content analysis of the contributions of Muslim intellectuals and ulama/scholars from eleven Muslim societies, the paper finds that there is an intellectual and ideological civil war among three uncompromising schools of thoughts in Muslim societies. The dearth of democracy in most Muslims societies can be best explained by understanding this intellectual tension.

Paper **Why Do People Support Political Islam? A Comparative Study of Eight Muslim Societies**

Min-Hua Huang, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: This paper investigates the reason why people support political Islam. The focus centers on three questions: (1) Are religious people in Muslim societies more likely to support political Islam? (2) What makes them support or not at the individual level? (3) How does political culture affect people's religiopolitical attitudes across different Muslim societies? Empirical findings show that cultural explanations are more powerful than socioeconomic explanations to explain the support of political Islam in the Muslim world.

Paper **Modernity, Identity, Conflict: Re-Imagining Islam and the West**

Necati Polat, *Middle East Technical University*
 Overview: The paper suggests to look into a set of issues virtually omitted in the ongoing debate on Islam, the West, and the confrontation of identities, seeking to probe into these questions particularly as shaped by the interaction of modernity and tradition in the Muslim societies of the new globalized world.

Paper **A Stoic Khomeini and How Poetry Incited the Iranian Revolution**

Micheal C. Struempfl, *University of Kansas*
 Overview: The intention of this paper is explain how the Ayatollah Khomeini was able to incite the Iranian society prior to the 1979 Revolution given the absence of theatrics and impassioned speeches. Khomeini's stoic image contrasts the textbook charismatic leader. Theatrics and propaganda were not necessary. Khomeini relied on the imagery of the Karbala, the symbols of martyrdom and self-sacrifice that are central to Shiism. Imagery kept alive by the popularity of taziya and marthiya in Iranian culture.

Disc. **Gunes Murat Tezcur**, *University of Michigan*

38-1 **SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY AND POLITICS IN THE AMERICAN STATES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SAT 3:30
Chair **Harrell Rodgers**, *University of Houston*
Paper **The Diffusion of Antismoking Policies among States and Localities**

Craig Volden, *Ohio State University*
Charles R. Shipan, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: This paper explores how anti-smoking policies in the areas of clean air regulations and youth access restrictions diffused across the American states and localities between 1980 and 2000. Much previous work has focused on policy diffusion across states, with little attention to the interaction between states and localities in policy formulation. This work advances the scholarship on policy diffusion with a series of event history analyses and other diffusion techniques.

Paper **Constraining Federalism: Re-Assessing Theory and Evidence on the "Race to the Bottom"**

Michael Bailey, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Scholars differ on what constitutes evidence of a "race to the bottom." This paper critiques existing answers and offers its own based on a formal model of individual and state level decision-making. The model predicts that competition does not induce "racing" among states, but does constrain spending to be less than states would spend were migration not a concern. I test the predictions of the model on panel data state welfare policies.

Paper **Pursuing Multiple Goals: Welfare Policy under Temporary Assistance for Needy Families**

Belinda C. Davis, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: This paper examines three major goals of welfare policy under TANF and attempts to explain the variation in this pursuit at the state level. This necessitates a recognition that different combinations of internal political factors, external political factors, and policy specific factors are at work driving the pursuit of these goals.

- Paper** **Early Expansion of Aid to Families with Dependent Children, 1935-1960**
Scott W. Allard, *Brown University*
Overview: Scholars of American federalism and intergovernmental relations frequently discuss the presence of intergovernmental competitive pressures inherent in our federal system, which constrain state governmental decisions about redistributive social welfare policies. Drawing on unique historical data regarding Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) between 1935 and 1960, cash assistance programs for low-income single parent households, I examine program benefit variation during the initial expansionary decades of the modern American welfare state. Historical data on ADC and AFDC benefit levels indicates that welfare program generosity increased in the years following its authorization in the Social Security Act of 1935. Further, states that were the first to implement Mothers' Aid programs prior to 1935 appear to be the most generous states once these Mothers' Aid programs become institutionalized as ADC.
- Disc.** **Joe Soss**, *University of Wisconsin - Madison*

Sunday, April 18 – 8:30 am – 10:15 am

2-12 ELECTORAL LAWS AND ELECTORAL LAW CHANGE

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30

Chair **Linda Chen**, *Indiana University South Bend*

Paper **Electoral Rule Changes and Trade Policy: Evidence from New Zealand**

Daniel Geffen, *Columbia University*

Overview: Recent scholarship suggests that proportional and single-member district systems should produce different patterns of trade protection. This paper uses case studies of trade policy in New Zealand before and after the adoption of new electoral rules in 1996 to evaluate these theories, and develops an argument for using this methodology to supplement statistical tests.

Paper **Electoral Institutions, Wage Inequality, and Government Ideology**

Duncan C. MacRae, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: In this paper, I take advantage of recently released data to directly test several arguments about the effect of electoral institutions and inequality on government ideology and preferences for redistribution. Among other things, I find that increasing earnings inequality produces more conservative (right-wing) governments. Growing inequality, therefore, helps to explain the broad-based ideological shift to the right experienced in many European countries in the 1980s and 1990s.

Paper **The Effects of Electoral Systems on Public Discourse: Newspapers in New Zealand**

Salomon Orellana, *Michigan State University*

Overview: Using Anthony Downs' theory of democracy, I hypothesize two things. First, the media in proportional democracies should give greater amounts of coverage to more parties than the media in SMDP systems. Second, because of this coverage we should also expect to observe a broader range, substantively (policy-wise and ideologically), of political discourse in the media of proportional democracies. Empirical evidence is sought in a content analysis of newspapers in New Zealand.

Paper **Electoral Systems and MP's Behavior - A Dual Comparison**

Yael Shomer, *Michigan State University*

Overview: A dual comparison between New Zealand and Germany is held in order to test the impact of different electoral systems on legislators' behavior. The methodology also addresses Krehbiel's criticism concerning the differentiation between the party hypothesis and preferences the hypothesis.

Paper **Differentiating Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: MMM, MMP, and Government Expenditures**

Frank C. Thames, *Texas Tech University*

Martin Edwards, *Texas Tech University*

Overview: The global explosion of mixed-member electoral systems has spurred significant research designed to measure their political effects. This task is complicated by the sheer variety among mixed system institutional rules. We examine whether the distinction between mixed-member proportional systems and mixed-member majoritarian systems matters by analyzing size of governments, as measured by state spending. As suggested by the political economy literature, our empirical analysis shows that the more proportional mixed-member proportional systems produce larger governments than mixed-member majoritarian systems produce.

Disc. **Christos Bourdoulakis**, *Augusta State University*

3-12 FOREIGN AID, POLICY DILEMMAS AND POLITICS

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30

Chair **Christopher J. Kirkey**, *Plattsburgh State University of New York*

Paper **Does Food Needs Determine United States Food Aid Flow to Sub-Saharan Africa?**

Augustine Hammond, *University of Akron*

Overview: Distributing food aid according to food needs (food aid targeting) is considered a panacea to solving the problem of food insecurity in developing economies. Yet, whether food needs predict food aid flow has not been systematically examined. Regression analysis of panel data for five Sub-Saharan African countries for 1970-2000 reveals that food needs does not significantly determine food aid flow. Contrarily to expectation, food aid distribution did not favor countries with relatively severe financial problems.

Paper **The Poverty of Economics Reform in Developing Countries: The Blind Donor Meets the Deaf Recipient**

Jean G. Tompihe, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: I argue that growth performance depends on the incentives and constraints that face leaders. The contentious role of ineffective conditionality combined with massive aid increases has helped sustaining inefficient policies in some failed economies. My theoretical results show how predatory rulers took advantage of the aid relationship and adjusted their public policies. They subsidized to their pivotal allies in minimum winning coalition and made their tenure less insecure than it would have otherwise been.

Paper **U.S.-Central American Relations: Rebuilding Images, Rebuilding a Region**

Vincent T. Gawronski, *Birmingham-Southern College*

Overview: This paper strives to uncover how Central Americans perceive U.S. development aid to the region and how these perceptions influence opinions about the United States.

Paper **African State Policies on HIV/AIDS: A Comparison of Ghana and South Africa**

Amy S. Patterson, *Calvin College*

Bernard Haven, *Calvin College*

Overview: This paper compares policies to address HIV/AIDS in Ghana and South Africa. The work examines how variables such as civil society pressure, reliance on international donors, political leadership, and the neopatrimonial nature of the African state have influenced policies on HIV/AIDS in each country.

Disc. **Christopher J. Kirkey**, *Plattsburgh State University of New York*

3-18 PARTY DEVELOPMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30

Chair **Gina Lambright**, *Indiana University*

Paper **Coalition Governance in Eastern Europe: How Portfolio Allocation Differs in Eastern and Western Europe**

James N. Druckman, *University of Minnesota*

Andrew Roberts, *Northwestern University*

Overview: We explore the allocation of portfolios in Eastern Europe. In advanced Eastern European countries, we find patterns of allocation mimic Western Europe. In less advanced countries, we find distinct dynamics.

Paper **States Conditions Encouraging Electoral Support for India's Bharatiya Janata Party**

Matthew Hoddie, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: This paper seeks to identify conditions encouraging electoral support for the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in India. Employing data available at the level of the state, the paper's statistical findings indicate that the BJP tends to gain greater support from wealthier and more industrialized regions of the country. The paper concludes with a discussion of competing explanations for why the BJP has proven so effective in generating support from among India's most economically-advanced states.

Paper **Networks in Political Parties of South Korea: Competition for the Party Endorsement**

Sangshin Lee, *University of Iowa*

Dong-hun Kim, *University of Iowa*

Overview: Because of strong party identification in Korean politics, party endorsement is critical for the candidates to win the election. Why some get party endorsement but some don't? What determines the winners and losers in candidate-endorsement process? Applying network model, this paper

studies the factors that influence a candidate-wannabe's chance to get endorsed

Paper **Globalization and the Rise of Left-Wing Parties in South Korea**
Jungkeun Yoon, *Claremont Graduate University*
 Overview: This paper examines factors contributing to a sudden rise of left-wing parties in South Korea. It argues that globalization and economic insecurities the globalization produced have made voters give more electoral support to left-wing parties in South Korea for the public provision of social protection and that an actual expansion of the welfare state during the tenure of the left-wing government led to the electoral success of left-wing parties in South Korea. Thus unlike the arguments of convergence thesis, the agenda of left-wing parties by expanding the welfare state has been popular in south Korea in a globalization era.

Disc. **Ellen Lust Okar**, *Yale University*

4-12 **PARTY-SYSTEM INSTITUTIONALIZATION**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30
Chair **Iren Omo-Bare**, *Millsaps College*
Paper **New is Better? Party System Change and Stability in Eastern Europe**

Margit Tavits, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: This paper focuses on the emergence and success of new parties in new democracies. Using data from fifteen East European countries for all democratic elections held I show that electoral institutions have an effect on the emergence of new parties. The electoral success of new parties, however, is contingent upon the political performance of the government of the day.

Paper **Why Not Boycott? Public Finance of Political Parties and Party Election Boycotts**
Emily A. Beaulieu, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: : This paper models election boycotts as strategic decision that political parties make, in light of both the benefits associated with a boycott and the costs. I focus in particular on whether the provision of public finance for political parties affects the decision to boycott.

Paper **Political Parties in New Democracies: Learning, Wealth, or Context?**
Marc R. Rosenblum, *University of New Orleans*
Michael Huelshoff, *University of New Orleans*
Xinmin Liu, *University of Memphis*
 Overview: Earlier research has demonstrated that there are significant differences in the determinants of the number of political parties in a system as a function of experience with democracy. In short, institutions have greater explanatory power in established democracies, and social cleavages appear more important in newer democracies. Yet existing work fails to distinguish among three rival interpretations for this pattern: that institutional effects are learned, that high levels of wealth break up patronage systems based on social cleavage patterns, and/or that differences in the social context within which democracy develops determine the number of parties. This paper employs a new data set to test these competing hypotheses in both cross-sectional and time-series, cross-sectional analyses. Preliminary evidence suggests that the length of experience with democracy per se is the most important determinant of the dynamics of party systems, providing support for the institutional learning hypothesis.

Paper **Tentative: The Fluidity of Party Systems in New Democracies**
Eunju Kang, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: This paper suggests that a change over time in voting behavior among voters in new democracies facilitates democratic consolidation at the early stage of democracy, specifically the emergence of issue-oriented voters. New democracy voters seem to have a different pattern of voting behavior from the counterpart. The characters and backgrounds of candidates seem to be more appealing than the party labels and platforms that candidates stand for in election. At the surge of diverse political groups at the early stage of democracy, ethnic or regional cleavages provide an easy cue for voters

when they face a voting decision and political entrepreneurs capitalize on such cleavages in order to accomplish their political ambitions. The prevalence of ethnic or regional cleavages in new democracies therefore often makes the majority voters disregard the specific political agenda as a determinant in voting decision. For the empirical evidence from a new democracy, this paper investigates a change in voting behavior though Korean presidential elections. The dominance of regionalism-based voters at the beginning of new democracy waned and instead the portion of issue-oriented voters grew towards the recent election. Regionalism surfaced the most salient dimension in the first presidential election after democratization. But in the second election the emergence of the new generation of issue-oriented voters was observed mostly in the form of supporting third parties. Ten years later in 2002, the new generation of issue-oriented voters expanded their share in the electorate and became the main force in electing the current president. This paper identifies the issue-oriented voters as young educated voters and explains their growth and voting patterns. In addition to study on electoral returns, I conduct logistic regression analyses based on a series of post-election survey data regarding presidential elections.

Disc. **Robert W. Mickey**, *University of Michigan*

4-207 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CHALLENGES TO GOVERNANCE IN SOUTH KOREA**

Room TBA, TABLE 1, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30
Inf. Rnd. **"Wild Fire" in South Korea: Spatial Effects of Protest and Repression**

Taehyun Nam, *University of Kansas*
 Overview: This paper addresses a gap in the literature on protest and repression: how do protest activities spread? Using techniques from political geography, the paper studies presence of spatial autocorrelations and contagion of protests.

Inf. Rnd. **The Unravelling of Korea's Miracle Economy and the Politics of Gridlock**
Young W. Kihl, *Iowa State University*
 Overview: A case study of South Korea's democratic consolidation, 1998-2003

4-208 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: DYNAMICS OF SEPARATISM IN POST-SOVIET STATES**

Room TBA, TABLE 2, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30
Inf. Rnd. **After Sovereignty: The Demobilization of Ethnonationalism**
Donna Bahry, *Pennsylvania State University*
 Overview: How is public support for ethnonationalism affected when central governments seek to contain such movements? This paper explores public responses to recentralization among ethnic groups that claimed sovereignty in Russia during the 1990s.

6-9 **POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND ORIENTATIONS IN CHANGING SOCIETIES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30
Chair **Andrew Konitzer-Smirnov**, *Baylor University*
Paper **The Formation of Political Preferences in Postcommunist Russia**

Judith S. Kullberg, *Marshall University*
 Overview: How do voters acquire preferences for particular parties and candidates? Within political science, three competing theoretical approaches – rational-choice, contextual/institutional, and cultural – offer different accounts of the formation of preferences. By exploring how individuals acquired their party preferences in the critical Russian case, the paper seeks to establish the foundation for an empirically grounded model of political preference formation.

Paper **A View of the Other: Young Romanian Attitudes Toward the Roma Minority**
Steven J. Green, *Central European University*
 Overview: The purpose of this study is to explore the attitudes of the Romanians towards the Roma. There is no attempt, however, to capture a representative sample of all Romanians.

	<p>Instead, the survey focuses on the attitudes of young, educated Romanians who are about to enter the social, political and economic mainstream of Romanian society. They represent the economic and political elite of the future Romania, and will decide how Romanian society interacts with their Roma minority. The importance of understanding their perceptions of the Roma is equally important to the implementation of structural changes. Legislation, arbitration, conflict resolution strategies and other remedies are important for ensuring that the structural environment facilitates positive interactions, but it is the people who give those structural changes reality. Without the support of Romanian society, any changes or new initiatives are doomed to mediocrity or failure.</p>	<p>informal institutional arrangements attenuate collective action dilemmas. We posit a simple model of capability change that illustrates how groups adapt to a changing strategic environment. We then apply the model to case studies of several episodes of Chechen mobilization in the 1990s.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Political Attitudes of the Masses and Leaders in the Chinese Village: Attitude Congruence and Constraint</u> Chen Chen, <i>Old Dominion University</i> Overview: Do ordinary villagers and cadres in the Chinese village share similar attitudes toward major sociopolitical issues? Do these two groups construct their respective attitudes in a similar way? This paper addresses these two crucial questions based on the data collected from both villager and cadre surveys in a rural setting. The findings of this study have strong implications not only for the ongoing interaction between these two sets of political players, but also for sociopolitical stability in rural China.</p>	<p><u>An Ethnic Dimension to Foreign Policy?: The Influence of Transnational Ethnic Linkages on Foreign Policy Behavior.</u> Ozlem Elgun, <i>Emory University</i> David R. Davis, <i>Emory University</i> Overview: This paper will contribute to the general debate on how state level attributes influence the foreign policy behavior of states, by way of examining the ethnic composition of states. In particular, we argue that the foreign policy interactions of states will be affected by the existence of transnational ethnic linkages, using data on the foreign policy interactions of all states during the 1990s.</p>
Paper	<p><u>A Regional Analysis of the Correlation Between Income Inequality, Voting Turnout and Partisan Orientation: A Case of Poland</u> Piotr R. Paradowski, <i>Loyola University Chicago</i> Overview: This paper is designed to test if the application of well-known (to scholars of Western democracies) relationship between voting turnout coupled with a presence of "leftist" governments and income inequality is relevant to the case of Poland by using the micro-datasets from the Luxembourg Income Study. This test is performed on the regional level and covers three income surveys (1992, 1995 and 1999) as well as three national elections to parliament (1991, 1993, and 1997).</p>	<p><u>Ethnic Fractionalization as a Correlate of Interstate Peace</u> Trevor P. Rubenzer, <i>University of Wisconsin Milwaukee</i> Overview: This paper examines the role of ethnic fractionalization in interstate conflict. Building on the theoretical proposition that the process of state building places heavy demands on the capacities of states, several mechanisms are examined by which ethnic fractionalization serves to limit the ability of states to enter into war or to escalate conflict at a lower level. It is hypothesized that increased levels of ethnic fractionalization will lead to lower probabilities of war and MID.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Determinants of Protest Activity in the Czech Republic, Poland, and Russia</u> Olena Nikolayenko, <i>University of Toronto</i> Overview: Protest activity constitutes an important part of democratic politics. In the post-communist context, the propensity to challenge authorities can be treated as a sign of changing public attitudes toward political participation. Using data from the 1990-2000 World Values Survey, this study examines determinants of protest activity potential in the Czech Republic, Poland, and Russia. Structural equation modeling is employed to investigate the effects of socioeconomic status and authority patterns in three post-communist countries. Results suggest that socioeconomic status is the best predictor of protest activity potential in the Czech Republic, whereas authority patterns demonstrate the strongest explanatory power in Russia. Poland falls between the two cases because it is receptive to influences of both explanatory variables. The findings of this study suggest that contextual variables should be taken into account to adequately explain political behavior of individuals in a state.</p>	<p><u>Zaryab Iqbal</u>, <i>Emory University</i></p>
Disc.		<p><u>CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON GLOBALIZATION, CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30 Ann Wyman, <i>Missouri Southern University</i></p>
7-11		
Room		
Chair		
Paper	<p><u>The Memories of Sacred Stones - Managing Ethnic Conflicts over Absolute Space</u> Tova C. Norlen, <i>Johns Hopkins University</i> Overview: TBA</p>	<p><u>Rethinking the Globalization of Business: The Institutional Limits</u> Pablo Toral, <i>Beloit College</i> Overview: It is becoming an undisputed truth among some students of globalization that multinational enterprises are the big winners: they move freely, operate virtually everywhere, escape the control of governments, and, when conditions in one country are not good, they leave. By looking at the steps taken by Spanish service firms to globalize, I will debunk these assumptions, arguing that service firms are bound by the institutional and cultural contexts in which they operate.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Accounting for the Unaccounted: Latent Institutionalized Systems of Violence in Power Relations Among Groups</u> Scott Edwards, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Mike G. Findley, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana - Champaign</i> Overview: This paper addresses the puzzle of how ostensibly powerless groups are able to triumph in ethnic and civil wars. We explore this puzzle by identifying possible ways in which</p>	<p><u>Tricky Business: Challenging Risk Theory and its Vision of a Better Global Future</u> Francois Debrix, <i>Florida International University</i> Overview: Over the past 10 years, risk theory has been one of the most fashionable theoretical models used to analyze the crises of late-modern society. Risk theory has been deployed as a response to many destabilizing trends and fear-inducing phenomena of the 1990s to offer some explanations for the social crises inherent in the era of globalization. But it also claims to be able to provide people the world over, not just in the West, with radical social solutions for a better future. This paper reviews and critiques risk theory as an approach to global relations and argues that, perhaps not too surprisingly, risk theory reinforces the idea and practices of globalization that it seeks to challenge in the first place.</p>
Disc.	<p>William Zimmerman, <i>University of Michigan</i> Irina Tomescu, <i>Ohio State University</i></p>	<p><u>Agency, Freedom, and Cosmopolitanism in the Global Polity</u> Scott Nelson, <i>Virginia Tech</i> Overview: TBA</p>
7-11		
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Paper		
Disc.		<p>Timothy W. Luke, <i>Virginia Tech</i></p>
8-11		
Room		
Chair		<p><u>QUANTITATIVE ASSESSMENTS OF THE EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30 Hasan Kirmanoglu, <i>Istanbul Bilgi University</i></p>

