

Midwest

Political Science Association 64th Annual National Conference April 20-23, 2006

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

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

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Chair Jan Vermeir, *Vrije Universiteit Brussel*

Paper Why it is Better to Live in a Country with Coalition Governments if You Are Not Rich

Despina Alexiadou, *European University Institute*

Overview: Coalition governments have higher social insurance because left parties control welfare ministries for long periods of time. The long term partisan control of ministries is more critical than the ideology of the cabinet for social spending.

Paper The Enforcement Potential of Political Parties in Coalition Governments

Marc Debus, *University of Konstanz*

Overview: It is argued that pivotal parties possess a stronger influence in governmental policy making than their coalition partners. An analysis of policy documents in five European states between 1980 and 2005 shows that there is evidence for this argument.

Paper Yes Minister? Coalitional Dynamics and the Politics of Military Spending

Laron K. Williams, *Texas A&M University*

Guy Whitten, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: We examine the role that coalitional dynamics play in determining military spending in advanced industrial democracies when there are divergent policy preferences between government ministers and coalition partners.

Disc. Jan Vermeir, *Vrije Universiteit Brussel*

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

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Chair Neil G. Ruiz, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Paper Rising Political Influence of Migrants in Mexico, El Salvador and Guatemala

Maureen M. Donaghy, *University of Colorado, Boulder*

Overview: Latin American migrants gain increasing political clout as their remittances constitute an ever greater share of their home country's GDP. This trend is evidenced by the growth of state sponsored migrant programs in Mexico, El Salvador and Guatemala.

Paper Do Remittances Help the Poor?

Claire L. Adida, *Stanford University*

Desha M. Girod, *Stanford University*

Overview: Remittances may instigate better governance by empowering citizens or they may foster disincentives for public goods provision by replacing governmental functions. We provide the first systematic analysis of remittances' effect on governance.

Paper Mexico-U.S. Migration and Sub-National Political Competition in Mexico: Shipping the 'Bad' Apples Out?

Jorge Bravo, *Duke University*

Overview: This paper assesses whether out-migration has been politically neutral when it comes to partisan competition for local office in Mexico.

Paper Emigration as a Social Policy: The Political Economy of Migrant-Remitting

Roy P. Germano, *University of Texas, Austin*

Overview: What does a developing country gain from the emigration of its citizens? This paper seeks an answer to this question by examining the relationship between remittances, public spending, and economic liberalization in less developed countries.

Paper Made for Export: Labor Migration, State Power, and Higher Education in a Developing Society

Neil G. Ruiz, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Overview: Why did the Philippine government develop institutions for exporting labor rather than focus its energy on building the domestic economy?

Disc. Alejandro Poire, *Harvard University*

3-25 EFFECTS OF DECENTRALIZING SOCIAL SERVICES

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Chair Guillermo M. Cejudo, *Boston University*

Paper Reaching the Poor Through Decentralized Social Services Delivery

Claudia N. Avellaneda, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: The paper investigates the political variables that affect local governments' performance in delivering social services, testing the explanatory power of the mayor's qualifications for municipality's performance.

Paper Public Goods: The Effects of Decentralized Government and the Type of Social Network on The Pattern of Government Expenditures

Jessica Teets, *University of Colorado, Boulder*

Overview: My model states that the level of governance decentralization and the type of social networks influence public goods spending; that social networks function as a mechanism for communicating spending preferences to officials.

Paper Growth Convergence in the Indian States: What Forty Years of Data Tell Us

Ira Parnerkar, *University of Chicago*

Overview: This paper tests the growth convergence hypothesis for the Indian states. There is little evidence for absolute convergence and some for conditional convergence. Political factors are found to be key in explaining the differential in growth rates.

Paper Impact of the Associação de Municípios Alagoanas on Government Performance

Mariano J. Magalhaes, *Augustana College*

Overview: I examine the impact of the state municipal association on local government performance in three rural municipalities in Alagoas, Brazil, and its effect in areas such as civic engagement, inter-municipal integration, and the provision of public goods.

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

- 4-301 POSTER SESSION: CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON TRANSITIONS TO DEMOCRACY**
- Presenter** Internal and External Constraints on Human Rights Violations
- Room** TBA, Board 1, Thur 8:30 am
Wooyeal Paik, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: Which democratic institutions can constrain countries' human rights violations? Interestingly, liberal democratic institutions of independent judiciaries and free press play a more important role that electoral democratic institution elections.
- Presenter** The Federal Gamble in Brazil, Russia, South Africa, and Spain
- Room** TBA, Board 2, Thur 8:30 am
Heather L. Tafel, *Grand Valley State University*
 Overview: This paper considers how the regime change context and the nature of party development shape the resultant types of intergovernmental bargaining prevalent in Brazil, Russia, Spain, and South Africa.
- Room** TBA, Board 3, Thur 8:30 am
- Presenter** Regime Type and State Consolidation in Sub-Saharan Africa
- Room** TBA, Board 3, Thur 8:30 am
Marshall W. Thompson, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: This paper seeks to explain variance in the scope of the state in sub-Saharan Africa. Using pooled multiple regression the paper identifies demographic, political, and economic determinants to the scope of African states.
- Presenter** Democracy for Sale: The Contradiction of U.S. Policy in the Gulf of Guinea
- Room** TBA, Board 4, Thur 8:30 am
Joseph R. Kraus, *University of Florida*
 Overview: The vast oil reserves in the Gulf of Guinea region of Africa significantly affect chances for the successful democratization and development of countries in the region. U.S. policy in the region, to date, has not been conducive to success in either.
- Presenter** Federal Theory and Prospects for Democracy in Russia
- Room** TBA, Board 5, Thur 8:30 am
Mikhail Filippov, *Binghamton University*
Olga Shvetsova, *Binghamton University*
 Overview: Based on the growing literature on federal institutional stability, we draw a theoretical prediction where, in order to preserve territorial integrity, the quality of democratic political competition has to be either very high, or very low
- Presenter** Critical Citizens in Eastern and Central Europe? Examining Democratic Support
- Room** TBA, Board 6, Thur 8:30 am
Willy Jou, *University of California, Irvine*
 Overview: This paper examines both support for democracy as regime principle and satisfaction with democracy in practice in central and eastern Europe, analyzing economic, cognitive, and other variables to identify critical citizens in these countries.
- 5-5 EU INSTITUTIONS AND DEMOCRACY**
- Room** TBA, Thur 8:30 am
- Chair** **Isa Camyar**, *Louisiana State University*
- Paper** Council Consensus and EP's Ability to Amend Codecision Legislation
Bjorn Hoyland, *University College London*
Sara Hagemann, *London School of Economics*
 Overview: We investigate the ability of the European Parliament to amend the common position adopted by the Council of Ministers in the European Union's Codecision procedure.
- Paper** EU Parliamentary Scrutiny Committee: A Case of British Convergence?
Shan J. Sappleton, *University of Oklahoma*
 Overview: Currently all EU members have Parliamentary Scrutiny Committees to correct for democratic deficits. While convergence on the most effective models would be fully

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

- Paper** The Origins of the EU Comitology System
Jens A. Blom-Hansen, *Aarhus University, Denmark*
 Overview: The formative period of comitology is traced back to the early 1960s when it was introduced as part of the common agricultural policy. It is demonstrated to rest on an interstate bargain between France and Germany.
- Paper** Negotiating Agents and Bargaining Strategies: The Case of Coreper I
Heather McKibben, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: The institutional position of representatives and the type of bargaining strategy they use in the decision-making process interact in fundamental ways with important implications for the forwarding of preferences within a representational setting.
- Disc.** **Isa Camyar**, *Louisiana State University*
- 5-7 EUROPEAN PARTIES AND PARTISAN DYNAMICS**
- Room** TBA, Thur 8:30 am
- Chair** **Louise K. Davidson-Schmich**, *University of Miami*
- Paper** Taking Territoriality Seriously: Ethnoregional Parties and Elections
Britt A. Cartrite, *Alma College*
Dan Miodownik, *University of Haifa*
 Overview: Based on a universe of cases capturing both frequently studied and systematically excluded examples, we demonstrate that territoriality forces these parties to seek to demark their space prior to and frequently at the expense of electoral success.
- Paper** Parties, Preferences, and Lock-in: Explaining Patterns of EU Governance
Sonal R. Desai, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: While the members of the EU have surrendered increasing authority over competition policy to the organization, they have proven hesitant to shift authority over taxation policy. This project examines determinants of levels of governance in the EU.
- Paper** Intra-Party Dissent in the EU on Issues of European Integration
Erica E. Edwards, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
 Overview: This paper develops a model of intra-party dissent and tests it cross-nationally using expert survey data on party positions on EU issues and comparative case studies of political parties in France, Germany, and the UK.
- Paper** How does the European Party Representation Work?
Jeong Hun Han, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: This paper evaluates the extent to which MEPs' voting behavior works as electoral information. Focusing on inter and intra variations of parties' ideal positions in the EP, this paper builds a theoretical foundation for the European party representation.
- Paper** Partisan Dynamics in European Union Nations
Michael S. Lewis-Beck, *University of Iowa*
Bruno Jerome, *Metz University, France*
Veronique Jerome-Speziari, *Metz University, France*
 Overview: The paper examines whether there are partisan cycles within and across the nations of the European union, and the determinants of those cycles.
- Disc.** **Jae-Jae Spoon**, *University of Iowa*
- 5-101 ROUNDTABLE: IMMIGRATION POLITICS AND THE WORK OF GARY FREEMAN**
- Room** TBA, Thur 8:30 am
- Chair** **Terri E. Givens**, *University of Texas, Austin*
- Panelist** **Gary Freeman**, *University of Texas, Austin*
James Hollifield, *Southern Methodist University*
Gallya Lahav, *SUNY, Stony Brook*
Mark Miller, *University of Delaware*
Stuart Tendler, *University of Texas, Austin*
Valerie Hunt, *Southern Methodist University*

Overview: The work of Gary Freeman of the University of Texas at Austin has inspired an entire generation of immigration politics specialists.

7-2 **EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA (Co-sponsored with Legislative Politics: Institutions, see 34-21)**

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

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

Paper **Shifting Majorities: Multiparty Coalitions and Presidential Agendas Within Latin American Legislatures**

Marisa A. Kellam, *Institute for Quantitative Social Science*

Overview: I argue that shifting legislative coalitions in some Latin American countries are the consequence of regional and particularistic political parties that give the presidential agenda setter an outside option off the main ideological dimension.

Paper **Delegation to Executives in Separation of Powers Systems-- Latin America**

Valeria Palanza, *Princeton University*

Overview: Latin American legislatures delegate vastly, exceeding what is common practice in other contexts. The paper presents the conditions determining legislative delegation in Latin America. Claims are tested using instances of delegation in four countries.

Paper **The Politics of Policymaking in Permissive Systems: Brazil and Ecuador**

Carlos Pereira, *Michigan State University*

Andrés M. Acosta, *University of British Columbia*

Overview: Why do countries like Brazil and Ecuador, with very similar institutional settings, present different policy outcomes? This paper adopts a transaction costs approach to explain this paradox and provides ample empirical evidence from both cases.

Paper **Presidential Discretion in Argentina, 1900-2005**

Juliana Bambaci, *Stanford University*

Overview: Presidential discretion vis-à-vis the legislature increases with formal nomination power of the President, proportionality of the electoral system and party elite disputes. Empirical implications are tested on budget data for Argentina since 1900.

Paper **Presidential Powers and Policy Stability in Latin America**

Scott Desposato, *University of California, San Diego*

Overview: Investigates the impact of institutions on policy stability, focusing on the balance of power between the Executive and Legislative branches in 18 Latin American countries.

Disc. Sebastian M. Saiegh, *University of Pittsburgh*

7-13 **DECENTRALIZATION, FEDERALISM AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA**

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Chair Maria Escobar-Lemmon, *Texas A&M University*

Paper **A Gap Index of Particularism: Applications in Mexico and Argentina**

Alejandra Armesto, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: The paper develops an index of particularism in public policy, which measures the difference of an observed distribution from the universal distribution of benefits. The level of particularism is assessed in subnational cases in Mexico and Argentina.

Paper **The Federalist Paradox: Local Power in Argentina and Brazil**

Tulia G. Falleti, *University of Pennsylvania*

Overview: Drawing from a sequential theory of decentralization, this paper will trace the processes of political, fiscal, and administrative decentralization in Argentina and Brazil in the post-developmental period.

Paper **Presidents, Governors, and the Politics of Federal Resource Distribution**

Lucas I. Gonzalez, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: This work argues that fiscal transferences have been the result of political bargains guided by political interests and influenced by institutional structures. Political power is measured in relation to Congress, parties, and subnational governments.

Paper **Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations: Insights From Argentina and Mexico**

Juan C. Olmeda, *Northwestern University*

Overview: Comparing Argentina and Mexico this paper aims to analyze the relationship between transformations in their federal governmental structures and changes experienced in the way in which president and governors negotiate about public policy issues.

Paper **Decentralization and State Level Democratization in Yucatan, Mexico**

Akira Watanabe, *University of Tokyo*

Overview: Since the 1980s Mexico experienced political and economic structural changes such as democratization, decentralization and introduction of neoliberalism. This study analyses how these changes are reflected in the local political economy of a state.

Paper **Local Governance in Rural Brazil: Institution, Mandates, and Resources**

Frank Van Laerhoven, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Overview: In this paper I explore what else, apart from formal mandate and resources, accounts for local government performance in Brazil. I provide evidence that the existence of institutions for collective action explain a significant part of the variation.

Disc. Allyson Benton, *CIDE*

Maria Escobar-Lemmon, *Texas A&M University*

8-1 **RURAL GOVERNANCE IN CHINA AND VIETNAM**

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Chair Scott Kennedy, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Paper **Cadre Mobility and Taxation Policies in Two Chinese Townships**

Victor C. Shih, *Northwestern University*

Mingxing M. Liu, *School of Government Peking University*

Xueyan X. Su, *China Academy of Social Sciences*

Overview: How does promotion incentive affect local taxation policies? Focusing on two similar townships, this paper traces the rotation of key cadres and scrutinizes whether these patterns produce variation in tax burden.

Paper **Informed Citizens and Democratic Practices in Rural China**

John Kennedy, *University of Kansas*

Overview: A number of national political reforms in China provide an opportunity for individuals to participate in local government and monitor local cadres. This paper examines how villagers monitor local cadres and the level of individual information

Paper **Political Trust and Political Participation in Rural China**

Lianjiang Li, *Hong Kong Baptist University*

Overview: Using survey data this paper explores the relationship between Chinese farmers' trust in the central government's commitment and capacity to protect their interests and their participation in lodging complaints against abusive local governments.

Paper **Fiscal Decentralization, Policy Holdup, and Rural Labor Mobility: An Analysis of Chinese Rural Governments' Incentives to Promote 'Internal Labor Smuggling'**

Yiu Por Chen, *DePaul University*

Overview: What are the impacts of fiscal decentralization on local governance? I examine the incentives this created for rural governments to promote market development through illegal labor mobility, and the impact this mobility had on later policy change.

Disc. Scott Kennedy, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

9-4 STATE BUILDING AND BUREAUCRATIC BEHAVIOR
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair Victor T. Le Vine, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Paper **NGOs and Local Government Performance in Africa**
 Gina M. S. Lambright, *George Washington University*
 Overview: An active civil society is believed to help improve government performance. Research in Uganda indicates that the number of NGOs is not related to better performing local governments. This paper explores this puzzle with data from Uganda and Kenya.

Paper **Decentralization as Patronage? Local Government and Regime Support in Uganda**
 Jeffrey K. Krutz, *Columbia University*
 Overview: An analysis (using statistical methods and GIS) of whether the creation of new administrative units in Uganda can be characterized as response to need for improved service delivery, or as reward for support of the incumbent in particular regions.

Paper **Fiscal Governance and Public Services: Evidence from Tanzania and Zambia**
 Barak D. Hoffman, *University of California, San Diego*
 Clark C. Gibson, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: Sources of revenue affect government expenditure. More local taxes increases the budget share of services; more central government transfers and foreign aid increases the share of salaries and administrative costs. We test Tanzanian and Zambian data.

Paper **How do Voters Evaluate Corruption? Gap Between Actual Corruption and Voters' Perceptions**
 Tetsuya Fujiwara, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: The research question in this paper is: Do voters correctly capture actual corruption, or simply guess the degree of political corruption? In both aggregate- and individual-levels analyses, I explain the gap between actual corruption and perceptions.

Paper **Bureaucratic Incentives and Decentralizing Forest Management in Africa**
 Pamela A. Jagger, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: This paper addresses the question: what are the incentives of mid-level bureaucrats of federal government agencies involved in the implementation of democratic decentralization reforms focused on forest management in East Africa?

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

10-1 CANDIDATE AND VOTER BEHAVIOR IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair Elena McClean, *University of Rochester*
Paper **Businessman Candidates: The Nature of Special-Interest Politics in Postcommunist Russia**
 Scott Gehlbach, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Konstantin Sonin, *New Economic School, Moscow*
 Ekaterina Zhuravskaya, *CEFIR, Moscow*
 Overview: We explore the phenomenon of businessman candidates, businessmen who attempt to influence policy by running for public office, using a unique dataset of matched firm and candidate characteristics for all gubernatorial elections in postcommunist Russia.

Paper **Promoting Parties? Electoral Effects of Russia's 2001 Party Law**
 Bryon Moraski, *University of Florida*
 Overview: The paper examines the impact of Russia's 2001 party law on the organizational capacity of Russian parties during the 2003 Duma election.

Paper **Independents and Partisans in the Russian Duma**
 Tanya G. Bagashka, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: I address the following questions: 1) Did deputies unaffiliated with a political party at the electoral stage vote as non-partisans once in the Russian Duma?; 2) Were the independent deputies more likely to follow the wishes of their electoral district?

Paper **Sources Against All Candidates Vote in Post-Soviet SMDs**
 Raminta Stockute, *University of Kansas*
 Overview: I examine the role and its extent of district characteristics, candidate quality, and a set of parties in the district's SMD-tier on the share of votes cast against all candidates in the district. Focus: Russia and Ukraine (national elections).

Paper **Proximity vs. Directional Models: Polish Parliamentary Elections in 2005**
 Piotr Paradowski, *Loyola University, Chicago*
 Overview: The task of this paper is to compare the relative contributions of directional and proximity models on political party preferences in the Polish electorate during 2005 parliamentary elections.

Disc. Andrew Konitzer, *Austin College*

10-17 NEW ELITES, ELITE RECRUITMENT, AND ELITE BEHAVIOR IN THE POST-COMMUNIST WORLD
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair John Ishiyama, *Truman State University*
Paper **Law Making and Decree Making in the Russian Federation**
 Thomas F. Remington, *Emory University*
 Moshe Haspel, *Spelman College*
 Steven S. Smith, *Washington University, Saint Louis*
 Overview: Based on the Russian case, we analyze the constitutional, policy, and strategic considerations influencing a president's choice over which institutional path to use in enacting policy--bargaining with parliament over legislation or unilateral decree.

Paper **The (Re-)Professionalization of Post-Communist Political Elites**
 Carol S. Leff, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: A conceptual framework for the analysis of elite credentialing and de-credentialing after 1989 in 13 Eastern European countries. This framework is used to analyze the shifting recruitment patterns of some 3000 post-communist cabinet ministers.

Paper **Belarus: Presidential Strategies for Personal Domination**
 Ioulia Shukan, *Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris*
 Overview: This paper puts the emphasis on studying the President Lukashenka's strategies of resource accumulation (political authority, discretionary powers, public goods, profitable economic activities) and their reallocation through favoritism and patronage.

Paper **Elite Replacement and Municipal Performance in Bosnia and Herzegovina**
 John W. Hulsey, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: This paper explores the hypothesis that elite replacement at the municipal level is associated with poorer municipal performance in Bosnia and Herzegovina using data on citizen satisfaction and implementation of property laws regarding returnees.

Paper **East German Members of the German Bundestag - A Different Elite?**
 Melanie Kintz, *Western Michigan University*
 Overview: Focusing on demographic characteristics, this paper investigates differences and similarities of East and West German members of the Bundestag. Are East Germans becoming more similar to their West German peers or do they remain a different elite?

Disc. John Ishiyama, *Truman State University*

11-1 BARGAINING, CREDIBLE COMMITMENT, AND SIGNALING
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair David H. Bearce, *University of Pittsburgh*
Paper **International Institutions as Outside Options in Bilateral Bargaining**
 Songying Fang, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: The paper develops a model of bilateral bargaining with appealing to an international institution as an outside option. The results show that the expectation about the decision

	reached by the institution significantly affects the bargaining outcome.		
Paper	<u>Without Carrots or Sticks: How Do Weak International Institutions Matter?</u> Xinyuan Dai, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: This paper provides a rationalist framework where weak international institutions may nevertheless influence a state's behavior by altering the strategic environment that a government faces domestically.	Paper	<u>Regime Type and FDI: How Do MNC's Decide?</u> Steven R. Hall, <i>Ball State University</i> Overview: This paper seeks to enhance our understanding of the impact of democracy on FDI by modeling corporate investment decisions.
Paper	<u>Spiraling, Deterrence, and Hegemony</u> Yevgeniy Kirpichevsky, <i>Harvard University</i> Amit Modi, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: We present a unifying framework for understanding hegemonic stability in a world where uncertainty exists about both resolve and intentions of the hegemon. Thereby, we bridge the gap between spiral and deterrence theories.	Paper	<u>Reconsider the Political Economy of FDI: A Cross-Sectoral Study of China</u> Ying Lin, <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: Despite high presence of FDI across many Chinese industries, why do some industries quickly catch-up when others fail to do so? I argue government policies have played a crucial role in determining the outcome of technological development.
Paper	<u>Public Commitment in Crisis Bargaining</u> Ahmer Tarar, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Bahar Leventoglu, <i>Stony Brook University</i> Overview: It has long been argued that audience costs are beneficial because they allow for credible information transmission. We show how audience costs can be used to generate bargaining leverage and may lead to war, even under complete information.	Paper	<u>Foreign Direct Investment and Institutions: Obstacles or Opportunities?</u> Joseph W. Robbins, <i>Texas Tech University</i> Overview: This study considers institutional arrangements and FDI attraction in FSU and Latin American countries. Preliminary results indicate that stronger executives can attract higher FDI levels where expropriation threats are minimal.
Paper	<u>The US-North Korea Geneva Agreement</u> Eunyoung Ha, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: The goal of this paper is to analyze the strategic choices of the United States and North Korea in the nuclear crisis of the early 1990s and to explain their credible commitments to reach the Geneva Agreed Framework in 1994.	Paper	<u>Does Democracy Attract or Discourage Inflows of Foreign Direct Investment?</u> Seung-Whan Choi, <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i> Yiagadeesen Samy, <i>Carleton University</i> Overview: When FDI panel data for developing countries over the past two decades are properly analyzed with an improved model of fixed-effects, the empirical results uncover that democracy does not matter in either attracting or discouraging FDI inflows.
Disc.	Christopher R. Way, <i>Cornell University</i>	Disc.	Lawrence C. Reardon, <i>University of New Hampshire</i>
11-7	<u>IR AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD</u>	13-4	<u>REGIONAL APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL POLITICS</u>
Room	TBA, Thur 8:30 am	Room	TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair	Kimberly Hudson, <i>Brown University</i>	Chair	Will H. Moore, <i>Florida State University</i>
Paper	<u>Cooperation, Collusion and Coercion: The Third World and International Relations Theory</u> Regina M. Baker, <i>University of Oregon</i> Overview: I critique neoliberal institutionalism for its failure to account for the north-south divide, and introduce an alternative framework that mitigates the great power bias in international relations theory.	Paper	<u>Aggregation Model for State Preferences on Regional Integration</u> Min-hyung Kim, <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: Arguing that different state preferences explain the variation in outcome-depth and evolution-of regional integration, this paper aims to develop an aggregation model for state preference on regional integration.
Paper	<u>A Geopolitical Analysis of the Politics of Power in the New Africa: The Hegemonic Rivalry Case Nigeria vs. South Africa</u> Cyril Fegue, <i>Western Michigan University</i> Overview: After ubiquitous surge of enhanced democratization in the 1990s, Africa is claiming a New Role in Global Politics. This venture is premised by the emergence of a moralizing regional superpower to occupy the empty-left hegemon's fauteuil.	Paper	<u>Anti-Americanism in Sub-Saharan Africa</u> Devra C. Moehler, <i>Cornell University</i> Nicolas van de Walle, <i>Cornell University</i> Overview: Anti-Americanism is more muted in Sub-Saharan Africa than in other regions of the world. This paper employs a combination of survey and national-level data to evaluate five hypotheses for the relatively benign view Africans have of the United States.
Paper	<u>Cosmopolitanism Reversed: The Case of Latin America</u> Ariel F. Ivanier, <i>Boston University</i> Overview: My paper discusses the impact of Neoliberalism in the reversal of social and economic rights in Latin America throughout the 1980s and 1990s.	Paper	<u>Armenian Diaspora: Influence on the Homeland of Armenia's Foreign Policy</u> Jeremy Richart, <i>Illinois State University</i> Overview: Are the Armenian diaspora able to influence the foreign relations decisions of the Armenian national government and if so, how this influence manifests itself?
Paper	<u>The Self-Determination Concept: Towards an International Relations Understanding</u> Mohamed Daadaoui, <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: The paper examines modern self-determination theory in its two broad categories: classical and secessionist and argues for a constructivist understanding of its key concepts of 'indigenous peoples' and international stability.	Paper	<u>Latin American Responses to the Bush Doctrine</u> Brandon G. Valeriano, <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i> Victor Marin, <i>Rice University</i> Overview: In this paper, I discuss Latin American responses to America's doctrine under the Bush administration regarding the preemptive use of force as an optimal strategy to deal with international threats and terrorism.
Disc.	Richard W. Chadwick, <i>University of Hawaii</i>	Paper	<u>Cooperating Against (Small State) Global Marginalization: The African Union (AU) and CARICOM on Haiti 2004</u> Rita Kiki Edozie, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: Examines the 2004 Haitian crisis and new global governance and international security trends with respect to the joint AU and CARICOM response to Aristide's ousting.
12-1	<u>THE POLITICS OF FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT (Co-sponsored with Comparative Politics-Developing Countries, see 3-27)</u>	Disc.	Will H. Moore, <i>Florida State University</i>
Room	TBA, Thur 8:30 am		
Chair	Gabriela Nava-Campos, <i>Northwestern University</i>		

14-1 Room Chair Paper	<u>GLOBALIZATION AND SECURITY</u> TBA, Thur 8:30 am Renato Corbetta , <i>University of Alabama, Birmingham</i> <u>A Feminist Analysis of Oil Shortage and Peace</u> Maryse C. Helbert , <i>University of Melbourne</i> Overview: This paper will talk about how women are directly affected by U.S. control of oil in three countries; Iraq, Nigeria, and Venezuela.	Paper <u>Political Violence Today: The Categories, The Innocent, and Just Use</u> Bryan E. Brophy-Baermann , <i>Lawrence University</i> Overview: Political violence abounds; however, there is little public consensus on when it can be used, whom to target, and what to call it when it is used. Why? Types of violence are converging, innocents are disappearing, and norms of violence are in flux.
Paper	<u>Drug Trafficking and Non-Traditional Threats: Rethinking the Role of Globalization</u> John A. Buchanan , <i>University of Washington, Seattle</i> Overview: Globalization is attributed to the rise of transnational drug networks. However, the rise of networks linking Burma with the global market reflects the evolution of anti-narcotics norms and a readjustment of global narcotics structures.	Paper <u>Enforcement of International Human Rights Through Coercive Foreign Policy</u> David T. Hutt , <i>Legal Services of Central New York, Inc.</i> Overview: This study considers factors influencing the use of coercive foreign policies by France, the United Kingdom and the United States as a means to enforcement international human rights laws between 1990 and 1994, and the effectiveness of such policies.
Paper	<u>Failing Failed States: The Politics of Recognition and Decertification</u> Bridget L. Coggins , <i>The Ohio State University</i> Overview: A growing number of scholars advocate decertification for failed States unwilling or unable to meet basic standards of governance. Using insights from recognition, I argue that decertification would not result in more effective domestic government.	Paper <u>Democracy in Iraq? Why Multiple Levels of Analysis are Needed</u> Marshall L. Lilly , <i>Ohio University</i> Overview: This paper attempts to fully grasp the scope of the problems facing democracy in Iraq by examining state, regional, and international-level problems.
Paper	<u>Sovereignty/War: The Privileging of War as a Particular Form of Political Violence</u> Christopher B. McIntosh , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: While war appears one of the most obvious and important concepts in structuring international relations and security studies, little work has been done that treats the concept itself as having an institutional quality.	Paper <u>George W. Bush's Foreign Policy in Perspective</u> Benjamin Zyla , <i>Royal Military College of Canada</i> Overview: This paper looks at the George W. Bush administration and argues that by looking at American foreign policy traditions his foreign policy is neither surprising nor new.
Disc.	Alex Braithwaite , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i>	Disc. Donald D. A. Schaefer , <i>University of Louisiana, Lafayette</i>
15-1 Room Chair Paper	<u>ALLIANCES AND CONFLICT</u> TBA, Thur 8:30 am Brian Lai , <i>University of Iowa</i> <u>State Reputation and Alliance Formation</u> Jacob D. Kathman , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Mark Crescenzi , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Reed Wood , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Katja Kleinberg , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: We develop a measure of state reputation for alliance reliability by considering each state's historical willingness to live up to its alliance commitments. This measure is then used to explain how states go about selecting their alliance partners.	17-1 <u>ASSESSING THE EFFECTS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND INSTITUTIONS</u> TBA, Thur 8:30 am Jon Pevehouse , <i>University of Wisconsin</i> <u>The International and Domestic Politics of IMF Programs</u> James R. Vreeland , <i>Yale University</i> Overview: How international relations determine the effects of domestic institutions on IMF program participation.
Paper	<u>Major Power Security Guarantees and Nuclear Proliferation</u> Volker Krause , <i>Eastern Michigan University</i> Overview: This paper examines the extent to which arms, foreign aid, and military assistance in armed conflict may complement or substitute for alliances as major power security guarantees to prevent nuclear proliferation.	Paper <u>Success and Failure in International Law: When Does Law Make a Difference?</u> Oon Hathaway , <i>Yale University</i> Overview: Why is international law sometimes so powerful and at other times so powerless? Part of the answer can be found by considering the interlocking influence of international legal enforcement, domestic legal enforcement, and payoffs and payback.
Paper	<u>Joining the Club: the Politics of Alliance Expansion</u> Christopher M. Sprecher , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper examines the expansion of alliances from 1816-2000. I demonstrate that when both sides gain material benefits there is an incentive to expand an alliance, and a common threat is secondary in the expansion decision calculus.	Paper <u>Unequal Law: Procedural Costs of GATT/WTO Rules on Developing Countries</u> Moonhawk Kim , <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: This paper examines whether changes in the dispute settlement procedure from the GATT to the WTO have made it more or less difficult for developing countries to advance their claims in trade disputes.
Disc.	Brian Lai , <i>University of Iowa</i>	Paper <u>Ratification and Compliance in the International Climate Change Regime</u> Jana von Stein , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: I explore the relationship between institutional design, ratification and compliance in international environmental affairs. I test my hypotheses empirically using data on greenhouse gas emissions and ratification of two core climate change treaties.
16-1 Room Chair Paper	<u>AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY UNDER GEORGE W. BUSH (Co-sponsored with International Relations, see 11-21)</u> TBA, Thur 8:30 am Benjamin O. Fordham , <i>SUNY, Binghamton University</i> <u>The Realists versus Bush 43's Foreign Policy: The State of the Debate</u> William D. Anderson , <i>Western Illinois University</i> Overview: Various IR "realists" have criticized parts of Bush 43's foreign policy; these criticisms have not gone without rebuttal. The paper summarizes the state of the debate, and critiques both sides.	Paper <u>Are Effective Regimes for the Converts Only: Relating Assignment to Effectiveness in International Institutions</u> Nikolay Marinov , <i>Yale University</i> Overview: The more effective a regime is, the less random membership is. This paper evaluates the direction of the bias caused by non-random assignment, and proposes some statistical solutions to the problem of evaluating effectiveness.
		Disc. Jon Pevehouse , <i>University of Wisconsin</i>

18-1 **ADVANCES IN THE STUDY OF AMBIVALENCE (Co-sponsored with Public Opinion, see 22-18)**
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair **Jason Barabas**, *Harvard University*
Paper **A Theory of Partisan Ambivalence**
Marco R. Steenbergen, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Howard Lavine, *Stony Brook University*
Delia N. Goolsby, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Overview: We propose a theory whereby partisanship has both stable identity and dynamic evaluative components. We then assess the implications for partisan ambivalence, using NES panel data as the primary source.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Disc. **Gregg R. Murray**, *SUNY, Brockport*

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

Paper **The Divide: African Americans' Attitudes and Black Nationalism**
Shannon R. Sinegal, *University of New Orleans*
 Overview: What are the determinates of Black Nationalism? This study finds that linked fate, black consciousness, white feeling thermometer, opinions on school integration, and belief that conditions have not changed are related to Black Nationalism.

Paper **Plus ça change...: The State of Black Public Opinion Today**
Katherine Tate, *University of California, Irvine*
 Overview: Much has changed since the first empirical studies of Black public opinion emerged in the 1980s. African Americans have acquired significant political power and influence since then.

Disc. **Rosalee A. Clawson**, *Purdue University*
Nicholas J. G. Winter, *Cornell University*

24-19 **THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN EUROPEAN NATIONAL POLITICS**

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair **Valentino Larcinese**, *The London School of Economics and Political Science*

Paper **Hard and Soft: News and the Antecedents of Support for Turkey in the European Union**
Claes H. de Vreese, *University of Amsterdam*
Hajo Boomgaarden, *University of Amsterdam*
Holli Semetko, *Emory University*
 Overview: A test of 'hard' and 'soft' predictors of public support for Turkish membership in the European Union and the role played by the media in shaping and changing public opinion

Paper **The Channelled Italian Voters**
Valentino Larcinese, *The London School of Economics and Political Science*
 Overview: This paper examines survey data from the 2001 Italian National Election Study and documents a number of patterns in the relationship between television news watching and voting decisions.

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

25-1 **POLITICAL WOMEN AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY: THE STATE OF THE DISCIPLINE**

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair **Christina K. Wolbrecht**, *University of Notre Dame*

Paper **Women's Movements and Women in Movements: Influencing American Democracy from the "Outside"?**
Lee Ann Banaszak, *Pennsylvania State University*
 Overview: In this paper, I examine how U.S. women's movements, both past and present, have served to represent. My paper begins by discussing the definition of women's movements.

Paper **Finding Gender in Political Parties and Interest Groups**
Kira Sanbonmatsu, *The Ohio State University*
 Overview: This paper analyzes the intersection of gender with political parties and interest groups and identifies the challenges of integrating the study of gender with the study of parties and interest groups.

Paper **Women Candidates in American Politics: What We Know, What We Want to Know**
Kathleen Dolan, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
 Overview: This paper provides a review of the state of our knowledge on various aspects of the situation facing women candidates in American politics and lays out future directions for research.

Paper **Focusing on Women and Democracy**
Suzanne Dovi, *University of Arizona*
 Overview: The paper explores the implications of recent advances in the literature on descriptive representation for democratic theory, specifically on understanding democracy as anti-domination.

Disc. **Karen Beckwith**, *The College of Wooster*

25-205 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: WOMEN AND LOCAL POLITICS

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Presenter **The Political Representation of Women in Chicago and Community Structure**
Zohar Lechtman, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: This paper suggests that changes in the model for "the political" and openness of the political arena to alternative forms of political mobilization should be considered a factor in the inclusion of women in the political arena.

Presenter **Women Leading Local Party Organizations**
Tim Hundsdoerfer, *University of Colorado*
 Overview: This paper will be an examination of differences between male local party leaders and their female counterparts and their approach to running the operations of the party.

25-206 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE MEANINGS OF ABU GHRAIB (Co-sponsored with Foundations of Political Theory, see 27-202)

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Presenter **Save Civilization Itself: An Analysis of the Acts of Torture in Abu Ghraib Prison**
Melanie Richter-Montpetit, *York University*
 Overview: Linking different sites of Empire, this paper looks at the intersecting processes of (hetero)sexualization and racialization of violence against colonial bodies and territories.

Presenter **The Ghosts of Abu Ghraib: Specters and the Project of Messianic Democracy**
Nicholas R. Smith, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: I ask two central questions in the paper: Why are the Abu Ghraib photos shocking, and what do they tell us about the nature of American democracy? I conclude by reflecting on what the images mean for our practice as political scientists.

26-3 SOCIAL CAPITAL, PLACE AND INCORPORATION

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair **Armando Xavier Mejia**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Paper **Race, Place, and Political Trust: A Comparative Study of Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics**
Millie D. Wormley, *University of Texas, Dallas*
 Overview: Race and Regional Influences of Political Trust

Paper **Social Capital, Racial/Ethnic Diversity, and Equity in the American States**
Daniel P. Hawes, *Texas A&M University*
Rene R. Rocha, *Texas A&M University*
Kenneth J. Meier, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: This study addresses the Putnam-Hero debate regarding the relationship between social capital and racial equity in the States. This is done using a unique dataset which allows us to develop over-time measures of social capital and diversity.

Paper **Ethnic Pathways to Incorporation in Suburbia**
Michael Jones-Correa, *Cornell University*
 Overview: Based on fieldwork in the suburban Washington, DC area in 2003-2004, this paper explores racial/ethnic mobilization among Koreans, Chinese and Latino immigrants in the absence of racial propinquity.

Paper **Segmented Assimilation and the Political Incorporation of Latinos: "Hold on its going to be a bumpy ride!"**
Gia E. Barboza, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: Many scholars have noted that among Latino immigrants, linguistic and cultural assimilation has generally not occurred. On that basis, the segmented assimilation model has been proposed as an alternative explanation of the incorporation process.

Disc. **Melissa R. Michelson**, *California State University, East Bay*

27-1 THE LIMITS AND POSSIBILITIES OF KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICS AND MORALITY

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Chair **Tobin Craig**, *James Madison College/Michigan State University*

Paper **Callicles, Socrates, and the Danger of Relativism in Plato's Gorgias**

Alex Wall, *Harvard University*

Overview: In this paper I argue that Plato's Gorgias anticipates and rebuts the challenge that relativism poses to philosophy today.

Paper **Aristotle on the Precision and Method of Political Philosophy**

Devin Stauffer, *University of Texas, Austin*

Overview: A close examination of a series of statements Aristotle makes in Book One of the Nicomachean Ethics on the precision and method of the moral and political sciences.

Paper **Fundamental Metaphors**

Michael W. Grenke, *St. John's College*

Overview: An examination of Friedrich Nietzsche's seemingly outrageous claim that human language begins with metaphors.

Disc. **David Levy**, *Boston College*

27-17 ON POLITICAL BECOMING AND PERISHING

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Chair **Roberto Alejandro**, *University of Massachusetts*

Paper **The Nothingness of Freedom: F.H. Jacobi's Diagnosis of Nihilism**

Samuel Goldman, *Harvard University*

Overview: This paper discusses Jacobi's argument that pure practical reason culminates in nihilism and his attempt to provide a 'faith-based' alternative justification for human freedom.