Paper	<p><u>Modeling Spatial Relationships in International and Comparative Political Economy: An Application to Globalization and Capital Taxation in Developed Democracies</u> Robert J. Franzese, <i>University of Michigan - Ann Arbor</i> Jude C. Hays, <i>University of Michigan - Ann Arbor</i> Overview: We evaluate the performance of several simple and sophisticated spatial-dependence estimators under 3 types of spatial correlation and develop techniques to help analysts diagnose, characterize, and gauge various sorts of spatial correlation, and to choose and interpret appropriate estimators for their objectives. We leverage globalization and capital taxation as substantive venue to start such methodological explorations, introducing a "spatial error-correction model," explaining how it derives directly from theoretical models of tax-competition and reflects directly the diffusion process central to that theoretical argument, and estimate it from data on capital taxation and political-economic conditions in 12 OECD countries, 1966-96, finding strong, but not total, constraining/diffusion effects of capital mobility on domestic autonomy in taxation, effects which vary across dyads and time in ways easily explained substantively by the political-economic context.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Public Perceptions of the European Power Hierarchy and Support for a Common Foreign and Security Policy</u> Gaspard M. Genna, <i>Winona State University</i> Overview: I analyze (employing social identity theory) of citizen support for the European Common Foreign and Security Policy, which depends on the level of trust given to French and German leadership and greater exposure to the concepts and practice of integration among the publics of the first twelve members. The data on public attitudes and control variables come from various years of Eurobarometer surveys. The analysis employs ordered logit regression models and plots of predicted probabilities.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Globalization, Abundant Factors, and Social Policies</u> Chad C. Haddad, <i>Washington University in St. Louis</i> Andrew G. Sobel, <i>Washington University in St. Louis</i> Overview: Our theory synthesizes Hirschman (1972) and Rogowski (1990) for countries under free trade arrangements to show that the notion of credible commitment actually weakens the influence of abundant factors who can exit the domestic economy in terms of their public policy preferences.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Analyzing American Foreign Policy, 1824-1870: Presidents as Products of Their Times</u> Jack E. Holmes, <i>Hope College</i> Kurt A. Pyle, <i>Hope College</i> Matthew A. Schwieger, <i>Hope College</i> Overview: Making use of Frank L. Klingberg's Cycle of American Foreign Policy Mood, this paper analyzes American history from 1824 to 1870 to determine whether a dichotomy in American foreign policy exists and what indicators are what indicators are most indicative of this split. Making use of statistical testing, it is noted that economic prosperity, the generational background of the President and naval power are important indicators of the nature of American foreign policy mood.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Open Markets, Healthy People? Economic Globalization and Health, 1960-2000</u> Robert E. Sterken, <i>The University of Texas at Tyler</i> Larry Carter, <i>The University of Texas at Tyler</i> Overview: How has economic globalization affected the health of people in less developed states in the fifty-odd years since the end of World War II? This paper analyzes the role of three main mechanisms of economic globalization — trade, production, and finance — and their connections to the health of the populations within developing states.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Surge and Decline: British Public Opinion and Crises in Foreign Policy From Suez to Iraq</u> Nicol C. Rae, <i>Florida International University</i> Kathryn DePalo, <i>Florida International University</i> Overview: This paper examines and compares occasions when foreign/defense policy has become atypically salient in British Public opinion by examining public opinion data on the Suez crisis, the Falklands war, the Gulf War, Kosovo, and the Iraq war.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Globalization, the Ideological Position of the Government, and Income Inequality</u> Eunyoung Ha, <i>University of California at Los Angeles</i> Overview: The goal of this paper is to analyze the relationship between globalization and income inequality in both developed and developing countries with important political factors: the strength of leftist party and labor unions.</p>	Disc.	<p><u>ANALYZING SECURITY: THE US, CHINA, KOREA, AND IRAN</u> Paul Bolt, <i>U.S. Air Force Academy</i> Comprehending the Strategic Ambiguity: A Game Theoretical View of the Taiwan Issue Dong Wang, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: How the dynamics of the "strategic triangle" consisting of the U.S., Mainland China and Taiwan to be understood? Under what conditions the equilibrium of status quo holds? How will the U.S. commitment to defending Taiwan affect the equilibrium outcomes of the game? How the so-called strategic ambiguity policy is to be explained? By developing a game theoretic model, this paper will provide theoretical answers to those unresolved questions, drawing out both theoretical and policy implications. A historical examination of the interactions between the U.S., Mainland China, and Taiwan since the Korea War will be done to further illustrate the model.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Paths to Globalization: the Cross-National Diffusion of ISO 14001</u> Matthew Potoski, <i>Iowa State University</i> Aseem Prakash, <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: We will investigate ISO 14001 adoption rates for over 80 countries from 1997-2002. We will examine whether and how various types of globalization pressures -- economic, sociological and institutional -- influence country-level ISO 14001 adoption rates. We will use a host of controls to capture the influence of domestic political economy variables.</p>	Paper	<p><u>When Governments Collide in the Taiwan Strait</u> Patrick C. Bratton, <i>The Catholic University of America</i> Wallace J. Thies, <i>The Catholic University of America</i> Overview: TBA</p>
Disc.	<p><u>Mark A. Kayser</u>, <i>University of Rochester</i> Hasan Kirmanoglu, <i>Istanbul Bilgi University</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>The Future of the U.S. Military Presence in Northeast Asia</u> Kuo-cheng Chang, <i>University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee</i> Overview: TBA</p>
9-13	<p><u>PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30 Richard Sobel, <i>Harvard University</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>The 1972 Sino-American Rapprochement and Its Implications in Northeast Asia: Why Small Countries Pursue Nuclear Weapon?</u> Taewan Kim, <i>University of Colorado at Boulder</i> Overview: The 1972 US-China rapprochement was a beginning of the detente in 1970s. However, unlike its conventional understanding, that was domestically regarded a serious threat to two Koreans' national security. Two Koreas began to dream of nuclear weapons despite the cooperative outfit.</p>
Room		Paper	
Chair		Paper	
Paper	<p><u>The Repeal of Section 907: Domestic Determinants of American Foreign Policy in Azerbaijan</u> Amir Azarvan, <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: This paper offers new insights into U.S. foreign policy with regards to the war over Nagorno-Karabakh (1988-1994). In challenging the realist take on the conflict, it emphasizes the importance of domestic interest groups - particularly ethnic lobbyists and oil companies - in identifying the conditions under which America's position has changed.</p>		

Paper **The Third Axis of Evil: Should the U.S. Pursue Regime Change in Iran Next?**
Michael R. Sheets, *Marquette University*
 Overview: The U.S. policy towards Iran is on the course towards pursuing regime change. Iran is slowly crumbling since the 1979 revolution. Many promises and governing tactics of the Ayatollah are creating a backlash by the "Third Force" against the regime. Basically, many scholars believe that Iran is going to fall by itself and that it does not need any help from the U.S. In fact, the United States could make the situation far worse by intervening.
Disc. **Paul Bolt**, *U.S. Air Force Academy*

11-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE POLITICS OF APPEARANCE

Room TBA, TABLE 3, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30
Inf. Rnd. **Perceptions of Obesity and Candidate Choice**
Eric Oliver, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: Obesity is becoming an important political issue both in terms of public health policy and in terms of size discrimination. Yet little research has examined what Americans think of obesity or how they even understand the terms. This paper reports the result of an experiment with an internet survey of over 800 Americans measuring their perceptions of obesity and their evaluations of candidates for a local political office. Respondents are asked to choose between two candidates for a city council race with a brief listings of their qualifications and a photo. In the control condition, both candidates are thin, "attractive" white women; in the experimental condition, one of the photos of the women is "morphed" to make her appear visibly overweight. Later, respondents are shown a series of ten computer generated images of the same person at 10 different body sizes. Respondents are asked to choose which image they think is "overweight" and which is "obese." Finally, respondents are asked a series of questions regarding what they view as the attributions for obesity: individual moral failure, environmental conditions, and/or genetics. The paper will explore the correlation between these items and test the hypothesis that people who are more likely to perceive individual sources of obesity and have a low threshold for identifying someone as obese, are more likely to choose a thin subject over a heavy one in the experiment pool.

Inf. Rnd. **Appearance Effects on Campaign Survival in the 2000 and 2004 Presidential Primaries.**
Margaret A. Curran, *Stockton College*
 Overview: TBA

11-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE POLITICS OF DELIBERATION

Room TBA, TABLE 4, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30
Inf. Rnd. **The Dynamics of Democratic Deliberation: An Experimental Study of Different Deliberative Formats**
Shawn Rosenberg, *University of California, Irvine*
 Overview: This paper reports an empirical investigation of the individual and group effects of three different ways in which democratic deliberation may be conducted. The first reflects the politeness orientation of most current deliberative practice. The second reflects the focus on arguing with reasons that is consistent with much Anglo-American theorizing about deliberation. The third way of conducting a deliberation reflects the Habermasian theory of communicative action. The efficacy of these types of deliberations are studied by examining the deliberations of six citizen groups that are focusing on educational goals and practice in their school district. The analysis focuses on individual level effects on attitudes, identifications and political reasoning and group level effects related to the quality of the discourse.

Inf. Rnd. **Who Cares About Deliberation and Why It Does (and Doesn't) Matter**
Keena Lipsitz, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: Using data from a survey of 2000 Californians, I examine the roots and implications of citizen commitment to the

value of deliberation. The findings suggest that deliberation is an important element of the American political ethos and deserves more attention from scholars.

11-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE ROLE OF FAIRNESS IN POLITICS

Room TBA, TABLE 5, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30
Inf. Rnd. **Getting People to Accept Unfair Outcomes: The Importance of Decision-Maker Traits**
John R. Hibbing, *University of Nebraska - Lincoln*
Christopher W. Larimer, *University of Nebraska*
Levente Littvay, *University of Nebraska*
Kevin B. Smith, *University of Nebraska*
 Overview: Original laboratory experiments are used to demonstrate that people are more likely to accept unfavorable political decisions when those decisions are made by people who did not want to be in a position to make decisions. In evaluating decisions, people take into consideration not just how favorable the decision is to them but also the motives and characteristics of the deciders.

Inf. Rnd. **Are You Listening?: Voice, Outcomes, and Fairness Amid Real Political Controversy**
Christopher F. Karpowitz, *Princeton University*
 Overview: This paper offers new insights into scholarly debates about procedural justice by moving outside the laboratory to explore the attitudes of real citizens enmeshed in a real political controversy. These citizens had an opportunity to express voice in two distinct formats – one an attempt to replicate the sorts of "ideal deliberation" envisioned by some democratic theorists, the other a more familiar but conflict-ridden opportunity for public talk in front of the local town council. Thus, I am able to test the impact of voice across two very different discursive opportunities. In exploring these issues, I draw on a new data set that includes both citizens who took part in each of the two participatory opportunities as well as citizens who did not attend meetings or speak up. With the help of these rich data, I contribute a unique perspective to the debates about procedural justice.

12-14 PROBLEMS WITH ELECTIONS AND PROBLEMS AND REFORM

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30
Chair **Vincent L. Hutchings**, *University of Michigan*
Paper **Before Florida: Voting Equipment and Residual Votes Since 1980**
Laurel Elms, *University of California, Berkeley*
Samantha Luks, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: Using county-level and precinct-level election returns, we examine the number of residual (invalid) votes in general elections over the past two decades. By expanding the time series to elections as early as 1980, we are able to estimate the effects of voting equipment, electoral competitiveness, ballot layout, and other factors that vary from year to year.

Paper **Early and Absentee Voting and Unrecorded Votes in the 2002 Midterm Election**
David C. Kimball, *University of Missouri-St. Louis*
Martha Kropf, *University of Missouri - Kansas City*
 Overview: We examine the growing use of early and absentee voting methods and their impact on unrecorded votes in the United States. The analysis focuses on seven states during the 2002 midterm elections and also examines voting technology and ballot design. We expect that an understanding of not just equipment, but also ballots and early voting will play an important role in the implementation of the "Help America Vote Act" which Congress passed in 2002.

Paper **Managing the Electoral Process: Implementing Federal Electoral Legislation at the State Level**
Donald E. Greco, *Baylor University*
 Overview: This paper focuses on the manner and effect of implementing Federal electoral legislation at the state level. In particular it asks the question; how does the state-level "political context" in which electoral reform is implemented affect the effectiveness of that legislation?

Paper **The Help America Voter Act: Current Implementation and Problems Status**
Richard D. Chesteen, *University of Tennessee at Martin*
 Overview: The Help America Vote Act was a response to the events related to the 2000 presidential election which revealed a number of flaws with state voter registration and election systems. It was expanded to cover other issues such as voting access for people who are physically or visually challenged. The law allocated money to all the states to be used for the purchase of modern voting systems. While the law is well intended a series of problems have arisen with efforts to place provisions of the law into effect. This paper is an assessment of where the laws currently is in its implementation.

Paper **Losers' Support for Electoral Reforms**
Todd Donovan, *Western Washington University*
Shaun Bowler, *University of California, Riverside*
 Overview: We examine the effect of electoral losses on support for electoral reforms among the mass public. We conduct random assignment experiments designed to test how people respond to electoral reform proposals when proposals are presented as gains or losses. We also test how the cumulative effect of electoral losses affect support for reforming congressional elections and the electoral college.

Disc. **Chris Owens**, *Texas A&M University*
Vincent L. Hutchings, *University of Michigan*

12-25 **THE IMPACT OF TURNOUT ON OUTCOMES IN AMERICAN ELECTIONS**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30
Chair **William Misher**, *University of Arizona*
Paper **Partisan Bias in Declining Turnout, 1964-2000**
Jonghoon Eun, *University of Texas at Austin*
 Overview: I developed my own concept of UP index for the analysis of partisan gap in turnout. My empirical research will serve to evaluate how equally contemporary American politics represents its citizens on the basis of partisanship.

Paper **Low Voter Turnout Does Matter: Spending Priorities in Local Politics**
Zoltan L. Hajnal, *University of California, San Diego*
Hills,
 Overview: Research has found that voter turnout has little impact on outcomes. Focusing on national elections, scholars have found that nonvoters would have essentially voted for the same candidates and policies as voters. By switching the focus of attention to local elections where turnout is considerably lower, I find that turnout does matter. As turnout declines, cities are less likely to spend money on redistributive programs that might aid the disadvantaged.

Paper **The Costs of Voting: Evidence from a Natural Experiment**
John E. McNulty, *University of California, Berkeley*
Henry E. Brady, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: During the 2003 California gubernatorial recall election, Los Angeles County substantially consolidated their precincts from 2002, changing the polling place and increasing the commute distance for much of the county. We determine the degree to which changes in polling places and increases in commute distances discouraged voters from voting. We geo-code the addresses of the county's registrants and the old and new addresses of their polling places, and then cross-reference these data against vote history.

Paper **Union Mobilization, Turnout and Socioeconomic Class Bias, 1964-2000**
Jonathan Nagler, *New York University*
Jan E. Leighley, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: Examine the impact of unions on turnout: both the direct affect through union members voting at higher rates than non-members, and the contextual affect through union mobilization of non-union members. We look at the contribution of the decline in union membership to changes in both the level of, and class composition of, turnout in the United States since 1964. And we show that the decline of unions has had substantial effect on overall turnout and class-bias in turnout.

Paper **Polarized Politics and Voter Turnout: Consequences of the Midterm Slump**
Keiko Ono, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Does low turnout affect politics and policy? This paper examines how turnout fluctuations induce changes in the composition of the electorate which in turn affects polarization in Congress. More specifically, this paper looks at midterm House contests as a prototype of low-turnout elections and test whether members first elected in midterm years are located further on the partisan and ideological scales.

Disc. **William Misher**, *University of Arizona*

12-29 **PARTIES: ELECTIONS AND ELITE ACTORS**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30
Chair **Joel A. Lieske**, *Cleveland State University*
Paper **TBA**
David W. Romero, *University of Texas, San Antonio*
 Overview: Most analyses of the divisive primary hypothesis find the primary divisiveness has a modest harmful influence on the party nominee's general election fortunes. A recent analysis, however, finds just the opposite: that divisive primaries in state legislative races help the party nominee's general election fortunes rather than harm them (as most other examinations find) This counterintuitive result is attributed to low information levels in state legislative races. Here I examine this information level assumption by comparing the results of tests of the divisive primary hypothesis in Senate and Gubernatorial races (high information) to the results from races for the House of Representatives (low information).