Paper **The Frankfurt School on Politics and Power: A Second Look**

Volker M. Heins, *Concordia University*

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

Paper **Abundance, Lack, and Identity**

Leonard Williams, *Manchester College*

Overview: Examination of theoretical questions concerning identity and identification by means of a study of the autobiographical texts of apostates--people who have traded one ideological self-identification for another.

Disc. **Roberto Alejandro**, *University of Massachusetts*

Paul Ulrich, *Carthage College*

28-1 POLITICS AND JUDGMENT

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Chair **Joanna V. Scott**, *Eastern Michigan University*

Paper **Kant and Arendt on the Creative Imaginative Nature of Political Judgment**

Mihaela Czobor-Lupp, *Georgetown University*

Overview: The paper discusses the creative nature of political judgement in Kant's "Critique of Judgement" and Hannah Arendt's "Life of the Mind." The result is a fourfold role that imaginative judgment can play, especially in situations of crisis.

Paper **Liberty, Obligation, and the Developmental Potential of Deliberation**

Matthew R. Cleary, *University of California, Irvine*

Overview: This essay argues that, in contrast to Lockean notions of liberty, L. T. Hobhouse's "organic liberalism" offers a conception of liberty that better serves the interests of freedom and autonomy, and is compatible with deliberative forms of democracy.

Paper **Hegel's Dialectic: Intersubjectivity and the Community of Reason**

Timothy C. Luther, *California Baptist University*

Overview: This paper examines Hegel's "Phenomenology" and explores the sociality of reason, and develops the intersubjectivity of knowledge and political implications of Hegel's epistemology in that work.

Paper **Political Judgment and the Rule of Law**

Jeffrey A. Becker, *California State University, Chico*

Overview: This essay argues that the rule of law is an effective political institution for protecting and promoting diverse interests. The rule of law teaches citizens how to create shared standards of moral judgment within democratic political communities.

Disc. **Lisa Disch**, *University of Minnesota*

Jessica M. Flanigan, *Washington University, St Louis*

28-16 DOING JUSTICE TO RAWLS

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Chair **David Thunder**, *University of Notre Dame*

Paper **The Ethical Limitations of Rational Choice: the Example of Rawls**

Stefan Bird-Pollan, *University of New Hampshire*

Overview: I argue that Rawls' attempt to avoid 'metaphysics' while still being a Kantian fails, because Rawls is not successful in replacing Kant's notion of rational autonomy with a game theory model of decision-making.

Paper **Politics, Science, and Religion: Rhetorizing Rawls**

Michael J. Jensen, *University of California, Irvine*

Overview: This paper uses John Rawls' theory of Political Liberalism as a foil for constructing a framework for understanding political argument across competing systems of religious and nonreligious beliefs.

Paper **A Kantian Path in John Rawls' Theory of Justice**

Matthew T. Kenney, *Austin Peay State University*

Overview: This paper argues that the evolution in John Rawls's theory of justice from A THEORY OF JUSTICE to POLITICAL LIBERALISM can be usefully understood by focusing on Kant's discussion of the categorical imperative and unsocial sociability.

Paper **Justifying Economic Institutions: A Historical Perspective on John Rawls**

Margaret M. Lange, *Columbia University*

Overview: Through an interpretation of the thought of Rawls and Hume, this paper treats the problem of what ideal economic institutions should like and how justifying their parts relates to the larger project of justifying theories of economic justice.

Paper **What Is So Important About Political Community?**

Andrew F. Smith, *SUNY, Stony Brook*

Overview: Chandran Kukathas argues that the political community is of limited importance in a world marked by deep diversity.

Disc. **Johnny Goldfinger**, *Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis*

29-209 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: MEMBERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Presenter **Publicity Norms, Participation and Electronic Democracy**

Timothy Kersey, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Overview: This paper examines the potential for mass political participation and deliberation over the internet; my conclusion is that communications technology are more likely to support parliamentary forms democracy than participatory forms democracy.

Presenter **Open Borders for Individual Liberty: A Cosmopolitan Alien Perspective**

Halil I. Yenigun, *University of Virginia*

Overview: This paper seeks to establish open borders primarily as a matter of individual liberty and also as a mechanism for global distributive justice amidst the dominant anti-immigration policies.

29-210 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CULTURE IN DEMOCRATIC THEORY

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Presenter Theories of Personhood and Democracy

Andrew W. McLaughlin, *University of Arizona*

Gregory Doug Davis, *University of Arizona*

Overview: A philosophical analysis of personhood, democracy, and the place of corporations in liberal states.

Presenter Early Thoughts on Constitutive Rhetoric from Rousseau and Nietzsche

Dale B. Viegge, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Overview: Tracing recent insights from cultural studies to canonical texts in political theory, this essay (re)directs scholarship on politics towards the role of language in the construction of ideologies, identities, institutions, and inequality.

30-2 FORMAL THEORIES OF ELECTIONS: CANDIDATE QUALITY

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Chair Allen B. Brierly, *University of Northern Iowa*

Paper Candidate Selection and Valence Competition

Scott Ashworth, *Princeton University*

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

Overview: Two political parties contest a set of elections. Each party has a pool of potential candidates who vary by quality. The candidates in each election compete to accumulate valence. We study the equilibrium distribution of quality across districts.

Paper Political Debates and the Hide and Seek Game

Sourav Bhattacharya, *Northwestern University*

Overview: Looking at positive and negative advertising in a debate between two candidates with private quality types having the option of costly search, we examine the efficiency of debate and relative extent of slander and information in attack advertising.

Paper Why Honest Politicians May Oppose Anti-Corruption Reforms

Haldun Evrenk, *Suffolk University*

Overview: We study the honest politicians' support for anti-corruption reforms in a three candidate setup. We introduce a model of electoral competition between three vote maximizing candidates that differ in ability and honesty.

Paper Racial Gerrymandering and Representative Democracy

David Epstein, *Columbia University*

Sharyn O'Halloran, *Columbia University*

Overview: We present a model of optimal redistricting schemes to promote minority interests, incorporating both electoral and legislative stages.

Disc. Allen B. Brierly, *University of Northern Iowa*

32-1 BUSINESS GROUPS AND LABOR UNIONS AS POLITICAL PARTICIPANTS

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Chair Dorian Warren, *University of Chicago*

Paper Ideology Matters: Business Preferences for National Health Care Reform

Joseph A. Corrado, *Clayton State University*

Overview: This paper examines business preferences for national health care reform from 1990-1994. It demonstrates how ideological and political factors account for shifts in preferences.

Paper The Role of the Left in the Modernization of Conservative Pension Policies

Silja Haeusermann, *University of Zurich*

Overview: The article examines how the role of trade unions and social democratic parties in pension policy reforms in conservative welfare states has evolved since the 1970s and it analyses the reasons for an increasing split of the left on these issues.

Paper Change to Win or No Change Left, Exploring the Dynamics of Union Political Contributions

Susan E. Orr, *University of Florida*

Overview: How will changes in the structure of organized labor and the regulatory environment (BCRA) impact parties and candidates electorally? This paper seeks insights on the issue drawing on labor's prior campaign finance and mobilization activity.

Disc. Patrick Bernhagen, *University of Aberdeen*

33-102 AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: BUREAUCRATS AND POLITICIANS': A RETROSPECTIVE

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Panelist Bert A. Rockman, *Purdue University*

Joel Aberbach, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Colin Campbell, *University of British Columbia*

Jos Raadschelders, *University of Oklahoma*

Graham Wilson, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Overview: 'Bureaucrats and Politicians': A Retrospective

34-2 ASSESSING CONSTITUENT CONGRUENCY

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Chair Mark Wrighton, *University of New Hampshire*

Paper Contact your Congressman 101: Grassroots Activation and Representation

Courtney Cullison, *University of Oklahoma*

Overview: An examination of grassroots activation campaigns as a lobbying strategy and the effect on congressional perceptions of incoming constituent communications and the representational relationship between Representatives and their constituents.

Paper Connecting to Congress: The Adoption and Diffusion of Web Technologies Among Congressional Offices

Kevin M. Esterling, *University of California, Riverside*

David Lazer, *Harvard University*

Michael Neblo, *The Ohio State University*

Overview: Examines new data to uncover the conditions that lead House members to adopt innovative web-based content and technologies for their web sites, with implications for the practice of representation in the information age.

Paper Revisiting the Personal Vote: Using Audits to Measure Constituency Service

Neil Malhotra, *Stanford University*

Overview: Using audits of member offices in the U.S. Senate to objectively measure constituency service, I assess the robustness of previous findings, which find associations between constituency service and length of tenure, seat safety, and state population.

Paper Is Flip Flopping Rational? Legislative Representation and Uncertainty about Constituency Preferences

Christian R. Grose, *Vanderbilt University*

Antoine Yoshinaka, *University of California, Riverside*

Overview: Why do some MCs present ideologically inconsistent voting records to constituents? We empirically examine the effect of new constituents-and thus the strategy of ambiguity under legislator uncertainty-on whether the MC presents a consistent record.

Disc. Jennifer M. Jensen, *SUNY, Binghamton*

34-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CORRUPTION IN LEGISLATURES: YOU'VE GOT TO BE KIDDING!

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Presenter The Political Economy of Bribery

Daniel E. Bergan, *Yale University*

Overview: In this paper, I analyze an actual case of legislative bribery and find that empirical research on the relationship between legal contributions and votes does not lend itself to substantive interpretation.

Presenter	<u>Congressional Ethics: The Fox and the Henhouse</u> Joseph N. Patten , <i>Monmouth University</i> Overview: This paper examines the impact of unethical behavior in Congress on public policy and explores Congress' role in disciplining members by highlighting the Abscam Scandal, the Keating Five Scandal, the case of Jim Wright, and the case of Tom Delay.	Paper	<u>Why the Cowboys Have to Talk to the Indians: A Comparative Historical Institutional Analysis of Tribal Consultation in the U.S.</u> Lauren Morris MacLean , <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i> Cecile Greenway , <i>Health and Social Services, Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe</i> Overview: This paper uses comparative historical institutional analysis to examine whether, how and why the federal and state governments in the U.S. consult with American Indian tribes on the policies that concern them.
36-2	<u>COURTS, PUBLIC OPINION, AND JUDICIAL LEGITIMACY (Co-Sponsored with Public Opinion, see 22-20)</u> TBA, Thur 8:30 am Thomas R. Marshall , <i>University of Texas, Arlington</i> Judicial Influence and Public Opinion: The Role of Diffuse Support Thomson W. McFarland , <i>University of Colorado</i> Overview: Public support for high courts contributes to judicial influence. I analyze time series data on public support for the Supreme Court and show that as such support increases, the ideological position of Congress adjusts towards that of the Court.	Paper	<u>Managing Powerful Partners: How American Indian Tribal Governments Approach Federal Policymakers</u> Laura E. Evans , <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: This paper examines how American Indian tribal governments influence federal policymaking. It explores how tribes facing many political disadvantages still manage to win certain policy changes through carefully-managed relations with federal actors.
Room		Paper	<u>Growth in Issues and Lobbying Interest by Indian Nations in California, 2000-2005</u> Frederick J. Boehmke , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Richard Witmer , <i>Creighton University</i> Gavin Dillingham , <i>Rice University</i> Overview: We study whether tribal lobbying, which has expanded in the gaming era, focuses mostly on gaming-related issues or whether tribal lobbying has expanded into other policy areas.
Chair		Paper	<u>Close Enough for Comfort: A Spatial Analysis of Indian Gaming Initiatives in California</u> Richard Witmer , <i>Creighton University</i> Fred Boehmke , <i>University of Iowa</i> Regina P. Branton , <i>Rice University</i> Gavin Dillingham , <i>Rice University</i> Overview: We examine the impact of contextual attributes and spatial attributes on census-tract level support for tribal gaming initiatives in California. We consider two competing ideas: opposition due to the NIMBY ("not in my back-yard") phenomenon and support due to economic development.
Paper	<u>Media Coverage and Support for the Supreme Court in a Time of Confirmation</u> Mary Outwater , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Margaret Williams , <i>James Madison University</i> Overview: Using the 781 completed interviews from late July 2005 to early August 2005 we analyze the support for the Supreme Court, relative to the other branches of government, during a time of increased media exposure.	Disc.	<u>ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS OF CURRENT AND FORMER STATE LEGISLATORS</u> TBA, Thur 8:30 am Shannon Jenkins , <i>University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth</i> Legislator Attitudes on Constituency Service Lilliard E. Richardson , <i>University of Missouri</i> Christopher Cooper , <i>Western Carolina University</i> Overview: Using survey data of state legislators in eight states, we examine legislator attitudes on constituency service. Ordinal logistic regression analysis of service attitudes finds significant institutional and legislator attributes.
Paper	<u>Diffuse Support for the Court: Confidence Following Gay Civil Rights Cases</u> James W. Stoutenborough , <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: We examine the influence of U.S. Supreme Court decisions in gay civil rights cases on the publics' confidence in the Court employing aggregate and individual level data.	Paper	<u>Tenure, Professionalism and Committee Assignments in the States, 1971 to 2003</u> Arnold F. Shober , <i>University of Wisconsin</i> Overview: This paper asks whether a legislative body's power structure has the same influence on committee preferences -- and thus credit-claiming value -- as the simple availability of resources using three representative states.
Paper	<u>Homestyle Institutional Legitimacy: Assessing State Courts' Diffuse Support</u> Jeff A. Yates , <i>University of Georgia</i> Damon Cann , <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: We use national survey data to measure citizens' diffuse support for state supreme courts. Results show that electoral factors (e.g. mode of selection, campaign finance), court ideology, and demographic traits drive diffuse support for state courts.	Paper	<u>Explaining Special Sessions: Political or Institutional Factors at Play</u> E. L. Bernick , <i>University of Nevada, Las Vegas</i> Overview: State legislatures continue to use special sessions. This paper examines the frequency of special sessions and what factors can explain their use including institutional factors (legislative rules) and political factors (partisan congruence).
Disc.	Elliot E. Slotnick , <i>The Ohio State University</i> Christine L. Nemacheck , <i>College of William & Mary</i>		
37-301	<u>POSTER SESSION: PUBLIC LAW</u>		
Presenter	<u>The Effectiveness of False Claims Act 1986 Amendment - Focused on Department of Defense</u>		
Room	TBA, Board 7, Thur 8:30 am Yongjin Chang , <i>American University</i> Overview: This paper evaluates the amendments of False Claims Act 1986, which is successful to increase the number of false claims, considering changes of extraneous variables and focuses on Department of Defense (DOD).		
38-1	<u>CONSTRAINTS, OPPORTUNITIES, AND STRATEGIES FOR NATIVE AMERICANS</u> TBA, Thur 8:30 am Erich W. Steinman , <i>Reed College</i> Off-Reservation Indian Gaming and Intergovernmental Relations in Wisconsin Steven A. Light , <i>University of North Dakota</i> Kathryn R. L. Rand , <i>University of North Dakota</i> Overview: A case study of events in Wisconsin highlights trends in intergovernmental relations among tribal, state, and local actors as they negotiate the law and politics of off-reservation Indian gaming.		

Paper **Defining Federalism: The Congressional Voting Behavior of Former State and Local Officials**
Troy E. Smith, *Brigham Young University, Hawaii*
 Overview: A growing segment of new members of Congress have worked in state and local government. Do they support federalism and decentralization?

Disc. **Seth E. Masket**, *University of Denver*

40-6 **FOR THE CHILDREN: EDUCATION, HEALTH AND WELFARE POLICY**

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Chair **Elizabeth Rigby**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Paper **The Longer-Term Effects of a Universal Pre-Kindergarten Program**
Carolyn J. Hill, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: This paper uses OLS and propensity score methods to estimate the effects through third grade of a pre-kindergarten program offered to all four-year-olds in a large Midwestern city.

Paper **Beyond SES: How Subjective Views May Impact Policy Success**
Craig Gordon, *Georgia State University*
Dana Rickman, *Georgia State University*
Gary Henry, *Georgia State University*
 Overview: Public programs are often evaluated as a totality with success usually defined by the average effect size or the effect on the average child.

Paper **The Adoption of CHIP: The Limits of the Windows Metaphor**
Mark E. Tompkins, *University of South Carolina*
Rebecca Russ-Sellers, *Spartanburg Regional Health Care System*
 Overview: We examine the adoption of CHIP (The Children's Health Insurance Program), finding few of the events associated with the adoption of a major new initiative, especially as envisaged by the notion of policy windows.

Paper **The Politics of Perpetual Crisis: Child Welfare Policy in the States**
Juliet F. Gainsborough, *Bentley College*
 Overview: This paper asks what drives changes in state child-welfare policy. In order to explain state variation in spending, the paper considers the role of publicized crises, federal policy, lawsuits, and changes in political control of state government.

Paper **Nonemergency Medical Transportation in State Children's Health Insurance Programs (CHIP)**
Stephen Borders, *Grand Valley State University*
Craig Blakely, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: Historically, access to health care in the United States has been viewed in terms of one's ability to pay for needed medical services or the actual availability of those services.

Disc. **Elizabeth Rigby**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

41-301 **POSTER SESSION: SOCIAL POLICY**

Presenter **Performance in Office of Big City Mayors: 1820-1995**

Room TBA, Board 8, Thur 8:30 am
Andrew D. McNitt, *Eastern Illinois University*
 Overview: What mayors are credited with and blamed for is related to their city's government structure, demographic characteristics and the mayor's personal traits. Mayors of nineteen major American cities are included in the study.

42-8 **NOVEL THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL ANGLES ON FISCAL POLICY**

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Chair **David D. Lassen**, *University of Copenhagen*

Paper **Estimating the Effect of Direct Democracy on Policy Outcomes: Preferences Matter**
Christina Gathmann, *Stanford University*
Patricia Funk, *SITE-Stockholm School of Economics*
 Overview: Estimate the effect of direct democracy on fiscal policy controlling for voter preferences. Using a unique dataset on votes in propositions from Switzerland.

Paper **Fair Taxes: Survey Experiments, Public Opinion and Public Policy**
Brian J. Gaines, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
R. Douglas Rivers, *Stanford University*
Lynn Vavreck, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: Survey experiments tapping public preferences on tax policy demonstrate that Americans approve of high levels of progressivity only for modest incomes. Few desire to increase taxes for the wealthy.

Paper **Presidential Economic Policy Attention**
Heather A. Larsen, *University of Washington*
 Overview: The purpose of this paper is to explain the allocation of U.S. presidential economic policy making attention over time, across multiple policy tools.

Paper **The Economic Consequence of Partisan Control Volatility in the Government - Evidence from U.S. States**
Xiaobo Lu, *Yale University*
 Overview: My paper examines whether volatility in the partisan control of U.S. states governments as a result of party competition has adverse effects to the state economies.

Paper **Party Organization and the Political Economy of Deficit Spending**
Charles R. Hankla, *Georgia State University*
 Overview: I argue that, other things equal, democracies with strong parties will run more balanced budgets. To test this theory, I conduct a quantitative analysis of all democracies (contingent on data availability) from 1975-2000.

Disc. **Raymond M. Duch**, *University of Houston*
David D. Lassen, *University of Copenhagen*

43-301 **POSTER SESSION: PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

Presenter **Minority Representation in Schools and Low-Income Students' Pass Rates**

Room TBA, Board 9, Thur 8:30 am
Nicolai Petrovsky, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: Minority teachers and administrators have a beneficial effect on low-income students' performance. This partially refutes the power thesis, which suggests that increased representation of a minority will not help other disadvantaged groups.

Presenter **How Poll Workers Shape Public Confidence in Election Outcomes**

Room TBA, Board 10, Thur 8:30 am
Thad E. Hall, *University of Utah*
 Overview: Poll workers are the street level bureaucrats of elections and can directly affect the experience a voter has at the polls. Using survey data, we find that a voter's experience with their poll workers greatly shape public confidence in elections.

Presenter **Exit, Voice, Loyalty, and Neglect: Inter-Related Motivation Patterns Among Federal Employees**

Room TBA, Board 11, Thur 8:30 am
Dennis M. Daley, *North Carolina State University*
 Overview: Examines the inter-relationship between Albert Hirschman's exit, voice, loyalty, and neglect constructs of organizational motivation among federal employees.

Presenter **Economic Justice and Collaborative Management: Trends in Labor and Development Policy**

Room TBA, Board 12, Thur 8:30 am
Diane E. Schmidt, *California State University, Chico*
 Overview: Borrowing from business, labor, economic, and public administration research, this analysis provides an analytic framework for understanding and examining movements in economic development toward collaborative management.

44-1 **COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN STATE AND SOCIETY**

Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am

Chair **Howard Schweber**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Paper **A Reversal of Fortunes: Elite Agency and the Decline in Working Class Power**
Amel F. Ahmed, *University of Pennsylvania*

- Overview: I examine movements for voting system reform at the time of suffrage expansion in France, the UK and the US. I argue that elites used these reforms to undermine popular participation. Outcomes vary with the degree of working class mobilization.
- Paper** **Greece and Turkey: Two Modernization Paths in Civil-Military Relations**
Evangelos Liaras, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
 Overview: Using the cases of Greece and Turkey as a basis for comparison, the paper proposes a theoretical typology of political vs. politicized militaries in the modern history of civil-military relations.
- Paper** **Agents of Change: The Role of Teachers and Schools in Creating Hegemony and Consolidating Identity in Postrevolutionary Mexico and Iran**
Shervin Malekzadeh, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Through a comparative study of the role of education in the (re)construction of identities and nation-building in postrevolutionary Iran and Mexico, this paper argues that revolutionary members of society are not made, they are negotiated.
- Paper** **Deterring Resistance in Occupation: Winning the Peace in Germany and Japan**
Melissa M. Willard, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: In seeking to explain how democracies attempt to win the peace, this study examines the policies designed for the occupations of Germany and Japan, specifically examining how democracies balanced carrots and sticks.
- Disc.** **Howard Schweber**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
- 46-2** **PUBLIC SPACES AND CIVIC IDENTITY**
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair **Timothy E. Durant**, *University of Oregon*
Paper **Separation of Church and Zoo: Diversity, Creationism, and Evolution**
Jesse C. Donahue, *Saginaw Valley State University*
Erik K. Trump, *Saginaw Valley State University*
 Overview: A recent attempt to install a Genesis creation display at the Tulsa Zoo and Living Museum reveals that zoological parks are vulnerable to demands that Christian Fundamentalist views be represented alongside non-Western cultural artifacts.
- Paper** **The World War II Memorial and the American National Imagination**
Avital Shein, *University of Maryland, College Park*
 Overview: This paper establishes a link between the National WWII Memorial and the American national imagination. Through an analysis of the design and location of the memorial, it argues that WWII is represented as a founding moment in the history of the US.
- Paper** **For Peace or Pacification? Yasukuni Shrine and Competing Japanese Nationalisms**
Benjamin A. Peters, *Rutgers University*
 Overview: Peters assesses competing nationalisms in contemporary Japanese politics with special focus on prime ministers' visits to Yasukuni Shrine.
- Disc.** **Zachary A. Callen**, *University of Chicago*
- 47-2** **RELIGION AND POLICYMAKING: INTEREST GROUPS, CONGRESS, AND THE PRESIDENT**
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair **Maurice M. Eisenstein**, *Purdue University, Calumet*
Paper **Organized Religious Interests in American National Politics**
Daniel Hofrenning, *St. Olaf College*
 Overview: This paper will explore both the background and the coalition behavior of religious lobbyists in American national politics. It will test the argument that religious lobbyists are distinctly different—in their identities and strategies.
- Paper** **Constraint and the Political Rhetoric of Religious Groups**
Katherine E. Stenger, *Gustavus Adolphus College*
 Overview: I examine the concept of constraint in the context of mediated debates of political issues by looking at the extent to which religious and non-religious groups differ in their development and use of argument frames.
- Paper** **Voting from the Pew: The Effect of Senators' Religious Affiliations on Cultural Issues Votes: 1976-2004**
John Michael McTague, *University of Maryland, College Park*
Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz, *University of Maryland, College Park*
 Overview: We have strong reason to believe that religion plays a significant role in determining senators' votes on issues that address birth control and abortion, gay rights, and religion in public forums.
- Paper** **The Right Ideas: Political Operatives, Idea Networks, and Tax Cuts**
Richard J. Meagher, *The Graduate Center, CUNY*
 Overview: Using tax cuts (particularly estate taxes) as a case study, I map out the idea networks that deploy cultural and ideological traditions to engender support among both economic and religious conservatives, often against these groups' own interests.
- Paper** **Religious Rhetoric and the American Presidency**
Adam L. Warber, *Clemson University*
Laura R. Olson, *Clemson University*
 Overview: We are concerned with how the use of religious rhetoric by presidents may have varied over time. We offer a rigorous analysis of the use of symbolic religious rhetoric in presidential inaugural addresses from George Washington to George W. Bush.
- Disc.** **Paul A. Djupe**, *Denison University*
Bruce F. Nesmith, *Coe College*
- 48-101** **ROUNDTABLE: TEACHING POLITICS: AN ACTIVIST APPROACH**
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Panelist **Dick W. Simpson**, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
Anthony Perry, *Henry Ford Community College*
Constance Mixon, *Daley Community College*
 Overview: A new DVD, "Teaching Politics" (30 minutes long) will be premiered at the Midwest Political Science Meeting and a panel will discuss various teaching methods beyond the usual lecture/discussion session approach to get students politically engaged.
- 49-104** **ROUNDTABLE: HOW TO PURSUE A NON-ACADEMIC CAREER**
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair **Laurie A. Rhodebeck**, *University of Louisville*
Panelist **Bob Gannett**, *Institute for Community Empowerment*
Anna Greenberg, *Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research*
Vicki Kraft, *City of Chicago*
Delia Lloyd, *Chicago Public Radio - Odyssey*
John Samples, *Cato Institute and Johns Hopkins University*
 Overview: This roundtable will discuss alternatives to academic careers. Topics will include the pros and cons of nonacademic jobs, transitioning to a career outside of academia, and the job search.
- 52-2** **THE RACE TO WHERE? THE COMPLEX COURSES OF STATE AND LOCAL WELFARE REFORM**
Room TBA, Thur 8:30 am
Chair **Mark C. Rom**, *Georgetown University*
Paper **The Diffusion of Successful TANF Policies**
Craig Volden, *The Ohio State University*
Michael Cohen, *The Ohio State University*
 Overview: We explore conditions under which different success measures explain the spread of 25 aspects of state TANF policies between 1997 and 2003.
- Paper** **The Race to the Bottom....And Top: Post-PROWRA State Income Support**
Glenn Beamer, *Rutgers University*
 Overview: This paper delineates diverging state income support policies since 1996. I develop an event history analysis that

estimates connections among cash and in-kind assistance policies, and state-to-state influence across policies.

Paper

Spatial Inequality in the Safety Net

Scott W. Allard, *Brown University*

Overview: Welfare reform has led to a transformation in the provision of assistance to the poor. Prior to 1996, welfare checks accounted for over three-quarters of welfare spending. Today, social services comprise nearly that much of welfare spending.

Disc.

Lawrence M. Mead, *New York University*

Harrell R. Rodgers, *University of Houston*

Thursday, April 20 – 10:30 am – 12:15 pm

1-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LAKE COUNTY POLITICS

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am

Presenter Lake County Politics: A Cornucopia of Corruption

Tina Ebenger, *Calumet College of St. Joseph*

Tracey McCabe, *Calumet College of St. Joseph*

Overview: This paper looks at corruption in Lake County (IN) politics, specifically the vote buying scandals surrounding Robert Pastrick's mayoral re-election in 1999 and 2003 in East Chicago, Indiana.

2-1 HEALTH, DRUGS AND GAMBLING - PERSPECTIVES ON COMPARATIVE PUBLIC POLICY

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am

Chair Miriam Laugesen, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Paper Local Government Innovations in Domestic Violence Policy in The Netherlands

Mitzi L. Mahoney, *Sam Houston State University*

David H. Carwell, *Eastern Illinois University*

Overview: This paper explores Dutch local government efforts to develop domestic violence programs tailored for various immigrant communities.

Paper Elite Theory and Health Policy: A Case Study of Germany and the United States of America

Brett A. Kaffee, *William Paterson University, CUNY*

Overview: A comparative case study that uses Elite Theory to explain the differences between US and German health care policy. The paper provides an illuminating concise overview of the evolution of each system then transitions to an analysis that carefully use

Paper Legalization of Casinos: A World View of a Salient Political Issue

William N. Thompson, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

Carl E. Lutrin, *California Polytechnic State University*

Overview: An examination of why some venues legalize casinos while others do not. The focus is upon events of last 20 years, as countries with casinos has increased from 77 to 132. Case studies utilized to demonstrate how political culture influences events.

Paper Institutional Restraints on Drug Policy Liberalization

Chad R. Nilson, *University of New Orleans*

Overview: Cross-national, multivariate regression analyses and interviews with key policy actors in Canada, Netherlands, Austria, and the United States reveal and describe the relationship between institutional variables and the liberalization of drug policy.

Paper A Comparative Analysis of the Passage of Disability Rights Legislation in the U.S. and France

Karen J. Vogel, *Hamline University*

Annika Johnson, *Hamline University*

Overview: This study uses a qualitative comparative approach to understand the manner in which disability rights legislation is passed in the United States and France.

Disc. Miriam Laugesen, *University of California, Los Angeles*

3-2 COMPARATIVE NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am

Chair Krister P. Andersson, *University of Colorado*

Paper Polycentricity, Institutional Congruence, and Natural Resource Governance

Krister P. Andersson, *University of Colorado*

Elinor Ostrom, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Overview: We develop and analyze the concept of institutional congruence—the idea that institutional imperfections at one level of governance may be compensated for by relative strengths of other institutions at other levels—in natural resource regimes.

Paper Democracy on the Commons: Political Competition, and Local Cooperation

Ashwini Chhatre, *Duke University*

Overview: The paper explores the effect of political competition on the ability of communities to pursue collective action for natural resource management.

Paper Devolution of Forest Resource Management in Vietnam: Are All Forest Users Equally Likely to Secure Formal Use Rights?

Cari A. Coe, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: Does local control of forest resource management in Vietnam entrench the power of the well-to-do? This paper tests whether certain households are more likely to have been granted pseudo-property rights to forest land than others.

Paper Natural Resource Endowments, Regime Type and FDI Inflows

Elnur Soltanov, *Texas Tech University*

Overview: This paper is an attempt at a systematic inquiry into the relationship between natural resource richness and FDI inflows. A secondary aim is to sort out how natural resource variable's presence affects the association between regime type and FDI.

Paper Sovereignty, Security, and Property Rights in Land: The Cases of Thailand and Japan

Tomas Larsson, *Cornell University*

Overview: The paper investigates the political origins of institutions underpinning economic development. It explains why similar stimuli—the threat of colonization—generated differential responses in regards to state provision of well-defined property rights

Disc. Martin K. Dimitrov, *Dartmouth College*

3-16 CHECKS, BALANCES, AND DEVELOPMENT

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am

Chair Jong-Sung You, *Harvard University*

Paper Checks and Balances: When do Constraints on Rulers Matter for Development?

Jonathan K. Hanson, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Overview: Although there exists general consensus that political institutions matter for economic performance, debate remains regarding the role of institutional constraints on rulers. This paper tests a theory of the conditions in which constraints matter.

Paper How Partisanship and Electoral Systems Impact Respect for Human Rights

Meggan Fitzgerald, *Binghamton University, SUNY*

Overview: This paper argues that different combinations of partisanship and electoral systems will have varied effects on respect for human rights in the short and long term.

Paper Corrupted Courts: A Cross-National Perceptual Analysis of Judicial Corruption

Kathleen R. Barrett, *Georgia State University*

Overview: This paper examines perceived judicial corruption. Statistical analysis demonstrates accountability and transparency are weakly related while a country comparison indicates the explanatory power of judicial structure.

Paper Judicial Independence and Corruption in Latin America

Julio Rios-Figueroa, *New York University*

Overview: In this paper, I explore the relation between different components of judicial independence and corruption on eighteen Latin American countries from 1995-2003.

Paper The Importance of Human Capital: a Study of Global Literacy, Corruption, and Economic Growth

Chuan-Yu Ernie Ko, *George Mason University*

Overview: This paper contributes to better understand the importance of human capital, which is measured by education (i.e. literacy rate and gender quotient), in moderating the corruption's negative effect on economic growth. This paper tests and proves that it is

Disc. Laura Langbein, *American University*

3-26 **THE DETERMINANTS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Ira Parnerkar**, *University of Chicago*
Paper **Economic Policy-Making in a Segmented Rentier State**
Steffen Hertog, *St. Antony's College, Oxford*
 Overview: My paper scrutinizes several recent Saudi Arabian economic reform efforts against a historical analysis of Saudi state creation, arguing that despite internally efficient agencies, the segmentation of the state leads to severe policy failures.

Paper **Democracy, Development, and the Resource-Rich State**
Andrew B. Kirkpatrick, *Emory University*
 Overview: TBA

Paper **Political Foundations of Growth in Dictatorships and Democracies**
Armando Razo, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: This paper tests an institutional theory of policymaking and growth to explain the variation in economic performance between democracies and dictatorships by accounting for specific mechanisms that may differ across political regimes.

Disc. **Christian Ponce de Leon**, *University of Chicago*

4-1 **POLITICAL TRUST IN AN AUTHORITARIAN STATE: THE CHINESE CASE (Co-sponsored with Asian Politics, see 8-16)**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Wenfang Tang**, *University of Pittsburgh*
Paper **Trust in the Media in China**
Daniela Stockmann, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: This paper addresses three issues, the concept of media trust and its relationship to political trust in China, the change of media trust over time, and the impact of media trust on media consumption and on attitude change.

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

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

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

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

Disc. **Pierre F. Landry**, *Yale University*

4-21 **INSTITUTIONALIZING DEMOCRATIC NORMS IN TRANSITIONAL STATES**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair TBA
Paper **Promoting Democratic Values in Transitional Societies Through Foreign Aid**
Arthur H. Miller, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: To what extent does US foreign aid promote democratization? A 2000-04 panel study of aid program participants in four transitional societies sheds light on recent democratic revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine as well as democratization generally.

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

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

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

5-1 **ASSESSING ORGANIZATIONAL IMPACTS ON EU POLICY**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Zeki Sarigil**, *University of Pittsburgh*
Paper **Allocation of the EU Budget: An Examination of Voting and Proposal Rights**
Deniz Aksoy, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: This paper seeks to explain budgetary allocation in the EU. I specifically illustrate the role of two key institutional factors: voting and proposal rights of the member states in determining the amount of funding they receive from the EU.

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

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

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

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

Disc. **Jens A. Blom-Hansen**, *Aarhus University, Denmark*

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

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

Paper **Employment Performance and Transition in the European Countries (1997-2005)**
 Assem M. Dandashly, *University of Oklahoma*
 Overview: This paper aims to study the quantitative labor market performance of 27 European countries in the period following the 1997 launch of the European Employment Strategy. It focuses on the transition taking place in the new members that joined the EU.

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

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

7-301
POSTER SESSION: LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS
Presenter **The Politics of Biotechnology Policy in South America's Agricultural Powers**
Room TBA, Board 1, Thur 10:30 am
 Sybil D. Rhodes, *Western Michigan University*
 Overview: Assesses structural and institutional explanations for policies regulating agricultural biotechnology in Argentina and Brazil.

Presenter **Split-Ticket Voting: The Uncertainty Hypothesis**
Room TBA, Board 2, Thur 10:30 am
 Marco A. Morales, *New York University*
 Overview: The paper analyzes the role of information - or lack thereof - as an explanation for split-ticket voting. An empirical test - and for the Madisonian and expected utility hypotheses - is provided using data on the 2000 Mexican elections.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Paper **The Art of Compromise - With an Eastern European Touch**
 Alin Fumurescu, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: One particularity of the new democracies in Eastern Europe is represented by civil society's refusal to accept the compromise - a refusal which not only dominates the public discourse, but also forces political parties to unusual forms of adaptation.

Paper	<u>Bad Civil Society and Its Effects on Democratic Consolidation</u> Lauren Schapker , <i>Miami University</i> Overview: While civil society and social capital are so often considered essential to democratic consolidation, in Russia, the emergence of bad civil society and the failure of social capital to adhere are increasingly deterring democratic development.	Paper	<u>Deterrence or Aggression: Alliance Configurations and Military Conflict</u> Volker Krause , <i>Eastern Michigan University</i> Overview: Building on Leeds (2003), this paper investigates in how far effects of defensive and offensive alliances on military conflict are a function of their multilateral versus bilateral alliance configurations.
Paper	<u>Impact of Foreign Aid on State and NGO Capacity in Uzbekistan</u> Erica J. Johnson , <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: Foreign aid to Uzbekistan's state and civil society groups has created a weak state-weak society -- results opposite to the intentions of foreign donors. Why has this happened and what are the consequences for Uzbekistan's state-society relations?	Disc.	Dong Sun Lee , <i>East-West Center</i>
Paper	<u>Competition and Trust in Post-Communist Europe</u> David O. Rossbach , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper seeks to answer the question "how has the competitive nature of both political and economic transition affected citizen trust in Post-Communist Europe?"	12-2	<u>INSTITUTIONS, ELECTIONS, AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE (Co-sponsored with Economic Policy, see 42-14)</u>
Disc.	Carol S. Leff , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i>	Room	TBA, Thur 10:30 am
11-2	<u>DIVERSE SOURCES OF CONFLICT</u>	Chair	Stephanie J. Rickard , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i>
Room	TBA, Thur 10:30 am	Paper	<u>Trade and The Timing of Elections</u> Mark A. Kayser , <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: This paper shows that export expansions do not differ substantively from booms in aggregate output in inviting opportunistic governments to call elections, especially as their terms mature.
Chair	Jason C. Larson , <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i>	Paper	<u>Majoritarian Politics, Distribution of Skill Endowments and Trade Protectionism</u> Bumba Mukherjee , <i>Florida State University</i> Dale L. Smith , <i>Florida State University</i> Quan Li , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Overview: We construct a model of Downsian electoral competition examining how the distribution of skill endowments across voters in majoritarian countries affects the optimal tariff rate proposed by political parties.
Paper	<u>Diplomacy and International Conflict: A Quantitative Analysis</u> Gregory G. Holyk , <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i> Overview: The relationship between diplomacy and conflict was examined empirically and found to be bidirectional. Increases in conflict prompts increased diplomatic effort, while at the same time increases in diplomacy result in increased conflict.	Paper	<u>International Institutions and the Volatility of International Trade</u> Eric Reinhardt , <i>Emory University</i> Edward D. Mansfield , <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> Overview: We hypothesize international trade institutions reduce the volatility of trade. Multivariate statistical tests, using annual data on exports for all pairs of countries from 1951 through 2001, provide strong support for our arguments.
Paper	<u>Foreign Direct Investment, Portfolio Investment, and Interstate Conflict</u> Hoon Lee , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: This study attempts to examine inconclusive claims about the different effects of foreign investments (FDI and portfolio investment), relying on vulnerability vs. sensitivity argument from trade relationship.	Paper	<u>Designer Protection: Explaining the Form of Trade Policies</u> Stephanie J. Rickard , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Overview: Trade policy can be used by governments to target benefits broadly or narrowly. Here, I seek to explain when and under what conditions governments choose to provide broad trade protections rather than narrow.
Paper	<u>Explaining the Commercial Peace: Costs, Information, and Signaling</u> Rosa E. Sandoval-Bustos , <i>Rice University</i> Overview: While many authors find a negative relationship between trade and militarized conflict, the mechanism through which this relationship occurs has not been well established. This paper compares what three different explanations for the commercial peace.	Paper	<u>Much Ado About Something: Public Opinion and Trade Policy</u> Daniel Y. Kono , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: Does public opinion affect trade policy? Yes.
Disc.	Katharine Petersen , <i>University of Arizona</i>	Disc.	Stephanie J. Rickard , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i>
11-14	<u>RIVALS & ALLIES: OPPOSITE ENDS OF THE SPECTRUM?</u>	13-11	<u>IDEOLOGY, INSTABILITY AND WAR</u>
Room	TBA, Thur 10:30 am	Room	TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair	Chad Rector , <i>George Washington University</i>	Chair	Claudia Dahlerus , <i>Albion College</i>
Paper	<u>Why Now? Predicting the Hazard of Crises Within Enduring Rivalries</u> Philip B. Potter , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper develops a hazard model to determine the probability of crisis within enduring rivalries. The finding that the likelihood of such crisis is, to a degree, predictable has implications for both foreign policy and peace building.	Paper	<u>The Effect of Electoral Systems on the Frequency of War</u> Ryan H. Isaacson , <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Overview: Countries in which an executive can be removed by a vote of no confidence are found to bend to the public mood throughout an election cycle, while systems without such mechanisms adhere to public mood only in the last quintile of an election cycle.
Paper	<u>Ally with a Minor Power?: Behavior of Major Powers in Asymmetric Alliances</u> Matthew P. Cherry , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: Why should a major power ally with a minor power? This research examines the notion in the asymmetric alliance literature that minor powers provide major powers with substantial incentives to ally.	Paper	<u>Regime Stability and War in New Democracies</u> Brian Min , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: Democratizing nations with a history of destabilizing regime change have a higher risk of engaging in interstate conflict than new democracies in nations that have had no prior experience under democratic rule.
Paper	<u>Plus Ça Change?: Leadership Alternation, Domestic Shocks, and the Onset of Interstate Rivalry</u> Marshall W. Garland , <i>Texas Tech University</i> Overview: To better grasp the domestic sources of rivalry onset, I investigate the connection between leadership alternation and the onset of interstate rivalries.	Paper	<u>Threat Perception: Differences in International Conflict Behavior Among Authoritarian Regimes</u> Erica Frantz , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: In this paper, I look at how different types of dictatorships respond to threats issued by democracies in the context of James Fearon's audience cost argument.

Paper	<p><u>Detours to Ethnic Conflict: The Diversionary Effect of Domestic Unrest</u> Cigdem Sirin, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: The paper tests the argument that the source of instability in a state (economic downturn or domestic socio-political unrest), that instigates diversionary behavior, determines the utility of involvement in a certain conflict (ethnic/non-ethnic).</p>	hypotheses on the initiation, termination, outcomes, and consequences of war.
Disc.	Claudia Dahlerus, <i>Albion College</i>	Desha Girod, <i>Stanford University</i>
14-2	<u>ALLIANCES</u>	
Room	TBA, Thur 10:30 am	
Chair	Christopher M. Sprecher, <i>Texas A&M University</i>	
Paper	<p><u>Alliances, Trading Agreements, and Polarity: Explaining Bilateral Trade Flows</u> Benjamin Freeman, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Zowie Hay, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Douglas W. Kuberski, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: A gravity model is employed to test the influence of polarity on the relationship between preferential trading agreements and bilateral trade flows.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Entrapped? Alliance Obligations and German Motivations in the Great War</u> Amanda M. Rosen, <i>The Ohio State University</i> Overview: TBA</p>	
Paper	<p><u>The Complex Interstate Alliance Network</u> Tarah M. Wheeler, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: An analysis of the characteristics of the interstate alliance network.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Trust and Alignment: External Balancing as a Result of Commitment Problems</u> Zachary C. Shirkey, <i>Columbia University</i> Ivan Savic, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: Realist explanations of balancing fail to fully explain states' motivations. This paper argues that states engage in external balancing as a response to commitment problems. This is shown using a signaling model as well as two brief case studies.</p>	
Disc.	Craig B. Greathouse, <i>University of Arkansas, Monticello</i>	
15-13	<u>POST-CONFLICT POLITICAL DYNAMICS</u>	
Room	TBA, Thur 10:30 am	
Chair	Desha Girod, <i>Stanford University</i>	
Paper	<p><u>From Paramilitary to Parliamentary: The Peaceful Process of Political Shape Shifting?</u> Shelley M. Deane, <i>Bowdoin College</i> Overview: The IRA, the PLO, Hizbullah and now Hamas and even ETA have morphed from paramilitary to predominantly political in strategic orientation. What best explains their shifts toward war by other means?</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Toward a Theory of Reparation</u> Jeremy H. Rabideau, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: This paper looks to establish a cohesive moral vision of entitlement to the pursuit of reparations and lodging of demands for restitution, incorporating insights from the work of Waldron and Barkan.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Bargaining During and After War: Endogenizing Adherence to Peace Settlements</u> Dan Reiter, <i>Emory University</i> Clifford Carrubba, <i>Emory University</i> Scott Wolford, <i>Emory University</i> Overview: This paper contains a formal, bargaining model of war which endogenizes the adherence to war-terminating settlements. It builds on Filson and Werner (2002). It offers</p>	
Disc.		
15-201	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ENMITY, ETHNICITY, AND CONFLICT</u>	
Room	TBA, Thur 10:30 am	
Presenter	<p><u>A Shadow Economy Model of Ethnic Conflict</u> Joseph J. St. Marie, <i>University of Southern Mississippi</i> Samuel S. Stanton Jr., <i>University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point</i> Shahdad Naghshpour, <i>University of Southern Mississippi</i> Overview: This study generates a political economy theory of ethnic conflict initiation. The theory focuses on the notion of an increasing shadow economy-both legal and illegal-creating the conditions where ethnic conflict becomes more likely.</p>	
Presenter	<p><u>Institution, Policy, and Ethnic Conflict: The Chinese in 4 SEAsian Countries</u> Rosa Tsai-wei Sun, <i>University of Singapore</i> Overview: It tests the causal link between state-majority-minority relations and conflict in SEAsia in general and the Chinese-natives relations in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand in particular by paying special attention to policy-related variables.</p>	
15-202	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: TERRORISM, VIOLENCE AND ISLAM</u>	
Room	TBA, Thur 10:30 am	
Presenter	<p><u>Coping With the World Wide Warfare: Terrorism, Modernity, and Islam</u> Galip B. Isen, <i>Istanbul Bilgi University</i> Overview: After 9-11 Islam was associated with terrorism in various contexts, suggesting incompatibility between modern and non-modern ways of mind. Terrorism is basically an attack on rationality and must be examined as such in cross cultural analyses.</p>	
Presenter	<p><u>Future Jihads: Projecting the Evolving Strategies of Al Qaida and the Khumainist Organizations Against the US</u> Walid A. Phares, <i>Florida Atlantic University</i> Overview: Future Jihads: Projecting the evolving strategies of al Qaida and the Khumainist organizations against the US. September 11 led the US to declare war on terrorism, which it identified lately as a confrontation with a transnational ideological movement</p>	
Presenter	<p><u>Effects of Repression and Cooption on Islamic Social Movement Organizations</u> Rebekah Tromble, <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i> Overview: Investigates why certain Islamic social movement organizations engage in violent acts of political contention while others choose only non-violent means of contention. Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood and al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah are examined.</p>	
17-2	<u>DECISIONS TO JOIN INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS</u>	
Room	TBA, Thur 10:30 am	
Chair	Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, <i>University of Iowa</i>	
Paper	<p><u>Social Rewards and Socialization Effects in International Institutions</u> Xiaojun Li, <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: This paper adapts the socialization theories in international relations as an alternative explanation to further look at country's motivation behind cooperation, using China as the main case.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>The Democratic Peace Research Program and System Level Analysis</u> Ewan Harrison, <i>Colgate University</i> Overview: The paper shows how a shift to the system level within democratic peace research is compatible with a Lakatosian succession of theories developing from core assumptions, and builds on dyadic inquiry to frame a second generation research agenda.</p>	

Paper **Voting Patterns in the International Whaling Commission**
Jonathan R. Strand, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*
 Overview: Observers of the IWC have accused pro-whaling countries of attempting to overcome their minority coalition status through the buying of votes from countries to which they provide a great deal of foreign aid.

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

Disc. **Sara McLaughlin Mitchell**, *University of Iowa*

17-7 **THE DESIGN OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE INSTITUTIONS**

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

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

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

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

Disc. **Michael R. Tomz**, *Stanford University*

18-2 **WHEN EMOTIONS RUN HIGH: CRISIS, CAMPAIGNS, AND SCANDALS**

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

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

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

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

Disc. **Darren W. Davis**, *Michigan State University*

18-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ADVANCES IN PROSPECT THEORY**

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

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

18-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LEADERSHIP AND ELITE BEHAVIOR**

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Presenter **Transformational Leadership in Liberal Society**
Marl K. Renfro, *Northern Kentucky University*
 Overview: Transformational leadership is a resource available to develop civic virtues. To be explained are the mechanisms for how the transformational leader truly compels by altering listeners' sensibilities.

19-1 **CANDIDATE ATTRIBUTES AND VOTE CHOICE**

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

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

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

Paper **Different Strokes for Different Folks: Candidate Race and the Electoral Calculus of Black and White Voters**
Taeku Lee, *University of California, Berkeley*
Michael Murakami, *University of California, Berkeley*
Tatishe Nteta, *University of California, Berkeley*

Overview: We develop a general theory of how variation in candidate race and party affects the electoral calculus of white and black voters. We test our hypotheses with precinct-level election returns and census data, using methods of ecological inference.

- Paper** **Campaigns and the Communication of Competence and Integrity**
Jeffery J. Mondak, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
Robert A. Jackson, *Florida State University*
Robert Huckfeldt, *University of California, Davis*
David Hendry, *Florida State University*
 Overview: With focus on the 2002 U.S. House elections, this paper examines the processes by which voters come to view candidates as hard working, honest, and effective. The effects of campaign intensity and the tone and volume of campaign ads are considered.
- Disc.** **Jeffrey W. Koch**, *SUNY, Geneseo*
- 20-3** **CAMPAIGN PROCESSES ACROSS LEVELS OF ANALYSIS**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Sean A. Cain**, *University of California, San Diego*
Paper **Explaining Soft Money Transfers in State Gubernatorial Elections**
Troy Gibson, *University of Southern Mississippi*
William L. Gillespie, *Kennesaw State University*
M. V. Hood, *University of Georgia*
 Overview: This paper examines what factors affect non-federal contributions to gubernatorial races by national Republican and Democratic committees and what effects these contributions have on the elections.
- Paper** **State Polls and National Forces: Forecasting Gubernatorial Election Outcomes**
Jay DeSart, *Utah Valley State College*
 Overview: This paper develops and examines a gubernatorial election forecast model utilizing state-level trial-heat voting data, as well as national-level indicators.
- Paper** **The Modern Effect of Coattails in the House of Representatives**
Latisha Younger, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
 Overview: Representing the ability of the president to lead members of his own party into office, the coattail effect has proven to be an elusive research area over the past twenty-five years, which is revisited in this study looking at incumbency strength.
- Paper** **The Affect of Senate Campaigns on the Presidential Vote**
David F. Damore, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*
Shelia Dubron-Lambert, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*
Allison Johnson, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*
 Overview: This paper examines the affect that competitive senate elections may exert on the state level vote in presidential elections.
- Disc.** **Jeffrey M. Stonecash**, *Syracuse University*
- 21-8** **THE CAMPAIGN DISCLOSURE PROJECT**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Joseph Doherty**, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Paper **Not Just a Private Matter: The Purposes of Disclosure in an Expanded Regulatory System**
Robert F. Bauer, *Perkins Coie LLP*
 Overview: This paper suggests that informational interests of voters have become secondary to the interests of the State in developing and enforcing legal restrictions on politics.
- Paper** **Who Tells the Story? Third Party Reporting About Campaign Finance in the States**
Raymond J. La Raja, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*
 Overview: This paper asks whether intermediary institutions (public interest groups, press, etc.) in the states use campaign finance data to write stories or analyses about campaign finance.
- Paper** **The Campaign Disclosure Project**
Daniel Lowenstein, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Joseph Doherty, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: TBA

- Paper** **What has the US Disclosure System Wrought? A Comparison of US and Other National Campaign Finance Disclosure Systems**
Stephen Ansolabehere, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
 Overview: Campaign finance disclosure in the US exceeds disclosure requirements in most other countries.
- Paper** **A (Classical) Liberal View of Campaign Finance Disclosure**
John Samples, *Cato Institute and Johns Hopkins University*
 Overview: This paper argues that social science does not support the justifications for mandatory disclosure of campaign donations. It proposes an alternative based on citizens possessing the right to disclose or withhold such information.
- Disc.** **Joseph Doherty**, *University of California, Los Angeles*
- 22-7** **CONFIDENCE AND TRUST IN GOVERNMENT**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **John R. Hibbing**, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*
Paper **The Impact of Media Exposure on Political Trust**
James M. Avery, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
 Overview: I use individual-level cross-sectional and aggregate time-series analyses to examine the influence of media coverage on political trust across the 2000 presidential election.
- Paper** **State-Level Public Trust in the Federal Government**
Paul Brace, *Rice University*
Martin Johnson, *University of California, Riverside*
 Overview: Federalism is central to American government yet public opinion studies do not examine variations in trust in the federal government among the states. Using a survey-based measure we explore and explain differential federal trust across the states.
- Paper** **Democratic Citizenship and its Consequences**
Russell J. Dalton, *University of California, Irvine*
 Overview: This paper analyzes new evidence on the norms of citizenship from the 2004 GSS/ISSP survey on citizenship. We demonstrate that changing norms are transforming participation patterns, political values and evaluations of government.
- Paper** **Trust in Government Across Levels and Institutions of Government**
Joseph Gershtenson, *Eastern Kentucky University*
Dennis L. Plane, *Juniata College*
 Overview: This research informs us about variations in trust across state government institutions and across subnational levels of government, and deepens awareness of trust's effects on citizen participation and evaluations of individual political figures.
- Paper** **Re-examining the Skeptical American: Exploring the Meaning of Political Trust**
Stacy G. Ulbig, *Missouri State University*
 Overview: Empirical observations of governmental trust have neglected the dimension of active distrust of government. This paper explores sources and consequences of trust and mistrust, and distinguishes between trust, mistrust, skepticism, and cynicism.
- Disc.** **Paul Gronke**, *Reed College*
- 22-12** **THE INFLUENCE OF CANDIDATES AND CAMPAIGNS ON PUBLIC OPINION (Co-sponsored with Electoral Campaigns, see 20-8)**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Lauren Cohen Bell**, *Randolph Macon College*
Paper **Constructing Optimal Campaign Strategies: A Test of Public Opinion Models**
Beth Miller, *Rice University*
 Overview: I use two models of public opinion formation and change-on-line and memory-based-to explore the dynamic impact of different campaign communication strategies on public opinion.
- Paper** **Campaign Dynamics in Battleground and Non-Battleground States**
Costas Panagopoulos, *Yale University*
 Overview: TBA

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

Disc. **Barbara C. Burrell, Northern Illinois University**

23-5 **YOUTH SOCIALIZATION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE U.S.**

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

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

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

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

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

Disc. **Rachel K. Cremona, Flagler College**

24-1 **NEW TECHNOLOGIES OF PERSUASION IN FEDERAL POLITICS**

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Andrew Paul Williams, Virginia Tech University**
Paper **Sharp Elbows on the Airwaves: Do Primary "Reforms" Provoke Negative Ads?**
Christopher C. Hull, Georgetown University
 Overview: This paper explores the ways in which new primary procedures and the proliferation of new technologies have increased negative advertising.

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

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

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

Disc. **Alison Howard, Dominican University of California**

25-2 **GENDER AND THE DYNAMICS OF POLITICAL DISCUSSION AND PARTICIPATION**

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Kristi Andersen, Syracuse University**
Paper **Gender and the Content of Political Discussion**
Tracy L. Osborn, Bridgewater State College
Jeanette M. Mendez, Oklahoma State University
 Overview: This paper explores the gender gap in political discussion. We argue women will discuss politics, both in frequency and content, differently from men.

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

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

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

Disc. **Kristi Andersen, Syracuse University**

26-1 **LATINO POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Ricardo Ramirez, University of Southern California**
Paper **Self-Interest and Self-Identity: Explaining Hispanic Political Attitudes**
Agnes K. Koos, University of New Orleans
 Overview: Length of stay in the US, and belonging to a later generation of immigrants, have a polarizing effect on group consciousness: they strengthen an American identification, but also favor the development of a minority Latino consciousness.

Paper **Understanding Latino Electoral Participation: Does Voter Validation Matter?**
David L. Leal, *University of Texas, Austin*
Robert Wrinkle, *University of Texas, Pan American*
Jerry Polinard, *University of Texas, Pan American*
 Overview: This paper tests whether the use of validated voting data affects the political science understanding of the structure of Latino electoral participation. It analyzes a 2004 survey of 1,200 Latino respondents in Texas.

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

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

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

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

Disc. **Sylvia Manzano**, *St. Mary's University*

26-15 **MINORITIES AND THE LAW**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Daniel P. Hawes**, *Texas A&M University*
Paper **Coerced Civic Duty? Federal Legislation and Litigation Over Financial Aid**
Jesse P. Mendez, *Oklahoma State University*
 Overview: This paper examines how Congressional legislation, with the approval of the federal judiciary, has used federal financial aid to promote civic duty.

Paper **Waning Judicial Oversight of School Desegregation: Two Case Studies**
Kenneth F. Mott, *Gettysburg College*
Luke P. Norris, *Gettysburg College*
 Overview: Dramatic re-segregation of public schools has coincided with relaxed judicial supervision in recent years. Case studies involving Boston and Charlotte reflect the extent to which those changes are related.

Paper **Race and the Punitive Public**
Vesla Weaver, *Harvard University*
 Overview: This paper explores the preconditions of punitive criminal justice attitudes, finding an important connection between crime policy views and racial threat.

Paper **Eclipsado antes de 1954 - Latino Efforts at Desegregation**
Jesse P. Mendez, *Oklahoma State University*
 Overview: This paper examines and contrasts the legal challenges of Latinos in school desegregation before the Brown v. Board of Education (1954) case.

Paper **African Americans, Affirmative Action and the Supreme Court: 1989-Present**
Ronnie B. Tucker, *Shippensburg University*
 Overview: The paper discusses the policy of affirmative action as it applies to African Americans employed in state government.

Disc. **Manuel Avalos**, *Arizona State University*

27-2 **ANCIENT AND MODERN POLITICAL RATIONALISM**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Svetozar Minkov**, *Roosevelt University*
Paper **Politicians, Virtue, and Reason: Political Rationalism in Plato's Meno**
Stephen Lange, *Morehead State University*
 Overview: Plato's Meno concludes that political men have correct opinions but not knowledge about political things. This paper examines the argument behind this conclusion and discusses the implications for the role of reason in politics.

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

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

Disc. **Svetozar Minkov**, *Roosevelt University*

27-18 **THE AUTONOMOUS INDIVIDUAL**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **John Danford**, *Loyola University*
Paper **Reason and Imagination in Locke's Political Judgment**
Torrey J. Shanks, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: This paper challenges rationalist interpretations of Locke's thought by showing how Lockean political critique depends on an early-modern version of the imagination that functions through affect, rhetoric, and social practices.

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

Paper **Sailing the Human Archipelagos: The Duty of Cosmopolitan Freedom**
Stephen W. Moore, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
 Overview: I argue that there is a universal moral principle that must remain inviolable: positive toleration. Recognizing that the sea of diverse human life is a necessary feature of freedom allows us to reasonably settle on this principle as morally binding.

Paper **Retheorizing Moral Power: Constitutions, Individuals, and the Efficacy of Virtue**
Leigh K. Jenco, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: This paper explores how the demiurgic qualities some neo-Confucianists have presumed to inhere in individual moral action potentially inform commitments to the concept of autonomous, “sovereign individuals” within the more anarchic strands of modern

Disc. **Ann Colmo**, *Dominican University*
John Danford, *Loyola University*

28-2 **INTERPRETING ARENDT**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Stephen P. Chilton**, *University of Minnesota, Duluth*
Paper **Hannah Arendt in The Post-9/11 World: Totalitarianism and The Banality of Evil**
Joanna V. Scott, *Eastern Michigan University*
 Overview: This paper proposes a re-examination, in the context of the “War on Terrorism,” of Hannah Arendt's two enduringly relevant and equally contested contributions to the lexicon of political analysis: Totalitarianism and “the banality of evil”. In Dec.,

- Paper** **Reflections on Little Rock**
Han Il Chang, *New York University*
 Overview: After examining the preexisting debate on whether Arendt was an elitist or a populist, I will show its limit and new approach.
- Paper** **The Question of Life in the Political Theory of Giorgio Agamben**
Diego H. Rossello, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: The paper focuses on the question of life in the political theory of Giorgio Agamben. Following Arendt's insights on necessity and politics, I will argue that Agamben's notion of life prevents, rather than enables, the return of the political.
- Disc.** **James Glass**, *University of Maryland*
- 29-301** **POSTER SESSION: POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY: APPROACHES AND THEMES**
- Presenter** **Contemporary Conceptions of Territory in Political Philosophy**
- Room** TBA, Board 5, Thur 10:30 am
Barton T. Edgerton, *London School of Economics*
 Overview: This paper discusses two prevailing interpretations of territory, territory as jurisdiction and territory as property, and identifies the need for a theory of territory in contemporary political philosophy
- Presenter** **Choice over Principles of Distributive Justice under the Veil of Ignorance**
- Room** TBA, Board 6, Thur 10:30 am
Juan Gabriel Gomez Albarello, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: I model the choice over principles of distributive justice under the veil of ignorance as coordination game. I show that the mechanism at work regarding choosing over alternative principles is the assessment of claims to validity.
- Presenter** **Conventional Stability: Spontaneous Order vs. Collective Resolution**
- Room** TBA, Board 7, Thur 10:30 am
Terrence Watson, *Bowling Green State University*
Peter Jaworski, *Bowling Green State University*
 Overview: We argue that the norms that emerge spontaneously from the undirected behavior of individuals provide for more stable and effective coordination than those that are enforced by collective agencies, especially political institutions.
- Presenter** **The Relation Between Legality and Morality in the Social Contracts of Kant and Fichte**
- Room** TBA, Board 8, Thur 10:30 am
Murray W. Skees, *University of Kentucky*
 Overview: Political authority is regarded as the right to set forth laws and enforce them with the use of coercion. These laws are binding commands given by the sovereign. However, the universal principle of freedom states human beings are autonomous.
- Presenter** **When and Why Constitutions Work?**
- Room** TBA, Board 9, Thur 10:30 am
Andrea Pozas-Loyo, *New York University*
 Overview: When and why do constitutions work? I propose a distinction between Multilateral and Unilateral Constitutions and argue that it not only clarifies theoretical questions on constitutional efficacy, but provides sounder grounds for empirical research.
- 30-1** **FORMAL THEORIES OF BUREAUCRACY AND DELEGATION**
- Room** TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Alan E. Wiseman**, *The Ohio State University*
Paper **Oversight and Agency in Legislative-Bureaucratic Interaction**
Sean Gailmard, *Northwestern University*
Jeffrey Milyo, *University of Missouri*
 Overview: We examine oversight as a tool for addressing agency problems in legislative-bureaucratic interaction. We model oversight as a quick-response tool unilaterally controlled

by the legislature, and empirically explore several implications of this view.

- Paper** **Commitment and Inefficiency in Delegation**
Steven Callander, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: I propose a model of delegation that differs conceptually from the standard approach, focusing directly on the nature of expertise. I find that delegation can be successfully deployed, even absent commitment, but is often of a different form.
- Paper** **Bureaucratic Oversight and Suboptimal Resource Allocation**
Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Matthew Stephenson, *Harvard Law School*
 Overview: In our model, oversight distorts agency effort toward the observable. Agencies have no incentive to hide expenditures so unobservability must come from technological constraints.
- Paper** **Dynamic Leadership under Uncertainty: Innovation and Public Welfare**
Marcus Alexander, *Harvard University*
 Overview: Focusing on the FDA, we argue that leaders are most successful when they adopt flexible policy choices, easily amendable to accumulation of new information and possible radical changes in the nature of the policy problem leaders need to solve.
- Disc.** **Alan E. Wiseman**, *The Ohio State University*
- 30-3** **FORMAL THEORIES OF ELECTIONS: CHALLENGERS AND PRIMARIES**
- Room** TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Hans Noel**, *Princeton University*
Paper **Challenger Entry and Voter Learning**
Gregory A. Huber, *Yale University*
Sanford C. Gordon, *New York University*
Dimitri Landa, *New York University*
 Overview: We develop a model of the interaction between challengers and voters, in which the very fact of a costly challenge provides information to voters about the quality of both the challenger and the incumbent.
- 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 1982-2004.
- Paper** **Effects of Primary Elections on Candidate Strategies and Chances of Success**
James F. Adams, *University of California, Davis*
Samuel Merrill, *Wilkes University*
 Overview: We model policy and valence issues for office-seeking candidates facing both a primary and general election. We determine a unique equilibrium for optimal strategies and find that generally the weaker party benefits by holding a primary.
- Paper** **Effects of Primary Elections on Candidate Strategies and Policy Outcomes**
Gilles Serra, *Harvard University*
 Overview: This is a model of primary elections that derives a divergence result which is then extended to elections with uncontested seats, front-loading and a vice-presidency. It also contrasts the effect of policy-motivated versus office-motivated candidates
- Disc.** **Hans Noel**, *Princeton University*
Jon X. Eguia, *California Institute of Technology*
- 31-2** **ADVANCES IN ON-LINE SURVEY METHODOLOGY: LEVERAGING THE INTERNET'S UNIQUE CAPABILITIES**
- Room** TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Lynn Vavreck**, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Paper **Miller and Stokes Revisited: Studying Representation Using an Internet Panel**
Doug Rivers, *Stanford University*

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

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

Disc. **Jeff Lewis**, *University of California, Los Angeles*

32-2 **CORPORATE LOBBYING AND POLITICAL ACTION**

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

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

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

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

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

Disc. **Richard Jankowski**, *SUNY, Fredonia*

33-2 **HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE PRESIDENCY**

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Sean J. Savage**, *Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame*
Paper **American Political Development and Presidential Inaugural Addresses**
Michael E. Bailey, *Berry College*
 Overview: Presidential inaugural addresses aim to unite a sprawling and diverse people by articulating their common political principles. How well do inaugural addresses reveal

changes in American political development as political principles have changed?

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

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

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

33-301 **POSTER SESSION: PRESIDENCY RESEARCH**

Presenter **Political Motivations, Information Gains, and Presidential Polling**

Room TBA, Board 10, Thur 10:30 am
James N. Druckman, *Northwestern University*
Lawrence Jacobs, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: We present a theory of how politicians collect and use public opinion data. We test expectations with unique private data from Nixon and Reagan.

Presenter **Promoting the President's Foreign Policy Agenda: Executive Agreements as Presidential Policy Vehicles**

Room TBA, Board 11, Thur 10:30 am
Kiki Caruson, *University of South Florida*
Victoria A. Farrar-Myers, *University of Texas, Arlington*
 Overview: The paper demonstrates, quantitatively, how presidents during the post-1977 period have used executive agreements as a tool of foreign policy and as a means to promote their foreign policy priorities.

Presenter **Forecasting the Runner-Up: Vice Presidential Selection in the Modern Era**

Room TBA, Board 12, Thur 10:30 am
Brian J. Brox, *Tulane University*
 Overview: This paper looks at the process by which presidential candidates choose running mates with an eye toward developing a predictive model that will forecast future vice-presidential selections.

Presenter **Presidential Policy Priorities and Subcabinet Appointments**

Room TBA, Board 13, Thur 10:30 am
Kevin Parsneau, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: This study uses a database of subcabinet appointments between 1961 and 2000 to examine how presidential priorities affect the expertise and loyalty of his subcabinet appointees to different cabinet departments.

Presenter **A Unified Explanation of Presidential Activities in the Policy Process**

Room TBA, Board 14, Thur 10:30 am
Jonghoon Eun, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: I present a unified explanation of presidential activity in the policy process by examining all significant bills and executive orders. Presidential activity involves using formal powers, going public, and personally contacting political actors.

Presenter **The Dynamics of Recess Appointments**

Room TBA, Board 15, Thur 10:30 am
Anthony Madonna, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Ryan Owens, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: This paper looks at all recess appointments from the 40th to the 108th Congresses. We evaluate important factors that influence a President's decision to make a recess appointment. We then apply these results to recent controversial appointees.

Presenter **Out of Time: Examining the Effects of Executive Term Limits**

Room TBA, Board 16, Thur 10:30 am
Daniel B. Krug, *University of Colorado*
 Overview: The majority of research into term limits has focused on state legislatures. My paper examines the impact of term limits on state governors. I specifically consider the aspects of electoral careerism, tenure, and minority opportunity.

34-1 **CAREERISM & SPECIALIZATION IN LEGISLATURES**

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **DeWayne L. Lucas**, *Hobart and William Smith Colleges*
Paper **Legislative Professionalization and Divided Government in U.S. States**
Insun Kang, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: I investigate the relationship between legislative professionalization and divided government. I find there is a positive effect of legislative professionalization through incumbency and a negative effect due to voters' policy considerations.

Paper **Congress Under Attack: Congressional Office Administration Post-9/11**
Jocelyn J. Evans, *University of West Florida*
Stephen Stanquist, *University of West Florida*
 Overview: The terrorist attacks of 2001 brought critical changes to the Hill, involving staff training, preparedness, responsibility, and emergency protocol. This analysis examines the factors contributing to staff job satisfaction, performance, and tenure.

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

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

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

34-15 **INSTITUTIONAL PROCEDURALISM**

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **David C. W. Parker**, *Indiana University, South Bend*
Paper **Committee Discharge and Minority Party Discontent in the House of Representatives**
Barry C. Burden, *Harvard University*
 Overview: I conduct two empirical analyses of the use of the discharge petition in the House. An aggregate analysis shows discharge filings to be a function of electoral, partisan, and ideological factors.

Paper **Revisiting the Rules Committee: Do Restrictive Rules Control Floor Votes?**
Sang-Jung Han, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: This paper empirically investigates the argument that through special rules, the party leadership can engineer passage of bills that have to pass but some members dislike voting for.

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

attenuated by motions to table, which are sometimes used to kill proposed amendments.

Paper **Divided Government and Oversight: Utilization of the Congressional Watchdog**

Jeremy D. Walling, *Southeast Missouri State University*
 Overview: It is argued in this paper that unified government leads to an increase in member and GAO initiated reports and that divided government leads to an increase in non-routine reports and testimony requested by congressional committees.

Paper **Hostile Amendments on Senate Appropriations Bills, 1995-2000**

Diana Evans, *Trinity College*
 Overview: The paper examines hostile amendments proposed to Senate Appropriations bills during three congresses with a focus on changes in partisanship in amending activity over time, especially among committee members.

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

35-2 **CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS IN THE STATES**

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am

Chair **James S. Battista**, *University of North Texas*

Paper **Campaign Effects in US State Legislative Elections**

Doug Roscoe, *University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth*
 Overview: Examines importance of major electoral actors in conduct of candidates' campaigns, as well as campaigns' style, activities and professionalism using candidate/party chair surveys. Assesses whether any of these factors affect election outcomes.

Paper **Party-Switching Among Incumbent State Legislators**

Edward M. Burmilla, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: Literature on party switching among elected officials is hampered by an over-reliance on Congress. This paper targets state legislatures, where cases are more plentiful, and considers motivations beyond traditional rational choice assumptions.

Paper **Personal Politics: Explaining State-level Financial Disclosure Laws**

Ramona S. McNeal, *University of Illinois, Springfield*
Mary Schmeida, *Cleveland Clinic Foundation*
Kathleen Hale, *Kent State University*

Overview: In this paper, we will investigate what factors influence the passage of state-level legislative financial disclosure laws. Using multivariate statistical methods, we will examine the influence of factors drawn from the agenda setting literature.

Disc. **Jeffrey Lazarus**, *Georgia State University*

36-3 **LITIGANTS AND LAWYERS**

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am

Chair **Richard L. Pacelle**, *Georgia Southern University*

Paper **Litigation and Bureaucratic Response: Forum Choice in Challenging the IRS**

Robert M. Howard, *Georgia State University*
 Overview: I examine litigation choice in challenging assessments by the Internal Revenue Service. This manuscript compares the responses of prospective litigants to precedent, litigation success, and amount of assessment in choosing a forum to sue the IRS.

Paper **Repeat Players**

Maxwell H. Mak, *Stony Brook University*
 Overview: Using an improved measure of litigator experience, I retest McGuire's (1995) hypotheses that litigator experience at the Supreme Court matters. I find that the relationship between experience and success at the nation's highest court does not appear.

Paper **How Justice is Served: The Influences Behind U.S. Attorney Decision-Making**

Colin L. Provost, *Nuffield College, Oxford University*
 Overview: This paper examines the decision of U.S. attorneys to fully prosecute or plea-bargain criminal cases, with an emphasis on the relationship between the U.S. Attorney and the Attorney General.

Paper	<p><u>The Tenth Justice? The Politicization of the Solicitor General's Office</u> Patrick C. Wohlfarth, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: Here I report on the political role of the solicitor general's office over time. I utilize time series data comparing the SG's success rate with median justice ideology to examine the extent with which the SG advocates presidential policy positions.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Condorcet Case for Supermajority Rules</u> John O. McGinnis, <i>Northwestern University</i> Michael B. Rappaport, <i>University of San Diego</i> Overview: While scholars sometimes argue that the Condorcet Jury Theorem favors majority rule in the legislature, we demonstrate that supermajority rules are often best even within the Condorcet paradigm.</p>
Disc.	<p>Scott E. Graves, <i>Georgia State University</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Rewriting the Guarantee Clause: How Courts Translate Public Perception</u> Kevin M. Wagner, <i>Florida Atlantic University</i> Overview: Using the shifting meaning of the Guarantee Clause, this paper illustrates how the judiciary subtly redefines the meaning of the Constitution to meet the demands of a dynamic society allowing shifts to occur gradually in the governing structure.</p>
36-14	<p><u>COMPLIANCE WITH SUPREME COURT DECISIONS</u></p>	Paper	<p><u>The Origins of Substantive Due Process and Judicial Activism in the Indian Supreme Court</u> Manoj Mate, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: This paper explores the anomalous development of substantive due process in the Indian Supreme Court, given the framers of the Indian Constitution chose to omit a due process clause to preclude such a development.</p>
Room	TBA, Thur 10:30 am	Disc.	<p>Cornell W. Clayton, <i>Washington State University</i></p>
Chair	Bradley C. Canon , <i>University of Kentucky</i>	38-2	<p><u>EXECUTIVE POWER IN THE STATES</u></p>
Paper	<p><u>The Supreme Court's Jurisprudence of Religion and Public School Compliance</u> Francis J. Carleton, <i>University of Wisconsin, Green Bay</i> Christina Zuraski, <i>University of Wisconsin, Green Bay</i> Overview: This paper explores the extent to which select public secondary schools in Brown County, Wisconsin are complying with the U.S. Supreme Court's First Amendment jurisprudence dealing with the Establishment Clause and the Free Exercise Clause.</p>	Room	TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Paper	<p><u>Impact of Concurring Opinions</u> Pamela C. Corley, <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Overview: In this paper, I address whether concurring opinions that accompany Supreme Court decisions influence lower court compliance.</p>	Chair	Eric A. Booth , <i>Texas Tech University</i>
Paper	<p><u>The Effects of a Discretionary Docket on Judicial Compliance</u> Jonathan P. Kestellec, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: I test theories of lower court compliance, using the Supreme Court's switch from a mandatory docket to a discretionary one to test whether the Court's ability to pick cases to review at its discretion enhances the probability of compliance.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Formal and Informal Powers as Sources of Gubernatorial Influence in the State Legislature</u> James D. King, <i>University of Wyoming</i> Overview: Students of state government recognize that the governor's influence over public policy, like the president's, is not simply a matter of exercising the formal powers of the office.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Effect of the Lemon Regime on Courts of Appeals Decision Making</u> Jennifer K. Luse, <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Wendy L. Martinek, <i>Binghamton University</i> Overview: This paper provides a test of the effect of the Supreme Court's Lemon jurisprudential regime on the decisions made by the United States Courts of Appeals.</p>	Disc.	<p>Margaret R. Ferguson, <i>Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis</i> Cynthia Bowling, <i>Auburn University</i> Overview: This paper presents an exploratory analysis the governors' use of executive orders in the American states.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Strategic Defiance of the United States Supreme Court</u> Jeffrey Segal, <i>Stony Brook University</i> Charles Cameron, <i>Princeton University</i> Lee Epstein, <i>Washington University, Saint Louis</i> Chad Westerland, <i>University of Arizona</i> Scott Comparato, <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Overview: We examine the extent to which panels of the United States Courts of Appeals defy Supreme Court decisions, based on the ideological distance of the panel from the enacting Court, the current Court, and the panel's circuit.</p>	Paper	<p><u>What Gives Governors Power? Comparing Alternative Explanations</u> Justin H. Phillips, <i>Columbia University</i> Thad Kousser, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: We examine the extent and sources of gubernatorial influence on state-level policymaking.</p>
Disc.	<p>Donald R. Songer, <i>University of South Carolina</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>State Policymaking: Adding the Executive into the Legislative-Judicial Equation</u> Teena Wilhelm, <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: This research examines the impact of interbranch relations on state policymaking. Specifically, it asks whether the executive branch conditions the impact of judicial influence on state legislatures.</p>
37-2	<p><u>CONSTITUTIONAL DESIGN AND CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE</u></p>	Paper	<p><u>Creating Welfare as We Know It: State Executive Power and Policy Formation</u> Joseph J. Foy, <i>University of Wisconsin, Waukesha</i> Overview: This project examines the relationship between measures of gubernatorial power and welfare policy variation across the American states from 1996-1999.</p>
Room	TBA, Thur 10:30 am	Disc.	<p>Stacy B. Gordon, <i>University of Nevada, Reno</i></p>
Chair	Christopher B. Budzisz , <i>Loras College</i>	38-201	<p><u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: INTERGOVERNMENTAL LOBBYING</u></p>
Paper	<p><u>Contrasting Theories of Federalism in Early Constitutions</u> Michael R. Fine, <i>University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire</i> Overview: The paper compares the 25 earliest state constitutions in 14 states and the National Constitution to extract the underlying theories of federalism to see if the National Constitution and State Constitutions embraced different theories of federalism.</p>	Room	TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Paper	<p><u>The Sovereign Security Dilemma and the Rule of Law</u> Hellmut Lotz, <i>University of Maryland</i> Overview: Analyzing Hobbes's Leviathan from the ruler's point of view, this paper uncovers a paradox, which facilitates the rule of law rather than absolutism. To provide for their own security, rulers must accept limitations, which amount to a constitution.</p>	Presenter	<p><u>Intergovernmental Interest Groups: Horizontal Federalism and Federal Preemption in Reverse as an Alternative Form of National Policy-Making</u> Jack McGuire, <i>SUNY, Potsdam</i> Cornell W. Clayton, <i>Washington State University</i> Overview: Intergovernmental interest groups are cooperating in formal and informal ways which is altering the face of American federalism. The central question this paper addresses</p>

is: to what extent are intergovernmental interest groups coordinating their act

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

39-12 **CITY GOVERNING INSTITUTIONS**

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am

Chair **Trenton J. Davis**, *Northern Illinois University*
Paper **From Daley to Daley: Fifty Years in Chicago Politics**
Dick W. Simpson, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

Overview: The paper studies the political, social, economic and governmental transformations over 50 years in Chicago. It focuses particularly upon changes in the political machine as reflected in election results, campaign contributions, and city council voting.