Paper **The Impact of Intra-Party Conflict on Electoral Outcomes: The Case of the Republican Party in the South 1980-2000**
Paige L. Schneider, *University of the South*
 Overview: This paper examines the impact of party factionalism and consequent intra-party conflict in the Republican party on electoral performance in senatorial and gubernatorial elections from 1980 to 2000. I demonstrate that intra-party conflict of an ideological nature indeed hampered the Republican party from amassing even greater electoral victories in statewide races across the South during the period under study. I draw upon the findings of the study to inform important debates in the study of parties and elections such as the nature of the relationship between intra-party conflict and party system change, the impact of divisive primaries on general election outcomes, and the impact of mass movements (social movements) on intra-party dynamics and party system change.

Paper **Candidates, Interest Groups, and their Ostensible Voting Blocs: Toward Identifying the Structure and Efficacy of Elite and Interest Group Mobilization**
Jeremy M. Teigen, *University of Texas at Austin*
 Overview: Using exit polls & interviews, ascertains role and effectiveness of selected interest groups in electoral campaigns within the context of social networks to mobilize their corresponding voting blocs.

Paper **The Political Logic of Electoral Competition**
Robert P. Van Houweling, *University of Michigan*
Paul M. Sniderman, *Stanford University*
 Overview: We investigate the strategic consequences of candidate location using data from a large national survey with an experimental design that was conducted by Knowledge Networks. We find that biases associated with voters' issue positions and partisan predispositions redefine the terrain of political competition in a Downsian space. Over an array of circumstances candidates have the political leeway, and often the electoral incentives to adopt different positions than the logic of spatial competition suggest.

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

13-21 **POLITICAL TRUST**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30
Chair **Herman Lelieveldt**, *University of Twente*

Paper	<p><u>Linking Public Opinion and Social Capital</u> Jeremy L. Zell, <i>University of South Dakota</i> Overview: This paper explores the connection between social capital and public opinion by focusing largely on collective public opinion research to develop hypotheses on substantive opinions held by citizens in different "social capital" states in the US.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>The Influence of Interpersonal Trust on Protest Activity in the Russian Republics of Tatarstan and Sakha</u> Beth Miller, <i>Rice University</i> Overview: I ask how interpersonal trust influences an individual's propensity to participate in protest activity. Interpersonal trust can enhance participation by sending a signal that others will show up, thereby decreasing participation costs; or interpersonal trust can decrease participation by sending a signal that others will show up to provide the public good. I test the above hypotheses using experimental data collected in two Russian republics and find that interpersonal trust has no effect on participation.</p>	
Disc.	<p>Neil E. Carlson, <i>Duke University</i></p>	
14-7 Room Chair Paper	<p><u>ANALYSIS OF SPECIFIC MEDIA OUTLETS</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30 Adam J. Schiffer, <i>Texas Christian University</i> <u>News Media Coverage of the U.S. Government: Comparing Network Television News and National Newspapers</u> Stephen J. Farnsworth, <i>Mary Washington College</i> S. Robert Lichter, Overview: Content analysis of network television newscasts and of the front pages of the New York Times and the Washington Post during the first year of the presidencies of Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton and George W. Bush revealed a heavy focus on the executive branch rather than the legislative and judicial branches. Tone of coverage of the executive branch was consistently less negative than coverage of the legislative branch during the first year of these three presidencies.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>An Interested Reader: Measuring Ownership Control at the New York Times</u> Daniel Chomsky, <i>Temple University</i> Overview: This paper seeks to look inside one media institution -- the New York Times -- to determine the influence of ownership there. This paper examines the publisher's memos and the responses of his subordinates from 1952 to 1968. The memos indicate the frequency and pervasiveness of the publisher's interventions; they reveal the publisher's interests and political preferences; they highlight the pressures the publisher imposed on his subordinates. Next, the paper addresses the responses of editors and reporters.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>The Fox News 'Factor': Predicting Americans' Exposure to Cable News</u> Jonathan S. Morris, <i>East Carolina University</i> Overview: This project uses data from a 2002 Pew Research Center Survey to predict exposure to cable news versus traditional network evening news. The data will also be used to understand why some cable news users chose Fox News and other chose CNN.</p>	
Disc.	<p>Jan P. Vermeer, <i>Nebraska Wesleyan University</i></p>	
15-12 Room Chair Paper	<p><u>WOMEN AS POLITICAL OBJECTS AND AGENTS IN POST-COMMUNIST POLITICS</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30 TBA <u>In Coalition with the King: Election Strategies and Legislative Behavior of the Women's Party in Bulgaria</u> Tatiana Kostadinova, <i>University of Minnesota Duluth</i> Overview: This paper examines the pre-election strategy of co-operation undertaken by the Bulgarian Women's Party, and its behavior as a coalition partner in the national movement led by the former king Simeon. From a rational choice perspective, I argue that the BWP leaders made choices that they believed would benefit the party and its long-term prospects for re-election, but which gradually lost the party its initial advantage</p>	<p>as a mandate-holder in the royalist coalition, and caused it to yield some of its previous positions in power.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Gender Politics of Child Welfare in Post-Communist Europe</u> Kathleen A. Montgomery, <i>Illinois Wesleyan University</i> Paul Finch, <i>Illinois Wesleyan University</i> Overview: We examine child poverty in post-communist Europe in order to understand: (1) why children appear to have fared worse than other vulnerable groups in transition, and (2) why women (as mothers/carers) haven't done more to resist the withdrawal of state supports. Using trans-MONEE data, elite interviews, and cross-national opinion surveys, we examine the intersection of changing gender and welfare regimes in order to account for both regional trends in child welfare and cross-national variations in policy response.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>For Men Only? Party System Development, Electoral Reform and the Election of Women to Russian Regional Assemblies</u> Dawn E. Nowacki, <i>Linfield College</i> Alexis Lien, <i>Linfield College</i> Tiffany Scott, <i>Linfield College</i> Overview: We test the hypothesis that women candidates will be disadvantaged by new laws mandating candidate nomination by a political party to Russian regional assemblies. The results of ten elections since the adoption of these laws, along with press accounts of party support for candidates, are the sources of evidence.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Decentralized Policymaking: New Avenues for Women's Representation?</u> Meg E. Rincker, <i>Washington University</i> Overview: Women's political participation tends to be significantly higher in local government than national government. So does political decentralization, or downward shifting of policy authority and implementation to regional governments, enhance women's descriptive and substantive representation? This paper employs a controlled comparison of Polish regional governments to examine whether 1998 decentralization increased the number of women in elective offices, bureaucratic leadership positions, and feminist organizations, and was associated with better preventative health services for women.</p>	
Disc.	<p>John Ishiyama, <i>Truman State University</i></p>	
16-16 Room Chair Paper	<p><u>COOPERATION AND CONFLICT IN URBAN POLITICS</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30 Laura E. Evans, <i>University of Michigan</i> <u>The White Voters Who Stayed in the City</u> Baodong Liu, <i>University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh</i> Overview: TBA</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Cooperation and Conflict in Multiracial School Districts</u> Rene R. Rocha, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Anaka Rivera, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper examines relations between African-Americans and Latinos in order to determine whether the two groups compete with each other for bureaucratic representation and beneficial policy outputs. The results of this study lend support to those who contend that when placed within a zero sum context gains by one group come at the expense of the other. Outside of a zero sum context, however, gains are possible by both groups simultaneously.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Delegation or Political Mobilization? Latino and Black Access to the Bureaucracy</u> Eric J. Gonzalez Juenke, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: The paper builds on earlier research that demonstrates a strong relationship between local level electoral structure, and Latino and Black bureaucratic representation. A question remains however, concerning the direction of influence. Do minority legislators delegate authority to Black and Latino bureaucrats, or do minority bureaucrats mobilize and gain influence over the legislative process? I analyze school district data for six states over ten years to test for directional causality of minority access to the bureaucracy.</p>	

Paper **Ethnic Diversity and Black Racial Attitudes**
Claudine Gay, *Stanford University*
 Overview: This study examines the effect of neighborhood ethnic composition on black racial and political attitudes.

Paper **Mapping Peace in Sri Lanka's 'Fractured Polity'**
Nasreen Chowdhury, *McGill University*
 Overview: Focusing on a case study of the ongoing ethno-regional Tamil Eelam movement in Sri Lanka, this paper investigates the relationship between the political construction of ethnicity, civil war and efforts towards peace, within the context of democratic developmental processes in Sri Lanka.

Disc. **Laura E. Evans**, *University of Michigan*

17-12 **HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30
Chair **Richard Dagger**, *Arizona State University*
Paper **The Nonexistence of Human Rights**
Charles S. Hamilton, *University of Maryland, College Park*
 Overview: Human beings can inhabit contexts in which they remain human but lose the ability to claim possession of any rights. Since human rights are rights that are granted to human beings by virtue of being human, and there are contexts in which human beings cannot be said to have rights, human rights cannot exist.

Paper **Reconstructing Rawls's Law of Peoples**
J. Donald Moon, *Wesleyan University*
 Overview: In this paper, I will address some of the major criticisms of Rawls that have been offered from the perspective of strong moral cosmopolitanism, one which holds that all people should be accorded equal rights, and that the requirements of distributive justice should be extended universally. I will show how these criticisms can be answered, and in the process set out a line of argument that unites – or so I will claim – the theory as a whole.

Paper **Humanitarian Representation**
Jennifer C. Rubenstein, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: Critics of private, voluntary international humanitarian organizations (e.g. Oxfam) have argued that these organizations are too accountable to donors, and insufficiently accountable to aid recipients. The critics are right that the relationship between aid organizations and aid recipients is problematic, but because the language of accountability only recognizes problems that accountability can solve, it misdiagnoses the situation. These limitations can be overcome by supplementing the language of accountability with the broader language of representation.

Disc. **Chad Cyrenne**, *University of Chicago*
Richard Dagger, *Arizona State University*

18-7 **20TH CENTURY EUROPEAN THOUGHT**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30
Chair **Charles J. Helm**, *Western Illinois University*
Paper **The Perils of a Cosmopolitanism of Pain**
Fonna Forman-Barzilai, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: I shall revisit Judith Shklar's summum malum of cruelty in the "Liberalism of Fear" to think about whether pain and cruelty help us address the cosmopolitical problems of cross-cultural intelligibility and moral judgement. I shall suggest that a productive cosmopolitan use of pain and cruelty must account for surprising local variations produced by such cultural phenomena as desensitization, sterilization, rationalization and redefinition, among others -- and conclude that once these cultural perils are registered, a cosmopolitanism of pain is potentially productive.

Paper **Are the Jews a Polity? An Appraisal of Daniel Elazar's Jewish Political Thought**
Jeremy Shine, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: The core concept that underlies Elazar's analyses of Jewish institutions and politics is that world Jewry is a polity. This paper evaluates Elazar's concept with two main questions in mind: First, can the term 'polity' be applied to the Jewish community? Second, what is at stake in Elazar's claim? Key

terms are political culture, community, the politics of identity, political sovereignty, and transnationalism.

Paper **The Struggle Against Convention: Vaclav Havel and Negative Individuality**
Heather R. McDougall, *Indiana University*
 Overview: Individual development is stifled and often oppressed by convention. The only remedy is for the individual to stand up against society and object to unjust laws and practices—what George Kateb terms negative individuality. Most people, Kateb argues, are either unwilling or unable to challenge the system. Why is negative individuality so difficult for most individuals to embrace? In order to provide answers to this question, this paper turns to the works of Vaclav Havel, playwright, dissident, and former President of the Czech Republic. Through his plays and his political writings, Havel explores how convention becomes daily life and why some individuals battle the system while others help to perpetuate it. The ranges of human emotion—guilt, greed, ignorance, fear, and courage—are exposed as well as their consequences, helping to explain why negative individuality is such a rare phenomenon.

Disc. **William M. Downer**, *Thiel College*

19-15 **THE CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION: NORMATIVE PERSPECTIVES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30
Chair **Russell A. Hamilton**, *Seton Hall University*
Paper **Political Ecology and Sustainability**
Christopher C. Robinson, *Clarkson University*
 Overview: Political Ecology is an orientation to the interaction between humans and nature that invests calls for environmental and economic sustainability with political action bolstered by scientific insight.

Paper **David Hume and Globalization**
Maarten G.D. Rothman, *Royal Dutch Military Academy*
 Overview: David Hume posited that justice is based on the existence of concrete relations between individuals forming a more or less discrete society, in which notions of what is right could develop and in which these would gain force from the sympathy growing around relations of necessity. In this paper I contrast Hume's description of society (as a discrete entity) with current discussions of globalization, asking whether Hume's description still applies to our situation. I then inquire after the meaning and growth of sympathy according to Hume's account, and ask whether our contemporary global scene can or does provide for its emergence.

Paper **How Human Dignity Grounds Human Rights: Two Paradigms**
Oliver Sensen, *Cambridge University*
 Overview: Over the last 100 years the notion of human dignity has gained more and more importance in the political discourse on human rights. Yet in this discourse human dignity is neither defined nor justified. For a justification people often refer to Kant. In my paper I argue that the contemporary notion of dignity is a recent invention and uses a different paradigm than the long tradition preceding it, of which Kant was a part.

Paper **Rawls, Kant's Rechtslehre, and Global Distributive Justice**
Brian J. Shaw, *Davidson College*
 Overview: Cosmopolitans rightly criticize Rawls for rejecting global distributive principles more stringent than the duty of assistance. Yet their own alternatives are likewise inadequate insofar as they neglect Kant's justification in the "Rechtslehre" of possession as a permissive law (lex permissiva) of practical reason. Should they do so, the law of peoples might be refashioned in ways reaffirming Rawls' original cosmopolitanism and immune to claims that comprehensive liberalism must betray their commitments to toleration and reciprocity.

Paper **Inequality, Equity, and Climate Change Mitigation**
Steve Vanderheiden, *University of Minnesota, Duluth*
 Overview: This paper explores the application of the normative principle of equity to the design of a global climate change mitigation regime, taking into account two kinds of global

inequality (within and between nations): the unequal contributions to increasing atmospheric greenhouse gas concentrations, and the unequally distributed harm likely to result.

Disc. **Casiano Hacker-Cordo**, *New School University*

20-101 ROUNDTABLE: ADVANCES AND NEW DIRECTIONS IN EMPIRICAL SPATIAL THEORY

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30

Chair **David Epstein**, *Columbia University*

Rndtbl. **Keith Poole**, *University of Houston*

Melvin Hinich, *University of Texas at Austin*

Rebecca Morton, *New York University*

Simon Jackman, *Stanford University*

Overview: Panelists will individually and collectively discuss the state of empirical spatial theory research, with attention given to both the study of committees/legislatures and mass elections. Topics considered by the panelists will include evaluating the extent to which the empirical literature has fostered the development of cumulative knowledge, the relationship between the theoretical and empirical literatures, methodological developments in the field, experimental studies and related topics.

22-12 IDEOLOGY, INTERESTS, AND POLICY REPRESENTATION

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30

Chair **Allan J. Cigler**, *University of Kansas*

Paper **The Push and Pull of the Third Way: The Promise and Problems of Implementing a New Ideology in Britain and America**

Scott Cole, *Longwood University*

Dilchoda Berdieva, *Miami University*

Overview: This paper examines the problems associated with implementing the Third Way in Britain and America. It highlights several "pull" variables that prevented Blair and Clinton from enacting this new ideology. It also recognizes several "push" factors that facilitated the implementation of Third Way legislation. A case study of Blair and Clinton's immigration policies is presented.

Paper **The Political Participation of Business Interest Groups in the United States.**

Wendy L. Hansen, *University of New Mexico*

Jeffrey M. Drope, *University of New Mexico*

Overview: We know a considerable amount about the political activities of individual corporations. There has, however, been little if any systematic research on the lobbying and campaign financing activities of business associations. Scholars have long held well-defined theoretical expectations about which associations are likely to be most active. Collective action theory is quite specific about the market structure that should facilitate the formation and endurance of these sorts of associations. The empirical testing remains to be done. In this paper we will report the results of an analysis of the lobbying, PAC and soft-money contributions of business associations for the 1999-2000 election cycle.

Paper **Divergent Representation: Political Party Representation of Poor and Wealthy Partisans**

Jason C. Pigg, *Louisiana Tech University*

Overview: Previous studies have indicated differences between Democratic and Republican elite and partisan supporters and differences within each party. This study examines class differences within each party, finding closer Democratic representation of poor partisans and closer Republican representation of wealthy partisans. Economic classes are attracted to their self-identified party for different reasons: wealthy Democrats and poor Republicans support their party's positions on social issues, and poor Democrats and wealthy Republicans find better representation concerning economic positions.

Paper Straussian Political Philosophy and Partisan Politics in Contemporary America

George Breckenridge, *McMaster University*

Overview: The paper traces how the second generation of Leo Strauss's students carried ideas derived from classical political philosophy into modern Republican politics via the reinterpretation of the American founding as a natural rights regime by the first generation of Strauss's students.

Paper Party Development, Periodization, and Political Science: Lessons from the Late Nineteenth Century

Daniel P. Klinghard, *College of Charleston*

Overview: During the late nineteenth century, political parties in the United States were transformed. This transformation is interesting beyond historical trivia: it reveals flaws in the way political scientists study party development, and it stands as a middle way between the traditional view of party development as being demarcated by "Jacksonian" and "modern" party eras. This paper argues for a revision of the way that political development is studied and periodized, and suggests that political scientists should look to developments in the present day differently.

Disc. **David M. Hart**, *Harvard University*

22-14 INDEPENDENTS, PARTIES AND PARTISANSHIP

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30

Chair **Hans C. Noel**, *University of California at Los Angeles*

Paper **Interpreting the Rise of Independents**

Jeffrey M. Stonecash, *Syracuse University*

Overview: While the rise of Independents since the 1950s has generally been interpreted as a general decline in partisanship, this analysis will indicate that it has been selective and among those in conflict with their party, and reflects the consequences of long-term realignment.

Paper Soft in the Center: Party Politics in the Era of the Independent Voter

Zachary Courser, *University of Virginia*

Overview: There has been a staggering increase in voters unaffiliated with political parties, often referred to as independent voters. Progressive reforms in the early 20th century helped undermine parties have resulted in a less politically educated and involved electorate. Citizens vote less, misunderstand issues, and are generally less interested and aware of politics largely due to a sharp decline in party affiliation.

Paper Issue Ownership and Macropartisan Change

Holly Brasher, *University of Alabama at Birmingham*

Overview: TBA

Paper The Nature of Independent Political Party Dispositions

Francis Neely, *San Francisco State University*

Overview: This paper examines the nature of citizens' perceptions of political parties, focusing on those who consider themselves political independents. Research on party affiliation has relied largely on quantitative data from surveys and experiments. I make a modest first step at complementing those studies with a qualitative approach, reporting the results of six focus groups with participants grouped by gender and party disposition (true independent, Republican leaners, Democratic leaners). Future research designs are discussed.

Paper Ambition Theory and Political Parties in the Nineteenth Century

Kenneth Gaalswyk, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: I apply ambition theory to the development of the Republican Party and the Populist Party. The central analytical question is whether elites in the 1850s behaved similarly to elites in the 1890s. Both episodes were initiated by a set of early elites followed by a set of pivotal elites. The pivot elites in the 1850s (Northeastern Whigs) moved toward a new party, while the pivot elites in the 1890s (Southern Democrats) either stuck with existing party labels or straddled both parties through a brief period of fusion politics. What accounts for these different outcomes? I plan to address this question by examining the career profiles (ICPSR biographical data set),

ideology (Poole-Rosenthal estimates), and electoral competitiveness (ICPSR election statistics) of individual politicians in each era. The central substantive question is whether ambition theory can adequately account for variation in political circumstances and outcomes. Thus, the paper also offers opportunity to assess the strengths and limitations of ambition theory.

Disc. **John M. Bruce**, *University of Mississippi*

24-14 **LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATION**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30

Chair **Patricia A. Hurley**, *Texas A&M University*

Paper **Minority Representation: An Examination of Legislative Activity within U.S. House Committees**

Katrina L. Gamble, *Emory University*

Overview: With the growing diversity of the U.S. and persistent questions regarding the effectiveness of majority-minority districts, it is important to understand how different group interests are represented in legislative institutions. This paper examines the affects of race on formal committee level participation. I hope to add to the discussion on minority representation by investigating, the often crucial, legislative activity that occurs after bill introductions and before roll call votes.

Paper **Assessing Explanations for Declining Representation**

John D. Griffin, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: This study examines whether the impact of citizen preferences on Congressional roll call behavior has eroded over time. It also assesses whether any decline in representation can be attributed to heightened incumbent security, to more frequent split ticket voting, to the growing influence of political parties, or to falling rates of political participation. It finds that the erosion of representation is chiefly attributable to declining levels of citizen involvement in politics.

Paper **Determinants of Legislative Behavior on Crime Policy**

Kathryn McCall, *Louisiana State University*

Kathleen Bratton, *Louisiana State University*

Overview: We hypothesize that the decision to focus on crime policy, and to support punitive measures to address crime depends on partisanship, ideology, race, sex, and constituency. We expect individuals representing districts with relatively high crime rates will be more likely to focus on and support measures that may seek to prevent crime, such as policies focusing on education and social service particularly for juveniles. Individuals representing districts that have relatively low crime rates, but are geographically proximate to high-crime areas will be more likely to support measures that legislation which adopts a punitive approach to crime.

Paper **Mental Access: Congressional Perceptions and Organized Interests**

Kris Miler, *University of Illinois*

Overview: This paper examines legislative perceptions of their constituents and the impact of organized interests on who legislators see when they look at the district. I put forth a theory of perception drawn from the cognitive psychology literature and argue that constituents gain mental access due to the cognitive process by which legislators recall and use information. As a result, mental access not only shapes legislative perceptions, but also affects which interests are represented in Congress.

Disc. **Tracy Sulkin**, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
Eileen Burgin, *University of Vermont*

24-18 **A LOOK AT SAUSAGE MAKING: LEGISLATIVE PRODUCTIVITY**

Room PDR 7, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30

Chair **William Howell**, *Harvard University*

Paper **How Many Laws does the Legislature Make? Cross Country Comparison and Cointegrated Time Series of Japan**

Kentaro Fukumoto, *Harvard University*

Overview: The legislature produces as many acts as maximize its utility. The more benefit each law brings, the more bills the parliament passes. The hypotheses are tested based on

comparison of 43 countries and the 34-year data of Japanese lawmaking. Engle-Granger methodology shows that unit root processes are cointegrated.

Paper **The Effect of Divided Government on Legislative Gridlock: Disaggregating the Data**

David R. Jones, *CUNY, Baruch College*

Overview: Previous work regarding the effect of divided government on legislative gridlock is primarily based on data aggregated by Congress. Disaggregating the data permits a researcher control for the content of legislation before attempting to determine such effects. The results provide a more accurate assessment of whether specific proposals that fail during divided government are any more likely to be enacted during unified government.

Paper **Comparative Law Production Reconsidered**

Jun Kyung-Jin, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: The production of significant law or legislative gridlock is the key concern for American politics as well as comparative politics. (Mayhew 1991, Binder 1999, Krehbiel 1998, Weaver and Rockman 1993, and Tsebelis 1999, 2002) In comparative study, Tsebelis(1999) shows the collaborative empirical evidence about the prediction of veto players model. But, this article is the test of theory in one policy dimension (labor policy). While Tsebelis and Chang (2001) investigate the multidimensional evidence of veto player theory by using the structure of budgets, we may not know whether the item of budget change is significant or not. Also, we may not know the difference between the structure of budget and real lawmaking process in empirical perspective. Another question is about the content of policy. If the policy is related with foreign policy or national issue to cross party ideological position, its production demands too much transaction cost and the veto player model might not explain well this kind of lawmaking process rather than optimization theory. So, I want to reconsider the same issue by collecting data for industrial regulation and foreign policy (two policy dimensions) and testing which theory is more applicable to explain the comparative law production. The data is from 23 OECD countries during 1981 – 2000.

Disc. **Charles Cameron**, *Columbia University*
William Howell, *Harvard University*

25-8 **FACTORS IN LEGISLATIVE ELECTORAL OUTCOMES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30

Chair **David A. Dulio**, *Oakland University*

Paper **Turnout, Mobilization, and Campaign Finance in Congressional Elections**

Scott J. Basinger, *SUNY - Stony Brook*

Michael J. Ensley, *Indiana University*

Damon Cann, *SUNY - Stony Brook*

Overview: We analyze two decades' worth of House elections in order to discover the effects that campaign finance, campaign characteristics, and national and district factors have on turnout for both major political parties. We use novel statistical methods to control for simultaneity bias problems, and suggest the need to reformulate the study of congressional elections to account for turnout effects.

Paper **Moving Up: Assessing House Member Success in U.S. Senate Elections**

Brett W. Curry, *The Ohio State University*

Overview: Motivated by a desire to identify those factors influencing the success of House members running in senatorial elections, this paper analyzes data on 174 members of the U.S. House who ran for the Senate between 1944 and 2000. Demonstrating that House members are only slightly more likely to win than lose senatorial elections, the paper also reports evidence that variables such as state size, region, and post-census elections significantly impact one's probability of election.

Paper **Push vs. Pull: Examining the Experienced Challenger Effect in U.S. House Elections.**
Jeffrey L. Lazarus, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: The “experienced challenger advantage” may result from the additional resources an experienced challenger brings to a race, Or from experienced challengers’ entering only when their chances of success are highest. To parse out these effects, I examine experienced challengers whose decision to run is motivated less by the pull of a winnable congressional race than by the push of an unwinnable race for the office they currently hold: term-limited state legislators.

Paper **Timing is Everything**
Jennifer A. Steen, *Boston College*
Jonathan G.S. Koppell, *Yale University*
 Overview: Investigates whether challengers selected in early primaries are more successful than challengers selected in late primaries.

Disc. **Larry Schwab**, *John Carroll University*

26-10 **COURTS IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE STATE**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30
Chair **Carol Traut**, *University of Texas - Permian Basin*
Paper **The Role of Private Information in Judicial Review of Risky Investigations**
Quan Li, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: This paper studies how private information held by the Supreme Court in terms of its concern for consistency will affect a regulatory agencies decision to carry out a risky investigation that can change its regulatory authority.

Paper **Regulatory Decision-Making on State Supreme Courts: Public Choice, Public Accountability, and Public Interest**
Scott E. Graves, *Georgia State University*
 Overview: I review several of the major theories offered by legal scholars to explain and guide statutory interpretation and judicial review of regulation, particularly newer approaches drawn from public choice scholarship and dynamic approaches to interpretation, and test their implications using data from the State Supreme Court Data Project. My results demonstrate the relative strength of systematic, theoretically grounded approaches to regulatory legislation and agency actions within differing institutional frameworks compared to public interest balancing and the influence of personal partisanship and ideology.

Paper **On the Nature of Decision Making on Administrative Policy in the U.S. Courts of Appeals**
Mark S. Hurwitz, *University at Buffalo*
 Overview: In this paper I analyze whether federal appeals courts defer to administrative policies as mandated by the Supreme Court’s seminal Chevron decision, or whether the ideological inclination of the judges provides a more accurate explanation of judicial decision making in the area of administrative law.

Disc. **Joseph Smith**, *University of Alabama*
Stephen L. Wasby, *University at Albany - SUNY*

27-2 **THE CONSTITUTION OUTSIDE OF THE COURTS**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30
Chair **Stanley C. Brubaker**, *Colgate University*
Paper **Judge the Judges?: Constitutionalism & Televising Supreme Court Oral Arguments**
Ira L. Strauber, *Grinnell College*
 Overview: The purpose of this paper is to use the distinction between juridic and civic Constitutions and a constitutive approach to the law to address the strengths and weaknesses of claims about television coverage of oral arguments before the United States Supreme Court.

Paper **Supreme Court Justices and Policymaking for the Federal Courts**
Lori A. Johnson, *Wellesley College*
 Overview: Analysis of activities of Supreme Court justices such as writing books, articles, making speeches and testifying

before Congress regarding policy issues affecting the federal courts.

Paper **Constitutional Discourse in Times of Crisis**
Stephen A. Simon, *University of Maryland*
 Overview: Recent debate in the wake of September 11 over anti-terrorism measures raises questions not only about the constitutionality of particular policies, but also about the role that constitutional discourse plays in times of national crisis. This paper explores the nature of constitutional discourse within the executive and legislative branches during the war against terror, and especially how the role of this discourse has changed since the debate over the Japanese internment during World War II.

Paper **The Four Tracks to Confirmation: The Role of Senators and Interest Groups in Influencing Judicial Confirmation Outcomes**
Amy Steigerwalt, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: This paper will first systematically outline the different political environments and controversy points a judicial confirmation might confront, focusing on the different “tracks” a judicial confirmation may follow. It will then examine the characteristics and implications of these possible confirmation tracks as well as model a nominee’s chance of confirmation when following each of these tracks.

Paper **“The Rehnquist Court and Congress: The Struggle of the New Federalism”**
Jennifer E. Byrne, *University of Arizona*
 Overview: This paper examines the response of Congress to the recent rulings of the Rehnquist Court. The Rehnquist Court has been vigilant in protecting state’s rights, and often this has meant the invalidation of federal statutes passed by Congress. My work will examine the frequency that Congress attempts to pass reversal legislation when confronted with statutes ruled unconstitutional on Tenth and Eleventh Amendment grounds, and the success that Congress has in passing reversal legislation to fundamentally alter or overrule the decision of the Supreme Court. The focus of this research is power-sharing between the legislative and judicial branches in the New Federalism.

Disc. **Howard Schweber**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Mark A. Graber, *University of Maryland*

28-12 **STATE LEGISLATURES**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30
Chair **Francis Lee**, *Case Western Reserve University*
Paper **State Legislative Professionalism: Do Federal Dollars Make a Difference**
Teresa L. Hutchins, *West Virginia University*
 Overview: This paper examines the impact of federal grant money on state legislative professionalism. Do federal grants impact the level of state legislative professionalism? I argue that they do. Preliminary analysis seems to confirm this.

Paper **Legislative Professionalism and Democratic Control of State Legislatures**
Nelson C. Dometrius, *Texas Tech University*
Joshua Ozymy, *Texas Tech University*
 Overview: Fiorina has argued that legislative professionalism was a source of increased Democratic presence in state legislatures. If correct, his argument also implies that legislative district size should be a conditioning factor in whether Democrats and Republicans choose to run for a state legislative seat. This paper tests Fiorina’s argument by adding that conditioning factor to his models.

Paper **State Legislatures and Committee Systems: Developing a Framework for Comparatively Studying the Institutional Power and Functioning of Committees in the Legislative Process**
Nancy Martorano, *University of Dayton*
 Overview: If committee system are an important part of the legislative process, we should expect that they are provided with institutional tools that guarantee them rights and powers in the legislative process. This paper uses the formal state legislative chamber rules to create an measure of institutional committee system power and effectiveness. This measure will then be used

	to explore committee system power and effectiveness in all 99 state legislative chambers for the 2001-02 legislative session. Jason A. MacDonald, Kent State University		
Disc.			
29-12	<u>COMPARATIVE EVALUATIONS OF MUNICIPAL POLITICS AND POLICY</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30 Susan Clarke, University of Colorado, Boulder <u>Testing for Fiscal Illusion in Wisconsin Towns</u> Craig S. Maher, University of Wisconsin - Oshkosh Terri Johnson, University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee Overview: Fiscal illusion theory has been used to explain the effects of revenue structures on local government fiscal policy. Revenue sources most often associated with fiscal illusion research include intergovernmental grants-in-aid, but links have also been established to other non-tax revenues, including fees and charges, and debt. With the exception of Lowery (1987), however, no studies have attempted to empirically verify the "greedy politician" hypothesis on which fiscal illusion is based. This study attempts to take that next step by using survey data collected from 1,132 Wisconsin town board members and linking those results to municipal finance data. The results of which will be one of the strongest empirical tests of fiscal illusion theory.		
Room			
Chair			
Paper			
Paper	<u>Global Cities -- Thinking beyond New York</u> Daniel E. Bliss, University of Illinois at Chicago Overview: This study comparing New York -- America's leading global city -- with 10 smaller US cities during the period 1960 to 2000 provides empirical evidence for the notion that the command and control of the global economy is becoming more diffuse rather than more concentrated. The paper suggests that urban globalism is best thought of as a continuum in which cities of all sizes have the ability to shape their relations with the global economy.		
Paper	<u>Measuring Community Visions and Assessing Their Impact on Economic Local Development Policy</u> Max Neiman, University of California, Riverside Paul Lewis, Public Policy Institute of California Overview: This study operationalizes the concept of city vision, which was introduced by Pagano and Bowman in their book, CITYSCAPES AND CAPITAL. Doing so helps to fill a gap in the systematic, empirical analysis of local policy, by permitting the multivariate analysis of the independent influence of "vision" measures on local economic development policy. Standard controls are introduced, so that the independent influence of urban or city vision measures can be evaluated.		
Paper	<u>Urban and Suburban Open Space Preservation: A Contextual Analysis</u> Robert R. Rodgers, Princeton University Overview: Public acquisition of land to preserve its undeveloped character has become an important policy objective in many municipalities across the United States. This paper shows that open space preservation, like other types of growth control policies, is linked to high growth rates and increasing population densities. Understood as a form of growth control, open space preservation raises normative concerns, such as its contribution to sprawl and its unequal distribution of benefits across society.		
Paper	<u>Can The Mayors Be Trusted? Using Community Development Block Grants to Get Reelected</u> Howard A. Stern, West Virginia University Overview: Big city mayors often redirect huge sums of CDBG money from targeted, low-income neighborhoods to community-wide projects to gain popular support during and prior to election years. The projects funded with CDBG dollars tend to be highly visible and popular among a broad constituency, but are allocated at the expense of programs in poorer neighborhoods, which CDBG dollars were meant to support. Actual project data and expenditures for big and small cities will be examined.		
Disc.	William P. McLean, Arkansas State University		
30-11		<u>WELFARE AS WE ARE GETTING TO KNOW IT</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30 Joseph Stewart, University of New Mexico <u>The Impact of Welfare Reform in an Era of State-Centered Policymaking</u> Sandra K. Schneider, Michigan State University Overview: This paper compares the circumstances confronting America's poor prior to, and after, Welfare Reform. The results show that state-centered welfare reform has not improved the health care status of poor children or women. Consequently, it has led to sizable increases in the utilization and costs of state Medicaid services for low-income women and children. In turn, higher Medicaid expenses have been at least partially responsible for the recent state budgetary crises.	
Room			
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Paper			
Paper		<u>The Impact of Welfare Reform on Academic Outcomes: Parental Workforce Participation, Welfare, Receipt, and Children's Academic Outcomes</u> Amber Stitzel Pareja, Northwestern University Dan A. Lewis, Northwestern University Overview: In this paper, we examine how changes in the welfare system brought about by the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) have affected parental report of children's academic outcomes. Our findings show that children whose parents transitioned from not working in Wave 1 to working in Wave 2 were significantly more likely to be achieving academically at Wave 2. We argue that parental employment may be beneficial for children's academic achievement.	
Paper		<u>Self-Interested Responses to State-Level Policy Changes? Asset Limit Policies and Saving Behaviors Among Low-Income Women</u> Cindy D. Kam, University of California, Davis Yunju Nam, Washington University Overview: This paper examines the impact of changes in state-level asset limits on the saving behaviors of low-income women. Low-income women are particularly likely to be affected by changes in asset limits, and we take the opportunity to investigate whether this is a case in which self-interest can motivate individual-level reactions to government policy.	
Paper		<u>Can Work Improve the Mental Health of Welfare Recipients?: Evidence From the Illinois Families Study</u> Lisa M. Altenbernd, Northwestern University Dan A. Lewis, Northwestern University Overview: This paper uses two waves of data from the Illinois Families Study (N=1,074) to examine the effect of entering the workforce on subsequent mental health, among current and recent welfare recipients. Results suggest that those who entered the workforce between Wave 1 and Wave 2 had fewer depressive symptoms at Wave 2 compared to those who did not enter the workforce, controlling for Wave 1 factors related to employment.	
Disc.		Stephen Pimpare, City University of New York	
31-8		<u>NEW FRONTIERS IN HEALTH AND SAFETY</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30 Thomas Birkland, SUNY Albany <u>Reaping the Benefits of CQI/TQM: The Importance of Employee Attitudes</u> Colleen L. Croxall, Eastern Michigan University Overview: Based on survey data from TQM professionals in hospitals, this study seeks to answer the question, "What has the greatest impact on CQI/TQM outcomes; the program itself or employees' perceptions of it?" More specifically regression analysis is used to examine the relative effects of TQM program elements and activities, training efforts, barriers to successful implement such as lack of resources and management commitment, and employee attitudes about the TQM effort on CQI/TQM program outcomes.	
Room			
Chair			
Paper			