Paper **City Manager Performance Appraisal: Theory and Practice**
Gerald T. Gabris, *Northern Illinois University*
Gregory Kuhn, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: Paper analyzes survey results on how city managers are evaluated by elected officials, and offers insights into best practices.

Paper **Bridging the Gender Wage-Gap: Examining Wages in Professional City Management**

Trenton J. Davis, *Northern Illinois University*
LeAnn Beaty, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: Women are at the threshold of 'breaking the glass ceiling' in professional city management. This research assesses whether women continue to experience disparate treatment, compared to their male counterparts, in terms of wages.

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

39-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: EFFECTS OF KATRINA**

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am

Presenter **The Misguided Opportunities of Disaster: Reactions in New Orleans**

William G. Holt, *University of Connecticut*
Donald F. Celmer, *New Haven Police Department*

Overview: Hurricane Katrina's devastation of New Orleans presents opportunities to deal with existing urban problems. This paper examines the paradoxes between the proposed policies and existing urban realities in the city.

Presenter **The Effects of Hurricane Katrina: The Real Tragedy**

Roy McClendon, Jr., *Georgia Military College*

Overview: In this paper, I will seek to find if the effects of Hurricane Katrina will be present during the 2006 and the 2008 elections of Louisiana. What impact, if any, will this disaster have on the elections throughout the Gulf Coast?

40-10 **KATRINA AND FEMA: THE POLITICS AND POLICY OF DISASTER RELIEF (Co-Sponsored with Public Administration, see 43-13)**

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am

Chair **Karen Mossberger**, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

Paper **The Disastrous Response to Hurricane Katrina: Blame It On the Bureaucracy?**

Sandra K. Schneider, *Michigan State University*

Overview: Why did the governmental response to Hurricane Katrina fail? This paper examines this question by relying upon theories of bureaucratic organization and sociological perspectives on collective behavior. It employs data drawn from media accounts.

Paper **Katrina and Her Waves: Presidential Leadership, Intergovernmental Disaster Management and Hurricane Response and Recovery**

Brian J. Gerber, *West Virginia University*

David B. Cohen, *University of Akron*

Overview: We evaluate the combined impact of presidential leadership and intergovernmental factors in explaining disaster management outcomes. Specifically, we investigate the dynamics of hurricane response and recovery in the U.S., including Katrina.

Paper **Bureaucracy and Its Hindrances**

Viviane E. Foyou, *West Virginia University*

Arnita Sitasari, *West Virginia University*

Overview: After 911, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) moved from an independent federal agency to an agency under the Department of Homeland Security. The paper examines how a change in structure affects FEMA's response to natural disasters.

Paper **Institutional Design and Participation in Administrative Decision-Making**

Scott E. Robinson, *University of Texas, Dallas*

Overview: Using the results of a unique survey on school violence prevention decision-making in school districts, this paper assesses the effects of two institutional characteristics (bureaucratization and district affluence) administrative process.

Disc. **Renee J. Johnson**, *University of Florida*

Karen Mossberger, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

40-16 **THE BIG PICTURE: HEALTH CARE POLICY IN THE AMERICAN STATES (Co-Sponsored with Social Policy, see 41-4)**

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am

Chair **Colleen M. Grogan**, *University of Chicago*

Paper **The Missing Link in Fiscal Federalism Theory: Waivers and Health Policy**

William G. Weissert, *Florida State University*

Carol S. Weissert, *Florida State University*

Overview: The role of program waivers in fiscal federalism is examined, focusing specifically on home and community based waivers in Medicaid. Such waivers typically intend to improve efficiency and effectiveness. Waiver experiences in four states are examined.

Paper **Explicit Language: Fragmentation and Policy Specificity in the US States**

Rachel M. VanSickle-Ward, *University of California, Berkeley*

Overview: This paper tests the effects of political fragmentation on policy specificity (measured using an original coding scheme) by employing a cross sectional design to compare US state statutes on Mental Health Parity.

Paper **The National Health Service and the U.S. Veterans Health Administration**

Kay Knickrehm, *James Madison University*

Jessica R. Adolino, *James Madison University*

Charles H. Blake, *James Madison University*

Overview: Can the national health service (NHS) model work in the United States? We examine various indicators to determine if the Veterans Health Administration has performed similarly to the experience with the NHS model abroad.

Paper **Is It Politics or Economics That Influences State Health Policies?**

Pamela J. Walsh, *Eastern Michigan University*

Overview: This study explores the impact of socioeconomic and political characteristics of the fifty states on the passage of eight health policy areas from 1993 through 2002 to identify which of these characteristics influence the passage of health policies.

Paper **The Historical Development of Health Insurance in the US and Canada**

Gerard W. Boychuk, *University of Waterloo*

Overview: Contemporary differences in the health care systems of the United States and Canada are argued to have been shaped by the politics of race in the former and the politics of territorial integration in the latter.

Disc. **Frederick J. Boehmke**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Colleen M. Grogan, *University of Chicago*

41-101 **ROUNDTABLE: POVERTY AND INEQUALITY**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Dan M. Zuberi**, *University of British Columbia*
Panelist **Much to Do About Suffering**
Ronda L. Roberts, *Northern Illinois University*
 Overview: This paper explores the obligations of societies to citizens with regards to suffering. It looks first at a definition of suffering as it concerns societal decision makers, and then argues there is a duty based upon Kantian ethics.

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

Panelist **TBA**
Martin Gruber, *University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh*
 Overview: TBA

42-9 **WELFARE AND HEALTH IN NEW, OLD, AND OPEN DEMOCRACIES (Co-Sponsored with International Political Economy, see 12-20)**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Irfan Nooruddin**, *The Ohio State University*
Paper **Partisanship and the Welfare State in Developing Countries**
Jungkeun Yoon, *Claremont Graduate University*
 Overview: Based on new measurement of partisanship in terms of popularly-based versus non-popularly-based parties, this paper tests a thesis "partisanship matters" in the globalization era in the context of developing countries.

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

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

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

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

Paper **Career Choices of Elected County Executives: What Explains Political Ambition?**
Jennifer M. Jensen, *SUNY, Binghamton*
 Overview: This paper uses data from a nationwide survey of elected county executives to analyze what institutional and

individual factors lead these officials to seek higher office, to remain in their current positions, or to exit public life.

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

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

Disc. **David E. Lewis**, *Princeton University*

44-2 **EXPLORING ETHNICITY AND INEQUALITY**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Chair **Dan Slater**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Paper **Persistence of the Institutions of Ethnicity in Russia, Turkey, and Austria**
Sener Akturk, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: The elites in post-imperial Russia, Turkey, and Austria chose radically different approaches in institutionalizing ethnicity in the 1920s. This paper investigates the reasons for the persistence of these institutions of ethnicity until today

Paper **American Political Inequality in Historical and Comparative Perspective**
Joseph E. Luters, *Yeshiva University*
 Overview: In the paper, I present a set of analytical tools for the historical and comparative analysis of American political inequality. This research is meant to broaden the academic conversation about these larger aspects of inequality research.

Paper **Processes of Democratization and Their Legacies for Economic Development: America's Deep South Since 1970**
Robert Mickey, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: This paper traces the legacies for economic development generated by different processes of democratization in the authoritarian enclaves of Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

Disc. **Dan Slater**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

44-101 **AUTHOR MEETS CRITIC: CONSIDERING THE BUSH PRESIDENCY IN POLITICAL TIME**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Panelist **Amy Bridges**, *University of California, San Diego*
Michael P. Brown, *University of California, Santa Cruz*
Eileen McDonagh, *Northeastern University*
Alvin Tillery, *University of Notre Dame*
Keith Whittington, *Princeton University*
Stephen Skowronek, *Yale University*
 Overview: TBA

46-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: TOCQUEVILLE AND SOCIAL CAPITAL**
Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am
Presenter **Tocqueville's 19th Century Theory in Solving Putnam's 21st Century Problem**
David M. Dolence, *Cuyahoga Community College*
 Overview: Tocquevillian theory of associations will be examined in the context of his entire democratic theory and it will be shown how this is valuable in understanding Putnam's (2000) associational findings and improving his arguments on American democracy.

Presenter **Economic Inequality, Its Spatial Concentration and Its
Affect on Civic Life**

Amy Widestrom, *Syracuse University*

Overview: Political participation has declined as economic inequality and segregation has increased, a relationship that remains understudied. This paper explores how economic segregation affects the civic life of neighborhoods and civic engagement.

Paper **A Fundamental Right to Marry: Why Bigamy Cases May
Undo Same-Sex Marriage**

Mary B. McThomas, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: The courts have progressively recognized the individual's fundamental right to marry over the state's interest in limiting that right. The exception is bigamy cases. How will this precedence impact the same-sex marriage debate?

Disc. **Julie White**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

47-11 **ISLAMIC POLITICAL THOUGHT**

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am

Chair **Sergei I. Zhuk**, *Ball State University*

Paper **Fundamentalism Revised: Mawdudi, Khomeini, and the
Fundamentalist Paradigm**

Simon Wood, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*

Overview: This paper critiques the prevailing model of religious fundamentalism, which was first advanced in the Fundamentalism Project (1991-95). I draw on the writings of Mawlana Mawdudi and Ayatollah Khomeini to argue that the model lacks utility.

Paper **A Critical Analysis of Khomeini's Theory of Political
Legitimacy**

Gamal A. M. Gasim, *Texas Tech University*

Overview: This study will attempt to answer the following question: How does Khomeini manage to revolutionize the political thought of Shi'ah on the issue of legitimacy without changing the basic pillars of the Shi'ah doctrine?

Paper **Protesting the Heresies of Modernity**

Hassan Bashir, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: The development of Islamic fundamentalism in South Asia is a result of the advent of modernity. The genesis of Islamic fundamentalist political thought has parallels with the theories of Habermas and Rawls.

Paper **Equal, Subservient, or Something in Between?**

Megan Kerr, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: Due to some important moral and political implications for the development of liberal democracy in Muslim states, one must seek to acquire an accurate understanding of the role of women under Islamic teachings.

Disc. **Ted G. Jelen**, *DePauw University*

Shodja E. Ziaian, *York University*

49-301 **POSTER SESSION: WOMEN IN POLITICAL
SCIENCE: TRENDS IN EMPLOYMENT AND
FAMILY STATUS**

Room TBA, Board 17, Thur 10:30 am

Presenter **Sarah Hughes**, *NORC at the University of Chicago*

Overview: Using data from the most recent Survey of Doctoral Recipients this paper assesses the relationship between gender, employment, and family status for female political scientists.

51-1 **THE RIGHT TO MARRY IN THEORY AND
PRACTICE**

Room TBA, Thur 10:30 am

Chair **Susan Burgess**, *Ohio University*

Paper **Same-Sex Marriage in the United States and Canada**

Amanda J. Burgess, *Wayne State University*

Overview: This paper presents an in-depth examination of the same-sex marriage debate simultaneously occurring in the United States and Canada. The political, constitutional and societal elements of this debate will be considered.

Paper **Gay Marriage As a Religious Right**

Debra DeLaet, *Drake University*

Rachel Paine Caufield, *Drake University*

Overview: This paper explores the implications of framing gay marriage as a "religious right," the validity of conceptions of marriage as a sacred heterosexual union, and pertinent U.S. legal cases that define religious liberty and marriage rights.

Thursday, April 20 – 1:45 pm – 3:30 pm

2-2 HUMAN CAPITAL AND THE DETERMINANTS OF EDUCATION POLICY

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Chair **Gunther Hega**, *Western Michigan University*

Paper **Measuring Human Capital: A Comparative Analysis of PISA Background Factors**

Elisabeth B. Muhlenberg, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

Overview: This paper assesses macro-level structural factors and agent characteristics behind the OECD's student achievement scores (PISA) of more than 40 countries. Germany is used to show how measuring human capital connects education and the economy.

Paper **Who's Leaving Teachers Behind? The New Politics of Education Governance**

Jane R. Gingrich, *University of California, Berkeley*

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

Paper **Determinants of Public, Private and Sectoral Education Spending in OECD Countries**

Marius R. Busemeyer, *University of Heidelberg*

Overview: This talk presents results from an analysis of the statistical determinants of public, private and sectoral education spending in 21 OECD countries.

Paper **From the Ballot to the Blackboard: Partisan and Institutional Effects on Education Policy**

Ben W. Ansell, *Harvard University*

Overview: This paper examines the effects of partisanship, conditional on electoral institutions, in determining the level of education spending in the OECD from 1960 to 2000.

Paper **Who Cares About Human Capital? The Politics Behind Recent Education Reforms**

Katherine Glassmyer, *Yale University*

Overview: Using an original dataset and two case studies, I examine the politics that led to recent education policy reforms in the rich democracies. Particular attention is paid to what role, if any, business interests have played.

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

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

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Chair **Marco R. Steenbergen**, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Paper **The Failed EU Constitution Referendum: The French Case in Perspective**

Francesca Vassallo, *University of Southern Maine*

Overview: The failed EU Constitution referendum in France has highlighted a new spreading attitude towards the European integration project. Both domestic and international factors are responsible for this increasing French dislike of the EU.

Paper **Clientelism as Political Strategy: a Formal Theory**

Leonardo A. Gatica-Arreola, *University of Guadalajara*

Overview: This paper proposes a formal model to explain the use of clientelism and its relationship with political competition, social cleavages, poverty and inequality.

Paper **A Kingdom Divided Against Itself: The Ratification of the EU Constitution**

Timothy S. Boylan, *Winthrop University*

Overview: This study examines and evaluates the ratification of the EU Constitution. It compares and contrasts the 2004-2005 ratification process in Europe with that of its American counterpart in 1787-1788.

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Paper **The Spanish Referendum on the EU Constitution: Issues, Party-cues and Second Order Effects**

Joan Font, *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS)*

Overview: The results of the Spanish referendum on the EU Constitutional Treaty (especially the option to vote YES/NO) will be discussed using the CIS postreferendum survey.

Paper **Why the French Voted No**

Bruno Cautres, *CIDSP*

Overview: The results of the French referendum on the EU Constitutional Treaty (especially the option to vote YES/NO) will be discussed using a postreferendum survey.

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

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

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Chair **Kimberly E. Moloney**, *American University*

Paper **The Impact of Economic Reforms on Corporate Governance**

Nancy E. Brune, *Princeton University*

Overview: This paper explores the impact of the IMF, and mediating effects of democracy and openness on social spending in emerging economies.

Paper **Democratization and Public Sector Change: Evidence From Latin American Countries**

Guillermo M. Cejudo, *Boston University*

Overview: What are the effects of democratization on the performance of the public sector? This paper explains the effects of democratization on bureaucratic effectiveness, public sector size, corruption and professionalization.

Paper **Does Democracy Keep its Promise? Democracy and Post-Transfer Inequality**

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

Woojin Kang, *Florida State University*

Dae Jin Yi, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Overview: This paper tries to contribute to the controversy on the relation between democracy and inequality.

Paper **Inequality and the Welfare State in Developing Countries**

Wonik Kim, *Louisiana State University*

Overview: The purpose of this paper is to explore and test the relationship between the distribution of income within a society and the welfare state expansion in developing countries.

Disc. **Michelle L. Dion**, *Georgia Institute of Technology*

3-101 ROUNDTABLE: INTERNATIONAL AID AND REGIME STABILITY

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Panelist **Does Democracy Attract More Foreign Aid?**

Yu-Sung Su, *CUNY, The Graduate Center*

Overview: Does regime type matters in determining the amount of foreign aid a country would receive? This paper quests the answer by employing 2SLS, matching methods, Heckman selection method, and difference-in-difference estimation.

Panelist **Aid and Growth in Autocracies: How Time Horizons Impact the Use of Aid**

Joseph Wright, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: I model how autocratic leaders' time horizons affect their decisions over the use of foreign aid in different types of autocracies. I test this model using aid and growth data on 112 autocracies between 1970 and 2000.

4-2 SYSTEMIC THEME AND VARIATION IN TRANSITIONAL DEMOCRACIES

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Chair **Simone R. Bohn**, *University of Chicago*

Paper **Sustaining Democratic Regimes: Structure, Institutions, and Culture**

Pippa Norris, *Harvard University*

Overview: What distinguishes the nations which forged ahead with major regime transitions, becoming stable democracies

during the third wave, from others which remain autocratic?
This paper develops a new theory and examines the evidence that electoral system

Paper **Referendum and Popular Support for Democracy**
Eric Chang, *Michigan State University*
Overview: This paper contributes to this literature and proposes an important yet previously unexplored source of popular support for democracy: the availability of referendum. This paper argues that referendum gives citizens a valuable opportunity to direct

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

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

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

Disc. TBA

4-8 **ASSESSING THE DEPTH OF TAIWAN'S DEMOCRACY**
TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

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

Paper **The Difference a Legislature Makes: Air Pollution Fees in Taiwan and China**
Eric Zusman, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Overview: This article examines how Taiwan's Legislative Yuan has tightened administrative rules governing air pollution fees. The lack of representative legislature in China has left similar rules ambiguous, rendering the fee system ineffective.

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

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

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

Disc. TBA

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

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair **William J. Crotty**, *Northeastern University*
Paper **I Want My MTV: Media, Freedom of Information and Democracy**
Thomas D. Zweifel, *Columbia University*
Overview: A simple yet surprising relationship between the availability of television, and the emergence and consolidation of democracy.

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

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

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

5-2 **ELECTORAL POLITICS IN EUROPE**
TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Room **Christos Bourdoulakis**, *Augusta State University*
Chair **Institutions and Their Effect on Coalition Bargaining: the German Election in 2005**
Sven Oliver Proksch, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Jonathan B. Slapin, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Overview: We examine the effects of bicameralism on coalition formation in Germany after the 2005 election. While conditions for a minority government were present, the presence of an opposition controlled upper house would have decreased its effectiveness.

Paper **The Return of Germany's Grand Coalition: Problems and Prospects After the 2005 German Federal Elections**
Michaela W. Richter, *CUNY/College of Staten Island*
Overview: Germany has had a long tradition of coalition government at both the federal and state level. Since the appearance of the Greens in the 1980s and German unification, these coalitions have become somewhat more unpredictable.

Paper **Shifting Allegiances, Volatile Electorates and Scarcity in Europe**
Robert E. Bohrer II, *Gettysburg College*
Alexander C. Tan, *University of Canterbury*
Overview: European electorates are more volatile over the past several decades. This study examines the effect of political and economic factors (such as Maastricht Treaty's 'squeeze' effect) on party system volatility and shifts across party families.

Paper **The Old Left in New Labour**
David P. Dolowitz, *University of Liverpool*
Overview: New Labour has often been accused of doing little more tinkering with the Thatcherite welfare reforms of the 1990s. This is, incorrect. Rather, their origin finds a rich history in Social Democratic writings.

Paper **Party Identification and System Legitimacy in Established and New Democracies**
Aida Paskeviciute, *Bilkent University*
Overview: Drawing on a number public opinion surveys and the Manifestos Research Group (MRG) project data, this study examines the role of partisanship for system legitimacy in established and newer democracies across Europe.

Disc. **Orit Kedar**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

6-301 POSTER SESSION: CANADIAN POLITICS

Presenter State Capacity in Local Government: British Columbian Tuberculosis Control

Room TBA, Board 1, Thur 1:45 pm

Alan G. Czaplicki, *Northwestern University*

Overview: This paper explores the development of a centralized British Columbian tuberculosis control system through the integration of local government and non-government health initiatives, resulting in an uneven hybridization of local and provincial powers.

Presenter Writs of Election and Voting Rights: Towards Incremental Electoral Reform?

Room TBA, Board 2, Thur 1:45 pm

Brian M. Doody, *University of Montreal*

Overview: TBA

Presenter Canadian Political Realignment: Regionalism and Federal PID

Room TBA, Board 3, Thur 1:45 pm

Shauna F. L. Reilly, *Georgia State University*

Overview: This paper explores the shift in partisan identification due to failed Constitutional transformation, which plagued Canadian politics from the late 1970s to the early 1990s and the impact of this melodrama on partisan identification of Canadians.

Presenter The Song Remains the Same: Sexual Assault Myths and Stereotypes in English Canadian Newspapers

Room TBA, Board 4, Thur 1:45 pm

Shannon M. Sampert, *University of Winnipeg*

Overview: This paper examines the use of sexual assault myths in English Canadian newspapers in 2002. Using content and critical discourse analysis, the coverage of sexual assault in six daily newspapers was examined over a one year period.

Presenter Mending Fences: Towards a More Representative System of Canadian Government

Room TBA, Board 45, Thur 1:45 pm

Loretta L. M. Smith, *University of Guelph*

Overview: In Canada, there have been numerous calls to reform its electoral system. How might such reforms increase both the numeric and substantive representation of Canada's indigenous population?

Presenter Canadian Electoral Reform: A Move Toward More Proportional Representation

Room TBA, Board 6, Thur 1:45 pm

Chris S. Andrews, *University of Connecticut*

Overview: This paper compares the processes used to reach electoral reform recommendations in several Canadian provinces and analyzes those recommendations both comparatively across provinces, and in the context of the electoral reform literature.

Presenter Quebec Anglophones, Human Rights, and Linguistic Peace

Room TBA, Board 7, Thur 1:45 pm

William C. Green, *Morehead State University*

Overview: A comparative analysis of Quebec Anglophone domestic constitutional and international legal challenges to their province's efforts to secede from Canadian and to its French language business advertising and public education policies.

Presenter Is Influence Illusionary? The Effects of Ownership on Political Coverage

Room TBA, Board 8, Thur 1:45 pm

Cristina J. Howorun, *Queen's University*

Overview: Examining the differences in political coverage as newspapers change owners; from Hollinger to CanWest.

7-1 ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND CAMPAIGNS IN LATIN AMERICA

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Chair **Jana Morgan Kelly**, *University of Tennessee*

Paper Campaign Spending in Multimember Districts: When Incumbents Face Incumbents

Felipe Botero, *Universidad de los Andes*

Santiago Olivella, *Universidad de los Andes*

Overview: As incumbency may lose its explanatory power in districts where incumbents are pitted against other incumbents, we explore the effects of campaign expenditures on political competition in highly competitive settings.

Paper Traditional or Professional?: Competition and Campaign Spending in Mexican Legislative Races, 1994-2003

Christopher Diaz, *Morehead State University*

Overview: This study examines the relationship between competition and campaign style in Mexican legislative races between 1994 and 2003, as measured by changes in expenditures by deputy candidates on campaign media, operations, and propaganda.

Paper False Opportunity? District Magnitude and Ethnic Parties in Ecuador and Spain

Karleen A. Jones, *University of Iowa*

Overview: This paper examines how within-country variation in district magnitude affects the ability for parties that target geographically-concentrated minorities to earn seats in the Spanish Congress of Deputies and the Ecuadorian National Congress.

Paper The Political Consequences of Malapportionment

Eduardo L. Leoni, *Columbia University*

Overview: Malapportionment occurs whenever there is a discrepancy between the share of proportion of seats and the proportion of the population present in a country's districts.

Paper Preference Vote and Party Cohesion: Incentives to Cultivate a Party-Vote

Juan Carlos Rodriguez-Raga, *University of Pittsburgh*

Overview: By analyzing results in over 1,000 Colombian local legislative elections, the paper examines the factors explaining the decisions made by parties and voters aimed at promoting a party-centered vote in a highly personalized context.

Disc. **Brian F. Crisp**, *Washington University, Saint Louis*
Mark P. Jones, *Rice University*

8-2 CATALYSTS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Chair **Koop Berry**, *Walsh University*

Paper Technology Transfers Through FDI in Chinese Automobile and Telecom Sectors

Zhou Fang, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Overview: The paper examines the extent to which the Chinese auto and telecom equipment sectors developed learning and innovative capabilities through technology transfers in foreign-invested joint ventures, and what factors affected technology transfers.

Paper The Political Dynamics of Special Economic Zones in China

Tony Frye, *Miami University, Oxford*

Overview: This paper addresses the growth, types, as well as the political dynamics of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) in China.

Paper Ford Motor Company and the Political Economy of China's Automotive Sector

Francis Schortgen, *Miami University of Ohio*

Overview: The paper addresses the politics of automotive sector investment and expansion in China, with specific focus on Ford Motor Co.

Paper Role of Local Authorities in Attracting Investment: China and Russia

Irina G. Aervitz, *Miami University*

Overview: The paper focuses on the implementation of investment policies in China and Russia at the local level.

Disc. **Walter Arnold**, *University of Ohio*

10-3 **BACK TO EUROPE? THE EU AND "EUROSKEPTICISM" IN POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES**
Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair James Seroka, *Auburn University*
Paper **European Union Enlargement: East Meets West**
George Soroka, *Harvard University*
Overview: This paper explores the changes which have occurred in the EU since 2004. Specifically considered are questions of political identity relative to the new eastern borders of the EU and what this implies for relations between European and FSU states.

Paper **What are the Determinants for Support for European Integration Within the New EU Countries?**
Michael L. Arduvino, *St. Mary's College of Maryland*
Overview: Using nine variables, I examine both structural and ethnic-national factors affecting voter support for joining the European Union in ten postcommunist societies.

Paper **European Identity Alongside Nationality in the Postcommunist World**
Cigdem Sirin, *Texas A&M University*
Overview: This paper empirically suggests that self-interests and personal benefit expectations of postcommunist countries' citizens positively affect their identification with Europe next to their national identities and loyalties.

Disc. Cristina Bodea, *Princeton University*

10-18 **CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN THE POST-COMMUNIST ERA**
Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Mary E. Borissova, *Syracuse University*
Paper **Civil-Military Relations in Postcommunist Europe: The Case of Bulgaria**
Mary E. Borissova, *Syracuse University*
Overview: Domestic political environment is important in understanding the specific context of democratic civil military relations, yet transnational influences have become increasingly significant and still not sufficiently emphasized and explained.

Paper **Macedonia's Military: Maneuvering in the Balkan Geostrategic Maze**
Mary Frances Lebamoff, *Loyola University, Chicago*
Overview: Macedonia's developing military faces ongoing regional instability/national security in volatile South Eastern Europe, while maneuvering in a geostrategic maze affected by NATO and U.S. influences and policy goals.

Paper **In the Shadow of the Bear: Polish-Russian Relations 1999-2005**
Jacek Lubecki, *University of Arkansas, Little Rock*
Overview: My paper examines Polish-Russian relations from the time of Poland joining NATO in 1999 to the crisis of summer 2005, when tensions between the countries escalated to the point of beatings of Polish diplomatic personnel in Moscow by "hooligans."

Disc. Matthew Hoddie, *Texas A&M University*

11-3 **ECONOMICS, CAPACITY AND CONFLICT**
Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Eunyoung Ha, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Paper **Asymmetrical Crises: Who Complies?**
Monika A. Klimek, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
Jerome F. Venteicher, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
Overview: This study investigates state perception of trade relations for understanding compliance and defection during foreign policy crises.

Paper **Globalization and Violent Ethnic Conflicts: Interactions and Effects**
Jason C. Larson, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
Overview: This paper addresses the interactions between economic forces of globalization and violent ethnic conflict. The research utilizes a multivariate analysis to determine effects.

Paper **Price Volatility, State Capacity, and Civil War**
Richard W. Frank, *SUNY, Binghamton*
Overview: This paper argues that price instability in countries heavily dependent on primary commodities decreases state capacity and increases the likelihood of civil war.

Paper **Symbolic Uses of Economic Sanctions: Domestic Politics and Signaling**
Taehee Whang, *University of Rochester*
Overview: Two symbolic uses of economic sanctions are often thought as sources of deciding sanctions: one for domestic political gains and the other for international signaling. This paper is an empirical assessment of these symbolic effects of sanctions.

Paper **International Cooperation and the Success of Economic Sanctions**
Elena McLean, *University of Rochester*
Taehee Whang, *University of Rochester*
Overview: We assess the effects of cooperation level of third states on the outcomes of economic sanctions. We first develop a formal model that explicitly incorporates the support level of a third state and test the empirical implications of the model.

Disc. Irfan Nooruddin, *The Ohio State University*

11-17 **TERRORISM**
Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Emilio A. Rodriguez, *Mount St. Mary's University*
Paper **Global Terrorism and the Decommisioning of the IRA**
Nancy B. Burgoyne, *Seattle University*
Overview: This paper is an analysis of changes in the Blair government's stance towards the IRA which impacted Jerry Adam's support for decommissioning. British and American broadcast and print media are analyzed. Attention is paid to framing and context.

Paper **Terrorism in the Horn of Africa: Where Bin Laden Began**
Tsegai Isaac, *University of Missouri, Rolla*
Overview: The Horn of Africa does not generate global attention except in times of conflicts, famine and pestilence. Yet the region suffers from deadly terrorist acts in greater frequency than any of Sub-Saharan states.

Paper **Non-State Actors and the Use of Pre-emptive Force**
Sara Hower, *Saint Cloud State University*
Overview: Is it possible to prevent terrorist groups from inflicting deadly attacks on U.S. targets by the use of pre-emptive force?

Paper **The United States Security Paradox: The War on Terror and Democratization of the Palestinian Authority**
Wael J. Haboub, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
Overview: Democratic peace theory contends that the spread of the democracy is correlated with the emergence of international peace. After September 11, democratic peace theory became a guiding principle of President George W. Bush's security policy.

Disc. Meg W. Keiley-Listermann, *Georgia Perimeter College*

12-3 **GLOBALIZATION, CAPITAL MOBILITY, AND INEQUALITY**
Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Timothy T. Hellwig, *University of Houston*
Paper **Open Questions: Do We Really Know that Globalization Is Good for the Poor?**
Lloyd G. Gruber, *University of Chicago*
Overview: In theory, globalization could lift the earnings of a society's poorest households at the same time it was depressing the redistributive benefits flowing to them. Would we regard globalization as a net gain for the poor in that case or a net loss?

Paper **Foreign Direct Investment and Income Inequality in Mexico, 1990-2000**
Nathan M. Jensen, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Guillermo Rosas, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Overview: In this paper we explore the impact of inflows of foreign direct investment on income inequality from 1990-2000.

Paper	<p><u>Economic Inequality in the Era of Globalization</u> Su-Hyun Lee, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: This paper examines what effects globalization exercises on economic inequality and welfare spending and how these effects are intermediated by domestic political institutions. It focuses on the cases of advanced industrial countries since the 1980s.</p>				simulation employed, the nature of its alternative national security futures, and the need for greater public education about this work.
Paper	<p><u>Foreign Direct Investment and Income Inequality in Developing Countries: An Exploration of the Causal Relationship Using Industry Level FDI Data</u> John M. Stringer, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: This paper examines the effect of foreign direct investment on income inequality in developing countries. Industry level data is used in an attempt to further the understanding of the causal mechanisms behind the relationship of FDI and income inequality</p>			Paper	<p><u>Permanent Allies? The Canada-US Defence Relationship in the 21st Century</u> Andrew C. Richter, <i>University of Windsor</i> Overview: Canada and the US have been partners in the defense of North America for over six decades. However, new tensions have recently begun to emerge. This paper will examine some of the current controversies as well as the increasing political divergence.</p>
Disc.	<p>Layna Mosley, <i>University of North Carolina</i></p>			Paper	<p><u>Civil-Military Relations and Strategy</u> Dessie P. Zagorcheva, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: This article analyzes how relations among civilian and military leaders at the top of the government affect the ability of a state to make and implement decisions on the use of force.</p>
13-2	<p><u>INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS, DOMESTIC POLITICS</u></p>			Disc.	<p>Alex Braithwaite, <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> John H. Parham, <i>Davenport University</i></p>
Room	TBA, Thur 1:45 pm			15-2	<p><u>MEDIATION AND CONFLICT</u></p>
Chair	Daniel Y. Kono , <i>University of California, Davis</i>			Room	TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Paper	<p><u>Linking Domestic Decision-Making and External Bargaining in Trade Policy</u> Laura R. Dawson, <i>Carleton University</i> Overview: This paper pairs Kingdon's multiple streams with synthetic utility bargaining to examine the evolution of the highly contested Canada-US Free Trade Agreement, bringing domestic and external decision-making together in an integrated framework.</p>			Chair	Mark Crescenzi , <i>University of North Carolina</i>
Paper	<p><u>Nonparametric Effect of Domestic Economic Conditions on Crisis and War</u> Yingying Na, <i>New York University</i> Overview: Smith (1998) proposes a quadratic relationship between domestic politics and hawkish foreign policy. Diversionary war hypothesis suggests the relationship is linear. I employ GAMs to assess the effects of domestic politics on hawkish foreign policy.</p>			Paper	<p><u>Regional Organizations and Conflict Management</u> Holley E. Hansen, <i>University of Iowa</i> Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: We argue that as a regional organization becomes more democratic it will be a more proactive and effective conflict manager. We also compare how effective regional IGOs, conflict parties, and other international actors are at resolving issue claims.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Trade Specialization and Educational Attainment in Developing Countries</u> Tim C. Wegenast, <i>University Pompeu Fabra</i> Overview: This paper relates countries' export structures with their educational attainment figures, arguing that an export specialization on certain types of agricultural goods partly explains the differences in schooling found within the developing world.</p>			Paper	<p><u>Seizing Silences in Struggles: When Does Mediation Matter in Civil Wars?</u> Rodelio C. Manacsa, <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Scott E. Walker, <i>University of Canterbury</i> Overview: This paper tests the effects of potential determinants of successful civil war mediation. It adopts a "two timeframe" approach to mediation success in civil wars; probing the impact of key variables to peace defined in "short" and "extended" terms.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Why Economic Exchanges Could Not Produce Peace Across Taiwan Strait?</u> Eugene Kuan, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: This paper explains the volatility accompanying the pacifying power of economic interdependence in Taiwan-China relations. Viewing from Taiwan's domestic politics, I argue an explanatory factor is how consolidated the Taiwanese leader's power was.</p>			Paper	<p><u>State Mediation v. IO Mediation: When Do States Dump Mediation?</u> Young D. Cho, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: This paper examines the question "Why do states mediate some interstate conflicts and international organizations others?" By investigating this question, the paper attempts to clarify the context in which each of the two actors offer to mediate.</p>
Disc.	<p>Daniel Y. Kono, <i>University of California, Davis</i></p>			Paper	<p><u>Not Whether, But When: Examining the Determinants of UN Effectiveness in the Management of International Crises, 1945-2002</u> Holger Schmidt, <i>College of William and Mary</i> Kyle Beardsley, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: This paper examines the relative efficacy of different crisis management techniques. Drawing on bargaining theory, we argue that non-coercive techniques are more effective than coercive techniques and test this claim by examining all UN interventions in int. crises between 1945 and 2002.</p>
14-3	<p><u>US SECURITY</u></p>			Disc.	<p>Mark Crescenzi, <i>University of North Carolina</i></p>
Room	TBA, Thur 1:45 pm			15-6	<p><u>INTERVENTION AND OUTCOMES</u></p>
Chair	Donald Schaefer , <i>University of Louisiana, Lafayette</i>			Room	TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Paper	<p><u>Collective Paranoia and Trust Dilemma: A Psychological Approach to the Beijing-Washington-Taipei Triangular Relationship</u> Xiaoyu Pu, <i>Kent State University</i> Overview: This paper provides a psychological explanation of the Taiwan Strait crisis within the framework of trust and distrust in international relations. The author also discusses the implications of the case in political psychology and Asian security.</p>			Chair	Michael P. Colaresi , <i>Michigan State University</i>
Paper	<p><u>Long Term International Security: The International Futures Simulation and Emerging Global Order</u> Richard W. Chadwick, <i>University of Hawaii</i> Overview: This paper discusses the National Intelligence Council's "2020 Report," the publicly available computer</p>			Paper	<p><u>The Effectiveness of Directive Mediation Strategies and Interdependence</u> Su-Mi Lee, <i>SUNY, Binghamton</i> Overview: Confirming that directive mediation strategies are the most effective in international militarized disputes, this paper attempts to argue that they are particularly successful when disputants are less interdependent - economic and political.</p>

Paper **Interested Parties: The Economic Determinants of Civil War Intervention**
Christine Carpino, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Patrick Egan, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Reed Wood, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
 Overview: Using a hazard analysis, we compare the onset and intensity of third party intervention to the degree of international economic investment in the conflict country.

Paper **Promises, Promises, Promises... Informal Commitments and Military Interventions in Ongoing Disputes**
Renato Corbetta, *University of Alabama, Birmingham*
 Overview: This paper expands existing arguments on the reliability of international commitments by looking at the influence of informal (verbal) commitments on the likelihood of future third party military interventions in ongoing inter-state conflicts.

Paper **When is Enough Enough: Domestic Politics and the Duration of Democratic Interventions**
Michael T. Koch, *Texas A&M University*
Patricia L. Sullivan, *University of Georgia*
 Overview: Tends examine only the onset of conflict and is centered squarely on the United States. What is missing is an understanding of how domestic political conditions continue to influence conflict once underway.

Disc. **Michael P. Colaresi**, *Michigan State University*

16-2 **CONGRESS AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY**

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair **Matthew M. Caverly**, *University of Florida*
Paper **Committees, Leaders and Congressional Effects on Presidential Uses of Force**

Peter M. Holm, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Timothy Werner, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: We build on recent work by Howell and Pevehouse (2005) to explore the effects of interbranch and institutional factors beyond partisanship in the way that Congress affects the presidential use of force.

Paper **Executive-Congressional Information Sharing in Foreign Policy**
Hilde E. Restad, *University of Virginia*
 Overview: Exemplified by Angola and Iraq, the author argues that the structural bias in favor of the Executive in terms of public information and confidential intelligence control is what excludes Congress from a constitutional partnership in foreign policy.

Paper **Partisan Politics of China NTR Extensions: Party Influence in Foreign Policy**
Jungkun Seo, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: This paper revisits the congressional politics of NTR extensions to China from 1990 to 2000 to see how congressional members facing different party status change their vote choices on a key foreign policy issue over time.

Paper **Congress and Its China Policy: An Aggregate Analysis 1973-2004**

Tao Xie, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: This paper offers an aggregate analysis of Congress' role in foreign policy, in particular U.S. policy toward China. That Congress has always been an active and influential actor in China policy makes such a study necessary and meaningful.

Disc. **James M. McCormick**, *Iowa State University*

17-3 **DESIGNING SECURITY INSTITUTIONS**

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair **Brett Ashley Leeds**, *Rice University*
Paper **European Security Institutions and Rational Institutional Design**

Leanne C. Powner, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: Application of Koremenos et al's (2001) conjectures about rational institutional design to the various institutions of European security

Paper **Big Sticks and Contested Carrots: A Power-Centric Approach to the Study of International Security Institutions**
Vaidyanatha Gundlupet, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: This paper investigates into why states build institutions in the security sphere and argues that institution-building in the international security sphere have to be understood as a cost-effective instrument of powerful states to regulate the behavior

Paper **State Reputation and the Rational Design of Institutions: Military Alliances Before the First World War**
Gregory D. Miller, *College of William & Mary*

Overview: I suggest that a state's reputation for reliability affects the design of its military alliances in three ways: the precision of the treaty; the costs required to be a member; and the degree to which the member states' militaries are integrated.

Paper **Theorizing Chinese Security Cooperation in the New Great Game**

Mrinalini Menon, *University of British Columbia*
 Overview: This paper evaluates the factors shaping the Chinese decision to pursue a multilateral strategy for security cooperation in Central Asia through the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in the context of regional US bilateral agreements since 2001.

Disc. **Brett Ashley Leeds**, *Rice University*

18-7 **MISPERCEPTIONS, MISINFORMATION, AND LEARNING**

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair **Toby Bolsen**, *Northwestern University*
Paper **Gullible Public, Cunning Executives, or Negligent Media? A Theory of Misperceptions**

Kevin D. Navratil, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Overview: Scholars often attribute citizens' political misperceptions to psychological mechanisms. Experimental data is used to illuminate the role of political factors and information processing in the formation and maintenance of public misperceptions.

Paper **The Enduring Power of False Political Information**
John G. Bullock, *Stanford University*
 Overview: Voters are not thought to be influenced by statements that they don't believe. But theory suggests that they are. I use experiments to show that they are influenced by political messages they know to be false. The effect is amplified by partisanship.

Paper **Experiencing Politics Through Entertainment -- Evidence from Experiments**

Doris A. Graber, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Overview: My paper reports evidence from experiments which test what types of political knowledge viewers gain from watching political situations embedded in popular television dramas. The focus will be on the political significance of the findings.

Paper **Can Citizens Learn from Deliberation? Examining a Deliberative Experiment**

Lori M. Weber, *California State University, Chico*
Peter Muhlberger, *Carnegie Mellon University*
 Overview: Using data from a representative sample of 568 Pittsburgh residents who came to a one day deliberative experiment, this paper examines the effect of deliberation on political knowledge and sophistication-a trait called "deliberative learning."

Disc. **Paul J. Quirk**, *University of British Columbia*

18-203 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: COLLECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS AND CONGRESS**

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Presenter **Congressional Bipartisanship Through a Consciousness-Based (SM) Approach**

Rachel S. Goodman, *Maharishi University of Management*
David W. Orme-Johnson, *Maharishi University of Management*
David H. Goodman, *Maharishi University of Management*

Overview: Results comparing 3 periods of Congressional bipartisan vote patterns in 1993 using Rice's Index of Likeness and ANOVA indicated that group practice of The Transcendental Meditation and TM-Sidhi programs in Washington, DC enhanced bipartisanship.

18-204 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: RATIONALITY AND STATE BEHAVIOR

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Presenter **The Iranian Islamic Schizophrenia**

Shodja E. Ziaian, York University

Overview: Scholars and journalists have difficulties predicting the events related to Iran (IRI) because this state behaves like a schizophrenic individual rather than rationally.

19-12 RACE AND VOTING

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Chair **Taeku Lee, University of California, Berkeley**

Paper **The Racial and Political Implications of the Straight-Ticket Option**

Douglas G. Feig, Mississippi State University

Overview: This paper applies ecological inference to data from states using the straight-ticket option to estimate the racial/political dimensions of its use, thus making it possible to gauge the impact of its gradual disappearance from the balloting process.

Paper **The Saliency of Race and Religion in Southern Elections**

Peter L. Francia, East Carolina University

Overview: Republicans have dominated recent presidential elections in the South, but not state elections. This study analyzes the reasons for this by examining the politics of race and religion in the South.

Paper **Diversity and the Changing Calculus of Voting**

Joel A. Lieske, Cleveland State University

Overview: This paper tests the hypothesis that the political preferences of voters are shaped by their social identities, which in turn are assumed to reflect their immediate social environment, the national political context, and the political mobilization

Paper **The Impact of Race and Ideology on Voting: Does Race Still Matter?**

Michiko Ueda, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Overview: Using a unique data set that contains information on candidates' ideological positions as well as exit polls of two House elections, the paper examines if race matters in voting decisions even after 'controlling for' the effects of ideology.

Disc. **Richard L. Engstrom, University of New Orleans**

Ricardo Ramirez, University of Southern California

19-13 REVISITING THE AMERICAN VOTER

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Chair **Paul A. Beck, The Ohio State University**

Paper **Public Policy and Political Preference**

William G. Jacoby, Michigan State University

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

Paper **Membership in Social Groupings**

Michael S. Lewis-Beck, University of Iowa

Overview: This paper revisits that classic, The American Voter, in particular the chapter on the politics of social group membership. The analysis is based on 2000 and 2004 ANES data.

Paper **Development of Party Identification: The American Voter Revisited**

Helmut Norpoth, Stony Brook University

Overview: This is a replication of chapter seven of THE AMERICAN VOTER with data from the 2004 as well other previous NES surveys.

Paper **Partisan Choice**

Herbert Weisberg, The Ohio State University

Overview: Partisan choice is examined in the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections, using the NES surveys. The "six components of the voting decision" are coded, as they were in The American Voter, and the consequences of attitude conflict are examined.

Disc. **Richard R. Lau, Rutgers University**

20-1 THE POLITICS OF CANDIDATE EMERGENCE

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Chair **Seth K. Jolly, Duke University**

Paper **Progressive Ambition: House to Senate 1992-2002**

Michael Tofias, Duke University

Overview: Empirical analysis of US House members decisions to run for the Senate supports the idea that members of the House are more likely to run for the Senate when their districts have high congruity to their prospective statewide constituency.

Paper **Candidate Entry in State-Wide Elections**

Jeffrey Lazarus, Georgia State University

Overview: I examine candidate entry in Senate and Governor races, comparing along four dimensions: amateur vs. experienced candidates; open vs. occupied seats; incumbent-party vs. out party candidates, and Senate vs. gubernatorial races.

Paper **Can Veterans Hackett? How Military Experience Aids Congressional Candidates**

Jeremy M. Teigen, Ramapo College

Overview: Develops theory and studies effect of past military experience on congressional vote share in light of recent salient candidacies, finding significant results suggesting Democrats benefit in post-9/11 elections.

Paper **Why So Much Sincerity? Strategic and Sincere Electoral Entry in Democracies**

Robert J. Weiner, Cornell University

Overview: How do advanced-democracy parties and party systems vary in the degree to which strategy, as opposed to sincerity, guides electoral entry decisions? And how can we systematically distinguish strategic behavior from sincere in the first place?

Disc. **Kenneth W. Kollman, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor**

22-14 QUESTIONS OF MEASUREMENT

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Chair **Mark Lindeman, Bard College**

Paper **Testing an Alternative Conceptualization of Partisan Strength**

John M. Bruce, University of Mississippi

Overview: Issues in assessing partisan intensity with the traditional questions have been well documented. This paper examines the performance of an alternative method of assessing partisan strength across a range of empirical models found in the literature.

Paper **The Meaning of Numbers: Survey Thermometers and Interpersonal Comparability**

Yanna Krupnikov, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Overview: Despite their attractive qualities, thermometer scales may lead to responses that are interpersonally incomparable. I identify why interpersonal incomparability in thermometers makes estimation difficult, and suggest ways of correcting the problem.

Paper **Measuring Voter Preferences for Divided Government: Evidence from US State and National Elections**

Dean P. Lacy, The Ohio State University

Philip Paolino, University of North Texas

Overview: We compare ways of measuring preferences for divided government in US state and national elections. Fewer voters prefer divided government than most surveys reveal, but such preferences have a stronger effect on the vote than previously believed.

Paper **Don't Know, Don't Care: Political Knowledge Tests and the Don't Know Option**
Melissa K. Miller, *Bowling Green State University*
Shannon Orr, *Bowling Green State University*
 Overview: New data from a random sample survey of 1500 undergrads is used to assess the effects of including a "don't know" option when testing political knowledge. Personality and risk-taking behavior are controlled in this split-ballot design.

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

Disc. **Michael Traugott**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

22-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: OPINIONS ABOUT THE WAR IN IRAQ**

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Presenter **Attitudes Toward the Iraq War: An Economic Interpretation of War Support**
Terri L. Towner, *Purdue University*
 Overview: The beginning of the Iraq war brought about a rally in support for military action among the public. As the costs of the war increase, however, I argue that the groups most affected by the costs will show the greatest decline in support for the war.

Presenter **Resistance to the Drums of War: Elite Discourse, Social Networks, and African American Opposition to the War in Iraq**
Scott B. Blinder, *University of Oxford*
 Overview: Through an examination of African American resistance to pro-war messages, I argue that such resistance did not depend on refuting Bush Administration claims, but rather on a visible oppositional message presented by credible sources.

22-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: OPINION CHANGE**

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Presenter **Information and Opinion Change: The Role of Education**
Peter K. Enns, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
 Overview: This paper shows that across a multitude of policy issues, the most and least educated segments of society tend to change their opinions at the same time, in the same direction, and to roughly the same extent.

23-7 **CAMPAIGN MESSAGES AND CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT**

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Chair **Lynn Vavreck**, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Paper **What Ohioans and Floridians Know that the Rest of the Country Does Not**
Keena Lipsitz, *Queens College, CUNY*
 Overview: Using 2000 and 2004 data from the Annenberg Election Study and CMAG, this paper evaluates whether a political knowledge gap is developing between residents of battleground and non-battleground states, and the mechanisms that may account for it.

Paper **Mobilizing Voters Through Television Advertising: Field Experiments in 2003-2004**
Lynn Vavreck, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Donald P. Green, *Yale University*
 Overview: Three sets of randomized field experiments were conducted on cable systems across the country during the 2003 general elections, 2004 primaries, and 2004 general election to gauge the extent to which TV ads encouraging voter participation succeeded

Paper **Do You See What I See? Partisan Bias, Campaign Negativity, and Turnout**
Thomas M. Carsey, *Florida State University*
Melissa Neal, *Florida State University*
 Overview: We conduct a neural network analysis to examine the differential response among partisans and political independents to negative campaign advertising in terms of their expected probability of voting in the 2000 Presidential election.

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

Disc. **Thomas M. Carsey**, *Florida State University*
Robert A. Jackson, *Florida State University*

24-2 **MEDIA AND POLITICAL PROCESSES IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH**

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Chair **Michael D. Parkin**, *University of Minnesota*

Paper **Islamic Fundamentalism, Globalization and Music In Malaysia**
James D. Chopyak, *California State University, Sacramento*
 Overview: Malaysia is a technologically sophisticated Muslim country where officials have had to balance the seemingly conflicting developments in music, technology and globalization with traditional cultural values and religious fundamentalism.

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

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

Disc. **Deva R. Woodly**, *University of Chicago*

24-101 **ROUNDTABLE: WHOSE EYE? MEDIA COVERAGE OF KATRINA AND ITS AFTERMATH**

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Chair **Lisa Mills-Brown**, *University of Central Florida*

Panelist **God, Gore, and Science: How Newspapers Covered Hurricane Katrina**
Melanie J. Blumberg, *California University of Pennsylvania*
Andrae Marak, *California University of Pennsylvania*
Jamie D. Mitchem, *California University of Pennsylvania*
Swarndeeep Gill, *California University of Pennsylvania*
Timothy R. Bertovich, *California University of Pennsylvania*
 Overview: Newspapers articles on Katrina focused mainly on topics thought to be of interest to readers rather than on the scientific cause. "Scientific" explanations were often incomplete or misleading.

Panelist **Constructing Causal Stories: The 2005 Hurricane Katrina Disaster**
Vincent T. Gawronski, *Birmingham Southern College*
Richard S. Olson, *Florida International University*
 Overview: This paper addresses the following: How did the print media construct the causes of the 2005 Hurricane Katrina disaster?

Panelist **Regaining a Backbone? Journalism Post-Katrina**
Margaret Hankenson, *University of Wisconsin Colleges*
 Overview: The paper explores the aggressive reporting witnessed during Hurricane Katrina and asks whether this extends beyond, paying special attention to the reporting of the indictment of Tom Delay and coverage of events in Iraq, following Katrina.

25-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: GENDER AND STATE JUDICIAL ELECTIONS**

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Presenter **Gender & State Courts: The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same**

Elaine Martin, *Eastern Michigan University*

Claudia Petrescu, *Eastern Michigan University*

Bethany Sneed, *Eastern Michigan University*

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

Presenter **An Examination of How Gender Stereotypes Affect Voters' Perceptions of State Supreme Court Candidates**

Melissa L. Feldner, *Ohio University*

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

25-301 **POSTER SESSION: GENDERED POLITICS AROUND THE WORLD**

Presenter **What Women Want: Suffrage, Female Voter Preferences and Government**

Room TBA, Board 9, Thur 1:45 pm

Patricia Funk, *Stockholm School of Economics*

Christina Gathmann, *Stanford University*

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

Presenter **Gender, Technology, and Empowerment: The Case of Visual Simulation Models**

Room TBA, Board 10, Thur 1:45 pm

Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, *University of Utah*

Rob Bateman, *American University of Sharjah*

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

Presenter **Emotions, Women and Politics and Their Influences on Iran and Iraq-USA Foreign Policy**

Room TBA, Board 11, Thur 1:45 pm

Fatemeh Masjedi, *Illinois State University*

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

Presenter **State, Religion and Gender in Selected Asian Countries**

Room TBA, Board 12, Thur 1:45 pm

Chandra Y. Mudaliar, *Michigan State University*

Overview: The object is to examine the interaction between state, religion and society, and its impact on shaping gender relations in selected Asian countries.

Presenter **National Competitiveness and Soft Power**

Room TBA, Board 13, Thur 1:45 pm

Minjeoung Kim, *University of Seoul*

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

Presenter **Indonesian Women and Politics**

Room TBA, Board 14, Thur 1:45 pm

Arnita Sitasari, *West Virginia University*

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

Presenter **Women's Political Participation against the Backdrop of Demographic Change**

Room TBA, Board 15, Thur 1:45 pm

Sherry L. Martin, *Cornell University*

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

Presenter **A Study of Ismaili Women in Higher Education in Iran**

Room TBA, Board 16, Thur 1:45 pm

Maryam Rezaee, *University of York*

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

Presenter **Cypriot Women's Voices and Multiple Realities**

Room TBA, Board 17, Thur 1:45 pm

Maria Hadjipavlou, *University of Cyprus*

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

Presenter **Kenyan Participation in Political Rallies: Do Gender or Religion Matter?**

Room TBA, Board 18, Thur 1:45 pm

Virginia P. Beard, *Michigan State University*

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

Presenter **Attaining Agency: Female Suicide Bombers and Struggles for Sovereignty**

Room TBA, Board 19, Thur 1:45 pm

Tiffany Turner, *Georgia Institute of Technology*

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

Presenter **Women's Employment in the Public Sector in Twenty-Three Countries**

Room TBA, Board 20, Thur 1:45 pm

Abdulfattah Yaghi, *Mississippi State University*

Madalla Alibeli, *Memphis University*

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

Presenter **Cultural Resonance and Framing Processes in Two Turkish Women's Movements**

Room TBA, Board 21, Thur 1:45 pm

Havva Karakas-Keles, *Syracuse University*

Heidi J. Swarts, *Syracuse University*

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

Disc.	<p>Suzanne Soule, <i>Center for Civic Education</i> Elizabeth A. Bennion, <i>Indiana University, South Bend</i> Margaret E. Gilkison, <i>University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire</i> Mary Lou Kendrigan, <i>Lansing Community College</i> D. Christopher Brooks, <i>St. Olaf College</i> Kimberly B. Cowell-Meyers, <i>American University</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Immigrants and Immigration: The Multidimensionality of Public Opinion</u> Max Neiman, <i>University of California, Riverside/Public Policy Institute of California</i> Doug Strand, <i>Public Policy Institute of California</i> Overview: Based on nearly 700 telephone adult interviews, this is a report on the structure of public opinion regarding immigrants, with a focus on the interplay between opinion regarding immigrants and immigration and a host of perceived policy choices</p>
26-2	<p><u>LATINO POLITICAL DECISION MAKING</u> TBA, Thur 1:45 pm Alisa Hicklin, <i>Texas A&M University</i> <u>The Effect of Ethnic Context on Vote Choice</u> Simran Singh, <i>New York University</i> Overview: This paper looks to explore the way in which vote choice is influenced by the ethnic context of an area.</p>	Disc.	<p>Nathan D. Woods, <i>Welch Consulting</i></p>
Room		27-3	<p><u>READING TEXTS AND TRADITIONS</u> TBA, Thur 1:45 pm</p>
Chair		Room	<p>Lorna M. Dawson, <i>Lynchburg College</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>The Hispanic Vote in the 2004 Presidential Election: Insecurity and Moral Concerns</u> Marisa A. Abrajano, <i>Texas A&M University</i> R. Michael Alvarez, <i>California Institute of Technology</i> Jonathan Nagler, <i>New York University</i> Overview: This paper examines Hispanic voting behavior in the 2004 Presidential elections. We contend that Hispanic opinions on national security and moral values outweighed their concerns on the issues that Hispanics are traditionally affiliated with.</p>	Chair	<p><u>21st Century Ethics: The Aristotelian-Confucian Connection</u> Ann Colmo, <i>Dominican University</i> Overview: TBA</p>
Paper	<p><u>Latino States of America: State Measures of Latino Ideology and Partisanship</u> Sylvia Manzano, <i>St. Mary's University</i> Barbara Norrander, <i>University of Arizona</i> Overview: We estimate state level measures for ideology and party identification. First we examine the variation of Latino partisanship and ideology across states. Then we test institutional and individual traits that explain these differences.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Hedonism in Sir Thomas More's Utopia</u> Gabriel T. Bartlett, <i>University of Toronto</i> Overview: In this paper I explore the hedonism of the inhabitants of Thomas More's fictional island Utopia and the relation of their hedonism to Christianity.</p>
Disc.	<p>Jennifer L. Merolla, <i>Claremont Graduate University</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Pre-modern Social Contract: Francisco Suarez Against the Divine Right Theory</u> Steven J. Brust, <i>Catholic University of America</i> Overview: This paper will present a pre-modern social contract approach to political community and authority that a Spanish Jesuit, Francisco Suarez, used to argue against King James I's claim to a Divine right to rule.</p>
26-4	<p><u>RACE AND ETHNICITY IN URBAN AMERICA</u> TBA, Thur 1:45 pm TBA <u>The Spatial Decline of Middle America and its Political Implications</u> Jason Booza, <i>Wayne State University</i> Jackie Cutsinger, <i>Wayne State University</i> Overview: Our study focuses on the decline of the middle class in America by focusing on the 100 largest metropolitans. As the middle class becomes a smaller proportion of the American landscape, we discuss the political implications.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Rousseau's Authorial Voices in His Dedication to the Republic of Geneva</u> Leonard R. Sorenson, <i>Assumption College</i> Overview: I propose that in his Dedication to Geneva Rousseau introduces his corpus as political philosophy, a main purpose of which is to reconcile wisdom, rooted in natural inequality, with consent, rooted in natural equality.</p>
Room		Disc.	<p>Stewart W. Gardner, <i>Boise State University</i> Leigh K. Jenco, <i>University of Chicago</i></p>
Chair		27-19	<p><u>THE VIRTUE OF MEN AND HEROES</u> TBA, Thur 1:45 pm</p>
Paper	<p><u>Organizing For Justice: The Urban Poor And Environmental Politics in Multi-Ethnic Southern California</u> Armando Xavier Mejia, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: Paper examines three organized efforts by the urban poor to contest environmental injustice in Southern California. Case studies offer theoretical and comparative lessons for successful grassroots environmental mobilization in multi-ethnic regions.</p>	Room	<p>Eric Buzzetti, <i>Concordia University, Montreal</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Suburbia on My Mind</u> Maria C. Minney, <i>University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: This paper proposes an analysis of the American Dream ideology and its effects on the current level of naturalization among legal Mexican immigrants.</p>	Chair	<p><u>The Forgotten Political Virtue: Heroism, from Homer to Havel</u> Anthony Kammas, <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: This essay is the first step toward a systematic analysis and problematization of the various forms and transformations of heroic virtue over the course of western political thought.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Target of Opportunity: Armed Conflict in the Aftermath of Katrina</u> Roger A. Richardson, <i>University of Southern Indiana</i> Overview: In the aftermath of hurricane Katrina, the New Orleans Police Department found themselves in the mist of an armed struggle with citizens. This research provides an analysis of the ethical dimensions of the conflict.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Meno's Manliness and Traditional Greek Conceptions of Arete</u> Joyce M. Mullan, <i>Oakton College</i> Overview: Analysis of traditional and Fifth century ideals of manliness and Socrates' response</p>
		Paper	<p><u>Xenophon's Cyropaedia and the Nature of Spiritedness</u> Christopher M. Whidden, <i>Lake Forest College</i> Overview: Cyrus, as the spirited individual par excellence, reveals the contradictory nature of spiritedness, insofar as his spirited ambition for empire compels him to attempt do away with the us/them distinction, without which spiritedness cannot survive.</p>
		Paper	<p><u>Rousseau and Tocqueville on Democratic Pride</u> Fiona Miller, <i>Colgate University</i> Overview: Despite his sometimes severe criticisms of amour-propre, Rousseau would have agreed with Tocqueville's insight that democratic man needed to work on his pride rather than his humility.</p>
		Disc.	<p>Daniel J. Kapust, <i>University of Georgia</i> John T. Lombardini, <i>Princeton University</i></p>

28-3	<u>RECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES: PROBLEMS OF PERSONHOOD AND RECOGNITION IN DEMOCRATIC THEORY</u>	
Room	TBA, Thur 1:45 pm	
Chair	David Thunder, <i>University of Notre Dame</i>	
Paper	<u>The Role of Arbitrariness in Republican Freedom</u> Jessica M. Flanigan, <i>Washington University, St Louis</i> Overview: This essay challenges Pettit's theory of republican freedom through an analysis of individual's capacity to know the interests of others, and shows that FND must be redefined to overcome epistemological barriers.	
Paper	<u>Demonstrating Respect in Deliberative Politics</u> Michael P. McKeon, <i>Syracuse University</i> Overview: Gutmann and Thompson argue that justice requires that citizens demonstrate moral respect toward a position (even when they think it morally wrong) on any issue that is not deliberatively certain. I argue that such a claim is untenable in politics.	
Paper	<u>On the Generation and Circulation of Political Power</u> Glenn D. Mackin, <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: This paper develops a conception of democratic participation that is based on the assumption of genuinely diverse human capabilities. This leads to a conception of political engagement requires constant reinterpretation of what we owe to others.	
Paper	<u>Adam Smith, the Concept of Leisure, and the Division of Labor</u> Brian A. Smith, <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: Adam Smith is often blamed for the emergence of "economic man." This essay argues Smith realized the dangers of his division of labor and attempts to reconstruct his approach and suggest that his account was more nuanced than is commonly understood.	
Paper	<u>Redistribution vs. Recognition: The Impact of Public Space and Personhood</u> Laura Montanaro, <i>University of British Columbia</i> Overview: Recognition and redistribution are often competing sides in the discourse of social justice. To what extent are their goals mutually incompatible, and what framework is required to allow for social justice to consist of both?	
Disc.	David Thunder, <i>University of Notre Dame</i>	
28-17	<u>POLITICAL THEORY: FOUNDATIONS AND PROSPECTS</u>	
Room	TBA, Thur 1:45 pm	
Chair	Peter Breiner, <i>SUNY, Albany</i>	
Paper	<u>Realism and Poststructuralist Ethics: Weber, Ricoeur, Connolly</u> James Wiley, <i>St. Norbert College</i> Overview: Compares the ethical and political theories of Weber, Ricoeur and Connolly. Argues that Weber's distinction between a realist ethics of responsibility and an ethics of conviction is implicit in Connolly's ethics.	
Paper	<u>Paradigms and Vision: The Desire for Tradition in Political Theory</u> Jason M. Scruton, <i>University of Albany</i> Overview: An analysis of Wolin's revised Politics and Vision through the work of Thomas Kuhn, creating a philosophy of (political) science. The end result, I hope, will help loosen the hold of recent terminological trends in political theory	
Paper	<u>Contextualizing Political Theories in Fields of Political Conflict</u> Peter Breiner, <i>SUNY, Albany</i> Overview: Recently, there has been renewed interest in placing political ideas in the context of political conflict in which these ideas are fought out (Freeden). I suggest three ways of conceptualizing this field of political struggle.	
Paper	<u>Liberal Pluralism and the Problem of Foundations</u> Folke B. Lindahl, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: Can liberal pluralism be justified without foundations? Even the most anti-foundational liberal pluralism seems to assume a moral and political justification that ultimately rests on values that are foundational.	
Disc.	Sophia Mihic, <i>Northeastern Illinois University</i>	
29-2	<u>CREATING SOCIAL JUSTICE</u>	
Room	TBA, Thur 1:45 pm	
Chair	Joshua D. Goldstein, <i>University of Toronto</i>	
Paper	<u>Who Governs the Market? Consumer Sovereignty, Democracy, and Social Justice</u> Steve Vanderheiden, <i>University of Minnesota, Duluth</i> Overview: I explore the concept of consumer sovereignty - which supposes that consumers, rather than producers or the state, wield ultimate sovereignty over society's production of goods - with its implications for democracy, the environment, and justice.	
Paper	<u>Justice, Strategy, and American Indian Land Claims</u> Burke Hendrix, <i>Cornell University</i> Overview: This paper considers the potential conflict between long-term projects of social justice and attempts by American Indian nations to escape poverty through land claims, and tries to analyze the moral trade-offs involved in either political strategy.	
Paper	<u>Democratic Political Theory and the Modern Corporation</u> Richard A. Moushegian, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: Democratic political theory ought to take far more seriously the role of the corporation and the idea of corporate citizenship. One reason for doing so is that the modern corporation has much that is new to say about personhood and property.	
Paper	<u>What's Wrong with Exploitation?</u> Robert Mayer, <i>Loyola University, Chicago</i> Overview: This paper identifies the specific wrong of which exploiters are guilty and then assesses how wrong exploitation is as a way to gain at the expense of others.	
Paper	<u>A Theory of Corruption as Injustice</u> Jong-Sung You, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: Although the general public sees corruption as a problem of social justice, the academic literature has explored it as a problem of development. This paper attempts to develop a normative theory of corruption as a form of injustice.	
Disc.	Fragano S. J. Ledgister, <i>Clark Atlanta University</i> Paul R. DeHart, <i>Lee University</i>	
29-201	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: DELIBERATION & JUDGMENT</u>	
Room	TBA, Thur 1:45 pm	
Presenter	<u>Intelligent Democracy: The Cognitive Properties of Deliberation</u> Helen Landemore, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This paper is part of a larger attempt to justify democracy on cognitive grounds, i.e. as a socio-political system that produces collective intelligence. I focus here on the cognitive properties of democratic deliberation.	
Presenter	<u>Training the Imagination: Power and the Practices of Political Judgment</u> Laura K. Grattan, <i>Duke University</i> Overview: How might we conceive of democratic judgment as an activity deeply intertwined with power? This paper explores this question and its stakes in relation to Habermasian and Arendtian theories of judgment and democratic social movements.	
29-202	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: EPISTEMOLOGY</u>	
Room	TBA, Thur 1:45 pm	
Presenter	<u>Politics and Epistemology, A Proposal for Interaction</u> Alireza Shomali, <i>Syracuse University</i> Overview: Analytic epistemology overlooks the epistemic relevance of the socio-political context of ideas. We need an	

epistemology which is attentive to the fact that socio-political contexts and truth claims are mutually-constitutive.

- Presenter** **Lenin's Dentist and the Science of Sociality**
Benjamin J. Lozano, *University of California, Santa Cruz*
 Overview: This paper (1) addresses questions of the "scientificity" of the social sciences and (2) argues for the incorporation of the concept of the imaginary into social and political analysis.
- 30-4** **CHANGING THE GAME**
Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair **Randall Calvert**, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Paper **Endogenous Institutions: The Co-evolution of Strategic Structure**
Scott Moser, *Carnegie Mellon University*
 Overview: This project examines the formation and stability of endogenous political institutions. It seeks to provide a general, theoretical framework for studying endogenous institutions.
- Paper** **Game Theory and Heresthetics**
William Hixon, *Lawrence University*
 Overview: This paper proposes a reorientation of Riker's notion of heresthetics, replacing the original social-choice foundation with a game-theoretic definition. This redefinition corrects several criticisms of the original presentation of heresthetics.
- Paper** **Mahatma Gandhi and the Prisoner's Dilemma**
Chowdhury Irad A. Siddiky, *University of Warwick*
 Overview: Strategic civil disobedience and Great Britain's great loss of empire in India
- Disc.** **Randall Calvert**, *Washington University, St. Louis*
- 30-17** **FORMAL THEORIES OF LEGISLATIVE POLITICS**
Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair **Ethan Bueno de Mesquita**, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Paper **Revisiting the Role of Structure on the Induction of Legislative Equilibrium**
Tasos Kalandrakis, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: We consider the role of legislative organization in the context of a dynamic game in which a legislature decides a continuing policy in each of a finite number of jurisdictions.
- Paper** **Pivotal and Signaling Voting Motivations in Bicameral Legislatures**
Matias Iaryczower, *California Institute of Technology*
Sebastian Saiegh, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: We study voting incentives in a bicameral legislature. We show that homogeneity of interests is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for transmission of information between chambers. We test the theory with data for the US Congress.
- Paper** **The Dynamics of Parliamentary Bargaining and the Vote of Confidence**
Seok-ju Cho, *Yale University*
 Overview: This paper develops a dynamic model of policy-making and government-making with a two-dimensional policy space and transfers. I prove the stability of every government and examine the dynamics of policy-making across different types of governments.
- Paper** **Using Time Constraints as a Method to Avoid Bargaining Before an Audience**
Thomas Braeuninger, *University of Konstanz*
 Overview: The paper develops and evaluates empirically a signaling model on the use of time constraining rules in legislative bargaining.
- Disc.** **Ethan Bueno de Mesquita**, *Washington University, St. Louis*

- 31-3** **BAYES RULES**
Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair **Andrew D. Martin**, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Paper **Heterogeneity and Choice Models: Comparisons and Evaluations**
Luke Keele, *The Ohio State University*
David K. Park
 Overview: We use Bayesian estimation techniques and generalized nonlinear models to account for heterogeneity in discrete choices models. We compare these estimators to the standard ML estimator.
- Paper** **All Change!: Political Science Applications of Structural Break Modeling**
Arthur Spirling, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: The paper deals with Bayesian hierarchical structural break modeling for limited dependent variables in political science.
- Paper** **The Social Basis of Legislative Organization**
James H. Fowler, *University of California, Davis*
 Overview: Using MCMC to estimate the effect of social ties on 84 million cosponsorship decisions and controlling for ideology, parties, committees, and geography, we show that social relationships play an important role in explaining legislative behavior.
- Paper** **A Bayesian Analysis of Time-Series Event Count Data**
Kentaro Fukumoto, *Gakushuin University*
 Overview: When data is both time-series and event count, it is difficult to take into consideration both features. This paper proposes a new Bayesian model of such data. This model enables us to assume various kinds of data generation processes.
- Disc.** **Won-ho Park**, *University of Florida*
- 32-3** **FORGING PARTY UNITY IN OFFICE**
Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair **Eric S. Heberlig**, *University of North Carolina, Charlotte*
Paper **The Structure of Policy Conflict**
Frank R. Baumgartner, *Pennsylvania State University*
Jeffrey M. Berry, *Tufts University*
Marie Pe Hojnacki, *Pennsylvania State University*
David C. Kimball, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*
Beth L. Leech, *Rutgers University*
 Overview: Based on over 300 interviews with advocates and public officials involved in a random sample of 98 policy debates in the Clinton and Bush administrations, we focus on the structure of disagreement and conflict. While each issue was highly multidimensional
- Paper** **How Legislative Staffers View Partisanship in the House of Representatives**
Zachary F. Cook, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
 Overview: The results from 25 exploratory interviews with House legislative staffers are presented. Staffers share opinions about the Democratic and Republican parties, and whether or not "parties matter."
- Paper** **Intra-Party Opinion Structure: Moving Beyond May's Law**
Steven A. Weldon, *University of California, Irvine*
 Overview: Are party activists extremists? Employing a unique set of member surveys, the article examines intraparty opinion structure in 29 parties across 5 democracies. Finding limited support for May's Law, it then seeks to explain the divergent patterns.
- Paper** **Intraparty Dissent and Party Control: Examining Debate in the US House of Representatives**
Stewart L. French, *Saginaw Valley State University*
 Overview: Key to the success of any party is its ability to get individual members into a cohesive force that will consistently and predictably produce outcomes that will benefit the party as a whole.
- Disc.** **Margit Tavits**, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

33-104 **AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: BRANDICE CANES-WRONE'S 'WHO LEADS WHOM'**

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Panelist Jeffrey E. Cohen, *Fordham University*
 Terry Moe, *Stanford University*
 James Druckman, *Northwestern University*
 Brandice Canes-Wrone, *Princeton University*
 Overview: TBA

34-3 **PARTISANSHIP IN CONGRESS ACROSS HISTORICAL ERAS**

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair E. Scott Adler, *University of Colorado*
Paper **Party and Constituency in the U.S. Senate, 1877-2004**

John H. Aldrich, *Duke University*
 Michael Brady, *Duke University*
 Scott de Marchi, *Duke University*
 Ian McDonald, *Duke University*
 Brendan Hyhan, *Duke University*
 David Rohde, *Duke University*
 Michael Tofias, *Duke University*

Overview: We examine the influence on constituency characteristics on senatorial voting and on aggregate conditions for measuring the extent of conditional party government from the end of Reconstruction through the contemporary era.

Paper **The Conservative Coalition and Partisan Agenda Control in the House**

Eric Schickler, *Harvard University*
 Kathryn Pearson, *University of Minnesota*

Overview: We assess gatekeeping in the House during the conservative coalition era (1937-65) through a systematic examination of the Rules Committee's deliberations and of efforts to circumvent the committee stage through the use of discharge petitions.

Paper **The Impact of the Australian Ballot on Member Behavior in the U.S. House**

Peverill Squire, *University of Iowa*
 Brian DiSarro, *University of Iowa*
 Stephen Nemeth, *University of Iowa*
 Howard Sanborn, *University of Iowa*
 Jill Wittrock, *University of Iowa*

Overview: We explore the extent to which the adoption of the Australian ballot marked a departure in the re-election behavior of House members in regards to committee assignments, party voting, and pork barrel expenditures.

Paper **Strategic Redistricting and Critical Elections**

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

Paper **Partisanship and Agenda Construction in Lame Duck Sessions of Congress, 1869 to 1933**

Jeffrey A. Jenkins, *Northwestern University*
 Timothy P. Nokken, *University of Houston*

Overview: We examine whether party leaders used lame duck sessions of Congress differently and strategically when constructing an issue agenda.

Disc. E. Scott Adler, *University of Colorado*
 Jason M. Roberts, *University of Minnesota*

36-10 **THE INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF COURTS**

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Kevin T. McGuire, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Paper **Congressional Construction of the Federal Bench**
 Sarah Binder, *George Washington University/ Brookings Institution*

Forrest Maltzman, *George Washington University*
 Overview: Congress's influence over the federal judiciary begins with the construction of the federal bench. We explore the politics of creating new judgeships, with an eye to

explaining congressional allocation of new judgeships across the federal bench.

Paper **Political Uncertainty, Reform Movements and Judicial Independence**

Valerie Hoekstra, *Arizona State University*

Overview: In this paper I examine how political uncertainty and larger political reform efforts affect legislative decisions to alter the rules governing the selection, retention, and terms of state high court judges between 1850 and 2000.

Paper **Why States Change the Way Judges are Selected**

Kyle A. Scott, *Miami University*

Overview: This paper examines the political factors that lead a state to reform its method of judicial selection. Focusing on the courts of last resort allows one to isolate political factors which lead a state to adopt a new form of judicial selection.

Paper **American Political Development and the U.S. Supreme Court: The Evolution of Stare Decisis**

James F. Spriggs, *University of California, Davis*
 Paul Wahlbeck, *George Washington University*

Timothy Johnson, *University of Minnesota, Twin Cities*

Overview: This paper examines the development of the norm of stare decisis on the U.S. Supreme Court.

Paper **Veiled Intent: Rehnquist, Centifugal Federalism, and Federal Dockets**

John W. Winkle, III, *University of Mississippi*

Overview: The U.S. Supreme Court during the past decade issued rulings that arguably reconfigured the legal and political dimensions of American federalism. Outcomes from this centrifugal movement, away from Congress and toward the states, are unmistakable.

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

36-13 **JUDICIAL ELECTIONS**

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair John Szmer, *University of Missouri, Kansas City*
Paper **Mobilizing Interest: Money, Quality, and Ballot Rolloff in State Supreme Court Elections**

Chris W. Bonneau, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Melinda Gann Hall, *Michigan State University*

Overview: In this paper, we examine ballot roll-off in partisan and nonpartisan state supreme court elections from 1990 through 2004, in order to answer some basic questions about the nature of citizen participation in these races.

Paper **Candidate Emergence in State Courts: 1960-2004**

Eric A. Booth, *Texas Tech University*

Overview: This study focuses on institutional incentives for judicial candidacy and judicial electoral competition at the state and district levels utilizing a newly collected dataset of state primary elections from 1960-2004.

Paper **Factors Affecting Success in Lower Level Judicial Elections in Wisconsin**

David M. Jones, *University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh*

Overview: The study assesses the relative impact of such factors as incumbency, campaign expenditures, and "quality" of previous position (e.g., was a candidate a district attorney) on the success of candidates in contested lower court elections in Wisconsin.

Paper **Incumbent Spending and Campaign Finance Reform in State Supreme Court Elections**

C. Scott Peters, *University of Northern Iowa*

Overview: This paper builds a model to explain incumbent electoral performance in races in which they face a challenge and uses the results of the model to perform simulations to examine the possible effects of proposed electoral reforms on the competitiveness

Disc. Rachel Paine Caufield, *Drake University/American Judicature Society*

37-3 CONSTITUTIONAL INTERPRETATION AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Wendy L. Watson, *University of North Texas*
Paper Establishing a General Theory of the Establishment Clause
Dennis J. Goldford, *Drake University*

Overview: This paper seeks to articulate a general theory of the Establishment Clause and to apply this theory to the classic establishment-clause cases to see how those decisions would come out under the principle the theory proposes.