Paper	<p><u>Public and Private Regulation of Organ Transplantation: Liver Allocation and the Final Rule</u> David L. Weimer, <i>University of Wisconsin-Madison</i> Overview: The Organ Procurement and Transplantation Network is a form of private regulation by stakeholders. During the 1990s OPTN policies concerning the geographic allocation of livers prompted the Department of Health and Human Services to propose regulations mandating specific allocation policies. What effect did this challenge have on substantive rulemaking within the OPTN? What does the controversy about the OPTN tell us about the viability and desirability of private regulation?</p>	<p>in a larger context, 3) produce learning gains without sacrificing critical content and 4) create a new respect for the complexities of American government. These simulations are described at the www.gameofpolitics.com website.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Changes in Law Enforcement: Public Policy and Injury Crashes</u> Robert J. Eger III, <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: Transportation safety has focused on the reduction of traffic injuries through legislation to increase enforcement. Although these legislative activities are implemented, do changes in manpower to increase traffic enforcement affect the vehicle injury crash rate? This study focuses on traffic enforcement through the use of data on county level law enforcement and injury crashes. The results indicate that increasing law enforcement personnel reduces the number of injury crashes within a county.</p>	<p><u>Is Civic Engagement Really in Decline? A Qualitative Assessment of the Dynamics of Voluntarism and Social Capital in the United States</u> Thomas C. Sutton, <i>Baldwin - Wallace College</i> Kate Kavouras, <i>Baldwin - Wallace College</i> Patrick Jones, <i>Baldwin-Wallace College</i> Overview: A qualitative assessment of civic engagement in the U.S. using interview data from a one semester cross country academic program involving seventeen undergraduate students during the Fall 2003 semester. Robert Putnam's <i>Bowling Alone</i> (2000) served as the theme for the experience; several of his theories are tested and found to not sufficiently explain the dynamics of voluntary, labor, and religious organizations visited during the program.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Effects of State Policies on Changes in the Driving Patterns of Older Americans</u> Elena Koulikov, <i>Syracuse University</i> Overview: This study aimed to answer the question whether state policies have any effect on changes in the driving patterns—that is, reduction or cessation of driving—of older Americans.</p>	<p><u>Teaching Leadership Across the University: A Study of Leadership Programs in the Upper Midwest Region</u> Randall E. Adkins, <i>University of Nebraska at Omaha</i> Patrick T. McNamara, <i>University of Nebraska at Omaha</i> Overview: The demand for effective leadership is soaring. As a result, academic programs, courses, and institutes or centers for the study of leadership are being integrated into academic curricula of various disciplines at all levels. As a result, a wide range of approaches are utilized in the training of undergraduates, graduate students, managers, and senior executives. This study surveys academic institutions in the upper Midwest to ascertain how leadership is taught at the university level.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Rational and Cultural Explanations for State Policy Change: Lessons from the Sociological Institutionalism</u> Edward A. Miller, <i>Yale University</i> Jane C. Banaszak-Holl, Ph.D., <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: To fully understand state policy adoption, researchers need to supplement the political and economic explanations typically considered to account for the cognitive and normative environments within which state officials are situated. As such, we turn to the sociological institutionalism and develop a framework that integrates rational actor and cultural-based theories of state policy change. Interviews with state officials indicate that both explanations contribute to our understanding of policy making in the Medicaid nursing facility reimbursement arena.</p>	<p><u>Cooperative Learning in Introductory Political Science Courses: Enriching Courses with Active Learning</u> Jovan J. Trpovski, <i>Valencia Community College</i> Overview: A great deal of debate has occurred regarding teaching styles, learning styles, and what can be done to enhance the classroom learning experience, for both student and instructor. The ultimate aim, for many, is significant learning. Cooperative learning can be a tool for significant learning. This paper examines the literature on cooperative learning as a teaching tool, as well as provides some anecdotal information and evidence of its use from two different introductory political science courses.</p>
Disc.	<p>Ethan M. Bernick, <i>University of Illinois</i> Lucinda M. Deason-Howell, <i>University of Akron</i></p>	<p>Peter J. Bergerson, <i>Florida Gulf Coast University</i> Brian D. Posler, <i>Millikin University</i></p>
34-2 Room Chair Paper	<p><u>INNOVATION IN TEACHING</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30 Barbara R. Bixby, <i>University of Arizona</i> <u>The Role of Service Learning in Attitude Formation</u> Mary H. Morris, <i>University of Southern Indiana</i> Overview: Each year, more and more college courses are embracing “service-learning” as an educational tool. But does service learning have additional side effects? Is it possible that a service learning project can impact student values as well as the broader knowledge base? More normatively, should we – as educational professionals – be concerned about changing values? This study is part of a pilot project which looks at service learning and its impacts on environmental values.</p>	<p>35-105 <u>ROUNDTABLE: ESCAPING THE QUOTA FRAME: CONVERSATIONS ON MINORITY REPRESENTATION IN CONTESTED APSA ELECTIONS (Co-sponsored with Program Co-Chairs', see 1-106)</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 8:30 Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, <i>University of Utah</i> Rodney Hero, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Lloyd Rudolph, <i>University of Chicago</i> Dorian Warren, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: The American Political Science Association is notable for its lack of contested elections. Discussion about this issue has focused, in part, on the ways in which “minority” groups (defined broadly to include women, race-ethnic groups, gays and lesbians as well as region and school size and charge) have recently made gains under the current nomination system. Can an electoral system be devised that is both competitive and representative of these key constituencies? Roundtable participants will reflect on and assess the possibilities.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Submersing Youth in Politics to Urge Participation in Adulthood</u> William T. Horner, <i>University of Missouri-Columbia</i> Overview: Using intense exposure to politics to encourage later participation by young Americans.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>The Game of Politics Simulations: Classroom and Civic Education Applications</u> Donald R. Jansiewicz, <i>Carroll Community College</i> Overview: The Game of Politics macro and micro simulations transform a political science classroom or civic education conference into a highly realistic active learning experience for the participants. These simulations are carefully designed to 1) replicate fundamental political processes, 2) place political life</p>	

Sunday, April 18 – 10:30 am – 12:15 pm

1-4 CONTENTIOUS POLITICS: PROCESS AND OUTCOMES

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30

Chair **Ronald A. Francisco**, *University of Kansas*

Paper **Contingency, Inherency and the Onset of Civil War**

Mark I. Lichbach, *University of Maryland*

Christian Davenport, *University of Maryland*

David A. Armstrong, *University of Maryland*

Overview: Existing literature stresses the civil wars are contingent on unusual or irregular circumstances that produce major ruptures from conventional politics. We are that civil wars are inherent to the process of contentious politics, always one potential outcome of the power struggle between regimes and oppositions.

Paper **Whither Will They Go? A Gravity Model of Refugee Flight**

Will H. Moore, *Florida State University*

Stephen M. Shellman, *The College of William & Mary*

Overview: This study explores the asylum decisions for refugees fleeing violence.

Paper **The Dynamic Relationship between Protest and Repression**

Ronald A. Francisco, *University of Kansas*

Overview: We know that repression rises from inconsistent repression. We show further with nonlinear, simultaneous equations estimated, that the relationship is stable and under some circumstances fits the predator-prey mechanism. We specify the importance of context for the mechanism.

Disc. **Kevin Quinn**, *Harvard University*

Matt Krain, *College of Wooster*

2-101 ROUNDTABLE: PARTY STRATEGIES AND PATTERNS OF COMPETITION

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30

Chair **Ross D. Schaap**, *Harvard University*

Rndtbl. **Ko Maeda**, *Michigan State University*

Jorge Bravo, *Duke University*

Myunghye Kim, *Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville*

Overview: This roundtable looks at the strategies and characteristics of political parties seeking to control the electoral agenda and win elections, as well as the problems of assessing voter position on the political spectrum.

3-13 ISLAM AND POLITICS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30

Chair **Amy S. Patterson**, *Calvin College*

Paper **The Rise of Islamic Politics in Bangladesh: An Overview**

Sayed I. Ahmed, *Northern Arizona University*

Overview: The paper discusses how the use of Islam as a political discourse rather than as a religion by the nationalist political elites and the civil military bureaucrats created an environment that aided the Islamists to advance their political programs in the post-colonial state, Bangladesh. The failure of the nationalist elites to establish their hegemony over civil society, especially over the subaltern classes based on secular identities and culture, secured "dominance without hegemony" in the newly independent country. This prompted the nationalist elites to restart the process of Islamization, which they thought would help them to overcome their "hegemonic crisis" in the civil society. A consequence of relying on Islamic discourse rather than indigenous culture was that this ultimately helped the Islamic parties to advance their politics in this "peripheral" state. The paper will discuss the failure of the nationalist elites to organize the Bangladesh movement as a unified project, and at a later time, the relying of Islam by the ruling as well as non ruling political elites for overcoming their hegemonic crisis created a space for the Islamists to advance their programs, which at present, pose serious challenges not only to the state and civil society but also to the subaltern culture and tradition.

Paper **The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey**

Banu Eligur, *Brandeis University*

Overview: This paper analyzes the rise of political Islam in Turkey according to the political process model. The following research question is examined: "Why has political Islam, which has been part of Turkish politics since the 1970s, been on rise since the 1990s, but not before?" The rise of political Islam in Turkey occurred as a result of three interrelated factors: The state's 'Turkish-Islamic synthesis' policy (TIS--a mixture of Sunni Islam and nationalism), the malfunctioning secular state, and the Islamist political parties' strong organizational networks. If the first stage of the movement's mobilization (1983-1990) occurred as a result of political opportunities (the TIS), the second phase of the movement's mobilization (1990-) occurred due to both political opportunities (the malfunctioning secular state) and organizational dynamics (the Islamist political parties' strong organizational networks due to the TIS).

Paper **The Sickle and the Minaret: The Communist Parties in the Islamic World after the End of the Cold War.**

John T. Ishiyama, *Truman State University*

Overview: The development of the formerly dominant communist successor parties in the Islamic world provides an interesting set of test cases for the current literature on communist successor party adaptation. This paper surveys the evolution of seven parties in the region: the PDPA/Watan Party in Afghanistan, the Yemeni Socialist Party, the Communist Party of Kyrgyzstan, the Communist Party of Tajikistan, the Azerbaijan Communist Party, the Iraqi Communist Party and the Tudeh party in Iran.

Paper **Nigerian Shari'a and Its Effect on Nigeria-Niger Trans-Border Political Economy**

Matthew F. Kirwin, *Ohio University*

Overview: The application of Islamic law in the Hausa region of Northern Nigeria has outlawed activities such as drinking, prostitution and gambling. The neighboring country of Niger, which also has a large Hausa population, has, by contrast, remained secular. Many of the activities outlawed in Nigeria have been transferred across the border to Niger and they have created a substantial economic impact on Niger's border towns.

Disc. **Jeannie L. Sowers**, *University of Iowa*

3-22 POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND ECONOMIC OUTCOMES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30

Chair **Michelle L. Dion**, *Georgia Institute of Technology*

Paper **Of AFRICA and ELF: New Findings on the Effects of Ethnic Divisions on African Economic Growth**

Dan Corstange, *University of Michigan*

Overview: This paper explores recent attempts to account for slow African economic growth, showing that previous explanations of geographic impediments and state legitimacy are insufficient. It refocuses the debate on ethnicity within African societies, showing that ethnic divisions, once properly modeled via interaction terms with governing institutions, finally account for the sluggishness of African economies as compared to the rest of the world.

Paper **Does Institutional Change Matter? The Effect of Central Bank Reform on Inflation**

Raymond Hicks, *Emory University*

Overview: This paper examines whether central bank reform has an effect on inflation within a country and, if it does, whether the effect is immediate or gradual and whether it depends on features of the political system. By focusing on changes and inflation within countries, this paper avoids the problems that have dogged empirical studies of the relationship between central bank independence and inflation in the past.

Paper **Political Institutions and Strategies of Economic Growth**

Joel W. Simmons, *University of Michigan*

Overview: This paper explores how a set of political institutions and relationships condition a government's strategy of producing economic growth. More specifically, I examine how domestic political factors provide incentives for governments to pursue growth through policies that stimulate

	technological innovation as opposed to increasing the factors of production.		
Paper	<u>The Political Institutional Determinants of Stock Market Development</u> Chiwook Kim , <i>University of Texas at Austin</i> Overview: This paper aims at answering why some countries have had well-developed stock markets but other not, by focusing on the impact of political institutions on policy credibility and investor confidence. Using a time-series cross-section model, I find that parliamentary system, federalism and closed-list PR electoral rules are more conducive to the development of stock markets. It is because those institutional configurations enable governments to establish and implement more credible stock market policies and thereby enhance investor confidence in stock markets that is the main key to stock market growth.		
Disc.	Michelle L. Dion , <i>Georgia Institute of Technology</i>		
4-13	<u>FORMAL THEORIES OF TRANSITION AND CONSOLIDATION</u>		
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30		
Chair	Mikhail Filippov , <i>Washington University</i>		
Paper	<u>Bargaining with the Military: Lessons from South Korea and Taiwan</u> O. Fiona Yap , <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: What restrains a military – one which had extended its role into politics and policy-making – from challenging or vetoing civilian authority again? This paper evaluates how bargaining between civilian leaders and the military in South Korea and Taiwan from the 1960s to 2000 affects the military's restraint. Data collected from both countries across time are analyzed to evaluate if and how bargaining agreements are stable and supported by the players.		
Paper	<u>A Commitment to Amnesty? Transitional Justice after Pacted Transitions.</u> Monika A. Nalepa , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: In the aftermath of pacts regulating transitions to democracy three outcomes are possible: (1) Autocrats refrain from stepping down; (2) Autocrats step down and don't suffer purges and trials (3) Autocrats step down and are subjected to prosecution. Outcomes (2) and (3) challenge the literature on credible commitments. The paper attempts to account for this anomaly within the same analytical framework. It offers a game of incomplete information with unique subgame perfect equilibria, that lead to outcomes which for different parameter values, can be interpreted as the three above possibilities. The critical parameters represent characteristics of electoral institutions and the structure of the pre-transition opposition.		
Paper	<u>Third Wave Revisited: Modeling and Testing Transitions to Democracy</u> G. Jiyun Kim , <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: The process leading to negotiated transitions to democracy is modeled as two-level political wars of attrition. I solve for the expected time of political stabilization and relate it to key political and economic variables. I motivate this approach and its results by comparison to the third wave cases of transitions and non-transitions.		
Paper	<u>The Unstable Path to Consolidation: How Authoritarian Relapses Foster Democratic Consolidation in Developing Countries</u> Tracy L. Long , <i>Texas Tech University</i> Neal Larkin , <i>Texas Tech University</i> Overview: This paper will contend that in nations where there is a push for democratization there is a direct relationship between the ideology of the Left and the willingness of the right to either support or defect from a democratic regime. When this relationship is expressed in game theoretic form one finds that the possibility exists that the cycle of Democratic Transitions and Regressions might not be detrimental to the process of consolidation but instead, is a necessary component of it, as the Right uses defection and the threat of defection to authoritarianism in a Tit-for-Tat strategy to moderate the ideology of the Left.		
Paper	<u>Ethnic Divisions and the Road to Democracy</u> David Epstein , <i>Columbia University</i> Sharyn O'Halloran , <i>Columbia University</i> Bahar Leventoglu , <i>SUNY, Stonybrook</i> Overview: We present a model of democratic transitions in a society with two ethnic groups and two economic groups. When do politics revolve around ethnic as opposed to economic cleavages, and how does this affect the possibilities of a successful democratic transition?		
Disc.	Kenneth Benoit , <i>Trinity College</i>		
4-14	<u>NEW PERSPECTIVES ON REGIME TYPES</u>		
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30		
Chair	John A. Guidry , <i>Macalester College</i>		
Paper	<u>The Third Wave of Democracy: The Latin American and the Eastern European Experience</u> Maria Ilcheva , <i>Florida International University</i> Overview: This study examines comparatively the transitions to democracy in Latin America and Eastern Europe, focusing both on the common features and the qualitative differences of the two regions' democratization process. Executive-legislative relations, political parties and their role, and state-society relations are examined as major dimensions in this comparison.		
Paper	<u>Democracy in South Asia-India and Pakistan</u> Farida Jalalzai , <i>University at Buffalo, SUNY</i> Overview: This paper examines democratic transition and consolidation in India and Pakistan. Specifically, how do India and Pakistan differ in terms of democracy both historically and currently and, if so, why? What are future prospects for democracy? India is a consolidated but illiberal democracy. Indian elites and citizens have philosophical commitments to democracy and politics are generally governed by democratic rules and procedures. However, citizens' civil liberties are continually encroached upon by the state and even democratic procedures are prone to periodic lapses. Pakistan is currently an authoritarian military state and historically has not adhered to basic democratic procedures. Prospects for democracy are grim in Pakistan because of the entrenchment of Islamic rule, the pervasive military influence, a weak civil society, and lack of democratic cultural norms.		
Paper	<u>Revolutionary Iran: A Totalitarian Regime?</u> Jeremiah W. John , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: This paper argues that the case of revolutionary Iran creates problems for traditional theory of regime types. Because of the unique characteristics of Iran's revolutionary Islamic ideology, Iran cannot be coherently identified as either totalitarian or authoritarian. Iran's uniqueness in this respect has a number of important implications for a possible transition to democracy.		
Disc.	Andrew Konitzer-Smirnov , <i>Baylor University</i>		
5-11	<u>POLITICAL ECONOMY</u>		
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30		
Chair	Lanny Martin , <i>Florida State University</i>		
Paper	<u>Is There a Broader Political Economy Theory of Welfare Policy? Expanding the Theories to Eastern Europe</u> Christine S. Lipsmeyer , <i>University of Missouri - Columbia</i> Overview: This paper explores similarities between different periods in East and West Europe to see if recessionary factors influence welfare budgets in similar ways. Inflation and unemployment combined with declining output in post-1973 Europe may be comparable to post-communist Europe. Although welfare in the East differs from its Western counterparts, economic forces may have similar effects across these groups. By expanding the context by country and time period, we can draw generalizations across the European divide.		
Paper	<u>Plotting Preferences in Brussels, London, and Berlin: A Generative Preference Model of Firm-Level Lobbying</u> Daniel A. Kenney , <i>Brandeis University</i> Overview: This critical review of the firm-based Varieties of Capitalism literature parses this extensive body of work along a vertical and horizontal mapping scheme. A typological model of firm preferences is derived from this mapping scheme and		