Paper Idealists' Insights into the Case of God v. Science
Eric S. Kos, *Eastern Michigan University*

Overview: An analysis of how the British Idealists help us understand the challenge science poses to religion that has resulted in the invocation of the law.

Paper The Death Penalty and the Moussaoui Case
Harry L. Pohlman, *Dickinson College*

Overview: The death penalty phase of the trial of Zacarias Moussaoui will begin in early 2006. At this hearing, Moussaoui will have the opportunity to present mitigating evidence, but he will not be allowed to call al Qaeda detainees as witnesses.

Paper Value Pluralism, Liberal Pluralism, and the First Amendment

Chris Stangl, *College of St. Benedict*

Overview: This paper provides an examination of the debate over the compatibility of liberalism with value pluralism. It then examines varying understandings of the First Amendment against the backdrop of the debate over liberalism's pluralistic qualities.

Disc. Bruce G. Peabody, *Fairleigh Dickinson University*

38-3 STATES AND SCHOOLS: ACCOUNTABILITY AND PERFORMANCE

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Christopher A. Simon, *University of Nevada, Reno*
Paper Local School District Discretionary Authority: A Fifty State Analysis

David Shock, *Kennesaw State University*

Overview: This paper conducts a fifty state quantitative analysis using various independent and dependent variables to explain interstate variations in local school district discretionary authority in the U.S.

Paper How Do Local School Districts Affect States' School Performance?

David J. Webber, *University of Missouri*

Overview: This paper examines three routes (local funding, state political influence, and administrative complexity) by which a state's school districts affect school performance.

Paper State Compliance to Federal Policy: Is Federalism Inhibiting?

Tamara Wilder, *Columbia University*

Overview: This study investigates state compliance to the 2002 No Child Left Behind Act to discover if noncompliance is due to public education's roots in federalism and the corresponding prominent value of localism.

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

39-5 INTERGOVERNMENTAL INFLUENCE ON LOCAL POLICIES

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Juliet F. Gainsborough, *Bentley College*
Paper New Perspectives on State Intervention in Urban Institutions

Debra H. Moore, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*

Overview: Historically, states have intervened in cities experiencing fiscal crisis in an attempt to move them toward stability. Exercised through the state's will and capacity intervention is a tool that allows a state to bailout or recover a city.

Paper State Restructuring of Local Policy Regimes

Richard C. Hula, *Michigan State University*

Chelsea Haring, *Michigan State University*

Overview: This paper explores how state officials bring about substantive institutional and regime change in local policy arenas. We discuss two examples from the state of Michigan: charter schools and brownfield redevelopment.

Paper Urban Redevelopment Decision-Making: Local and Intergovernmental Influences

Dorothy M. Daley, *University of Kansas*

Overview: The paper examines the relationship between local decision-making and intergovernmental connections. It relies upon survey data to examine the influence of intergovernmental relationships and programmatic goals in Brownfield redevelopment programs.

Disc. Juliet F. Gainsborough, *Bentley College*

40-1 A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON PUBLIC POLICY

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Miriam Laugesen, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Paper Explaining Abortion Policy Divergence in Canada and the United States

Julia E. Thomson, *University of Connecticut*

Overview: Although Canada and the United States had similar abortion policy legacies until the late twentieth century, policy divergence has recently occurred. This paper analyses relevant institutions to explain this policy divergence.

Paper Comparative Study in Stem Cell Policy: the U.S. and Korea

Myong Hwa Lee, *North Illinois University*

Overview: This paper was focused on the role of Elite to make a stem cell policy in the U.S. and South Korea. While President Bush has played a critical role to drive strict policies, scientist Hwang, Woo-Suk has influenced on more permissive policy in Korea.

Paper Selling Schools: The Link Between Choice and Stratification in Chile

Mark Schneider, *Stony Brook University*

Jack Buckley, *U.S. Government*

Gregory Elacqua, *Adolfo Ibanez University, Chile*

Elif Erisen, *Stony Brook University*

Overview: This paper investigates the nature of school competition and the effect of the competitive environment on social stratification through a study of the marketing activities of schools in Santiago, Chile.

Paper NGO Participation in Policy Change in Tanzania

Ginger L. Elliott-Teague, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Overview: Tanzania has welcomed NGOs into the policy process, but groups have not always agreed with the government's terms of engagement. This has led to interesting patterns of engagement in which groups are redefining participation in the country.

Paper Public-Private R&D Collaboration: A Comparison of Korea and Taiwan

Matthew Shapiro, *University of Southern California*

Overview: Clarifying the more complicated methods through which technological innovations have come into existence, this paper attempts to qualitatively examine the dynamic that is Disc public-private R&D collaboration in Korea and Taiwan.

Disc. Miriam Laugesen, *University of California, Los Angeles*

42-2 MODELS OF LABOR-MARKET POLICY (Co-Sponsored with Comparative Politics- Industrialized Countries, see 2-20)

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair Duane H. Swank, *Marquette University*

Paper Labor Market Policies with Ideological Parties in an Agent-Based Model

Christian W. Martin, *University of Hamburg*

Michael Neugart, *Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin*

Overview: We develop a model of labor market regulation with self-interested voters and political parties. Policies depend on the interaction of exogenous shocks with the size of severance

payments and labor demand elasticity, but not on initial regulation.

Paper **Explaining Firing Costs: Strong Labor, Economic Shocks and the Dilemmas of Capital**
Jose Fernandez-Albertos, Harvard University
Dulce Manzano, Juan March Institute
 Overview: We show how the cost of firing workers across OECD countries can be the result of the interaction between labor demands for protection and employers' dislike of social security transfers as a way of addressing these demands.

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

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

Disc. **John Ahlquist, University of Washington**

43-4 **BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE AND PROCESS (Co-sponsored with Midwest Public Administration Caucus, see 56-2)**

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair **Charles Shipan, University of Iowa**
Paper **Separation and Integration in Public Health**
Andrew B. Whitford, University of Georgia
Amber Sinclair, University of Georgia
 Overview: We provide statistical evidence on the choice of organizational form for addressing core and competing issues in public health and environmental protection policy at the state level.

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

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

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

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

Disc. **Christian R. Grose, Vanderbilt University**

44-3 **HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF STATE CAPACITY AND GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE**

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

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

Paper **The Capture of American Liberalism, 1877-2003: How Law Displaced Politics and the Consequences for Both**
Howard Schweber, University of Wisconsin, Madison
 Overview: From 1877 to 2005, American courts increasingly became sites for generating policy and discourse. In the process, courts "captured" the language of liberal politics, and in particular the meaning of "public" and "private."

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

Disc. **John Padgett, University of Chicago**

46-3 **JIHAD AND ARAB IDENTITY**

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm
Chair **Farshad Malek-Ahmadi, Naugatuck Valley Community College**
Paper **The Occultation of the 12th Imam and Its Impact on Shiite Identity**
Alexander R. Dawoody, Western Michigan University
 Overview: This paper addresses the phenomenon of the Twelfth Imam and its impact of forming Shiite identity and the structuring the Shiite political movement in the Islamic world.

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

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

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

Disc. **Farshad Malek-Ahmadi, Naugatuck Valley Community College**

47-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: RELIGION, IDEOLOGY, AND POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Presenter **Powers of Heaven and Hell: Christian Discourses of Force and Legitimacy**

Rachel Kirkland-Gaymer, Wayne State University

Overview: This presentation will analyze forms of power held by the two main characters of Christian scripture: God and Satan. The behaviors attributed to each character across Christian sects provide insight into premodern and modern discourses of power.

Presenter **The Political Economy of Beliefs: Why Do Fiscal and Social Conservatives/Liberals Come Hand-in-Hand?**

Daniel L. Chen, University of Chicago

Jo T. Lind, University of Oslo

Overview: Religious intensity as social insurance explains why fiscal and social conservatives and liberals come together. We explain the changing nature of religious movements and why church-state separation arose in the US but not in many European countries.

47-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: RELIGION AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Presenter **How and What Do Suicide Bombers Really Want to Win?**

Ivan Strenski, University of California, Riverside

Overview: Critique of Robert A. Pape's Dying To Win for its attempt to eliminate the religious motivations of suicide bombers.

48-1 SIMULATIONS FOR TEACHING POLITICAL SCIENCE

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Chair **Brian D. Posler, Millikin University**

Paper **CSI, A Computer Assisted Simulation Game**

Richard W. Dutson, Mount Union College

James R. Klayder, Mount Union College

Michael L. Zwilling, Mount Union College

Overview: CSI, Crisis Simulation International, is a Computer Assisted Simulation Game. It is designed to be used in lower level Foreign Policy, National Security or International Relations courses; to provide hands on application of the theories being taught..

Paper **Teaching Political Science Through Simulations and RPGs**

Sarah M. Wheeler, Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Overview: There are now an abundance of Role Playing Games and Simulations available for use in small and large Political Science classes. They are often time-consuming. The novice had best be advised of the potential downfalls as well as the benefits.

Paper **The Game of Politics: Creating Student Motivation**

Melvin A. Kahn, Wichita State University

Overview: This simulation enhances American Politics courses by actively involving students in the political process. Each student functions as a participant in one of the three major governmental branches or as a reporter or lobbyist.

Disc. **Brian D. Posler, Millikin University**

55-1 NEW RESEARCH IN LATINO POLITICS

Room TBA, Thur 1:45 pm

Chair **Mitzi Ramos, University of Illinois, Chicago**

Paper **Viva Bush! Targeting Latino Voters Through Candidate Web Sites**

Kristen D. Landreville, University of Florida

Abby G. LeGrange, University of Florida

Overview: The Latino vote garnered media interest in 2004. This study analyzes Bush and Kerry's online campaign material directed at Latino voters, such as issue information, news releases, e-mails to supporters, blog posts, and community pages.

Paper **Latino Immigrants' Partisanship and Prior Political Socialization**

Sergio C. Wals Aparicio, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Overview: Research on Latinos' political participation has not studied the role of first generation immigrants' prior political socialization in defining their American partisan ties. I show that this is a key concept to understand the development of party ID.

Paper **You Call This Service? The Effect of Project Type on Deficiency Paradigms in a Service Learning Project**

Jose F. Marichal, California Lutheran University

Overview: This paper reports on research that investigates the effect of different types of service learning activities on student's attitudes towards the communities they are serving (Mcknight 1996).

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

Mark Q. Sawyer, University of California, Los Angeles

Thursday, April 20 – 3:45 pm – 5:30 pm

2-4 GLOBALIZATION AND ITS POLICY CONSEQUENCES

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Chair Jonathan Swarts, *Purdue University North Central*

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

Xun Cao, *University of Washington*

Aseem Prakash, *University of Washington*

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

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

Duane H. Swank, *Marquette University*

Overview: Has globalization played a significant role in fostering neoliberal reforms of the welfare state? I offer new tests of the roles of international diffusion of neoliberalism, internationalization, and domestic political economic forces.

Paper International Threat Profiling: How Do Scientific Elites Make Assessments?

Guy D. Whitten, *Texas A&M University*

Kerry G. Herron, *Texas A&M University*

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

Neil J. Mitchell, *University of Aberdeen*

Overview: One of the most important roles of foreign affairs advisors to national leaders is the assessment of threats posed by other nations. However, little is known about what influences advisors' perceptions of threats to their nation.

Paper Convergence and Divergence in U.S. and European Precautionary Regulation

Brendon Swedlow, *Northern Illinois University*

Denise Kall, *Duke University*

Zheng Zhou, *University of Pennsylvania*

James K. Hammitt, *Harvard University*

Jonathan B. Wiener, *Duke University*

Overview: In this paper, we report on the extent to which the U.S. and Europe have converged and diverged over the past 35 years in their regulation of 100 risks randomly selected from a universe of nearly 3000 risks.

Disc. Jonathan Swarts, *Purdue University North Central*

3-14 EXPLAINING AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Chair Seda Demiralp, *American University*

Paper Electoral Budget Cycles Under Authoritarianism: Evidence from Egypt

Lisa Blaydes, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: Do authoritarian regimes manipulate fiscal policy in the run up to semi-competitive elections?

Paper Is Leadership Instability Contagious?

Timothy A. Carter, *Wayne State University*

Singh Naunihal, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: This paper employs a series of duration models to estimate the determinants of leadership survival in non-democratic countries. We attempt to quantify the impact of globalization by explicitly modeling processes of global and regional instability.

Paper Non-Competitive Elections and Leninist Transformation

David T. Smith, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Overview: Non-competitive elections under universal suffrage, while apparently being meaningless exercises, may facilitate the Leninist task of radical social and economic transformation, by creating a minimum participatory qualification of loyal citizenship.

Paper Military Expenditures and Foreign Aid: Does Repression Thwart Democratization in Developing Countries?

Laura Sylvester, *University of Texas, Austin*

Overview: Enduring authoritarianism is often explained by the ability of coercive states to repress their citizens. Repressive capabilities are financed by disproportionate expenditures on defense and security services, supplemented by substantial amounts of foreign aid. However, this argument is not supported by the results of cross-national statistical tests.

Paper Manipulating Discontent in Iran's Liberalized Theocracy

Mohammad A. Tabaar, *Georgetown University*

Overview: Political participation in Iran has had significant ramifications for the system as well as for the people. Moreover, this process has created a "game" whose unpredictability has added a "semi-democratic" dimension to Iran's liberalized theocracy.

Disc. Jennifer Gandhi, *Emory University*

3-18 WHAT CAUSES CORRUPTION?

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Chair Nick Jorgensen, *College of William and Mary*

Paper The Temporal and Social Foundations of Corruption

Laura Langbein, *American University*

Jongsoo Jin, *Korean Institute of Public Administration*

Overview: Corruption is a function of political instability. It is also state-dependent, and contextual, implying that corruption today is a pertangent of corruption yesterday. A panel of data on 127 countries upholds these conjectures.

Paper Determinants of Corruption: The Interactive Effects of Political Awareness

Ryan H. Isaacson, *University of Colorado, Boulder*

Aubrey L. Westfall, *University of Colorado, Boulder*

Overview: Recent research suggests that majoritarian governments exhibit lower levels of corruption due to increased accountability. We suggest that this effect holds only in countries with high levels of political awareness.

Paper Why Do Corrupt Governments Maintain Public Support?

Luigi Manzetti, *Southern Methodist University*

Carole J. Wilson, *University of Texas, Dallas*

Overview: We address an important and often neglected question: Why do citizens support corrupt governments? In a cross-national study we find citizens in countries with ineffective institutions will support corrupt leaders that may provide tangible benefits.

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

Jong-Sung You, *Harvard University*

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

Disc. John M. Ackerman, *FLACSO, Mexico*

4-9 DEMOCRATIC EQUITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Chair Thomas B. Pepinsky, *Yale University*

Paper Equity and Democracy: Does Income Inequality Erode Democratic Support

Jason M. Wells, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

Jonathan Kriekhaus, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

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

Paper Reassessing Modernization Theory: The Lag Effect of Economic Development

Min Tang, *Purdue University*

Overview: This paper applies VAR and Granger test to demonstrate the pattern of the effect of economic development on democracy, and reexamine the modernization theory. Lag

	terms and reciprocal causality are methodological issues to be addressed.				
Paper	<u>Economic Inequality and Democracy</u> Walter C. Wilson , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: This paper examines the relationship between economic inequality and the quality of democracy to determine if a relationship between these social variables exists. Findings suggest evidence of a relationship and directions for future research.		7-9	<u>SPLIT-TICKET VOTING IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE</u>	
			Room	TBA, Thur 3:45 pm	
			Chair	Barry C. Burden , <i>Harvard University</i>	
			Paper	<u>Split-Ticket Incentives Under Alternative E-Voting Devices: An Analysis of the E-Vote Pilot Conducted During the 2005 Argentine National Election</u> Ernesto Calvo , <i>University of Houston</i> Overview: Taking advantage of a large scale e-vote experiment, this paper estimates the effect of different e-vote designs on the likelihood that voters will select different party candidates for the National Congress and the Local Legislature.	
Paper	<u>Democratic Marketism: Selling Democracy Short</u> Anthony S. Marcum , <i>University of Maryland</i> Melissa J. Buehler , <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: If a transitioning democratic polity does not provide for credible investments through rule of law, it will have difficulties developing an economy and transitioning to democracy. We demonstrate that socialization is vital to a democratic regime.		Paper	<u>Ticket-Splitting as Electoral Insurance: The Mexican 2000 Elections</u> Gretchen Helmke , <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: This paper develops and tests a new theory of ticket-splitting based on voter uncertainty using survey and ecological data from the Mexican 2000 elections.	
Disc.	Frederick Solt , <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i>		Paper	<u>Party Identification in Third Wave Democracies: Brazil's 2002 Elections</u> Lucio R. Renno , <i>University of Arizona</i> Barry C. Ames , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Andrew Baker , <i>Northeastern University</i> Overview: Is party identification a stable and exogenous determinant of vote choice or is it endogenous to elections, outcomes and political events? We propose to study the stability of partisanship in Brazil, using a unique four-wave panel data set.	
4-101	<u>ROUNDTABLE: PROSPECTS OF DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION IN CHINA</u>		Paper	<u>Presidential Coattail Effects in Comparative Perspective</u> David J. Samuels , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Mark P. Jones , <i>Rice University</i> Overview: This project assesses the institutional sources of presidential coattail effects in the world's presidential democracies, mainly in Latin America.	
Room	TBA, Thur 3:45 pm				
Chair	Stephen Manning , <i>University of Detroit, Mercy</i>		Paper	<u>Split Ticket in Mixed Electoral Systems: the 2001 Italian General Elections</u> Kamleh Khatib , <i>London School of Economics</i> Overview: This paper uses several quantitative methodologies to test the impact of the policy platform of candidates as well as the type of district on the phenomenon of split ticket voting in mixed electoral systems.	
Panelist	Bruce Gilley , <i>Princeton University</i> Edward Friedman , <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Barrett McCormick , <i>Marquette University</i> John Rapp , <i>Beloit College</i> Ralph Thaxton , <i>Brandeis University</i> Overview: This roundtable will discuss Bruce Gilley's controversial 2004 book 'China's Democratic Future. How It Will Happen and Where It Will Lead'.		Disc.	Harvey D. Palmer , <i>University of Mississippi</i> Elizabeth Zechmeister , <i>University of California, Davis</i>	
5-4	<u>ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY AND EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS</u>		8-4	<u>PARTIES AND PORK IN JAPAN</u>	
Room	TBA, Thur 3:45 pm		Room	TBA, Thur 3:45 pm	
Chair	Debra Holzhauer , <i>Southeast Missouri State University</i>		Chair	Robert J. Weiner , <i>Cornell University</i>	
Paper	<u>Devolution and Environmental Politics</u> Debra Holzhauer , <i>Southeast Missouri State University</i> Overview: Examination of the impact of devolution upon environmental politics in the UK.		Paper	<u>The LDP's Influence on the Redistribution of Public Investment</u> Keiko Tamada , <i>Fukuoka University</i> Overview: This paper examines the relation between the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and the redistribution of public investment in Japan. Contrary to general beliefs, it is found that the LDP has only weak power over the redistribution of public investment.	
Paper	<u>Outsiders Looking In: The Rosia Montana Gold Mining Project in Romania</u> Cristina E. Parau , <i>London School of Economics</i> Overview: This paper examines how the EU impacts State-civil society relations through detailed micro-analysis, those Europeanisation mechanisms which have empowered civil society and altered the course of the Romanian government's decision-making processes.		Paper	<u>Electoral Reform and Pork Barrel Politics in Japan, 1991-2000</u> Tomoaki Nomi , <i>Southeast Missouri State University</i> Overview: This paper examines the pork barrel politics in Japan from 1991 to 2000. The impacts of the changes in the electoral system and the end of LDP's one party rule on the budget transfer from the national to local governments are analyzed.	
Paper	<u>The Influence of Electoral Cleavage Patterns on Environmental Group</u> Lori M. Poloni-Staudinger , <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i> Overview: This paper seeks to explore the relationship between changes in electoral cleavages and concomitant changes in activity choice among environmental non-governmental organizations in three West European countries, the United Kingdom, France and Germany.		Paper	<u>The Myth of Electoral Advantage from Infrastructure Investment in Japan</u> Jun Saito , <i>Yale University</i> Overview: This study challenges the conventional wisdom that investment on highways and bullet trains was the key to the electoral success of Japan's LDP. A formal model and empirical evidence corroborates the above claim.	
Disc.	Catherine E. Netjes , <i>Free University, Amsterdam</i>				
6-4	<u>FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL RELATIONS</u>				
Room	TBA, Thur 3:45 pm				
Chair	Tony L. Hill , <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i>				
Paper	<u>Youth Employment Policy and Intergovernmental Relations in Canada</u> Okyeon Y. Hong , <i>Seoul National University</i> Overview: By examining youth employment policy, this paper explores how the current strategy of integrating social welfare policy with education policy in accordance with a neo-liberal framework has contributed to the elusive social union in Canada.				
Disc.	William C. Green , <i>Morehead State University</i>				

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| Paper | <u>Ministerial Selection and Institutional Change in Japan</u>
Benjamin Nyblade , <i>University of British Columbia</i>
Robert Pekkanen , <i>University of Washington</i>
Ellis Krauss , <i>University of California, San Diego</i>
Overview: Cabinet appointments in Japan have usually been seen simply as division of spoils amongst LDP politicians. However following the 1994 electoral reform we find that ministerial selection also represents party interests in policy and vote-maximization. | | | | focus on Indian perceptions of its relations with the U.S. and China as well as its role in the strategic triangle. |
| Paper | <u>Money Politics and Opposition Party Weakness in Japan</u>
Carlson M. Carlson , <i>University of Vermont</i>
Overview: Using newly collected campaign finance data, I focus on the empirical linkages between candidate quality, money and votes for incumbents and new candidates in the Democratic Party of Japan. | | | | <u>Paper</u>
<u>China: More Powerful or More Vulnerable?</u>
Imam Xierali , <i>University of Cincinnati</i>
Overview: This paper examines whether Chinese "economic boom" of the last two decades made China more powerful or it made China more vulnerable. The paper argues that it made China more vulnerable rather than more powerful. |
| Disc. | Robert J. Weiner , <i>Cornell University</i> | | | | <u>Disc.</u>
Frank E. Williams , <i>University of South Carolina</i> |
| 11-4 | <u>INTERNATIONAL NORMS</u> | | | | <u>12-4</u>
<u>POLITICS OF ECONOMIC OPENNESS IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD</u> |
| Room | TBA, Thur 3:45 pm | | | | <u>Room</u>
TBA, Thur 3:45 pm |
| Chair | Robyn Linde , <i>University of Minnesota</i> | | | | <u>Chair</u>
Sean D. Erlich , <i>Florida State University</i> |
| Paper | <u>A Rational-Constructivist Explanation for the Evolution and Decline of the Norm Against Mercenarism</u>
Scott M. Fitzsimmons , <i>University of Calgary</i>
Overview: Norms of military practice arise and decline based largely on four key factors: a strong underlying rationale; norm champions; favourable military circumstances; and the transformation of a norm's rationale into unquested assumptions. | | | | <u>Paper</u>
<u>Globalization and Strategies of Social Protection for East Asian Labor</u>
Jinhee L. Choung , <i>University of California, San Diego</i>
Overview: The paper argues that contrary to expectations based on the experiences of OECD countries, welfare provision for the labor sector was done differently in East Asia by introducing rigidities in the labor market that enhance job security. |
| Paper | <u>Three Problems for Just War Theory in the 21st Century</u>
Steven P. Millies , <i>University of South Carolina, Aiken</i>
Sara Hower , <i>St. Cloud State University</i>
Overview: Evolving technical and philosophic issues call for a radical re-examination of the ethical possibility of a just war within our contemporary world. This paper identifies and analyzes some of the problems facing just war theory in the 21st century. | | | | <u>Paper</u>
<u>Gender Equality, Foreign Direct Investment, and Trade Dependence</u>
John A. Dcoes , <i>University of Southern California</i>
Overview: This paper studies the relationship between fertility and gender equality arguing that higher levels of FDI and trade dependence change the opportunity costs of having large families resulting in more gender equality. |
| Paper | <u>The Intrinsic Compliance Pull of Norms</u>
Robyn Linde , <i>University of Minnesota</i>
Overview: TBA | | | | <u>Paper</u>
<u>Varieties of Capitalists? Multinational Production and Labor Rights in the Developing World</u>
Layna Mosley , <i>University of North Carolina</i>
Overview: Assesses the extent to which the impact of multinational production (trade, foreign direct investment and subcontracting) on labor rights varies across economic sectors (e.g. labor vs. capital intensive) and across host countries. |
| Paper | <u>Globalization and Sovereignty: The Persistence of an International Norm</u>
Clayton J. Cleveland , <i>University of Oregon</i>
Overview: Globalization is a fuzzy concept. So is sovereignty. These conceptions seem to be interacting within international politics. The social quality of the institution of sovereignty explains its persistence vis-à-vis globalization forces. | | | | <u>Paper</u>
<u>Political and Social Consequences of Financial Crises: Do Ideational Factors Matter?</u>
Burcu Ucaray , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i>
Nazli Avdan , <i>Duke University</i>
Overview: We contend that domestic institutions, in addition to distribution of interests, explain how well developing states cope with consequences of financial crises. Specifically, our study investigates whether or not ideational factors affect the outcome. |
| Disc. | Andreas von Staden , <i>Princeton University</i> | | | | <u>Paper</u>
<u>Conflict, Geography, and Lootables: The Political Economy of State Predation in Africa</u>
Cameron G. Thies , <i>Louisiana State University</i>
Overview: This paper integrates the literatures on war, political geography, and primary commodities into a single theoretical framework designed to explain state extractive capacity in sub-Saharan Africa. |
| 11-15 | <u>SINO-AMERICAN GREAT POWER POLITICS</u> | | | | <u>Disc.</u>
Ralf Hepp , <i>University of California, Davis</i> |
| Room | TBA, Thur 3:45 pm | | | | |
| Chair | Xinyuan Dai , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> | | | | |
| Paper | <u>It's Not a McWorld, It's a Golden Dragon Buffet World: The Emergence of Chinese Soft Power</u>
Christopher Balding , <i>University of California, Irvine</i>
Overview: Despite the growing hard power of China in the world today arising out of a growing economy and increased political power, there has been scant attention paid to the rise of their soft power. | | | | <u>13-3</u>
<u>COMMUNITY, INTUITIONS, AND CONFLICT</u> |
| Paper | <u>The United States and China: Is Military Conflict Inevitable?</u>
Brent Garrett , <i>Jupiter Corporation/DHS/TSA</i>
Overview: Washington and Beijing are currently buttressing their military presence in the Pacific region. This paper, utilizing realist and hegemonic theories, deals with how the United States and China will handle this potentially volatile situation. | | | | <u>Room</u>
TBA, Thur 3:45 pm |
| Paper | <u>Post Cold War Strategic Triangular Relations of U.S., China and India</u>
Liou To-hai , <i>National Chengchi University, Taiwan</i>
Overview: Sino-Indo-U.S. triangular relationships in the post-Cold War era since India's 1998 nuclear tests, with specific | | | | <u>Chair</u>
Mark A. Souva , <i>Florida State University</i> |
| | | | | | <u>Paper</u>
<u>Collective Violence Dynamics</u>
Yeoun S. Jung-Varley , <i>University of Hawaii</i>
Overview: For any political entity, endogenous pressure converges as external violence, while exogenous pressure results in internal violence. Thus the cause of violence is not in the relations between political actors but within the assailant per se. |
| | | | | | <u>Paper</u>
<u>Rethinking Security Communities: Nonstate Actors in Security Conflicts</u>
Kristina Mani , <i>Oberlin College</i>
Overview: Explores a concept of security communities operating at both international and domestic levels. Proposes a framework that incorporates nonstate actors as protagonists in security conflicts. Qualitative data from contemporary Latin American conflicts |

Paper **Education, Economy and Postmaterial Values: The Evidence from Russia**
Andrew Konitzer, *Austin College*
Renat Shaykhutdinov, *Texas A&M University*
Alexander Pacek, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: Our study critically re-examines the claims advanced by the extant postmaterialism literature. Specifically, we suggest that, in transition polities, economic conditions and education levels might work in an opposite direction than expected.

Paper **Intervention in Government Initiated Ethnic Based Conflict**
Janelle S. Williams, *Florida Memorial University*
 Overview: The nature of ethnic conflict makes it a very distinct and dynamic phenomenon to study because it not only addresses economic deprivation and political repression but also a persistent persecution between or among social groups.

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

Disc. **Leanne C. Powner**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Mark A. Souva, *Florida State University*

13-15 **GENDER, NORMS AND JUSTICE**
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair **Denese A. McArthur**, *Binghamton University*
Paper **Performing Motherhood in an Age of Nuclear Annihilation**
Tina Managhan, *York University*
 Overview: This paper investigates the question of how women's embodied performances functioned in the antinuclear movement to render the logic of M.A.D. as well as sovereign power and hegemonic masculinity, more generally, all rather strange.

Paper **Norm Imposing as a Tool of Norm Creation**
Ridvan E. Peshkopia, *University of Kentucky*
 Overview: The paper proposes a two-level process model of international norms' imposition on emerging democracies.

Paper **Outside or Inside: Violence in an Anthropomorphized Nation**
David E. Toohey, *University of Hawaii*
 Overview: Constructivism argues a systemic politics. Democracy, however, argues that national society creates policy. What is the relation between the two in the past four years? How does this relate to constructivist conceptions of the nation-state?

Paper **Hannah Arendt and Enemy Combatants: New Implications of Statelessness**
Wendy L. Wright, *William Paterson University*
 Overview: Using Arendtian thought to critique the American government's detention of citizens under 'enemy combatant' status provides an arena to understand US domestic policies as an foundation for global action in the War on Terror.

Paper **Human Rights INGOs, Domestic Challengers and Transitional Justice**
Courtney J. Hillebrecht, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Andrew G. Reiter, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Leigh Payne, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: In this paper we explore the aggregation of transitional justice preferences among transnational human rights groups and examine the relationship among transnational human rights actors, domestic challengers and transitional justice outcomes.

Paper **Human Rights INGOs, Domestic Challengers and Transitional Justice**
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Disc. **Runa Das**, *University of Minnesota, Duluth*
Mary Caprioli, *University of Minnesota, Duluth*

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

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

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

Disc. **Richard W. Chadwick**, *University of Hawaii*

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

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

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

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

Disc. **Clayton Thyne**, *University of Iowa*

16-3 **DOMESTIC POLITICS AND THE USE OF FORCE (Co-sponsored with Presidency and Executive Politics, see 33-13)**
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair **Jarold Duquette**, *Central Connecticut State University*
Paper **America's Ally: Why Did Britain Stay out of Vietnam and Go into Iraq?**
Stephen B. Dyson, *Wabash College*
 Overview: In 1965 and 2003, the British Prime Minister was asked to commit troops to an unpopular war. Harold Wilson refused, and Tony Blair agreed. I show that the personality of the Prime Ministers is the key variable accounting for these different outcomes.

Paper	<p><u>Does Experience Matter? Presidential Experience and Foreign Policy Crises</u> Philip B. Potter, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper's empirical findings indicate that the likelihood of an international crisis involving the United States declines by nearly half as Presidents gain experience in office.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Unintended Consequences of International Regimes: A Case Study of Environmental Regimes</u> Jyotika Saksena, <i>University of Indianapolis</i> Matthews M. Mary, <i>Tethys Consultants</i> Overview: The paper looks at the unintended consequences of environmental regimes.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Rally Around the UN: Public Opinion and Peacekeeping in Canada</u> Brian Lai, <i>University of Iowa</i> Kevin Hansen, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: This paper examines whether contributing troops to UN peacekeeping missions can generate a rally effect. Time series evidence on monthly Canadian ruling party support data from 1960-2003 indicates that ruling parties gain from contributing to the UN</p>	Disc.	<p>Songying Fang, <i>University of Minnesota</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Windows to War: Negative Opinion and Presidential Use of Force Decisions</u> Jose D. Villalobos, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This study reconsiders the impact of public opinion on the presidential use of force to explain why opposition, not support, is the proper predictive measure of the use of force, and why it is generally overshadowed by other determinants.</p>	19-2	<p><u>CASTING BALLOTS (Co-sponsored with Methodology, see 31-10)</u> TBA, Thur 3:45 pm</p>
Paper	<p><u>What Determines Duration of the US Presidential Use of Force?</u> Atsushi Tago, <i>University of Tokyo</i> Overview: By using a newly proposed selection model (Boehmke et al. 2006), this study shows domestic constraints do not tie US president's hand to end use of force early. Rather, operation-level/international factors are found to be related to the duration.</p>	Chair	<p>Michael P. Bobic, <i>Emmanuel College</i></p>
Disc.	<p>Carmela Lutmar, <i>Princeton University</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Keeping the Vote: The Use of Provisional Voting in the 2004 Election</u> David J. Andersen, <i>Rutgers University</i> Overview: This paper examines provisional voting in the 2004 general election. It analyzes the effects of nation-wide variance in implementing new Federal requirements that voters denied at the polls be provided failsafe ballots, to be verified post-election.</p>
17-4	<p><u>HOW DO INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WORK?</u></p>	Paper	<p><u>Early Voting, Party Mobilization, and Their Influence on Voter Turnout</u> Morgen S. Johansen, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Party mobilization increases turnout on Election Day but what about early voting turnout? Findings that party mobilization efforts increase early voting and their implications for mobilization and the role of the political parties are discussed.</p>
Room	<p>TBA, Thur 3:45 pm</p>	Paper	<p><u>The 2004 Election Day Survey</u> Michael P. McDonald, <i>George Mason University</i> Overview: In 2004, the Election Assistance Commission collected local level election data, from voter registration to casting and counting of ballots. As a consultant to the EAC, I overview the data and provide analysis of provisional and absentee balloting</p>
Chair	<p>Songying Fang, <i>University of Minnesota</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Is It Better To Be First Or Last? The Ballot Order Effect</u> Betsy Sinclair, <i>California Institute of Technology</i> Michael Alvarez, <i>California Institute of Technology</i> Overview: Previous empirical research and other related research from survey methodology holds that candidates listed first on an election ballot gain some measure of advantage from this ballot placement. Using data from the 1998, 2000, and 2002 general election.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Constraining and Constitutive Effects of International Organizations</u> Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: This paper explores the constraining and constitutive effects of IO memberships by comparing the management of contentious issues that arise prior to and after IO formation, and examining the effects of the duration of IO memberships on bargaining.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Election Day Voter Centers and Voter Turnout</u> Robert M. Stein, <i>Rice University</i> Gregory Vonnahme, <i>Rice University</i> Overview: The popularity of early voting and other forms of convenience voting suggests that many voters prefer the convenience afforded by early voting. These reforms, however, have failed to significantly increase voter turnout.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Understanding the Role of Third Parties in Cross-Border Conflict: Lessons from the Danube in Transnational Policy-Making</u> Stephanie L. Sillay, <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i> Overview: Building on insights drawn from game theoretic models, this paper presents a framework for understanding the incentives that institutions for third-party dispute resolution create for domestic and international actors in transnational policy-making.</p>	Disc.	<p>Kevin Arceneaux, <i>Temple University</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Fighting Corruption Through the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention</u> Gaye B. Muderrisoglu, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: The model is a variation on the international coordination dilemma (Morrow 1994), as applied to state collusion via the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention. The paper shows how built in trigger punishment strategies result in cooperation in the first round.</p>	19-201	<p><u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ELITES AND MASS PARTISAN CHANGE</u></p>
Paper	<p><u>The Design of Monitoring Institutions in International Cooperation</u> Hyeran Jo, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: I propose a formal model where states design monitoring institutions by choosing from the following menu of options: no information system, a reporting system, a verification agency or a judicial body.</p>	Room	<p>TBA, Thur 3:45 pm</p>
		Presenter	<p><u>Candidates' Draft and Partisan Change in Mexico, 2000-2002</u> Luis Estrada, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: Candidates' personalities may be the rule of thumb when individuals vote. Do individuals change parties when their candidates do so? Using the 2000-2002 Mexico Panel Study, I observe the relationship between party ID and candidates' personalities.</p>
		Presenter	<p><u>Information, Uncertainty, and Party Identification</u> Andrew D. Garner, <i>University of Mississippi</i> Overview: This paper examines the role of issue uncertainty on party identification. Uncertainty conditions the degree to which party identification is endogenous to issue positions and reduces the probability that citizens identify with political parties.</p>

19-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: YOUNG AND OLD VOTERS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Presenter **Do Older People Vote Differently? A Longitudinal Analysis of Britain and Germany**

Achim Goerres, *London School of Economics*

Overview: Several hypotheses of older people's voting behaviour are tested. Older people can be different from other age groups because they belong to different generations. Socialization at young age is more important than life cycle interests at old age.

21-2 ELECTORAL RULES AND PARTY DISCIPLINE

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Chair **Theodore T. Hindson, *Texas State University, San Marcos***

Paper **Politics of Electoral Defection: Do Electoral Systems Matter?**

Alex C. Chang, *University of Iowa*

Overview: In this paper, I use game theory to simulate party-legislator relation. I find that benefit-cost ratio of legislative seats determines the frequency of political defection. A cross-national analysis also proves this finding.

Paper **Party Discipline, Voter Heterogeneity, and the Notion of Representation: The Strange Case of Spain**

Jeremy J. Albright, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Overview: This paper explores how multi-level government in Spain has functioned to compensate for substantial distortions created by the country's electoral system.

Paper **Understanding the Electoral College**

Robert M. Alexander, *Ohio Northern University*

Brittani Knisely, *Ohio Northern University*

Tiffany Ferry, *Ohio Northern University*

Adam Gallagher, *Ohio Northern University*

Steve Kochheiser, *Ohio Northern University*

Barbara Tate, *Ohio Northern University*

Tina Loughry, *Ohio Northern University*

Overview: This essay uses a mail survey of presidential electors from the 2000 and 2004 campaigns in an effort to unmask these elusive gatekeepers to the American presidency.

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

22-1 GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS TO PUBLIC POLICY PREFERENCES ACROSS POLICY DOMAINS

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Chair **Larry Bartels, *Princeton University***

Paper **Issue Salience and Electoral Accountability**

Brandice Canes-Wrone, *Princeton University*

David Brady, *Stanford University*

Michael Cutrone, *Princeton University*

Overview: We examine whether the impact of House members' legislative votes on electoral performance depends upon the salience of the legislative votes.

Paper **Issue Ownership and Representation Across Policy Domains**

Patrick J. Egan, *University of California, Berkeley*

Overview: This paper presents a theory and a test of how "issue ownership"--the varying degree to which the public trusts the political parties to handle policy issues--causes the representation of constituency opinion to differ across policy domains.

Paper **Public Opinion, Race, and Public Policy**

John Griffin, *University of Notre Dame*

Brian Newman, *Pepperdine University*

Overview: We examine racial differences in responsiveness, comparing changes in federal spending across nine policy domains with racial groups' preferences. We find that racial minorities exert much more influence on issues they care more about.

Paper Inequality and Responsiveness to Public Preferences Across Issue Domains

Martin Gilens, *Princeton University*

Overview: My previous research has shown that high income Americans are much more likely to see their policy preferences reflected in government policy. In this paper, I explore the limits of this inequality and its variation across issue areas.

Paper **Representational Segmentation**

Lawrence R. Jacobs, *University of Minnesota*

Benjamin I. Page, *Northwestern University*

Overview: Our paper will synthesize new and old research on unequal voice and disparities in representation. Our basic focus will be to identify systematic forces in the American political system that privilege the voice and influence of segments of the public

Disc. **Benjamin I. Page, *Northwestern University***

Larry Bartels, *Princeton University*

22-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: MANIPULATING PUBLIC OPINION

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Presenter **Influencing Opinion to Agree with Policy: A Strategy for Change**

Amy M. Beckius-Johnson, *University of South Dakota*

Overview: The focus of this paper is to develop a strategy to reshape public opinion regarding unpopular policy. Observations of political behavior from the public will be used as well as modern examples of latent policy recovery.

Presenter **Priming, Personality, and Perceptions of the United Nations**

Paul W. Burton, *Michigan State University*

Overview: This project uses a survey experiment to test the effect of positive and negative stimuli on the public's perceptions of the United Nations. The goal of which is to achieve a better understanding of how public opinion can be manipulated.

22-204 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ATTITUDES ABOUT HEALTH CARE

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Presenter **Mass Media and Public Opinion in Canada: The State of Healthcare**

Kelly R. Blidook, *McGill University*

Overview: The issue of healthcare has been dominant in recent Canadian elections and has remained a key issue on the policy agenda beyond elections. This paper aims to expose media framing effects on public perceptions of the actual state of healthcare.

23-10 COMMUNITY DIVERSITY AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Chair **David E. Campbell, *University of Notre Dame***

Paper **Residential Income Diversity and Political Participation**

David E. Campbell, *University of Notre Dame*

John Griffin, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: This project will examine whether the effects of residential income diversity on the civic engagement and participation of citizens varies across income groups.

Paper **Racial Context, Economic Competition, and Political Participation**

Tetsuya Matsubayashi, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: Using data from Citizen Participation Study merged with 1990 census data, this research addresses three questions: Does racial context have a significant effect on mass participation? How can we modify existing arguments by taking account of other con

Paper **Race, Racial Environment and Political Participation in American Cities**

Daniel Rubenson, *University of Montreal*

Overview: This paper analyses the effects of racial environment on electoral and nonelectoral political participation in American

cities, arguing that better measures of diversity are needed and effects on different racial groups need to be analyzed separately
Disc. **Brian Reed, Millikin University**

24-7 MEDIA EFFECTS IN THE STATES

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Chair **Sara M. Gubala, Michigan State University**

Paper **Turning Purple? How Blue Candidates Deal with Red States and Vice Versa**

Brian K. Arbour, University of Texas, Austin

Laura Barberena, University of Texas, Austin

Ernest McGowen, University of Texas, Austin

Overview: A paper examining the different images and rhetoric used by parties and candidates in electoral advertisements.

Special attention given to issues owned by a particular party and any variability in message these or other factors produce.

Paper **The Web of Candidates and Parties: Internet Functionality in the 2004 Election**

Diana T. Cohen, University of Florida

Overview: This paper explores how state parties and Senate candidates utilized the Web in electoral strategy during the 2004 election, including what purposes the Internet served and what Web-based tools were found most effective.

Paper **Majoritarian Media: Evidence from the American States**

Micah D. Weinberg, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Overview: Using the American states as a test case, this study establishes the conditions under which we should expect the media to improve the connection between public opinion and public policy and hence promote democratic policy outcomes.

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

24-301 POSTER SESSION: MASS MEDIA AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Presenter **New Literacy and Political Communication**

Room TBA, Board 1, Thur 3:45 pm

Stephen C. Brooks, University of Akron

Overview: This essay considers the study of the new use of information (new literacy) to understand changes in political communication for the future. It also recommends how scholars can use new literacy as a lens to study changing trends in our field.

Presenter **The Da Vinci Code Effect: Leo Strauss, the Neocons and the Paranoid Style**

Room TBA, Board 2, Thur 3:45 pm

Nathan D. Abrams, University of Aberdeen

Overview: This paper will analyse the uses to which Leo Strauss and the neocons have been put since September 11, 2001 in order to understand the workings of American political culture -- and the use and abuses of ideas along the whole political spectrum.

Presenter **Obituaries as Sources of Political Information**

Room TBA, Board 3, Thur 3:45 pm

Shannon I. Smithy, Westminster College

Overview: 60 years worth of obituaries are analyzed to track political events as well as individuals' political interests and affiliations.

Presenter **The Story in a Story: The Impact of Picture Sequences in Newspaper Articles on Candidate Evaluation**

Room TBA, Board 4, Thur 3:45 pm

Jurgen Maier, Kaiserslautern University of Technology

Overview: This experimental study used data from two universities in Germany and the United States and analyzes the impact of different picture sequences on the evaluation of politicians.

Presenter **Newspapers and the Provision of Political Source Cues**

Room TBA, Board 5, Thur 3:45 pm

David Schwieder, Susquehanna University

Overview: My paper supplements existing work on heuristic reasoning by examining the provision of heuristic source cues in newspaper stories on politics. I find that the "source cue environment" in newspapers facilitates successful source cue based reasoning

Presenter **Television and Voter Turnout**

Room TBA, Board 6, Thur 3:45 pm

Matthew A. Gentzkow, University of Chicago

Overview: I use variation across markets in the timing of television's introduction to identify its impact on voter turnout. The estimated effect is significantly negative, accounting for between a quarter and a half of the decline in turnout since the 1950s.

25-3 EXPLAINING GENDER DIFFERENCES IN POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Chair **Sherry L. Martin, Cornell University**

Paper **Are Girls Checking Out? Gender and Political Socialization in Transitioning Democracies**

Suzanne Soule, Center for Civic Education

Jennifer Nairne, Center for Civic Education

Overview: Studies have shown that this gender gap appears early in the life cycle, as early as adolescence. I will use data from transitioning democracies to examine gender differences among adolescents' political attitudes, interest and engagement.

Paper **Exploring the Dynamics of the Gender Gap in Efficacy and Participation**

Nadia Khatib, Stony Brook University

Erin C. Cassese, Stony Brook University

Overview: In this study, we employ the 2000-2004 NES panel study to evaluate the determinants of both efficacy and participation, as well as the relationship between these critical constructs, and the consistency of these relationships across gender groups.

Paper **Understanding Gender Differences in Political Interest**

Debra A. Horner, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Overview: This research explores the "gender gap" in political interest by analyzing the differences in how men and women define political interest--from a taste for politics to a sense of stake in outcomes.

Paper **Gender Differences in Political Knowledge: Distinguishing Characteristics-Based and Returns-Based Differences**

Jay K. Dow, University of Missouri, Columbia

Kenneth Troske, University of Kentucky

Overview: We use the Oaxaca decomposition methodology to assess whether gender based differences in political knowledge primarily result from differences in observable attributes or differences in returns for otherwise equivalent characteristics.

Paper **Family Socialization, Gender Differences, and Political Interest in China**

Robert Harmel, Texas A&M University

Wei Shan, Texas A&M University

Overview: Unlike most extant studies of gender differences on political attitudes in China, which tend to seek explanation from respondents' own socioeconomic background and status, this study posits and finds a significant role for family socialization.

Disc. **Elizabeth S. Smith, Furman University**

Sherry L. Martin, Cornell University

25-102 LECTURE: TEACHING CASE STUDIES ON WOMEN AND PUBLIC POLICY (Co-sponsored with Teaching Political Science and Midwest Women's Caucus, see 48-104 and 49-107)

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Lecturer **Sally J. Kenney, University of Minnesota**

Overview: A workshop designed to introduce participants to the case study method, how to find cases and instructional materials, and the Center on Women and Public Policy's case study program

26-6	<u>ASIAN AMERICAN POLITICS</u>				
Room	TBA, Thur 3:45 pm				
Chair	Himanee Gupta-Carlson, <i>University of Hawaii</i>				
Paper	<u>In Pursuit of Inclusion: Citizenship Acquisition Among Asian Immigrants</u> Janelle Wong, <i>University of Southern California</i> Adrian Pantoja, <i>Arizona State University</i> Overview: This paper examines the naturalization of Asian immigrants in the US by analyzing the standard socio-demographic determinants as well as a plethora of political, religious, and transnational factors largely ignored in past studies.				
Paper	<u>Divided Loyalties and the Problem of Asian-American Party Acquisition</u> Shyam K. Sriram, <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: This paper attempts to solve the puzzle of why socio-economic factors do little to predict party identification among Asian-Americans.				
Paper	<u>Politics of Signage and Space: Claims-Making in the Case of Little India</u> Moon-Young Choi, <i>University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: This case study of "Little India" examines factors influencing the claims-making process toward "ethnic space." I study the specific political dimensions of linking race/ethnicity to space in terms of how such spaces are demarcated and recognized.				
Paper	<u>Ideology and Party Identification of Asian-Americans in Houston</u> P. See Lim, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper examines the ideology and party identification of Asian-Americans in Houston. This is a very interesting group to study because their higher socioeconomic status is not translated into voting turnout.				
Disc.	Jason P. Casellas, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i>				
27-5	<u>FIVE SITES FOR FEMINIST POLITICS: WORK, HOME, ETHICS, CYBORGS, AND CINEMA (Co-sponsored with Gender and Politics, see 25-16)</u>				
Room	TBA, Thur 3:45 pm				
Chair	John S. Nelson, <i>University of Iowa</i>				
Paper	<u>Should Feminists Be Cyborgs?</u> Joan M. Blauwkamp, <i>University of Nebraska, Kearney</i> Nicole R. Krassas, <i>Eastern Connecticut State University</i> Overview: Building on Donna Haraway's cyborg manifesto, we analyze cyborg exemplars from science fiction to assess the potential of cyborgs to challenge sexist dualisms along with the logics and practices of domination that spring from them.				
Paper	<u>Can Homo Economicus Come Home Again? Households as Sites of Resistance</u> Alexandra M. Kogl, <i>University of Northern Iowa</i> Overview: The ideal abstract worker of liberal economic discourse relies on a hegemonic construction of masculinity yet constructs an ideal of personhood that is unattractive for men and women alike. Can households serve as sites of resistance to this ideal?				
Paper	<u>Gods and Monsters: Feminist Theory, Arendt, and the Sincerity Norm in Deliberative Democracy</u> Elizabeth Markovits, <i>Saint Louis University</i> Overview: This paper critiques deliberative theory's emphasis on sincerity in discourse, as well as Aristotle's notion of ethos, arguing that attention to the presumed moral interior of speakers actually harms the quality of discourse.				
Paper	<u>From Femme Fatale to Femmes Focales? Feminist Protagonists in Film Noir</u> John S. Nelson, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: Hollywood has returned lately to film noir, but with a difference: it no longer restricts women to deadly females, deceitful spider women, and passive victims. Women protagonists are remaking the genre, especially its takes on gender and politics.				
Paper	<u>Motherhood and Equality</u> James Chalmers, <i>Wayne State University</i> Overview: Women in America still come up short. Why? Chiefly because of the division of labor in the home. Equality appears to require that fathers care for children as do mothers. Yet maternal desire appears to be legitimate. Is it? If it is, what follows?				
Disc.	Eloise Buker, <i>St. Louis University</i>				
27-20	<u>STATE AND SOCIETY IN MODERN THOUGHT</u>				
Room	TBA, Thur 3:45 pm				
Chair	Edward F. McClennen, <i>Syracuse University</i>				
Paper	<u>The Emergence of the Modern State from Medieval Disorder</u> Daniel M. Paltzer, <i>Lawrence University</i> Overview: Examining the unexpected difference between medieval theory and the political reality and the development of the social contract theories in conjunction with the growth of state power.				
Paper	<u>The State of Nature and the Formation of the "Good" State in Politics</u> G. Patrick Lynch, <i>Liberty Fund</i> Overview: Both traditional and formal political theorists have long relied on constructing a starting point or "state of nature" as the basis for building their vision of the "good" state.				
Paper	<u>Rational Society</u> Edward F. McClennen, <i>Syracuse University</i> Overview: New rational choice foundations for political theory and its use to defend both an expansive set of constitutional rights, and a principle of justice that tolerates only those inequalities that serve the mutual interests of participants.				
Paper	<u>Rethinking the State as a Technology of Domination</u> Xavier I. Marquez, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: I present and defend a view of the state as a technology of domination. This view draws on, but is in some significant respects different from, the view of the state that is dominant in political science today, namely, the Weberian view.				
Disc.	Evan P. Riley, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Greg Sadler, <i>Ball State University</i>				
28-4	<u>DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY: THEORY AND PRACTICE</u>				
Room	TBA, Thur 3:45 pm				
Chair	Stephen P. Chilton, <i>University of Minnesota, Duluth</i>				
Paper	<u>Of Radical Democrats and Great Republics: Agnes Heller's Political Thought</u> Anthony Kamas, <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: This paper will focus on a particular aspect of Agnes Heller's immense contribution to political thought—specifically her writings on democratic citizenship and politics.				
Paper	<u>Expanding the Democratic Ideal: Inclusion and Deliberative Democracy</u> Timothy Dale, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: This paper considers Iris Young's call for expanded inclusion in the processes of deliberative democracy. The paper examines Young's approach to inclusion, assessing both its promise and the possible limits of inclusion for her democratic ideal.				
Paper	<u>Egalitarian Theory as Policymaking Framework</u> Isaiah L. O'Rear, <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: I argue that egalitarian theory should provide a framework for policymaking. It should emphasize responsiveness to public conceptions of justice and provide methods for formulating just policy using the limited information available to policymakers.				
Paper	<u>Habermas and American Electoral Campaigns: Deliberative Responsibilities and Possibilities</u> Johnny Goldfinger, <i>Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis</i> Michael R. James, <i>Bucknell University</i> Overview: Habermas's understanding of deliberative democracy is used to provide a critique of the electoral process in America.				

	We examine current campaign practices, the role of the media, and the behavior of the electorate.				
Paper	<u>The Evolution of Ideal Speech in the Thought of Jurgen Habermas</u> David V. Schwab, <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i> Overview: This paper examines the evolution of the ideal speech situation in Habermas' thought. It is argued that as Habermas' concerns have changed, ideal speech has evolved from a pure sociological construct to one displaying transcendental elements.		Paper	<u>Theorizing Lived Experience: Existence, Suffering and the Normative Cycle</u> Giunia Gatta, <i>University of Minnesota/The Ohio State University</i> Overview: Suffering is a powerful political reality, which largely falls beyond the scope of contemporary political science. In this paper I draw a phenomenology of suffering and theorize its implication for political thought and political action.	
Disc.	Charles T. Rubin, <i>Duquesne University</i> Stephen P. Chilton, <i>University of Minnesota, Duluth</i>		Disc.	Brooke A. Ackerly, <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Iris M. Young, <i>University of Chicago</i>	
29-5	<u>DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY</u>		29-203	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PERSONHOOD AND THE SOVEREIGN STATE</u>	
Room	TBA, Thur 3:45 pm		Room	TBA, Thur 3:45 pm	
Chair	Robert Mayer, <i>Loyola University, Chicago</i>		Presenter	<u>State Sovereignty and the Idea of a Universal Person</u> Margaret Jenkins, <i>University of Toronto</i> Overview: This paper examines the idea of a universal person in theoretical approaches to international justice and offers a conceptualization of the individual and the state that specifies the scope of human rights and the conditions for state sovereignty.	
Paper	<u>American Political Polarization as Disagreement Failure</u> Phil Neisser, <i>SUNY, Potsdam</i> Overview: Key moments in American political history are defined as "disagreement failures," leading to the conclusion that deliberative democracy requires both the celebration of disagreement and the crossing of multiple borders through dialogue				
Paper	<u>Alternative Theories of Rationality in Deliberative Democracy</u> Zsuzsanna Chappell, <i>London School of Economics</i> Overview: Deliberative democracy is founded on the underspecified notion of communicative rationality. I demonstrate that strategic rationality is a more realistic underlying assumption on which to develop democratic theory.		29-204	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE COSMOPOLITAN SUBJECT</u>	
Paper	<u>Deliberation: From Immediate to Mediated Communication</u> Molly A. Patterson, <i>Aquinas College</i> Overview: This paper explores the relationship between face-to-face communication and mediated deliberation in Habermas/E work. How, and how well, Habermas manages this transition has implications for how we conceive of and institutionalize deliberation.		Room	TBA, Thur 3:45 pm	
Paper	<u>The Individual Benefits of Deliberative Democracy - An Experiment</u> Edmond D. Hally, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: This paper tests whether or not the individual-level benefits typically associated with theories of deliberative democracy are plausible in an experimental setting.		Presenter	<u>The Cosmopolitan Subject: Cosmopolitanism as Responsibility to the Self</u> Jennie S. Han, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: I argue cosmopolitanism is best conceptualized not as a set of principles, but as a form of moral subjectivity. The then is to articulate the cosmopolitan consciousness and conscience as processes of thinking and making judgments about the world.	
Disc.	Robert Mayer, <i>Loyola University, Chicago</i> William A. Gorton, <i>Alma College</i>		30-5	<u>FORMAL THEORIES OF COMPARATIVE INSTITUTIONS</u>	
29-9	<u>MARGINALITY AND PERSPECTIVE IN POLITICAL THOUGHT</u>		Room	TBA, Thur 3:45 pm	
Room	TBA, Thur 3:45 pm		Chair	Seok-ju Cho, <i>Yale University</i>	
Chair	Iris M. Young, <i>University of Chicago</i>		Paper	<u>Models of Government Formation Process in Semi-Presidential Systems</u> Shin-Goo Kang, <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: This paper presents two models of government formation process in Semi-Presidential systems, in which the selection of formateur is endogenously determined by the president who has the power to choose a formateur among parties.	
Paper	<u>Theorizing from the Margins with Situated Theorists</u> Eleanor B. Fleming, <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Overview: Scholars doing problem-based inquiry cannot answer completely their questions, if they overlook people most affected by those political problems. Scholars should listen to situated theorists to engage their ideas and their political praxis.		Paper	<u>Logrolling in Intergovernmental Negotiations</u> Frank Arndt, <i>Universität Mannheim</i> Overview: I investigate the impact of political exchange during the Amsterdam Intergovernmental Conference 1996-97. An agent-based simulation is applied to model preference aggregation under unanimity rule with a special focus on logrolling processes.	
Paper	<u>Representing the Borderlands</u> Yvonne A. Gastelum, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: Borderlands represent political space in transition. They articulate a significant perspective for theorizing about justice in an interdependent world bound by transnational labor mobility and migration.		Paper	<u>Evolution of Party Systems Inside the Electoral Cycle</u> Sorin-Gabriel M. Sebe, <i>Bucharest University</i> Overview: Using basic concepts as volatility, polarisation, fractionalization in a multilevel structure, we treat the dynamics of the party system evolution inside the electoral cycle. The case of the present Romanian electoral cycle is used as an illustration	
Paper	<u>Liberalism and Civic Assimilation: A New Look at Minority Nations</u> Troy A. Kozma, <i>Wilfrid Laurier University</i> Overview: Why do minority nationals resist membership in liberal states? I argue that liberalism demands their civic assimilation. I propose a new social contract between majority and minority - a Federation of Peoples - modeled upon Rawls' Society of Peoples.		Disc.	Seok-ju Cho, <i>Yale University</i>	
			30-18	<u>FORMAL THEORIES OF POLITICAL PARTIES</u>	
			Room	TBA, Thur 3:45 pm	
			Chair	Sean Gailmard, <i>Northwestern University</i>	
			Paper	<u>Identity, Partisanship and Party Government</u> Elizabeth M. Penn, <i>Harvard University</i> John W. Patty, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: We examine the implications of identity within a model of legislative policymaking. Applying our theory to the U.S. House of Representatives, we provide an alternative view	

of how partisan affiliation affects both legislative structure and policy

Paper **Understanding Minority Party Power**
William T. Bianco, *Pennsylvania State University*
Itai Sened, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: Minority legislative parties are often taken to be powerless in the face of a majority coalition that controls the government and the legislative agenda. We assess this conjecture using the uncovered set and data from the U. S. House.

Paper **Partisan Risk Preferences and U.S. Presidential Budgetary Priorities**
George A. Krause, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: My aim is to integrate the theoretical and statistical study of U.S. presidential budgetary priorities by analyzing presidents' varying partisan risk preferences involving defense and non-defense spending, respectively.

Paper **Why Ideology? Political Philosophy Under the Influence of Psychology and Self-Interest**
Hans Noel, *Princeton University*
 Overview: This paper formalizes John Rawls' concept of "reflective equilibrium," but accounts for biased reasoning from psychological predispositions or self-interest. The model shows that intellectuals build coalitions, which we would call "ideologies."

Disc. **Sean Gailmard**, *Northwestern University*

31-8 **MEASUREMENT AND DESIGN**
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair **Jefferson Gill**, *University of California, Davis*
Paper **Votes to Seats Rules and Representation in PR Electoral Systems**
John E. Jackson, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: TBA

Paper **Methods for Assessing Voting System Performance: Evaluating LA County's InkaVote Using GIS**
Iris Hui, *University of California, Berkeley*
Henry Brady, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: This paper provides an overview of the existing methods in detecting performance of voting systems and voting irregularities. In addition to using scatter plots or regression methods, we propose a stronger research design using GIS and use LA's InkaV

Paper **Take That, You Lousy Dimension: An Assessment of the Multi-dimensionality of Manifesto-based Left/Right Placements**
Ryan S. Bakker, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
David Armstrong, *University of Maryland*
 Overview: The Comparative Manifesto Project is the most widely used source of data for placing parties on a left/right dimension. Close analysis of these data, however, show that they are seriously flawed in terms measurement theory.

Paper **Conceptualizing and Typologizing Immigrant Nonprofits in American Urban Politics**
Els de Graauw, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: As a methodological exercise, this paper conceptualizes and typologizes nonprofit organizations as actors in American urban politics by bringing together the literature on typological theorizing, interview data, and newspaper content analysis.

Disc. **Kosuke Imai**, *Princeton University*

32-7 **INTEREST GROUP STRATEGIES**
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair **Michael T. Heaney**, *University of Florida*
Paper **Lobbying the Public: The Impact of 527 Advertisements on News Coverage**
Mary C. Deason, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
 Overview: This paper examines the impact of 527 organized interests' efforts at lobbying the public. It shows how 527 advertisements were able to influence the agenda by increasing local news coverage of their issue.

Paper **Interest Groups and Issue Framing: A Longitudinal Analysis**
Jessica C. Gerrity, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: This paper examines interest group efforts, as they develop over a ten year period, to shape the public debate surrounding two political issues.

Paper **Rights and Remedies: Interest Groups, Constitutionality, and Policy**
Christine B. Ledvinka, *University of Georgia*
 Overview: Research suggests a link between interest group participation in Supreme Court outcomes and in resulting agency policy implementation. Does interest group intervention in Supreme Court due process cases influence remedy-based policy implementation?

Paper **The Organization of Web-Based Collective Action**
Azi Lev-on, *University of Pennsylvania*
 Overview: We offer a preliminary analysis of the logic behind the success of web-supported collective action.

Paper **The Political Activity of Sex Segregated Occupational Organizations**
Aimee Shouse, *Western Illinois University*
 Overview: This paper compares and contrasts the political activities of trade and professional associations for occupations that are highly segregated by sex, including activities such as congressional testimony and grassroots efforts.

Disc. **James W. Endersby**, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

33-1 **EXECUTIVE POWER IN THE U.S. CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM**
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair **Caroline E. Heldman**, *Whittier College*
Paper **Who's the Threat?: Presidential Efforts to Suspend Habeas Corpus**
Dana R. B. Adams, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: Elite framing of security threats, rather than the objective nature of the threat itself, is a key factor in explaining the adoption of formalized security policies that cross-cut constitutional authority.

Paper **Tough Times for the President**
Ryan J. Barilleaux, *Miami University*
Marc Bacharach, *Miami University*
Jewel Maxwell, *Miami University*
 Overview: Scholars generally assume that presidents wield power when they enjoy broad political influence, but even weakened presidents are often able to act. Why? A study of "tough times for the president" helps to answer this question.

Paper **Borrowing Executive Legitimacy: Presidential Recruitment of Ex-Presidents**
Whitney N. Garrison, *University of Oregon*
James A. Rydberg, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: An examination of the use of ex-presidents by current presidents. Drawing upon an original dataset of Presidential Interaction Events and historical analysis, this study shows the conditions under which ex-presidents are likely to be recruited.

Paper **Executive Orders and the Office of Legal Counsel**
Tobias T. Gibson, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: I argue that the president is constrained in the degree to which he can "legislate" via executive order. I find that proposed executive orders are regularly altered, or never issued, due to legal issues found during the OLC review.

Disc. **Andrew C. Rudalevige**, *Dickinson College*

34-20 **UPDATING AND EXPLAINING LEGISLATIVE VOTING BEHAVIOR**
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair **Kristina Miler**, *University of Illinois*
Paper **'Groupthink' Amongst Congressional Classes**
Matthew G. Jarvis, *University of California, Berkeley*
Justin Buchler, *Case Western Reserve University*
 Overview: Why are incoming classes of Members of Congress so similarly behaved when they represent often very dissimilar

	districts? This paper explores the degree to which 'groupthink' explains behavior of incoming cohorts of Members of Congress.				
Paper	<u>Where You Sit is Where You Stand: Using GIS to Measure the Influence of Seating Proximity on Legislative Voting</u> Seth E. Masket, <i>University of Denver</i> Overview: This paper utilizes legislative ideal points and GIS software to determine the impact of seating arrangements on legislative voting in the California Assembly. Seating assignments are shown to be highly determinative of future voting behavior.			Paper	<u>Bosom Buddies: Are Voters and Their Representatives a Match Made in Heaven?</u> Suzanne M. Gold, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: Much research has examined how well congressional representatives match up with their districts. Using a comprehensive data set, I show that representatives and their districts do fit together in terms of party, ideology, and issue positions.
Paper	<u>Scoring the Senate: Parties, Scorecards, and Voting in the U.S. Senate</u> Jason M. Roberts, <i>University of Minnesota</i> Lauren Cohen Bell, <i>Randolph Macon College</i> Overview: In this paper, we seek to understand how senators negotiate the conflict between parties and interest groups on votes that groups choose to score.			Disc.	Michael J. Ensley, <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i>
Paper	<u>Re-adjusting Interest Group Ratings for Cross Chamber and Time Comparability</u> Jeffrey B. Lewis, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Timothy J. Groseclose, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: We present several improvements and extensions to Groseclose, Levitt, and Snyder's (APSR, 1999) statistical model for adjusting the ADA and other interest groups rating scores of Members of Congress so that those scores can be compared across time			35-301	<u>POSTER SESSION: REPRESENTATION, ELECTIONS, AND THE U.S. CONGRESS</u>
Paper	<u>Progressive Ambition and the Cartel Agenda Model</u> Gregory Robinson, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: I test a prediction from cartel agenda theory, that progressively ambitious House members adjust their roll call behavior to accommodate the statewide Senate constituency they hope to win on final passage votes but not on votes on special rules.			Presenter	<u>U.S. House District Constituency Size and the Impact on Representation</u>
Disc.	Valentino Larcinese, <i>The London School of Economics and Political Science</i>			Room	TBA, Board 7, Thur 3:45 pm Brian P. Frederick, <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: The average number of constituents each member of the U.S. House now serves has soared to over 600,000. This paper attempts to develop a series of empirical measures to estimate the impact of district population size on legislative representation.
35-3	<u>LINKAGES BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES AND CONSTITUENTS</u>			Presenter	<u>Strategic Moderation, Shirking, and Participation in the U.S. Senate</u>
Room	TBA, Thur 3:45 pm			Room	TBA, Board 8, Thur 3:45 pm Jennifer A. Cooper, <i>Emory University</i> Overview: Do legislators change their behavior over the course of a term? Extant literature supports the idea that strategic moderation and shirking play a role in legislators' roll-call voting behavior. This paper extends the theory to non-voting behavior.
Chair	Kristin L. Campbell, <i>McKendree College</i>			Presenter	<u>Congressional Approval and Electoral Connection: A Dynamic Model</u>
Paper	<u>Electoral Institutions and Constituency Representation in the U.S. Senate: The Case of the 17th Amendment</u> Rhonda L. Wrzenski, <i>Louisiana State University</i> James C. Garand, <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: In this paper we explore the effects of the 17th Amendment on changes in patterns of policy responsiveness in the U.S. Senate. Using data from the 51st-76th Congresses, we estimate models of responsiveness for the pre- and post-amendment periods.			Room	TBA, Board 9, Thur 3:45 pm Gizen Arikan, <i>Stony Brook University</i> Overview: The paper addresses the problem of endogeneity in the analysis of congressional elections. Congressional approval and vote intention are modeled simultaneously to capture the dynamic relationship between the vote and evaluations of Congress.
Paper	<u>Tyranny of the Minority: Subconstituency Politics Theory of Representation</u> Benjamin G. Bishin, <i>University of Miami</i> Overview: This paper develops a theory of representation that holds that candidates appeal to groups rather than to individuals to overcome the apathy and ignorance that limits the degree to which most individuals participate.			Presenter	<u>Historical Mandate Elections, 1866-2004</u>
Paper	<u>Do Politicians Do What Voters Want? A Natural Experiment</u> Jeffrey Lazarus, <i>Georgia State University</i> Richard Engstrom, <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: After a redistricting, House members might face a constituency which is more liberal or more conservative than before. We investigate whether this change prompts a corresponding change in behavior.			Room	TBA, Board 10, Thur 3:45 pm James E. Monogan, III, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: After mandate elections, members of Congress adjust their voting patterns temporarily. Using historical data, I determine whether these reactions come from globally rational members of Congress or from boundedly rational members.
Paper	<u>Candidates, Campaigns, and Tides: A Look at Three Time Periods</u> Eric M. McGhee, <i>University of Oregon</i> John Sides, <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: We explore the national and district-level components in voting for the U.S. House, using all three NES panels to explore the effect of modern campaigning on these correlates of change.			Disc.	William Kubik, <i>Hanover College</i> Brian Sala, <i>University of California, Davis</i>
				36-19	<u>EXPLAINING PERCEPTIONS OF JUDICIAL LEGITIMACY</u>
				Room	TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
				Chair	Lawrence Baum, <i>The Ohio State University</i>
				Paper	<u>Politicized Confirmation Processes and the Legitimacy of the U.S. Supreme Court</u> James L. Gibson, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Gregory Caldeira, <i>The Ohio State University</i> Overview: This paper will examine the impact of politicized confirmation processes on the perceived legitimacy of the U.S. Supreme Court, based on a panel study of a nationally representative survey.
				Paper	<u>The Impact that Race and Gender Diversity on the Bench Has on Litigants</u> Nancy Scherer, <i>The Ohio State University</i> Brett Curry, <i>The Ohio State University</i> Overview: Using an experimental approach, we address the question: does racial and gender diversity on the federal bench increase institutional legitimacy of the justice system.

Paper **An Experimental Study of the Influence of Precedent on Views of Legitimacy of Supreme Court Decisions**
James F. Spriggs, *University of California, Davis*
John T. Scott, *University of California, Davis*
James R. Zink, *University of California, Davis*
 Overview: We use an experimental design to isolate the use of precedent in a judicial decision and determine its influence on the degree to which a respondent agrees with the court decision.

Paper **Separation of Powers and Judicial Legitimacy in Latin American**
Lee D. Walker, *University of Kentucky*
 Overview: This article examines directly the effect of presidential domination of the judiciary on citizens' attitudes toward the legitimacy of the judiciary using survey data in 5 Latin American countries.

Disc. **Thomas G. Hansford**, *University of South Carolina*

38-11 **CITIZENS MAKING POLICY**
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair **E. L. Bernick**, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*
Paper **Same-Sex Marriage and State Ballot Propositions**
Arnold Fleischmann, *University of Georgia*
Laura Moyer, *University of Georgia*
 Overview: This paper uses county-level data to analyze the results of statewide referenda on same-sex marriage in 2004.

Paper **Direct Democracy and Minority Rights: Gay Marriage Bans in the U.S. States**
Daniel C. Lewis, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: This paper examines whether direct democracy increases the probability of states' enacting measures which restrict minority rights. The question is addressed with an analysis of the recent spate of gay marriage bans passed in the American states.

Paper **The Effects of Nonpartisan Redistricting Boards and Commissions on Competition in Congressional Elections**
James B. Cottrill, *Santa Clara University*
 Overview: This paper tests the claim that nonpartisan redistricting commissions increase competitiveness in congressional elections. Electoral data from 1972-2004 suggests that competition may indeed be enhanced through state redistricting reform efforts.

Paper **Analyzing the Impact of the Citizen Initiative on State Fiscal Policy**
Michael J. New, *University of Alabama*
 Overview: A number of academic studies have found that states with the citizen initiative have lower taxes and less spending than other states. However, the academic literature has spent little time examining why this is the case.

Paper **Term-Limits Induced Volatility in the Partisan Composition of State Legislatures**
Richard J. Powell, *University of Maine*
 Overview: "Term-Limits Induced Volatility in the Partisan Composition of State Legislatures"

Disc. **Justin H. Phillips**, *Columbia University*
John A. Grummel, *West Virginia State University*

38-101 **ROUNDTABLE: INTERGOVERNMENTAL COORDINATION AND FEMA--POST-KATRINA: THE GOOD, THE BAD, AND THE UGLY**
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair **J. Edwin Benton**, *University of South Florida*
Panelist **Saundra K. Schneider**, *Michigan State University*
Anne Khademan, *Virginia Polytechnical and State University*
Nelson Wikstrom, *Virginia Commonwealth University*
Deil S. Wright, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Donald F. Kettl, *University of Pennsylvania*
 Overview: This roundtable takes a critical scholarly and practitioner look at the intergovernmental coordination challenges inherent in disaster preparation and relief. Are intergovernmental efforts doomed in light of the federal configuration of government, political turf wars, and self-serving dispositions of government bureaucrats?

Discussion of these issues will be the focal point of this roundtable.

39-3 **HOUSING PRICES AND LOCAL HOUSING POLICY**
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair TBA
Paper **Revitalizing Neighborhoods**
Marilyn Dantico, *Arizona State University*
Alvin Mushkatel, *Arizona State University*
 Overview: This paper looks at housing quality and other data to assess effects of comprehensive neighborhood initiatives in Phoenix, AZ.

Paper **Homeowner and Neighborhood Association Influences on Housing Prices**
Charles Barrilleaux, *Florida State University*
Tom Carsey, *Florida State University*
Daniel Scheller, *Florida State University*
 Overview: We estimate the effects of neighborhood characteristics, including governance provisions in neighborhood and homeowner association charters, on housing prices in a hedonic model.

Paper **The Bonus of Affordable Housing: Analyzing California's Housing Density Bonus Law**
Jeffrey B. McLaughlin, *University of California, Riverside*
Max Neiman, *University of California, Riverside*
 Overview: Our hypothesis is that administrative weaknesses in California state law have allowed localities to selectively implement development policies that stress tax revenue streams over policies that benefit housing for low to moderate income residents.

Disc. TBA

40-2 **AGENDA SETTING AND POLICY: CELEBRITIES, ENTREPRENEURS AND ORGANIZATIONS**
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair **Jeffrey S. Worsham**, *West Virginia University*
Paper **What Has Jerry Lewis Wrought? An Analysis of the Role of Celebrity in Agenda Setting**
Irene J. Barnett, *Kent State University*
Trudy Steuernagel, *Kent State University*
 Overview: This paper aims to analyze the role of celebrity in agenda setting. Building on the theoretical model of Kingdon (1995), we propose to examine the role of celebrities in putting two conditions, autism and Alzheimer's, on the public agenda.

Paper **Balancing Morality and Economy: The Case of State Human Cloning Policies**
Bonnie Stabile, *George Mason University*
 Overview: This paper investigates the question of which forces within individual states contribute most significantly to getting human cloning on the legislative agenda and shaping any subsequent policies.

Paper **Federal-State Political Institutions and the NEA's Policy Entrepreneurship**
Gordon Shockley, *Florida International University*
 Overview: The political institution of the federal-state partnership in government support for the arts had developed to such an extent in the 1990s that it could provide crucial institutional support and set the backdrop for the NEA's policy entrepreneurship.

Paper **The Dynamics of Education Policy Agenda Setting: The Case of School Choice**
Myung H. Jin, *Florida State University*
 Overview: In the case of school choice, Kingdon's three streams may have been necessary, but probably was not sufficient for the reform to reach the agenda. There had to be a pre-existing institutional capacity that underpinned the efforts of reformers

Paper **An Application of Punctuated Equilibrium Theory**
Nikkiter Ha-Kwan Chan, *University of Hong Kong*
 Overview: TBA

Disc. **Jeffrey S. Worsham**, *West Virginia University*

40-18
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair Andrew Karch, *University of Texas, Austin*
Paper **What Drives Diffusion? Non-Incremental Patterns of Policy Diffusion in America**
 Graeme T. Boushey, *University of Washington*
 Overview: This paper draws upon research in agenda setting to explain non-incremental patterns of policy diffusion. It models policy adoption as a function of the number of state legislative institutions and the density of interest groups within states.

Paper **Regulatory Discretion and Policy Innovation: Improving Policy Implementation Through Flexible Approaches**
 Lada K. Dunbar, *University of Michigan, Dearborn*
 Overview: This paper demonstrates that discretion, which embraces the goal to improve policy implementation through formal procedure and rule-specific innovation, offers a way to more effective achievement of substantive policy and regulatory goals.

Paper **Macro Policy in the United States (1789-2002)**
 Nathan J. Kelly, *University of Tennessee*
 J. Tobin Grant, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
 Overview: We measure legislative production over the entire history of the U.S. Congress, finding that institutional reform, societal change, and preference distributions are the most important determinants of policy production.

Paper **Public Opinion, Saliency, and Public Policy**
 Peter B. Mortensen, *Aarhus University, Denmark*
 Overview: This paper presents a new model of the relationship between public opinion, saliency, and public policy. The model is tested by the use of panel- and time-series regression on 8 policy issues from 1980-2003.

Disc. Thom Yantek, *Kent State University*
 Andrew Karch, *University of Texas, Austin*

41-1
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair Nicole Kazee, *Yale University*
Paper **Social Trailblazing or Abdication of Responsibility: A Comparative Analysis of Social Devolution in Chile and in the United States**
 Adriela Fernandez, *Governors State University*
 Donald Culverson, *Governors State University*
 Overview: Since the 1980s social devolution has taken place in the US and in Chile. This study seeks to answer: What motivated this movement? What are the key issues surrounding the privatized social services and what are the implications of this devolution.

Paper **Analyzing Early Childcare Regulation in States**
 Joohyun Kang, *Florida State University*
 Overview: The purpose of research is to examine the policy-process of childcare regulation in states and its impact on the supply of childcare centers.