- considered across two spheres of policy: social and competition in the EU since 1986.
- Paper** **Income Inequality and European Electoral Participation**
Frederick Solt, *Rice University*
 Overview: Economic resources are political resources. Greater economic inequality, therefore, generates more unequal political influence across income groups, and so political efficacy, interest in politics, and participation in elections should be expected to decline as inequality increases. Using individual- and national-level data, the analyses in this paper support these hypotheses: greater inequality decreases efficacy, interest, and the probability of voting for all citizens, and these effects are stronger for those with lower incomes.
- Disc.** **Lanny Martin**, *Florida State University*
- 6-201** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE SLOVAK PASSAGE TOWARDS DEMOCRACY**
Room TBA, TABLE 1, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30
Inf. Rnd. **Democracy in Slovakia: Problems and Prospects**
Branislav Kovalcik, *University of Florida*
 Overview: The purpose of this paper is to give an in-depth analysis of Slovak politics. In the explanatory part of the paper, I will put an emphasis on political actors and argue that they, more than anything else, help explain why the country is now successfully stabilizing its democracy. I will also acknowledge the external factors, mainly the role the EU and NATO have played in helping Slovaks institutionalize their democracy.
- 6-202** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: FOREIGN POLICY PATTERNS: CHINA AND N. KOREA**
Room TBA, TABLE 2, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30
Inf. Rnd. **North Korea's Foreign Strategy Since the End of the Cold War**
Dong-hyuk Shin, *University of Kentucky*
 Overview: Prevalent predictions of the collapse of North Korea for many years by analysts or policy makers have proven to be incorrect. In addition, the prediction that the ongoing economic crisis of North Korea would lead to internal strife has been misplaced. Most studies on the negotiation process or behavior have emphasized the use of North Korea's "brinkmanship" or "nuclear bargaining" toward a strong power as a leverage to obtain economic assistance and security guarantees. Why do they pursue such option, despite a lack of capacity to counter the big power? Not having alternative alliance options since the end of the Cold War, North Korea needed another option to attain "self-help."
- Inf. Rnd.** **The Role of Transnational Advocacy Network in Changing Chinese Foreign Policy Towards North Korean Refugees**
SUN-Young Kwak, *University of Southern California*
Christopher A. Metaxas, *University of California, Riverside*
 Overview: Recent changes in Chinese foreign policy with regard to North Korean refugees in China suggest that international pressures, such as foreign governments and their citizenry's humanitarian interests, affect the foreign policy making of the Chinese leadership. Accordingly, we examine the example of the group of North Koreans who entered the Japanese consulate in Shenyang, China on May 8, 2002 and the subsequent refugee policy changes in China. We draw on interviews conducted with governmental officials in China, Japan, South Korea and the United States who were involved in resolving the disputes as well as the statements of the refugees. We also examine the significant role of transnational advocacy network such as the Citizen's Alliance for North Korean Human Rights and the People in Need Foundation in winning political asylum for the refugees from the Chinese government. Using discourse analysis and content analysis based on the interviews and the statements, we find that the role of the transnational advocacy networks was paramount in inducing the refugee policy conflicts reconciliation.
- 6-203** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE EU IMPACT ON EASTERN EUROPE: PROMOTER OF DEMOCRACY OR NATIONALISM?**
Room TBA, TABLE 3, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30
Inf. Rnd. **European Union Expansion and Democratization in Central and Eastern Europe**
Nikola Mirilovic, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: The paper seeks to determine the causes of regime type variation in post-communist Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). I argue that an increase in a country's prospects to join the European Union (EU) increases the likelihood that that country will become democratic. I further argue that the prospects for joining the EU are in part a function of the countries relative geographical proximity to the EU core.
- Inf. Rnd.** **Why EU Expansion Can Promote Nationalism**
Lynn M. Tesser, *Loyola University Chicago*
 Overview: East-Central Europe has become the battlefield for a new ideological war. The lingering after-effects of the 20th century drive to create ethnically homogenous states clashes with the quest to bring down borders for free movement in a broader Europe. Yet, this clash has gone unnoticed as analysts tend to use lay understandings of Europeanization -- or rather, harmonizing with European Union policies. This paper unveils the clash, particularly its significance for nationalist politics, by considering how it affects the process of coming to terms with two key moments in 20th century history: the post-Second World War German expulsions and the 1920 Trianon treaty.
- 6-204** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: GIVING AID AND FIGHTING CORRUPTION: THE EU AND EASTERN EUROPE**
Room TBA, TABLE 4, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30
Inf. Rnd. **Recipient Need or Donor Interest: Why Does the European Union Give Aid to Eastern Europe**
Petia Kostadinova, *University of Florida*
 Overview: This paper analyses the economic assistance to eastern Europe from the European Union. From the literature on foreign aid I draw two models explaining aid distribution, recipient need and donor interest. I find support for both arguments. Low democratic and economic performance, and well as high levels of privatization and high imports from the European Union are positively associated with Phare aid per capita. High exports to the European Union have the opposite impact.
- Inf. Rnd.** **Anti-Corruption Strategies (ACS) and Fighting Corruption**
Monica Dorhoi, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: The paper discusses the factors that determine the adoption and efficiency of Anti-Corruption Strategies.
- 7-12** **WHY DON'T SANCTIONS WORK?**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30
Chair **Kyle Joyce**, *Pennsylvania State University*
Paper **Credibility, Uncertainty, and Economic Sanctions Failure**
Taehee Whang, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: This paper explores the origin of economic sanctions failure. Previous studies collapse two different sanctions failure into one category. Particularly, there are non-negligible cases, where sanctions failure resulted from sender's back-down. To explain this, I present a formal model of economic sanctions with two-sided incomplete information. The model shows that under certain circumstances, there is equilibrium with sender's back-down failure. While sanctions credibility is necessary to prevent such outcomes, uncertainty explains why incredible sanctions occur in equilibrium.
- Paper** **Economic Sanctions and Interdependence**
Rosa Eugenia Sandoval-Bustos, *Rice University*
 Overview: In the last few decades, many authors have studied the relationship between trade and militarized conflict. However, the influence of trade on other forms of interaction is less understood. The objective of this paper is to investigate if trade dependence influences whether states impose sanctions

	and under what conditions this is the case. The argument offered here is that less dependent states in asymmetric dyads will be more likely to use economic sanctions.				associated with current U.S. foreign policy behavior is encouraging the redefinition of Middle Eastern identity in Islamic terms and creating the possibility of intractable religious conflict on a global scale.
Paper	<u>International Law and the Use of Force by States: An Initial Assessment</u> Joel H. Westra , <i>The University of Chicago</i> Overview: What restraints, if any, does the UN Charter place on the actions of the major powers? This paper uses statistical methods to test an expanded Hobbesian formulation of international law against three competing theories. It collects multiple observations from each case. Then, using a congruence procedure, it assesses the extent to which these observations are consistent with the observable implications derived from each theory.		Paper	<u>Nonproliferation Export Control and World Order: Globalization, Security, and the State</u> Michael L. Lipson , <i>Concordia University</i> Overview: This paper assesses theoretical claims regarding state responses to globalization through empirical analysis of nonproliferation export controls. Globalization theorists claim that technological advances and increased interdependence are bringing about the end of the Westphalian world order. Transgovernmentalists counter that states are forming transnational networks of government regulators. Traditionalists assert the continued relevance and vitality of the state. Export controls provide a concrete basis for testing these claims.	
Paper	<u>Bush vs. Saddam: A Tale of Moral Hazard and Adverse Selection</u> Daniel Verdier , <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: In 1991, the United States was able to enlist the support of the United Nations Security Council to invade Iraq; in 2003, it was unable to do that. What accounts for the difference? I study both historical events as two instances of an adverse selection game, in which a Bush administration confronts Saddam whose real intentions they ignore with a choice between complying and being rewarded or not complying and being punished. I argue that in 1991, the U.S. was able to calibrate sanction and incentive so as to lead Saddam to reveal his true expansionist intentions, forcing France and Russia to side with the United States. In 2003, in contrast, compliance was not directly observable but the result of a stochastic inspection regime, thereby compounding the adverse selection problem with a moral hazard problem, and making it costlier for the Bush administration to design a sanction regime that would have induced Saddam to reveal his true intentions and trigger universal condemnation. Instead, Washington found it more attractive to go it alone. Both events are modeled in the form of a Bayesian game, in which a principal confronts an agent (whose type is known only of the agent) with a screening mechanism that leads the agent to truly reveal his type and allows the principal to choose the right action.		Disc.	David M. Potter , <i>Nanzan University</i>	
			8-12	<u>EXPLAINING ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT: NEW PERSPECTIVES</u>	
			Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30	
			Chair	Jude Hays , <i>University of Michigan</i>	
			Paper	<u>Islamic Banking, Private Incentives, and Economic Growth, 1963-2000</u> Seonjou Kang , <i>University of North Texas</i> Overview: This research considers financial institutions, especially banking, as an intermediary institution that connect private economic incentives to government signals. Banking, in its simplest form accepting deposits and loaning them at fixed interest rates, is intriguing enough that countries have different banking systems and assign different roles in their economies. Furthermore, the existence of Islamic banking in Middle East and North Africa, which prohibits paying interest at pre-fixed rates, begs questions of financial institutions' roles in economic growth and political development. Therefore, this paper empirically examines the influence of banking system on economic growth and democratization utilizing the experiences of Middle Eastern and North African countries that have adopted Islamic banking and emerging market economies that have adopted Western banking.	
Paper	<u>The Politics of Economic Sanctions</u> David J. Lektzian , <i>International Peace Research Institute</i> Mark Souva , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: We argue that since economic sanctions are essentially a tool for political coercion their success should be more a function of political costs than economic costs. These political costs are primarily a function of three factors: the issue at stake, the type of sanction, and sender and target regime type. We use new data for each of these variables and test hypotheses regarding the importance of political factors in the success of sanctions.		Paper	<u>Cultural Differences, Democracy, and Growth Stability: A Cross Country Analysis</u> Hasan Kirmanoglu , <i>Istanbul Bilgi University</i> Overview: In this study, we econometrically show that one of the four cultural dimensions of Hofstede (1980), i.e. individualism, is an important factor in explaining growth volatility variations among different countries. The relationship is negative, i.e. as individualism scores of countries increase economic growth becomes less volatile. Our interpretation is that the self-regulating markets go hand in hand with self-interest individuals and harmony between the two is realized through political competition, i.e. democracy.	
Disc.	Chad Rector , <i>George Washington University</i>		Paper	<u>The Lesson from Transition: Towards a New Paradigm in Economic Policy and Economics</u> Alexander Koulikov , <i>Syracuse University</i> Overview: The results of policy advice given to transitional countries have been humbling for some economists and remain a subject of controversy. The information paradigm (J. Stiglitz) has not only changed the answers to traditional economic questions; it has led to new questions being posed. In its practical applications the information paradigm (China) was much more successful than the old paradigm (Russia). The information paradigm represents progress and growth of knowledge in political economy and economics.	
7-19	<u>RESPONSES TO GLOBALIZATION</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30				
Chair	Megan Reif , <i>University of Michigan</i>				
Paper	<u>Political Dissent and Practices of Security: Repression and Regulation of Anti-Globalization Movements in North America</u> Colleen D. Bell , <i>York University</i> Overview: This paper, through its consideration of contemporary state security practices, will address the central importance that anti-globalization assumes in the evolving nature of security in North America in the context of liberal democracy.		Paper	<u>Science and Technology for Economic Growth: New Insights</u> Adrian S. Petrescu , <i>University of Toledo</i> Overview: In the US and Europe alike, science and technology policy initiatives in the early 1980s have focused much on improving the capacity to apply a good science base in practice, expecting a resulting increase in technological advancement and implicitly improved market presence and enhanced economic growth. Yet, results vary in the US and Europe. History,	
Paper	<u>Holy War for the 21st Century: Globalization, U.S. Foreign Policy, and the Development of Islamic Identity</u> Philip W. Barker , <i>University of Colorado</i> William J. Muck , <i>University of Colorado</i> Overview: In this paper, parallels are drawn between previous intractable religious conflicts and the current developing conflict between the United States and the Islamic world. Although the United States has made a concerted effort to declare a war on "terror" and not Islam, the perceived threat				

	tradition and knowledge transfers may affect more returns on R&D expenditures than the actual value of R&D funds spent in either science or technology in a country.				
Paper	<u>All (International) Politics is Local: Economic Development and Intellectual Property Rights Regimes</u> Jeffrey S. Schroeder , <i>Des Moines Area Community College</i> James E. Hanley , <i>University of Illinois, Springfield</i> Overview: Concerns the cause of Intellectual Property Rights regimes in developing countries. Coercive diplomacy theory is criticized as logically flawed and scientifically untestable. An alternative political economy model is tested, and the results are consistent with IPR regimes being caused by increasing internal demand for intellectual property rights protection as the economy develops.				
Disc.	Jude Hays , <i>University of Michigan</i>				
9-9	<u>SEPTEMBER 11TH AND ITS CONSEQUENCES</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30				
Chair	David Schmitt , <i>Northeastern University</i>				
Paper	<u>The Reaction to 9/11 and Its Impact on a Madisonian System of Government</u> William J. Crotty , <i>Northeastern University</i> Overview: This paper looks at the public and governmental (executive, congressional, and judicial) response to 9/11 and the impact these have on a Madisonian system of government which I take to mean a separation of powers, accountability in office, and guaranteed individual freedoms. The aftermath of September 11th has impacted each of these areas of governance in the American system.				
Paper	<u>Civil Liberties after 9/11: Terrorism Persists, Constitutional Interpretation Continues</u> Peter Longo , <i>University of Nebraska-Kearney</i> Overview: No doubt the horrifying terrorist attacks of 9/11 will forever be remembered. Citizens and lawmakers are confounded as to how collective governance ought to be crafted to appropriately respond to such horrific events. The realities of continued terrorism will persist as the U.S. government responds and plans. No matter what political pressures occur in this heightened time of insecurity, the U.S. Constitution provides a framework for security policies. Indeed, constitutional case law shapes the boundaries of security policy. This paper will 1) examine key post 9/11 security policies; 2) place the security policies in constitutional context; 3) analyze key elements of case law as they pertain to security and constitutional protections; and 4) offer an assessment of the boundaries between liberties and security.				
Paper	<u>Dialectic of Mistrust: The Confused Debate over Civil Liberties in the War on Terror</u> Thomas Powers , <i>University of Minnesota-Duluth</i> Overview: In the contemporary discussion of civil liberties issues arising out of the challenge of September 11, the debate between camps of liberty and security exaggerates and distorts. The debate is flawed because it begins from a false tension between liberty and security and because both these liberal principles have been politicized by participants in the debate.				
Paper	<u>Future American Foreign Policy and the War on Terrorism</u> James M. Scott , <i>Indiana State University</i> Overview: This paper examines the international and domestic challenges of the post-9/11 foreign policy environment. It explores the challenges posed by the nature of the threat, the need for international cooperation, and the predominance of American power in the international arena. It also explores the constraints and challenges of the institutional and bureaucratic environment in the US.				
Disc.	David Schmitt , <i>Northeastern University</i>				
9-14	<u>WAR ON TERRORISM</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30				
Chair	Chih-Chieh Chou , <i>University of Buffalo</i>				
Paper	<u>U.S.-Saudi Relations: Prescriptions for the Future</u> Ann Marie Butler , <i>California State University, San Bernardino</i>				
	Overview: Saudi Arabia is one of the United States' closet allies in the Middle East and as such garners a certain amount of both respect and hatred from the rest of the world. The question then becomes if the relations between the United States and Saudi Arabia will suffer and how.				
Paper	<u>The Political Sources of Anti-Americanism in the Islamic World</u> Giacomo Chiozza , <i>Duke University</i> Overview: Anti-Americanism is on the rise in many parts of the world. This paper investigates this phenomenon by looking at the mass attitudes towards the United States in the Islamic world. Using survey data from the 2002 Zogby International poll, it analyzes individual perceptions of America on several indicators relating to its political system, its society, and its achievements. It shows how gender, age, education, and connection to the global information society, affect attitudes towards America.				
Paper	<u>Counterterrorism Mobilization and Democracy: A Comparison of the War(s) on Terror of the United States, United Kingdom, Russia, and Israel</u> Christian W. Erickson , <i>Roosevelt University</i> Overview: This paper examines similarities and differences in the counterterror strategies and tactics that four democratic regimes (United States, United Kingdom, Russia, and Israel) use to cope with the internal dimension of terrorist threats by either domestic or transnational terrorist organizations. Each of these democratic polities has very different domestic legal structures that regulate and oversee the internal activities of the intelligence, law enforcement, and security agencies.				
Paper	<u>Public Intelligence</u> Glenn P. Hastedt , <i>James Madison University</i> Overview: Intelligence analysis is traditionally viewed as a secret activity. Yet, this is not always the case. In the period leading up to the Iraq War the Bush administration used intelligence in a very public manner. This paper analyzes the nature of public intelligence and its consequences for secret intelligence.				
Paper	<u>National Guard Dedication to Homeland Defense: A Needed Emphasis in a Storm of Conflict</u> Brett E. Morris , <i>University of Alabama</i> Overview: The Bush administration emphasis on deploying the military reserve and especially the National Guard under USC Article 32 flies in the face of sound, bipartisan council and study. This preempts clear needs for Homeland Security initiatives at the federal, state, and local levels. Further, it presents long-term limitations connected to drastically reduced retention and recruitment for the reserve component in the wake of an increasingly unpopular "war".				
Disc.	Chih-Chieh Chou , <i>University of Buffalo</i>				
10-13	<u>NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY, AND ARMS TRANSFERS</u>				
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30				
Chair	TBA				
Paper	<u>From Vertical to Horizontal Proliferation: Clarifying the Connection</u> J. David Singer , <i>University of Michigan</i> Atsushi Tago , <i>University of Tokyo</i> Overview: As we confront the increasing menace of horizontal nuclear proliferation, we face two interesting questions. First, what are some possible strategies for slowing down, halting, or reversing this proliferation; and, second, to what extent has vertical proliferation by the original nuclear powers contributed to the problem.				
Paper	<u>The New Strategic Environment: Low-Yield Nuclear Weapons and the Evolution of Arms Control in the Twenty-First Century</u> Jeremy F. Tamsett , <i>Monterey Institute of International Studies</i> Overview: The purpose of this paper is to define what fourth-generation nuclear weapons are, why their development may coincide with US and ultimately global security interests, and finally how strategic arms control could play an important role in positively shaping the international security environment of				

the twenty-first century by decreasing the importance and relevance of high-yield nuclear weapons as new technologies may replace these "weapons of mass destruction" with "weapons of mass effectiveness".

Paper **Indian Nuclear Weapons Doctrine: Implications for India and the World**
Harsh V. Pant, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: This paper examines the Indian nuclear doctrine in the context of the strategic environment that India faces and will assess its utility in India's attempt to re-define its strategic position in the regional and global power hierarchy. Drawing from the Indian experience, this paper will also explore the parameters that might define the nuclear postures and doctrines of the emerging nuclear states and the possible responses of the established nuclear weapons states.

Paper **Peace in an Offensive World: A Case for Offense-Defense Differentiation in Military Technology**
Muhammet A. Bas, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: I investigate the effects of the weapons technology, whether it favors offense or defense, on the likelihood of war, and also speculate on the factors that help prevent wars when offense is favored. In accordance with the previous literature on the offense-defense balance, I find that, in general, offensive advantage increases the security dilemma and makes peace less likely under perfect and complete information. A world with defensive advantage is more conducive to peace, and also increasing the differentiation between weapons that are offensive and defensive helps sustain peace more easily.

Disc. **Michael Simon**, *SPARTA*

11-11 **REPERCUSSIONS OF 9/11: A FOCUS ON PUBLIC OPINION (Co-sponsored with Public Opinion and Political Participation, see 13-23)**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30
Chair **Kasie M. Roberson**, *Purdue University*
Paper **Americans' Perceptions of the Causes of Terrorism: Why Do They Hate Us?**
Darren W. Davis, *Michigan State University*
Brian D. Silver, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: TBA

Paper **Determining Patriotism: Assessing the Impact of Group Membership and Political Orientation on National Identity After 9-11**
Christopher S. Parker, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
 Overview: TBA

Paper **Civil Liberties versus Security: Public Perceptions Before & After September 11, 2001**
Robert A. Wood, *North Dakota State University*
George A. Youngs Jr., *North Dakota State University*
 Overview: We explore public perceptions of the severity of terrorism and the degree of support for policy initiatives designed to combat it. Our data came from two public opinion surveys, the first in Spring 1998 and the second in Fall 2002 in Fargo, North Dakota. Results are analyzed based on socioeconomic demographics, political affiliations, and attitudes toward politics in general.

Paper **The Structure of Public Opinion in the Wake of 9/11**
Elizabeth A. Suhay, *University of Michigan*
Martha S. Hill, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: This research examines how Americans' understandings of 9/11 related to views on civil liberties, immigration, and support for retaliatory measures, and how these issues themselves interrelated. Data from two waves of the How America Responds survey (SRC, University of Michigan) reveal strong support for hypotheses regarding interrelationships among opinions on civil liberties, immigration, retaliatory measures, and nationalism but weak support for hypothesized relationships between ethnocentric understandings of 9/11 and public opinion on these issues.

Disc. **Ewa A. Golebiowska**, *Wayne State University*

12-22 **EXPLAINING VOTER TURNOUT**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30
Chair **Paul A. Beck**, *Ohio State University*
Paper **Race, Redistricting, and New Theories on Latino Voter Turnout in 2002**
Matt A. Barreto, *University of California, Irvine*
Louis DeSipio, *University of California, Irvine*
 Overview: How does redistricting effect voter turnout? This paper compares turnout rates for Latinos that were districted out of, or into, a Latino district. In California, district boundaries shifted significantly where the Latino population was becoming a majority to protect non-Latino office holders. In most instances, these Latinos were shifted to neighboring districts that already had Latino representatives. We hypothesize that Latinos shifting into Latino-held districts will be more likely to vote than in previous years.

Paper **Turnout in Small Elections**
Tom W. Rice, *University of Iowa*
Hillary Schleuter, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: We investigate the determinants of turnout in small-town Iowa mayoral races. The community-level results show that electoral competition is the most important determinant of turnout. In addition, many of the socio-demographic factors that are regularly linked to turnout in large elections, such as income and age, are unrelated to turnout in the mayoral races.

Paper **Partisan Gerrymandering, Overlapping Districts and Voter Turnout**
Gary M. Segura, *University of Iowa*
Matt A. Barreto, *University of California, Irvine*
Nathan D. Woods, *Claremont Graduate University*
 Overview: Political reformers have long speculated that partisan gerrymandering is responsible for lower voter turnout. In this effort, we use registrar of voters data to track the turnout history of individual citizens across four elections. We estimate the impact of partisan gerrymandering to turnout propensity across groups of voters and, further, test whether the effect is additive if voters reside in multiple, overlapping, safe districts.

Paper **The Effectiveness of Public Service Announcements on Turnout: A Field Experiment**
Lynn Vavreck, *University of California at Los Angeles*
 Overview: In this project, local cable systems in four states are randomly assigned to treatment or control group. Advertising time was purchased in the treatment systems on TNT, USA, and Lifetime networks. In Kentucky, TNN, ESPN, CNN, TBS, and MTV were added. The PSA's ran between 4 and 17 times per evening during prime time in the treatment systems, exposing roughly 1 million people to the ads. After the 2003 statewide elections in these four states, we examine turnout data at the individual level (from Secretary of States offices) in order to learn whether the treatment systems had higher turnout than the control.

Paper **A Closeup of Voter Turnout: Survey Data From Africa**
Daniel J. Young, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: This study engages recent survey data from African democracies to test the comparability of common voter turnout models. The common variables used in previous turnout models take on a unique and consistent pattern in Africa's new democracies, lending evidence to both an instrumental view of democracy, and the importance of the recent context of democratization, in influencing turnout.

Disc. **David Levin**, *University of Utah*

12-23 **STATE AND LOCAL POLITICS IN THE U.S.**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30
Chair **Kedron Bardwell**, *Grand Valley State University*
Paper **Local Partisan Political Marketing**
Paul N. Cannon, *University of Alabama in Huntsville*
 Overview: This research identified partisan elections in three similarly-sized counties, with similar demographics, in three southeastern states, to assess the utility of partisan resources in local campaigns, compared to skills in organizational management and political marketing during the 2000 election cycle. The political marketing variable, with such indicators as

	verbal image-building, pursuit of free media, and paid media, proved to be most correlated with winning, according to statistical significance using crosstabs and multivariate regressions.				
Paper	<u>The Carryover Effect in State and Local Elections</u> Sean F. Evans, <i>Union University</i> Overview: Are supporters of losing candidates more or less likely to vote and work for the party nominee in the general election? Using a post-primary and post-general election survey of activists in a statewide campaign and 13 state legislative campaigns, I find that supporters of a losing primary candidate are less likely to vote for the nominee, but that activists in statewide races are more likely to work for the nominee than activists in local races.			Paper	<u>Separatism in Decline? How Political Involvement Has Affected the Evangelical Right</u> Robert G. Moore, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: Using data from the American National Election Studies (1964-2000) and an SEM model I evaluate the cyclical relationship between political conceptualization and participation for Evangelicals to show how Evangelical political sophistication is being affected by their new levels of political involvement.
Paper	<u>Determinants of Voter Turnout in Local School Board Elections</u> David J. Webber, <i>University of Missouri</i> Overview: Voter turnout in Missouri school board elections (1998-2001) is explained as result of short-term (school performance and electoral competition) and long-term factors (demographic and cultural characteristics).			Paper	<u>Social Legitimacy and the Political Styles of Protestant Congregations in the United States</u> Peter W. Wielhouwer, <i>Regent University</i> Tony Beckham, <i>Regent University</i> Overview: Little is known about the impact that social environments have on the political styles of Protestant congregations, because most empirical work in this area focuses on individual-level attributes and the impact of context on individual behavior. Using the 1998 National Congregations Study, this research asserts and then tests the premise that social legitimacy – operationalized as involvement in certain social activities – mediates between church tradition and political style. This elevates congregational analysis to the organizational level, and enables an assessment of whether acquiescence to social pressures causes breaches in church autonomy.
Paper	<u>Voting Cues and the Incumbency Advantage: Non-Partisan and Partisan Elections to the Minnesota State Legislature, 1950 - 1988</u> Shigeo Hirano, <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: A common belief in the American politics voting literature is that the rise in the incumbency advantage is due to the decline in partisan voting. Voters are substituting the incumbency cue for the partisan cue. This paper addresses the question of how much of the growth and current levels of the incumbency advantage can we explain with a simple "cue substitution" argument? This paper addresses this question with a previously overlooked set of data. The paper exploits the switch from non-partisan to partisan state legislative elections that occurred in Minnesota in 1973. The change provides a type of quasi-experiment in which partisan cues changed suddenly and dramatically. Of course, partisan cues were not absent during the period, but we show they appear to have been greatly attenuated. We find no evidence of cue substitution. The incumbency advantage did not fall when the partisan cue became available.			Disc.	Sara Margaret Gubala, <i>Michigan State University</i>
Paper	<u>Do National Tides Affect Gubernatorial Elections? Midterm Loss and State Level Elections</u> Robin Best, <i>Binghamton University, SUNY</i> Thomas L. Brunell, <i>Northern Arizona University</i> Overview: We test theories of midterm loss on gubernatorial elections and find that national election tides do affect state level elections. We conduct analyses that incorporate both national level and state level variables.			15-204	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: TRAFFICKING, PEACEKEEPING AND ORGANIZED SEXUAL VIOLENCE: THE UNITED NATIONS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AND KOSOVO</u>
				Room	TBA, TABLE 5, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30
				Inf. Rnd.	<u>The Virtues of Terror: Gendered Virtue, Identity, and International Conflict</u> Mark D. Gismondi, <i>Northwest Nazarene University</i> Overview: This paper examines the relationship between gender and international conflict. More specifically, it analyzes gendered conceptions of virtue, as they have existed historically, and how those concepts are synthesized in specific cultures involved in military conflict. This synthetic model is then applied to conceptions of gendered virtue as they affect the recent rise of terror movements, as well as to the U.S. response, i.e. "the war on terror."
				16-17	<u>RACE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE</u>
				Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30
				Chair	Harwood J. McClerking, <i>Ohio State University</i>
				Paper	<u>Public Policy and the Constructivist/Primordialist Controversy</u> Brian D. Shoup, <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: This paper asks whether, and to what extent, formation of public policy in heterogeneous societies limits or enables individuals to instrumentally cast ethnic identity. It suggests that, while identity is a socially constructed phenomenon, the overall plasticity of identity is subject to a wide range of constraints, many of which are reinforced by public policy. Thus, debates about the incorporation of constructivist findings should consider the limitations social institutions place upon identity formation
13-14	<u>RELIGION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION</u>			Paper	<u>Does Modernization Integrate Ethnic Groups or Intensify Conflict? : A Study of Turkish Case</u> Filiz Oztalas, <i>University of Kentucky</i> Overview: This paper challenges both the modernization and conflictual modernization theories. Contrary to the modernization theory, assimilation is not an inevitable result of modernization and the conflictual modernization argument is incorrect in its claim that modernization always intensifies ethnic conflicts. Modernization increases the probability of conflict only if it combined with, strong ethnic prejudices, extremist elite mobilization, exclusionary system and security
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30				
Chair	Keith Reeves, <i>Swarthmore College</i>				
Paper	<u>Characteristics of Extreme Right Groups: A Log-Linear Analysis</u> James A. Woods, <i>FBI</i> Robert Moore, <i>Michigan State University</i> James H. Noonan, <i>FBI</i> Overview: TBA				
Paper	<u>The Political Effects of Evangelical Religiosity: A Comparative Approach</u> Mikael L. Pelz, <i>University of Missouri - Columbia</i> Overview: This research addresses the absence of comparative analysis in the study of religiosity, which has gained increasing importance since the emergence of the New Christian Right. The primary goal of this paper is to determine the religiosity measure that explains the largest portion of political conservatism among Evangelicals. The paper first compares Evangelicals with other religious groups. Then, using simple regressions, it tests various explanations for the political differences between Mainline Protestants and Evangelicals.				

dilemma. The Turkish case, experiences of the Turks, Lazes and Kurds, demonstrates these theories' weaknesses.

Paper **Race and Ethnicity in the United States and China: Environmental and Cultural Considerations**
Paul Kriese, Indiana University East
 Overview: Race and ethnic considerations are culture and environmentally shaped. I have explored these issues in the United States and China the past twenty years. This paper will discuss some of the similar and some of the distinct realities of these two political cultures in terms of race and ethnic considerations. I conclude with some comparative analytical thoughts on both countries.

Disc. **Harwood J. McClerking, Ohio State University**

17-13 **WAR AND JUSTICE**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30
Chair **J. Donald Moon, Wesleyan University**
Paper **The Need for Just Order: Just War Thinking is More Than Just Restraint**
Valerie O. Funk, University of Chicago
 Overview: Drawing on Hindu and Islamic just war theory and contemporary Western theorists, this paper suggests that just war is concerned with order and not merely restraint. This posits an intimate relationship between just war and justice as understood in the domestic social order. Thus, perhaps just causes for war are not limited to self-defense in the narrow sense, but may be understood more broadly as those which contribute to restoring or reconstructing social order.

Paper **Is a Preventative War a Just War? International Relations and Political Theory Approaches**
Steven P. Millies, University of South Carolina-Aiken
Sara B. Hower, St. Cloud State University
 Overview: The traditional logic of preventive war is that if war is inevitable, the best time to fight is sooner rather than later, before the other side can continue to build up military strength that would prove more powerful in a future war. The U.S. attack on Iraq in 2003 follows the theory of preventive war: remove Saddam Hussein from power before he acquires enough nuclear technology in which he can support a nuclear attack on the United States. The debate on whether Iraq posed a sufficient and imminent threat to U.S. security will no doubt be continued in the foreseeable future, but the purpose of this paper is analyze to what extent is a preventive war against those that acquire weapons of mass destruction a just one?

Paper **The Just War Tradition and Jihad: A Comparison of Justifications for Political Violence**
Siddiqui M. Khuram, University of Michigan
 Overview: This paper focuses on comparing the justifications for violence present in the "Just War" tradition with those justifications in Classical Islamic Law. There are two primary objectives to this paper. The first is to discuss which goals and forms of political violence are considered legitimate within these traditions, and to critically review their grounds of justifications. The second objective is to relate this discussion to an analysis of recent justifications for political violence in the Arab World.

Disc. **Joyce M. Mullan, Saint Xavier University**
Ann Wyman, Missouri Southern State University

19-5 **TOPICS IN CONTINENTAL POLITICAL THOUGHT**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30
Chair **John R. Bokina, University of Texas - Pan American**
Paper **"Post-Totalitarianism" and the Promise of "Living in Truth"**
Delia Alexandru, University of Colorado at Boulder
 Overview: This paper is an effort to understand the implications of the opposition strategies to Eastern European totalitarianism for our contemporary view of a democratic, free society. By elucidating the terms of the opposition strategy proposed by Vaclav Havel in the context of what he labels "the post-totalitarian order", I endeavor to identify Havel's profile of

the independent individual and to understand the impact of this image on our current conceptions of the democratic society.

Paper **The Phenomenology of Moral Defensiveness**
Christian D. Dean, Dominican University of California
 Overview: Much has been written about the development of moral character, moral maturity, and moral responsibility, but little sustained analysis has been directed to the phenomenon of what I will call moral defensiveness, by which I mean the cognitive and affective attitude/posture of one who is called upon to respond morally or, more interestingly, to account for why they are not behaving in a morally responsible manner. This is a preliminary account of the phenomenology of moral defensiveness and its relationship to the larger question of how we cultivate moral character and moral expertise.

Paper **Incorporating Race: Critical Theory and Social Facts**
Kirk A. Greer, University of Chicago
 Overview: This paper details what ought to be the relation between empirical social facts and the ongoing project of critical democratic theory. In detailing this relation, I question the brand of reconstruction Habermas employs and his account of democratic legitimacy. To demonstrate the theoretical and practical advantages of my suggested relationship between fact and critical insight, I examine the problem of racial inequality in the United States.

Paper **The End of History or Event Horizons: Two Approaches to American Foreign Policy**
Gregory Bruce Smith, Trinity College
 Overview: I will argue that 9/11 represents a unique event that in effect brings to closure the modern paradigm of looking at foreign policy from the perspective of how it advances universal global outcomes. All such approaches that look beyond state boundaries to discuss foreign policy imply a modern End of History thesis; or so I will argue. Events have inexorably moved us beyond modern paradigms to a situation that can only be conceptualized by a Heideggerian Event Horizon philosophical conceptualization of History.

Disc. **Mark E. Warren, Georgetown University**

22-13 **ELECTORAL INSTITUTIONS, PARTY FORMATION AND REPRESENTATION**
Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30
Chair **Sean J. Savage, Saint Mary's College**
Paper **European Integration and the Rise of Regional Parties**
Seth K. Jolly, Duke University
 Overview: Does European regional integration encourage ethno-regional groups to pursue separatism? To test this hypothesis, first the Alesina and Spolaore (1997) model for optimal size of nations is extended to explain why some groups pursue cultural autonomy while others pursue independence. Second, in an attempt to analyze one observable implication of the theory, the goals and electoral support of regional parties will be studied using individual-level data and party manifestos.

Paper **Party Movement in the Spatial Dimension: A Directional Perspective from 1952 to 2000**
Jennifer S. Dabbs, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
 Overview: By using Public Policy Mood as a proxy for the median voter at the aggregate level it becomes clear that the political parties have behaved in a directional manner over the past several decades. This finding supports directional theory and its application not only at the individual level but also the system level.

Paper **The Life and Death of Political Parties: Institutions, Incentives and Ambition in New York State**
Richard Skinner, Hamilton College
 Overview: An analysis of the importance of institutions, incentives and ambition to the survival of political parties, in the context of the minor parties of New York State.

Paper **Party Competition versus Slavery: Why Congress Made Single-Member Districts Mandatory in 1842**
Bernard Ivan Tamas, Illinois State University
 Overview: Combining historical and statistical analysis, I argue that single-member congressional districts became mandatory in

1842 not to undermine minor parties but because of electoral competition between the Whig and Democrat Parties. While single-member districts benefited the more urban northern Whigs, the party was split between free and slave states because multi-member representation benefited plantation and farm interests essential to Whig victory in the South.

Paper **Local Political Culture and the Viability of Minor Political Parties**

Daniel M. Shea, *Allegheny College*
Charles D. Myers, *Allegheny College*

Overview: This paper seeks to define minor party culture." A state-by-state comparison of several measures of minor party success with factors that play a role in local electoral politics has been conducted. Findings suggest institutional factors, such as each states direct primary system, have less impact on minor party success than cultural factors, such as electoral competition, professionalization of campaigns, and voter attitudes toward the major parties.

Disc. **Donald E. Greco**, *Baylor University*

23-1 **THE PRESIDENT AS POLICY MAKER**

Room PDR 7, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30

Chair **Paul Quirk**, *University of Illinois, Urbana*

Paper **The Issue-Attention Cycle and Executive Opportunity**

Sharon L. Wrobel, *Western Illinois University*

David R. Connelly, *Western Illinois University*

Overview: Executive actors have a unique advantage in policymaking due to their control of the bureaucracy, their command of public attention, and their ability to act quickly and with relative autonomy. This paper explores how Downs' Issue-Attention Cycle might explain executive response to crisis.

Paper **Presidential Agenda Setting: Richard Nixon, Bill Clinton and Welfare Reform**

Larycia A. Hawkins, *University of Oklahoma*

Courtney Cullison, *University of Oklahoma*

Aleisha Karjala, *University of Oklahoma*

Overview: Intriguing aspects of the policy process are overlooked when scholars myopically hone in on the legislative branch to the (relative) exclusion of the executive branch. This paper endeavors to illuminate the important role that two presidents played in setting the welfare reform agenda. As such, an exploration of Nixon's Family Assistance Plan as a case of policy failure and Clinton's Welfare Reform as a case of policy success will undoubtedly shed new theoretical insight and raise questions for future research in the areas of problem definition and presidential agenda setting. Indeed, these two policy cases amply demonstrate the inseparability of the concepts of problem definition and agenda setting. Finally, a 'window of opportunity' exists to test different theories of agenda setting for efficacy with regard to the president.

Paper **The President of the United State of the Economy: An Examination of the Contributions of Political Cartoons, Newspaper Editorials and Television News in the Development of the Social Construction of Presidential Economic Stewardship**

Amy Carter, *College of Wooster*

Overview: The paper tests the assertion that presidential economic stewardship is a social construction that has developed over time, compounded by presidential rhetoric and media coverage.

Paper **An Investment Theory of Presidential Policy Attention**

Heather A. Larsen, *University of Washington*

Overview: This paper investigates an investment theory of presidential policy attention. The primary question of interest is do presidents invest their time/attention to policy areas in an attempt to garner stock with the public? With recent research indicating that public approval exerts an independent influence on presidential rhetoric – as it is viewed as a proxy for "success" (Burns, Jacobs, and McAvoy 2003), the relationship between the allocation of policy attention in the issue areas of macroeconomics and defense and public approval ratings is investigated. An index of presidential policy making attention is created -- constructed from all executive orders issued, all administrative proposals put before thlegislature, State of the

Union Addresses and all national speeches given by the president, amicus curiae briefs as filed by the presidency's designated agent to the courts (the Solicitor General), and bureaucratic reorganizations or changes in the size of various agencies. The impact of variations in this index, in the policy areas of defense and macroeconomics, on presidential approval scores is explored. I expect to find that presidential policy attention impacts approval ratings in a manner illustrating positive and negative feedback cycles. A president invests time heavily, to the point of over-investing when successful.

Paper **Shiver Me Timbers! Presidential Policymaking on the Environment in the Clinton and G.W. Bush Administrations**

Brian J. Gerber, *Texas Tech University*

David B. Cohen, *University of Akron*

Overview: We develop a simple typology for differentiating presidential policymaking actions based on two dimensions: relative degree of presidential autonomy over policy outcome and relative degree of public visibility of policy action. We utilize this typology in determining the conditions under which Presidents G.W. Bush and Clinton pursued policy changes in three areas of environmental and land-use policy: national forests management, energy resource management on public lands, and air-quality regulation.

Disc. **Jeffrey S. Peake**, *Bowling Green State University*

24-13 **CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT: NEW PERSPECTIVES**

Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30

Chair **Jason A. MacDonald**, *Kent State University*

Paper **The Effect of Constituency Level Presidential Approval on Support in Congress**

Jon R. Bond, *Texas A&M University*

Brandy M. Durham, *Texas A&M University*

Richard Fleisher, *Fordham University*

Jeffrey E. Cohen, *Fordham University*

Overview: Previous studies state level public opinion during the 1990s reveal that constituency level approval is composed of: (1) a partisan component that varies cross-sectionally across constituencies, and (2) a dynamic component that varies over time. This paper extends this research to earlier periods, and to the House as well as the Senate. Because both presidential approval and congressional support for the president vary over time as well as across space, we construct a measure of each member's presidential support during each six-month period, and analyze the data with a pooled cross-section/time series design.

Paper **The Legislative Process and Presidential Influence in Times of Crisis**

Laura K. Frey, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

Overview: This project employs an event count model to examine the impact of 79 rally months over five presidencies (i.e., Jimmy Carter through George W. Bush) to determine presidential influence over Congress in times of crisis and, in turn, how the legislative process differs during non-crisis periods.

Paper **The Role of Uncertainty in Legislative-Executive Bargaining**

John B. Gilmour, *College of William and Mary*

Overview: This paper is about the role of uncertainty in legislative-executive bargaining. Previous research has considered the role of uncertainty in Congress about the president's preferences and vice versa. This construes the role of uncertainty too narrowly. This papers broadens the notion of uncertainty to include two other kinds of uncertainty. The first is uncertainty about reactions of outside groups to laws of proposals, and the second is uncertainty among political actors about their own preferences.

Paper **Policy Determines the Inter-Branch Relationship--The Interactive Effect of Presidential Influence and Policy Types on Party-Line Voting in the House of Representatives**

Shunta Matsumoto, *Florida State University*

Overview: This paper will incorporate a consideration of presidential influence into the conditional party government theory to explain the partisan voting in the U.S. House. Using a

	data set which includes bills on which presidents took a position and did not, I will test directly the hypothesis that presidents can influence House members' voting behavior. Furthermore, I hypothesize that the likelihood of presidents' position-taking and party-line voting differ according to the type of policy under consideration.	
Paper	<u>Sending Institutional Messages?: Tracking Opposition to Presidential Executive Nominees</u> Andrew E. Milstein, <i>Syracuse University</i> Overview: Presidential nominations for the executive branch, while rarely defeated, have become increasingly contested over time. This paper examines the rise in opposition to presidential nominations from Washington to Bush. The principle focus is on the time	Overview: This paper is an effort to update research on "vanishing marginals." First, we determine whether there has been a decline in the number of competitive seats by incorporating recent elections into existing models. Second, we test V. O. Key's hypothesis about the inverse relationship between interparty and intraparty competition by comparing the incidence of general election and primary competition in postwar House races, with particular attention to the role of ideological discrepancy.
Disc.	Jason A. MacDonald, <i>Kent State University</i> Larry Butler, <i>Rowan University</i>	Paper <u>The Fix is In: The Influence of State Legislative Redistricting on Electoral Outcomes</u> Jonathan Winburn, <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: This paper develops the democratic concerns of allowing legislators and parties to draw district boundaries and the potential dangers for the electoral process. I link the theoretical concerns with my empirical analysis by testing how the control of the process in each state influences the electoral and partisan outcomes for the legislature.
24-19	<u>THE PAST ISN'T DEAD: NEW HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON CONGRESS</u> Room BURNHAM 5, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30 Chair Steve Smith, <i>Washington University in St. Louis</i> Paper <u>Partisan Dynamics: Investigating Partisan Floor Activities Across Congressional Eras</u> Timothy P. Nokken, <i>University of Houston</i> Overview: In this paper, I investigate the frequency and success rates for floor motions introduced by minority party members of the US House. I argue that strong majority party coalitions successfully craft an agenda to thwart minority party dilatory tactics. Less cohesive majorities often fail to keep the minority in check. I test this hypothesis using a data set of floor motion from the 46th to 78th and 86th to 106th Congresses.	Paper <u>District Demographics and Partisan Gerrymanders: The Effects of Politically Biased Redistricting on Election Outcomes and Legislative Composition</u> Alan E. Wiseman, <i>Ohio State University</i> Michael C. Herron, <i>Northwestern University, Dartmouth College</i> Overview: We analyze the effects of the most recent redistricting plan developed in Illinois on subsequent elections and on roll call voting in the state's General Assembly. Our method allows us to estimate the relationship between district characteristics and legislator behavior, and this relationship is presumably of key importance to legislators seeking to implement partisan gerrymanders. Furthermore, we identify the extent to which the dominant party in the Illinois House of Representatives prior to the 2000 redistricting succeeded in rigging future House districts to produce a legislature supportive of its legislative program.
Paper	<u>The Financing of the Civil War: Confederate and Union Efforts</u> Rose Razaghian, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: The American Civil War had to be financed by both southern and northern governments the way any other war has to be financed. In this paper I focus on the following question: How did the Confederacy and Union finance the war and why did they make these choices? I argue that, unlike the Confederacy, the Union successfully implemented politically insulated financial institutions enjoying a higher level of financial credibility and easier access to capital markets.	Disc. Richard Forgette, <i>University of Mississippi</i>
Paper	<u>The Geography of Power: Coalition Formation and Industry Influence in the House and Senate 1880-1930</u> Wendy J. Schiller, <i>Brown University</i> Overview: This paper looks at the impact of geography on legislative policy outcomes, focusing on the difference in apportionment between the House and Senate, in combination with chamber rules, and estimating the impact that any given industry can have in each chamber given its geographic location and dispersion.	26-13 <u>PRECEDENT IN STATE AND FEDERAL COURTS</u> Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30 Chair Glenn A. Phelps, <i>Northern Arizona University</i> Paper <u>The Origins of the Norm of Precedent in the United States</u> Jim F. Spriggs, <i>University of California, Davis</i> Tim Johnson, <i>University of Minnesota, Twin Cities</i> Paul Wahlbeck, <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: TBA
Disc.	Steve Smith, <i>Washington University in St. Louis</i> Scott Adler, <i>University of Colorado</i>	Paper <u>The Influence of Stare Decisis on the Votes of United States Supreme Court Justices: A Second Look</u> Linda M. Merola, <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: The doctrine of stare decisis, or the principle that judicial decisions should conform to previous case law, is central to the functioning of the U.S. legal system. Yet, despite its importance, scholars of judicial decision-making often question the frequency with which Supreme Court justices abide by the dictates of stare decisis. This paper seeks to reevaluate previous findings on the frequency of adherence to stare decisis and expands previous research through the use of logistic regression analysis to account for variations in the decision to vote in accordance with precedent or preference.
25-9	<u>POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT, ELECTORAL RULES AND COMPETITION IN LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS</u> Room TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30 Chair Richard Forgette, <i>University of Mississippi</i> Paper <u>How Robust are Electoral Institutions? An Agent-Based Test of Electoral Rules and Ideal Points</u> Scott W. Desposato, <i>University of Arizona</i> Overview: How do the incentives for cultivating personal votes vary with patterns of voting behavior? I use a game-theoretic model and agent-based simulation to show how behavioral incentives vary with both institutional rules and voters' characteristics.	Paper <u>To Cite or Not to Cite?: The use of Supreme Court Precedent by State Supreme Courts</u> Scott A. Comparato, <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Scott D. McClurg, <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Overview: Why is it that state supreme courts rely on certain decisions of the US Supreme Court while ignoring, or even openly disregarding more recent precedent in favor of older decisions? We argue that the decision to cite decisions of the Supreme Court is a function of legal, attitudinal, and strategic considerations. We examine this question using sample of cases from state supreme courts in the area of search and seizure.
Paper	<u>Ideological Convergence and Political Risk in U. S. House Elections</u> Robert Rhudy, <i>University of Georgia</i> Nathan Burroughs, <i>University of Georgia</i> Janna Deitz, <i>Western Illinois University</i>	Paper <u>Judicial Entrepreneurs on the U.S. Courts of Appeals</u> Tracey E. George, <i>Northwestern University</i> Jeffrey Berger, <i>Clerk, U.S. Court of Appeals, Sixth Circuit</i>

Disc. Jeffrey Segal, *Stony Brook University*
Gregory Caldeira, *Northwestern University*

Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30
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Paper **'Under God' Under the Microscope: Re-thinking the Pledge of Allegiance and the Establishment Clause**

Overview: Rather than considering the words “under God” in the Pledge of Allegiance as religious content to be treated in the same way as prayer in public schools, this phrase may instead be considered an assertion of a critical differentiation between ‘the republic’ and ‘the Ultimate.’ Maintaining this distinction proves critical in avoiding establishment and maintaining the limited government of liberal democracy.

Overview: This paper explores why establishment-clause cases, more so than free-exercise cases, seem to raise particularly difficult and knotty theoretical problems. If government is the institutionalization of a moral scheme, and if all values are grounded not just historically but logically and conceptually in religion, then government must be, can never not be, the institutionalization of religious values and beliefs. What then might be left, if anything, of the meaning of the Establishment Clause?

Overview: This study uses the current controversy over the constitutionality of faith-based initiatives to consider the consequences of judicial minimalism as practiced by Sandra Day O'Connor. It concludes that the growing number of lawsuits challenging faith-based programs confirms the heightened legal risk to private actors in the absence of discernible constitutional rules. In short, judicial minimalism often fails to provide legal doctrine sufficiently clear to guide the actions of affected actors.

Overview: Using a series of opinions regarding the question of religious exercises in public schools, I argue that Supreme Court's interpretation of American tradition of church and state has moved from one which emphasized individual rights and a single unified history to a more pluralistic history that views religion as fundamentally social.

273

	<p>Overview: Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 is a thirty year old policy whose implementation continues to be debated today among all three institutions of government in the United States. Although the focus of these current debates surrounds the issue of gender equity in athletics, Title IX legislation as originally written and debated did not reference sport. Expanding upon John Kingdon's theory of open policy windows, this paper thus explores the development of athletics on Title IX's agenda as a result of simultaneous activity among all three institutions of government within a supportive social context.</p>	<p>disadvantage. This suggests that there should be significant convergence in the bond ratings by different agencies. We theorize that the level of convergence between ratings agencies is contingent competitive pressures within the financial intermediary market.</p>
Paper	<p><u>They Don't Need It Anymore: Affirmative Action, Intolerance, Stereotypes, and Diversity Courses in Higher Education</u> Christine J. Brehm, Bentley College Overview: Education beyond high school can act as a socializing agent having significant influence on an individual's reliance upon previously held stereotypes and political intolerance, which can affect their positions on public policies, or supports for the exercise of basic civil rights by women, minorities, and the gbt communities. This paper discusses Internet-administered survey data (n=209, n=1196) gathered on student stereotypes, intolerance, and affirmative action policy supports affected by their college diversity course experience.</p>	<p><u>Nonprofit Entrepreneurship: Organizational Responses to Budget Cuts among Social Service Providers</u> Kelly LeRoux, Wayne State University Overview: This paper examines the impact of government funding cuts on nonprofit social service providers and the subsequent activities of agency administrators to cope with revenue losses. Using survey data from a sample of 63 nonprofit agencies in the Detroit metropolitan area, this paper explores the varied and sometimes unconventional, fund-raising strategies employed by nonprofits in the wake of government budget cuts. The analysis concludes with a discussion of the political implications of nonprofit entrepreneurship.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Of prenting, Preferences and Policy: Can Paid Parental Leave Deconstruct Domesticity's Dilemma?</u> Charmaine Yoest, University of Virginia Overview: This paper investigates the hypothesis that paid parental leave helps "level the playing field" for professional women. The findings are based on data from a nationwide study funded by the Sloan Foundation, which involved extensive interviews with a sample of 184 respondents at academic institutions with paid parental leave policies, all of whom are assistant professors currently on the tenure track with children under twenty-four months old.</p>	<p>Disc. Bernard T. Schuman, University of New Hampshire Duane D. Milne, West Chester University</p>
Disc.	<p>Charmaine Yoest, University of Virginia</p>	
31-9	<p><u>DEBTS AND TAXES</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30 Robert W. Kweit, University of North Dakota <u>Anti-Predatory Lending Initiatives: Policy Lessons from the State of Georgia</u> John D. Osae-Kwapong, Howard University Overview: Once issues emerge and begin to demand government attention and ultimately policy responses, the next stage in the policy development process is to assess the range of options available. There are often different possible approaches to addressing the one problem and these options and their feasibility need to be considered. This will involve some initial considerations about choice of policy instruments and methods of implementation. If public policy is about choices, one of the most important choices is about the tools used to achieve government's goals. Anti-predatory lending initiatives from the perspective of the State of Georgia offers several important lessons on how to choose policy instruments to achieve government's goals. While we learn several important lessons from Georgia's experience, we most particularly learn the importance of a mix of options approach in selecting instruments of public policy.</p>	<p>32-5 <u>RACE, CITIZENSHIP, AND MOBILIZATION IN AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT (Co-sponsored with Race, Class, and Ethnicity, see 16-7)</u> TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30 Robert W. Mickey, University of Michigan <u>Sitting In to Stand Up: Ideology and the Creation of SNCC</u> Kevin R. Anderson, University of Missouri - Columbia Overview: This projects analyzes the evolution of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee as a model of ideological diversity among African Americans that help shape the civil rights era and continues to impact contemporary political discussions among African Americans today.</p>
Room		
Chair		
Paper	<p><u>Local Government's Tax Competition and Its Debt Financing</u> Sang-seok Bae, Florida State University Overview: The purpose of this research is to investigate the relationship between the local government's horizontal/vertical competitions and local government's debt financing.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Playing Favorites: Judicial Politics and its Effect on Black Citizenship and Southern Honor</u> Ronald Brown, Wayne State University Sara G. Rajan, Wayne State University Overview: Southern honor and black citizenship could not co-exist in the pre-antebellum South. The very idea of black citizenship posed a significant threat to southern honor and to the social and economic mores that existed within the southern white community. A careful deconstruction of judicial decisions, including In re Booth and Dred Scott, during the time frame of 1854-1856 will illustrate how members of the judiciary and their respective political opinions both enhanced and the diminished the fight for black citizenship and the threat it posed to Southern honor.</p>
Paper	<p><u>A Political Economy of Government Bonds: Convergence of State Government Bond Ratings, 1973-2003</u> Brian K. Collins, Texas Tech University Aman Khan, Texas Tech University Overview: This paper argues that rating agencies have strong incentives to assign ratings based, in part, upon the strategic interactions in a small market for bond rating services. Rating agencies seek a reputation of competence and credibility at least equal to that of their rivals or else they will be at a competitive</p>	<p>Paper <u>The Economics of Movement Success: Business Responses to Civil Rights Mobilization</u> Joseph E. Luders, Yeshiva University Overview: This paper explores why movements are successful in obtaining concessions from economic actors. Considering the vulnerability of movement targets to the cost of disruptions in routine transactions and the cost of movement success, an economic opportunity structure is derived to predict the receptivity of economic actors to movement demands. Case studies of five southern communities are used to explain the local outcomes of the civil rights movement and to clarify social movement success more generally.</p>
Paper		<p>Paper <u>Race Formation and Voting rights in the Antebellum North</u> Christopher J. Malone, Pace University Overview: This paper puts forth a theoretical framework for understanding why some states chose disenfranchise blacks in the antebellum North and why some states did not. Voting Restrictions are a product of three factors: 1) the economic structure of racial conflict; 2) the racial structure of partisan conflict; and 3) the discursive structure of racial coalition formation.</p>
		<p>Disc. Philip Klinkner, Hamilton College Robert C. Lieberman, Columbia University</p>

33-6	<u>POLITICAL CULTURE AND DEMOCRATIZATION</u>
Room	TBA, TBA FLOOR, SUN 10:30
Chair	Martin W. Slann , <i>Pennsylvania State University - Wilkes Barre</i>
Paper	<p><u>Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus: A Comparative Study on Political Culture and Democratization Success</u> Magen D. Knuth, <i>Marquette University</i></p> <p>Overview: This paper investigates the role of political culture in the democratization process. This paper is an extension of an earlier paper that used the most similar case study approach, analyzing the role of political culture in the success or lack of success of democratization in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. This paper will highlight the importance of methodological choices in the study of political culture and democratization.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Importance of Mass Culture for Democratization</u> James D. Melton, <i>University of Illinois</i></p> <p>Overview: The purpose of this paper is to solve the problems brought up by Barry and answer the research question Almond and Vrbna, Eckstein, and Lipset all set out to answer: does political culture play a role in the formation and stability of democracy?</p>
Paper	<p><u>Whither Islamism? Democratization in Iran and Turkey</u> Gunes Murat Tezcur, <i>University of Michigan</i></p> <p>Overview: In Iran and Turkey, authoritarian versions of Islamism are in decline after periods of mass enthusiasm and liberal forms of Islamic are rising. How can we explain these parallel trends of democratization in two countries with so many different social, economic and political characteristics? The paper draws on original research in both countries to provide compelling empirical evidence for the emergence of politically active, liberal and pious new middle classes. The research combines quantitative work at precinct level and ethnographic work of a party in Turkey with a survey conducted in Tehran, Iran.</p>
Disc.	Anne W. Hamilton , <i>University of Wisconsin-Whitewater</i>