Paper **Wal-Mart Welfare: Low-Wage Firms and American Antipoverty Policy**
 Nicole Kazee, *Yale University*
 Overview: This paper explores the extent to which firms with low-wage employees benefit from public, means-tested antipoverty programs, and suggests that we rethink our expectations of business influence in contemporary welfare state development.

Paper **Social Policy and the Working Poor in the United States and Canada**
 Dan M. Zuberi, *University of British Columbia*
 Overview: This paper explores how interactions between social policy differences between the United States and Canada - specifically in the social welfare, employment, and health care domains - affect working poverty in each country.

Disc. TBA

42-10
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair Christopher R. Way, *Cornell University*
Paper **Political Business Cycle and Asset Construction**
 Jeffrey W. Ladewig, *University of Connecticut*
 Chris Andrews, *University of Connecticut*
 James Bourbeau, *University of Connecticut*
 Overview: A re-examination of the monetary political business cycle using new housing construction starts as a proxy for monetary policy.

Paper **Partisan Politics and Federal Policy Choices: A Taylor Rule Approach**
 J. Kevin Corder, *Western Michigan University*
 Overview: How do the President and the Congress affect the policy choices of the Federal Reserve System? The paper relies on vintage data and the Taylor rule to estimate the influence of elected officials on Federal responses to output and inflation shocks.

Paper **Exit, Promotion, or Loyalty? Comparative Evidence on Central Bankers' Duration in Office**
 Christopher Adolph, *University of Washington*
 Overview: Examines the effects of central bankers' career backgrounds, partisan governments, and economic conditions on the duration of central bankers' tenure in office using event history analysis of comparative data.

Paper **Dual Strategy: Central Banks, Risk Insurance and Growth**
 Maria Reyero, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: In the context of the economic liberalization, central banks can act as an institutional ex-ante risk management mechanism by sending positive signals for investment through policy announcements (an informal instrument).

Paper **Interests, Institutions, and Inflation in OECD: Empirical Studies**
 Julia H. Kim, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: In this paper, I answer the puzzle why partisan governments do not produce expected partisan inflationary policy and outcome by looking at special interest groups and their interactions.

Disc. Christopher R. Way, *Cornell University*

43-5
Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair Kaifeng Yang, *Florida State University*
Paper **Exploring Networks of Responsiveness Across Stages of Collaboration**
 Thomas A. Bryer, *University of Southern California*
 Terry L. Cooper, *University of Southern California*
 Overview: This paper will present data from an action research program that facilitates collaboration between a City of Los Angeles agency and four neighborhood councils. It will explore changing network relations, perceptions and responsiveness of the agency.

Paper **Stakeholder Orientation in Community Foundations' Use of Web Technologies**
 Chao Guo, *Arizona State University*
 Gregory Saxton, *SUNY, Brockport*
 William Brown, *Arizona State University*
 Overview: We examine the content of 120 community foundation websites to determine how-and how well-they are responsive to and inclusive of key community stakeholders' interests in this online environment.

Paper **Implementing Voluntary Agreements in Stakeholder Partnerships**
 Bill Leach, *California State University, Sacramento*
 Buzz Wiesenfield, *Resolution Arts Group*
 Overview: We outline a framework for building assurances and enforcement mechanisms into consensus-based agreements produced by stakeholder partnerships. We then use the framework to examine implementation of the Sacramento Water Forum Agreement of 2000.

Paper **Policy Windows, Attention Structures, and Responsiveness in Nonprofit Organizations: A Stakeholder Salience Approach**
Chao Guo, *Arizona State University*
 Overview: This study introduces a stakeholder salience approach to responsiveness in nonprofit organizations, and contends that managers prioritize competing stakeholder claims based on their salience levels

Paper **Explaining Administrative Responsiveness to Citizens: Environment, Capacity, and Culture**
Kaifeng Yang, *Florida State University*
Sanjay Pandey, *University of Kansas*
 Overview: TBA

Disc. **Matthew Dull**, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

43-203 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: FARMING IT OUT: SUBCONTRACTING PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Presenter **Is State-Centered Public Administration Dead in the United States?**
Uday C. Desai, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
Keith Snavelly, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
 Overview: The state is receding and the private sector expanding into former public space. Market-like, private good exchanges are supplanting citizen-state, public good exchanges. In such a world state-centered public administration is much less relevant.

Presenter **Examining Competition in Social Service Contracting: Case of Florida**
Scott J. Lamothe, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*
Meeyoung S. Lamothe, *University of Nebraska, Omaha*
 Overview: By examining human services in Florida, the authors conduct an in-depth analysis of competition in social services contracting, focusing on competitiveness in the bidding process; provider consolidation; and provider performance.

43-204 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: TROLLS, KILLERS, & RESEARCH: ACCESSING PUBLIC DATA IN AN AGE OF TERROR**

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Presenter **Dallas S. Drake**, *Center for Homicide Research*
 Overview: This paper explores the difficulty in accessing common public data for homicide research. The unique need for such access will be examined along with ramifications of not doing so.

44-4 **INSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS**

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Chair **Robert Mickey**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Paper **Money from Strangers: Minority Moneylenders and the Mitigation of Risk**
Catherine S. M. Duggan, *Stanford University*
 Overview: What accounts for the remarkable success of moneylenders from minority groups? I argue that the dynamics of these groups allowed them to lend at low risk, and test this using evidence from the Jews in Medieval England and the Indians in Uganda.

Paper **De-Restricting Democracy in the United States and South Africa**
Shamira M. Gelbman, *University of Virginia*
 Overview: Based on a paired comparison of the United States and South Africa, I argue that a coalition between suffragist social movements and working class organizations induces political elites to remove barriers to non-racially restricted democracy.

Paper **Why Are the Western States So Big? Interests, Institutions, and Entrepreneurship in American Political Expansion, 1860-1900**
Matthew Glassman, *Yale University*
 Overview: This paper examines the politics of constructing new states in the western United States in the 19th century. It is

animated by a simple question: why are the western states so big?

Paper **Regulating Layoffs: The Case of U.S. Plant-Closing Legislation**

June Park, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: Why was the 1988 Worker Adjustment and Retraining Notification Act enacted in the year it was enacted? It was crucial that most state courts recognized the common-law exceptions to the employment at will during the 1980s.

Disc. **Robert Mickey**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

47-6 **CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN EVANGELICAL POLITICS**

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Chair **Daniel Hofrenning**, *St. Olaf College*

Paper **The Myth of the Christian Right: Analysis of Group Member and Political Participation**

Matthew K. DeSantis, *University of Florida*
 Overview: The following paper challenges the traditional beliefs that followers of the Christian Right are highly active political participants. Data analysis shows low levels of group membership and political participation amongst evangelical Protestants.

Paper **The Political Participation of the Religious Right: Trends and Consequences**

Patrick R. Miller, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
 Overview: This paper examines trends in the political participation of Christian Conservatives and their attitudes towards government. The implications of the growth of the religious right for the quality of liberal democracy are considered.

Paper **The Political Implications of Elite Framing of Premillennial Eschatology**

Paula N. Boone, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: This paper examines the relationship in elite discourse between premillennial theology and anti-globalization, anti-government regulation, anti-secularization and pro-Israel policies

Paper **Apples and Oranges: Methodological Issues in Determining the Population of the Christian Right**

Matthew K. DeSantis, *University of Florida*
Marija Anna Bekafigo, *University of Georgia*
 Overview: The paper addresses methodological issues when measuring the Christian Right population in individual level surveys. The paper demonstrates previous methodological shortcomings and highlights new advances, which will enable more precise measurement.

Paper **Saving Hearts, Influencing Politics: Evangelizing for Political Change**

Andra Gillespie, *Emory University*
 Overview: Using ethnographic data collected before and during evangelical crusades in Connecticut and Washington, DC in 2001 and 2005, this paper shows how local organizers channel their social and political concerns into helping plan evangelistic crusades.

Disc. **Laura R. Olson**, *Clemson University*
Geoffrey C. Layman, *University of Maryland*

50-1 **PLATONIC POLITICS**

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm

Chair **Matthew J. Franck**, *Radford University*

Paper **Socrates' Silence in Plato's Cleitophon**
Martin J. Plax, *Cleveland State University*

Overview: Why, in the Cleitophon, did Socrates remain silent after Cleitophon demonstrated the limits of Socratic exhortation? This paper argues Cleitophon's praise of Thrasymachus is advice on how Socrates should speak to jurors in his own trial.

Paper **The Immortality of the Soul and the Origin of the Cosmos in Plato's PHAEDO**

Ann Ward, *University of Regina*
 Overview: In Plato's PHAEDO, Socrates shows that political philosophy necessarily leads to natural science. Yet, Socrates'

return to political questions is not a return to traditional piety but to the "Ideas" as cause and source of stability in the cosmos.

Paper **The Logical Structure of Plato's Laws**
Elizabeth A. L'Arrivee, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: Some commentators argue that the Laws does not have a clear organization. However, the Laws is answering a lucid question according to a logical structure, and the proposals set forth must be understood as corresponding to this structure.

Disc. **Marlene K. Sokolon**, *Concordia University*
Bryan Benson, *Western Governors University*

51-2 SOME CONSEQUENCES OF SAME-SEX MARRIAGE

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair **Ellen Andersen**, *Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis*

Paper **Whither Culture War? Gay Marriage and the 2004 Elections**
Elvin T. Lim, *University of Tulsa*
 Overview: This paper examines media and elite discussions of gay marriage in the one month before Election Day 2004.

Paper **Lesbians, Marriage and Political Participation Post Goodridge**
Jennifer Raymond, *University of Massachusetts, Boston*
 Overview: In *Goodridge v. Department of Public Health*, the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled that there was no valid reason for the state of Massachusetts to prohibit same-sex couple from receiving marriage licenses.

Paper **The Electoral Capture of Gay and Lesbian Americans**
Charles A. Smith, *University of Miami*
 Overview: The wide-spread popular support for the anti-gay amendments in the 2004 election suggests that Democrats will marginalize gay and lesbian interests in order to avoid electoral losses.

Paper **Voting on Marriage: Demographic Influences on the Initiative to Ban Gay Marriage in the Michigan Constitution**
Laurel Sprague, *Wayne State University*
 Overview: This paper examines support for Michigan's initiative to ban gay marriage by looking at voting patterns by income, race, education, presidential votes, and the number of same-sex households in selected southeastern Michigan cities.

Disc. **Ellen Andersen**, *Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis*
Jason Pierceson, *University of Illinois, Springfield*

52-101 ROUNDTABLE: WHATEVER HAPPENED TO POLICY ANALYSIS IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT? (Co-sponsored with Caucus for New Political Science, see 54-101)

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair **Bert A. Rockman**, *Purdue University*
Panelist **Bryan D. Jones**, *University of Washington*
Paul Posner, *George Mason University*
Kevin Esterling, *University of California, Riverside*
Walter Williams, *University of Washington*
Davis B. Bobrow, *University of Pittsburgh*
David M. Jones, *University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh*
John C. Berg, *Suffolk University*
 Overview: The panel will explore the processing of information for policymaking in the Federal Government; examine whether it has declined in recent years; and whether the increasingly partisan tone of Washington has caused the decline, if in fact it exists.

57-1 GENDERING PUBLIC AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP (Co-sponsored with Gender and Politics, see 25-20)

Room TBA, Thur 3:45 pm
Chair **Mary E. Guy**, *Florida State University*
Paper **The Gendered Dimensions of Executive Office**
Farida Jalalzai, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*
 Overview: This paper analyzes gender in relation to executive office worldwide. Specifically, it investigates the nature of executive power and how open governments are to the representation of women as presidents and prime ministers.

Paper **Rethinking Public and Political Leadership with Gender in Mind**
Georgia Duerst-Lahti, *Beloit College*
 Overview: Political Science tends to divide leadership between the 'political' of elected officials-most often the president-and the 'public' leadership of administrators. Generally neither takes gender into account.

Paper **Women, Leadership, and the State: A Critical Assessment**
Eileen McDonagh, *Northeastern University*
 Overview: This paper analyzes the impact of state construction upon women's access to national leadership positions.

Paper **Images of Legislative Leadership: Where are the Women?**
Cindy Simon Rosenthal, *University of Oklahoma*
 Overview: Have women transformed the images associated with legislative leadership? This paper contrasts the popular portrayal of women leaders and scholarly understandings of congressional leadership.

Disc. **Mary E. Guy**, *Florida State University*

Friday, April 21 – 8:30 am – 10:15 am

2-5 LEGISLATIVE DYNAMICS - VETOES, DEBATE AND DEVELOPMENT

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair **Christopher J. Kam**, *University of British Columbia*

Paper **Talking the Talk: Multiparty Government and Legislative Debate**

Georg Vanberg, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Lanny W. Martin, *Rice University*

Overview: Legislative debate is a central aspect of democratic politics. This paper investigates how the competing policy and position-taking incentives of parties in coalition governments shape the allocation of scarce debate time to legislative proposals.

Paper **Different Types of Veto Players and the Fragmentation of Power**

Michael Stoiber, *University of Darmstadt*

Overview: I propose a modified veto player approach to measure the degree of power fragmentation in different political systems at different points of time.

Paper **The French Senate: A Representative Institution Foreign to Its Own People**

Andrea L. Johnson, *Macalester College*

Overview: This paper examines the democratic role of the French Senate—an institution constitutionally designated to represent the French people that is, however, paradoxically unfamiliar to and disliked by the very citizens it was established to represent.

Disc. **Christopher J. Kam**, *University of British Columbia*

3-3 HISTORICAL INSTITUTIONS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (Co-sponsored with International Political Economy, see 12-15)

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair **Jonathan K. Hanson**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Paper **Rulers and Capital in Historical Perspective**

Abhishek Chatterjee, *University of Virginia*

Overview: The paper seeks to propose a framework to conceptualize and explain the relationship between rulers and capital holders over time and across regions. The framework is then used to illuminate the variation in the development of capital markets.

Paper **Governments Against States: The Logic of Self-Destructive Despotism**

Neil A. Englehart, *Bowling Green State University*

Overview: Why do states fail? Most analyses focus on existing variables such as GDP, and ethnic diversity, but fail to yield good explanations of the causes of state failure. Instead we need to collect data tailored to the phenomenon; several are discussed.

Paper **Genealogy of the State: Peninsular State of War and the Birth of South Korean Developmental State**

Jin-Ha Kim, *University of Chicago*

Overview: What produced the Korean developmental state? The Korean War brought about the modern bureaucracy based upon the model of the South Korean Mass Army. Through the Disciplinary Revolution, it would give birth to the developmental state.

Paper **A License to Loot: Privateering and Property Rights as Private Goods**

Christina Gathmann Maneval, *Stanford University*

Henning Hillmann, *Stanford University*

Overview: A selective property rights model is developed and applied to quantitative evidence on state-licensed piracy to identify the conditions under which states promote criminal activities, and how they influence economic and political performance.

Disc. **Cameron G. Thies**, *Louisiana State University*

3-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DEFENSE EXPENDITURES

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Presenter **International Transfers, War-Making, and State-Building**
Anas Malik, *Xavier University*

Overview: External debt and covert financing intervene in the war-making-statebuilding link. Rather than tax effort, developing countries prefer to borrow or manipulate the money stock for revenue-raising.

Presenter **Blood for Money: The Subcontracting of Defense in the Developing World**

Bozena C. Welborne, *University of Colorado, Boulder*

Zane Kelly, *University of Colorado, Boulder*

Overview: I explore the variance in subcontracting defense to private firms among authoritarian and transitioning regimes in developing countries.

3-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: GLOBALIZED TRADE, INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS, AND LABOR

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Presenter **Contesting Globalization: Lessons from the "Fair Trade Coffee" Movement and Beyond**

Mark S. Keida, *Miami University*

Overview: This paper adds to the growing literature on "globalization" and "labor". Specifically, it looks at the strategies by which labor groups challenge, manage, and contest the corporate-led "flexibilization" of the "workforce."

4-7 THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY IN DEMOCRATIZATION

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair **Matt Murphy**, *Reed College*

Paper **Whom to Serve and Protect?**

Lee D. Walker, *University of Kentucky*

Richard Waterman, *University of Kentucky*

Overview: This paper examines the effect that support for the political government and several other political factors have on citizens' attitudes towards police in three Latin American countries and the United States.

Paper **A Comparative Analysis of Ideological Constraint Using Latent Class Models**

Drew A. Linzer, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: The structure of individuals' opinions about politics is shown to vary between new and established democracies; I argue that this pattern provides significant insight into cross-national differences in the efficacy of democracy as a political system.

Paper **The Myth of National Political Culture and the Fallacy of Electoralism in Conflicted Societies and Lopsided States**

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

Overview: "Democracy promotion" in Central America and Iraq: epistemological hubris and vulgar modernization theory combine to create the delusion that elections + counter-insurgency = a recipe for replacing a political culture of "sectarian" civil war with a political culture of centrist national democracy.

Paper **Political Culture and Democracy: Are Attitudes Conducive to Democracy?**

Ronald F. Inglehart, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Christian Welzel, *International University, Bremen*

Overview: Which mass attitudes (if any) are most conducive to democracy? This paper tests attitudinal variables from the three main schools of political culture, as predictors of six leading measures of democracy, using data from 70 societies.

Paper **Democratization in the Middle East: Qatar as a Case Study**

Assem M. Dandashly, *University of Oklahoma*

Overview: This paper deals with democratization in the Middle East, taking Qatar as a case study. I analyze if the developments taking place fall within liberalization, or are they only policies towards the security of the regime.

Disc. TBA

4-10 **TRANSITION AND INTEGRATION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN DEMOCRACIES**

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair Karen J. Vogel, *Hamline University*

Paper **Making Democracy Work: Presidential Powers and Cabinet Stability in Central and Eastern Europe**
Angelica Ghindar, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
Svitlana Chernykh, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: We present a theory about the institutional determinants of cabinet stability in Central and Eastern Europe. We argue that the type of political regime (parliamentary, semi-presidential, and presidential) is a central determinant of cabinet survival

Paper **Why Sources Matter: The Importance of Comparative Measures of Protest and Repression in Eastern Europe, 1980-1995**
Claudia Dahlerus, *Albion College*
 Overview: I explain why disaggregating measures of political conflict generated from news-sources helps explain changes in frequency rates of protest and repression before, during, and after democratization in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Poland.

Paper **Third Party Intervention in Ethnic Rights Negotiations: An European Analysis**
Anca Turcu, *University of Texas, Dallas*
 Overview: The paper examines the role of third party intervention in negotiations between actors who hold disproportional amounts of power. It focuses on minority-majority rights negotiations in the context of EU integration of Eastern and Western countries.

Disc. **David R. Foley**, *Canisius College*

4-20 **THE THIN LINE BETWEEN CONSOLIDATION AND BREAKDOWN IN NASCENT DEMOCRACIES**

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair Paul D. Trampe, *George Mason University*

Paper **Democratic Society and Adaptive Management Models: Comparing the Resilience and Collapse of Ten Democratic Systems**
Amy Lauren Lovcraft, *University of Alaska, Fairbanks*
Sultan Tepe, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Overview: Drawing on ten cases (Iran, Nicaragua, Iraq, Nigeria, Colombia, Turkey, Israel, Germany, the UK, the US) we ask to what extent the Gunderson and Holling's resilience theory is useful to explain the adaption and maladaptation of democratic society?

Paper **Default Factors of Democratic Transitions in Belarus, Ukraine, and Russia**
Olga Zagoroulskaya, *University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh*
 Overview: This study attempts to use a comparative approach of institutional and behavioral factors that contributed to failures of democracy in some transitional countries. I examine Belarus and compare it with Ukrainian and Russian models of transition.

Disc. **Jack Bielasiak**, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

5-6 **EU INTEGRATION IN COMPARISON**

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair David Ellison, *Grinnell College*

Paper **Public Support for European Integration Among New Member States: An Empirical Test of Five Theories**
Chris Hasselmann, *Washington University*
 Overview: This paper tests five competing theories of support for integration previously examined within the EU-15 among the 10 new member states, with the goal of better understanding the kinds of policy demands likely to emanate from the region.

Paper **The Role of European Integration in the Scottish Devolution Referenda**
Seth K. Jolly, *Duke University*
 Overview: Taking advantage of Scottish referenda over devolution in 1979 and 1997, I utilize public opinion data to test

whether Scots are more likely to support regional parties and greater autonomy because they find independence more feasible in a deeper EU.

Paper **European Integration and National Elections**
Catherine E. Netjes, *Free University, Amsterdam*
 Overview: To what extent do attitudes towards the European Union (EU) influence national vote choice—a process referred to as EU issue voting? This analysis examines the extent and conditions under which EU issue voting takes place across time and space.

Paper **America Redux, Europe Recast: Issues of Federalism, Constitutionalism, and Sovereignty in the Context of the US and the EU**
Anna M. Rulska, *Old Dominion University*
 Overview: This essay centers around issues of federalism and constitutionalism in the US and EU. By comparing the past US and current EU integration, this paper attempts to assess the future of the EU in the context of the Euro-Atlantic community.

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

5-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CLIENTELISM AS POLITICAL STRATEGY**

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

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

5-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: COURTS IN EUROPE**

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Presenter **Trusting the ECJ: Integration, the EU, and Decisions**
Kathleen R. Barrett, *Georgia State University*
 Overview: This paper will test possible explanations for the variation of trust in the ECJ arguing that trust in the ECJ is related to trust in European institutions, belief in European integration, and reaction to ECJ decisions.

Presenter **Everwatching: Courts as an Accountability Mechanism in a Liberalized Market**
Dorit Rubinstein, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: The role of courts in the newly liberalized telecommunications and electricity sectors in three European countries, the UK, France and Sweden. The paper found a growth in the use and influence of courts, but limited to certain actors and issues.

7-3 **EXECUTIVES AND THEIR ALLIES: PRESIDENTS AND THEIR CABINETS IN LATIN AMERICA**

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair **Viviana M. Abreu-Hernandez**, *Puerto Rico Council on Higher Education*

Paper **Coalition-Based Presidentialism in South America**
Magna M. Inácio, *Federal University of Minas Gerais*
 Overview: The paper analyzes the coalition-based presidentialism in South America (Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Bolivia), the diversity of the strategies of formation of the governments and its consequences on the stability of the multipartisan cabine

Paper **Issue-Salience and Presidential Approval in Latin America**
Gregg B. Johnson, *SUNY, Buffalo*
Sooh-Rhee Syu, *SUNY, Buffalo*
Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer, *University of Mississippi*
 Overview: Systematic studies of presidential approval in Latin America are relatively recent, though given the region's economic and political volatility particularly important. Building upon the voluminous research on presidential approval in the United States.

12-7 **INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND DOMESTIC POLITICS**
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Clint Peinhardt, *University of Texas, Dallas*
Paper **Exploring Constrained Bargaining Space in International Institutions**
Mark Axelrod, *Duke University*
Overview: Treaties strengthen domestic groups, which are then able to weaken future provisions. Through efforts to consolidate gains, they have already solved a collective action problem, and later organize to block threatening new treaties.

Paper **Do Markets Punish Liars? International Capital Markets and Broken Policy Promises**
Michael A. Pisa, *University of California, San Diego*
Overview: TBA

Paper **Domestic Political Constraints and the Design of World Bank Programs**
Matthew S. Winters, *Columbia University*
Overview: This paper examines how multilateral aid is disbursed at the national level. Targeting multilateral aid to specific domestic interest groups creates constraints on the national government's choices within a domestic distribution game.

Paper **Trade Not Aid or Aid for Trade? Commercial Interests and the Distribution of Foreign Aid**
Erik Lundsgaarde, *University of Washington*
Aseem Prakash, *University of Washington*
Overview: This study evaluates the importance of trade and foreign direct investment ties as determinants of aid allocations from 22 OECD donor countries to 187 aid recipients over the period 1980-2002.

Disc. Lucy M. Goodhart, *Columbia University*

13-6 **LEGAL APPROACHES TO U.S. FOREIGN POLICY**
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair TBA
Paper **Foreign Policy by Commission: Intelligence Reform**
Glenn P. Hastedt, *James Madison University*
Overview: This paper looks at the place of presidential commissions in the foreign policy process by examining their use to improve the performance of the intelligence community both pre and post 9/11.

Paper **E Pluribus Unum: Political Unification and Political Realism**
Joseph M. Parent, *Columbia University*
Overview: Why do states politically unify voluntarily? This paper argues that unification is an extreme balancing behavior prompted by extreme circumstances. I test the argument with a difficult case: the ratification of the U.S. Constitution.

Paper **Crossing the Streams: Plan Colombia and the Manipulation of the Multiple Streams**
Kevin R. Watkins, *William Paterson University*
Overview: Does America's passage of "Plan Colombia" during the Clinton Administration invalidate the utility of John Kingdon's multiple streams model?

Paper **Assassination and its Consequences, 1946-2000**
Zaryab Iqbal, *University of South Carolina*
Christopher Zorn, *University of South Carolina*
Overview: The first large-scale systematic analysis of the political, social, and economic consequences of the 80-plus assassinations of heads of state since the end of the Second World War.

Disc. Sanford R. Silverburg, *Catawba College*
Jeffrey K. Staton, *Florida State University*

14-5 **DEMOCRACY AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT**
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Dan Lindley, *University of Notre Dame*
Paper **Democratic Deception: The Pathology of Domestic Audience Costs**
Phillip Y. Lipsey, *Harvard University*
Yevgeniy Kirpichevsky, *Harvard University*
Overview: Using a formal model in which public and private outcomes are separable, we demonstrate a potential flaw of domestic audience costs as a mechanism for credible commitment.

Paper **How Does Democratic Institutions Work in Crises?**
Kwang-Jin Kim, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
Overview: This paper examines how democratic peace theory work in crises. The empirical test based on crisis data reveals that the effect of democratic regime works only in the decision stage in the high level of militarized disputes.

Paper **Lenient or Severe Punishment: The Impacts of Democratic Winners on the Postwar Settlements**
Ajin Choi, *Yonsei University*
Overview: This paper examines the impacts of democratic triumph on the international system by addressing the question of whether democratic states treat the defeated differently compared to how non-democratic states treat them.

Paper **Regime Type and Interstate War Duration: A Competing Risks Analysis**
Alex Weisiger, *Columbia University*
Overview: I present a competing risks analysis of hypotheses from recent and older literature about the effect of regime type on interstate war duration, with the competing risks being settlement and conquest.

Paper **Rivalry and Democratic State Conflict Behavior**
Robert Packer, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Overview: This paper explores the impact of strategic rivalry on the disputatous behavior of democratic states.

Disc. Michael T. Koch, *Texas A&M University*

15-5 **INTERVENTION IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT**
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Renato Corbetta, *University of Alabama, Birmingham*
Paper **The Geopolitics of Civil War Intervention**
Jacob D. Kathman, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Overview: Whereas prior studies explaining civil war intervention focus narrowly on the dyadic links between intervener and civil war state, I argue that a fuller explanation must also consider the geopolitical contexts in which civil wars occur.

Paper **Does Neighborhood Matter? On Spatial Interdependence of Civil Wars**
Anoop K. Sarbahi, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Overview: This paper examines spatial interdependence of civil wars and explains why civil wars are spatially clustered. This is done by offering a better conceptualization of a bad neighborhood.

Paper **Intervention for the Connected?**
Aimee Tannehill-Lodigiani, *University of California, Davis*
Overview: An examination of the international network ties of states experiencing intra-state conflict and the effects of these ties on third-party intervention.

Disc. Renato Corbetta, *University of Alabama, Birmingham*

15-15 **TERRORISM, VIOLENCE AND ISLAM**
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Walid Phares, *Florida Atlantic University*
Paper **Beliefs over the Unknown: Understanding the Threat of Terrorism**
Matthew C. Harding, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
Marcus Alexander, *Harvard University*
Overview: The paper explores how an optimal choice of a national security policy depends on the probability density policymakers assign to the likelihood of the next terrorist attack.

Paper	<u>A Simple Game-Theoretic Model of Suicide Terrorism</u> Susan M. Jellissen , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Anirrudha Mitra , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: We present a dynamic game between an incumbent regime, a subject population, and a terrorist organization that claims to represent the population in its desire to depose the regime.	Paper	<u>Religious Language and Implicit Political Cognition</u> Bethany L. Albertson , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This paper explores the mechanisms of religious persuasion, hypothesizing that religious language affects attitudes at both an implicit and explicit level. I test these hypotheses experimentally, relying on an Implicit Association Test.
Paper	<u>Adaptive Tactics: Terrorist Targeting and Regime Type</u> Stephen C. Nemeth , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: Using ITERATE data and by adapting the selection institutions argument in Bueno de Mesquita et al. (2005), I seek to show that terrorists operating in democratic states will select and attack qualitatively different targets than in autocratic states.	Paper	<u>Thinking and Attitude Polarization</u> Mathieu Turgeon , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: Using four survey-experiments I have conducted in three different countries (Brazil, Canada, and the U.S.), I show that increased motivation and opportunity to think leads to attitude polarization.
Disc.	Walid Phares , <i>Florida Atlantic University</i>	Paper	<u>Public Comprehension of Political Events: 9/11 and the Iraq War</u> Adam J. Berinsky , <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Donald R. Kinder , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Liz Suhay , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: We consider how preexisting political predispositions (measured in 2000) influenced how people made sense of 9/11 and the Iraq war in 2002 and how this understanding in turn affected their opinions on foreign policy and security issues in 2004.
17-5	<u>INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND DOMESTIC POLITICS</u>	Disc.	Mariya Y. Omelicheva , <i>Purdue University</i> Tereza Capelos , <i>Leiden University</i>
Room	TBA, Fri 8:30 am	19-14	<u>STRATEGIC VOTING</u>
Chair	Monika A. Nalepa , <i>Rice University</i>	Room	TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Paper	<u>U.S. Domestic Politics and the United Nations</u> Michael B. Hawes , <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: This paper is an examination of the effect of partisan control of domestic political institutions on U.S. participation in the United Nations system.	Chair	Christopher Wlezien , <i>Temple University</i>
Paper	<u>The Influence of International Agreements on Foreign Policy Preferences</u> Michael R. Tomz , <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: The paper directly measures the effect of international agreements on foreign policy preferences, and it overcomes problems of endogeneity that have hampered previous research. Data from experiments reveal when/how international agreements matter.	Paper	<u>Exceptions to Duverger's Law in Canada and Britain: The Role of Federalism v. Information</u> Emily Clough , <i>University of North Texas</i> Overview: Canada and Britain both exhibit more than two parties at the district level despite the fact that both have single-member plurality systems. This paper looks at federalism and information as factors regulating strategic voting and Duverger's Law.
Paper	<u>A Transnational View: Turkish Nonstate Actors and the European Union</u> Zeynep Alemdar , <i>Okan University</i> Overview: The paper argues that nonstate actors use intergovernmental organizations to alter the preferences of their states in favor of their own position and examines whether and how Turkish nonstate actors use the EU.	Paper	<u>Strategic Third Party Voting in Congressional Elections</u> Jeffrey T. Doyle , <i>Washington State University</i> Overview: Using the National Election Survey, I explore the relationship between noncompetitive Congressional elections, the theory of wasted votes, and the fluctuation in third party voting.
Paper	<u>Neopatrimonialism and Postcommunist States: Exposing Built-in Assumptions in Theories of International Cooperation</u> Neil Abrams , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Theories of international cooperation make prior assumptions about the structure of the state that prove unreliable once applied beyond the advanced-industrialized countries. I rely on postcommunist case study evidence to illustrate this point.	Paper	<u>Identifiability of Coalitions, District Magnitude and Strategic Voting</u> Thomas Gschwend , <i>University of Mannheim</i> Overview: I test a theory that proposes two factors (district magnitude, pre-election identifiability of coalitions) to determine the types of strategies employed and the number of strategic voters that can be observed across 30 different election studies.
Disc.	Gregory D. Miller , <i>College of William & Mary</i> Monika A. Nalepa , <i>Rice University</i>	Paper	<u>Breaking Duverger's Law: Sincere and Strategic Voting in U.S. Elections</u> Thomas Knecht , <i>University of Denver</i> Ahmed Amonette , <i>University of Denver</i> Kelli Ann Sindeband , <i>University of Denver</i> Seth Stulgis , <i>University of Denver</i> Overview: Our paper examines the individual-level factors that distinguish sincere from strategic voters in U.S. Presidential elections.
18-4	<u>INFORMATION PROCESSING</u>	Paper	<u>Protest Voting: The Other Tactical Choice</u> Daniel M. Kselman , <i>Duke University</i> Emerson Niou , <i>Duke University</i> Overview: This paper develops a formal model to predict the circumstances under which voters (in plurality elections) will abandon their most-preferred candidate to cast a PROTEST VOTE. We then test these predictions on survey data from Canada and the UK.
Room	TBA, Fri 8:30 am	Disc.	Scott J. Basinger , <i>SUNY, Stony Brook</i>
Chair	Michael D. Parkin , <i>University of Minnesota</i>		
Paper	<u>An Integrated, Computational Model of the 2000 Presidential Election</u> Sung-youn Kim , <i>University of Iowa</i> Charles Taber , <i>Stony Brook University</i> Overview: In this study, we examine whether the integration of on-line and memory-based processing models is not only theoretically necessary but also whether the integrated model out performs the other models in terms of explaining the empirical data.		
Paper	<u>Political Innovation, Novel Appeals, and Patterned Responses</u> Robert Huckfeldt , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Carl Palmer , <i>University of California, Davis</i> John Ryan , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: This paper examines the use of decision-making heuristics in complex decisions regarding politically innovative appeals. The paper depends on the experimental measurement of response latencies to assess patterns of association in long term memory.		

19-15 **VOTING IN RED AND BLUE STATES**
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Kyle L. Saunders, *Colorado State University*
Paper **Behind the Red-Blue Divide: The Causes of Geographic Polarization**
David A. Hopkins, *University of California, Berkeley*
Overview: Voting patterns in American elections have become more geographically distinctive since the 1970s. This paper analyzes survey data in order to test the common claim that this phenomenon has been driven by the increased salience of social issues.

Paper **Taxing, Spending, Red States, and Blue States: The Political Economy of Redistribution in the US Federal System**
Dean P. Lacy, *The Ohio State University*
Donald P. Lacy, *The Ohio State University*
Overview: Since 1984, states that receive the most federal spending per tax dollar that their citizens pay have voted increasingly for Republican presidential candidates. We explain the reason for this federal fiscal paradox.

Paper **The Matter with Kansas: Rural Republican Voting in Presidential Elections**
Seth C. McKee, *University of North Carolina, Charlotte*
Overview: Exit polls show a striking increase in Republican voting among rural residents in recent presidential elections. I use exit poll data and census data to explain the increase in Republican voting among rural residents in presidential elections.

Paper **Is There Really Anything the Matter with Kansas? A Nationwide Assessment**
Shannon C. Nelson, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
Overview: What's the Matter with Kansas suggests Kansans no longer vote in their economic interests. Precise economic measures are presented to test this thesis and to ascertain whether this pattern is evident nationwide.

Paper **What's the Matter with Massachusetts: Why Minority Party Governors Win**
Stacey L. Pelika, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Hannah B. Goble, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Overview: We investigate a sample of recent gubernatorial races in which candidates of the state's minority party were elected. In particular, we examine hypotheses regarding the role of partisanship in the vote and candidate portrayals in advertising.

Disc. **Daron R. Shaw, *University of Texas, Austin***

20-2 **THE POLITICS OF PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION CAMPAIGNS**
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Kenneth E. Fernandez, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*
Paper **The Winnowing Effect in Presidential Nomination Campaigns**
Thomas G. Hansford, *University of South Carolina*
A. J. Barghothi, *University of South Carolina*
Overview: We investigate winnowing effect in presidential nomination campaigns via duration analysis. We empirically test our hypotheses using data we have collected for the seven post-reform presidential nomination campaigns (1980-2004).

Paper **Prairie Progressives: The Iowa Democratic Presidential Caucuses, 1972-2004**
Laurence Horton, *University of Essex*
Overview: The Iowa caucuses are a media event. Iowa's primacy ensures it undue attention. Rather than an opportunity for lesser known candidates to emerge, the caucuses act as a handicap, consuming disproportionate resources with little return.

Paper **Why Do Democrats Keep Nominating Senators (Who Lose)?**
Christian A. Farrell, *University of Oklahoma*
Overview: The structure of party organizations leads to differing decisions on what kinds of candidates to nominate for president. This can be used to explain why Democrats keep nominating unelectable Senators and Republicans nominate more electable governors.

Disc. **Larry Butler, *Rowan University***

22-11 **THE INFLUENCE OF PUBLIC OPINION ON POLICYMAKING**
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Patrick Sellers, *Davidson College*
Paper **The Role of Public Opinion in Presidential Decision Making: The Case of Iranian Hostage Crisis**
Cengiz Erisen, *SUNY, Stony Brook*
Overview: This paper analyzes the role of public opinion in particular crises between Iran and the U.S. The main objective is to evaluate whether the public is really influential in presidential decision-making on foreign issues.

Paper **Tough Choices: Determinants of Senators' Trade Votes**
Claire V. Kramer, *Franklin & Marshall College*
Adam P. Brinegar, *Duke University*
Jennifer L. Merolla, *Claremont Graduate University*
John H. Aldrich, *Duke University*
Overview: In this paper, we test the linkages between constituency opinion, party organization, and key trade votes in the Senate from 1988 to 1994 using data from the ANES Senate Election Study. We argue that the influence of different levels of constituency

Paper **Exploring Changing Preferences for Public Goods in the United States**
Sean Nicholson-Crotty, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
Overview: This paper investigates variation in citizen support for government programs from which they can expect no private benefit and compares that measure to an existing indicator of "mood" regarding levels of U.S. government activity.

Paper **When Made to Choose: Do Senators Follow the President or Public Opinion?**
Jose D. Villalobos, *Texas A&M University*
Overview: I focus on Republican senators who are cross-pressured between public opinion, loyalty to the president, and their own interests. Using fractional polynomial time analyses to measure behavior change, I find that members choose to follow the public.

Disc. **Patrick Sellers, *Davidson College***

22-17 **PARTY POLARIZATION (Co-sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 19-19)**
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Brian F. Schaffner, *American University*
Paper **Do You See What I See? Perceptions of Party Differences and Political Participation**
Craig Goodman, *Texas Tech University*
Gregg Murray, *SUNY, Brockport*
Overview: This manuscript explores the voting behavior of citizens who do not see differences between the two major parties in the United States. Our results suggest that those who fail to see differences are less likely to vote.

Paper **The Left Shift in American Politics: Affect, Information, and Polarization**
Michael MacKuen, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Evan Parker-Stephen, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Overview: Political affect, rooted in personality traits and information channels, shapes people's beliefs about political parties. Historical data confirm a powerful system of asymmetric attribution biases that yield the Left Shift in American politics.

Paper **Birds of a Political Feather: Assessing Political Segregation in American Counties**
Melissa J. Marschall, *Rice University*
Wendy M. Rahn, *University of Minnesota*
Overview: Using an additive measure of segregation, Theil's H (Fisher et al. 2004; Reardon and Firebaugh 2002), we decompose political segregation levels in select American counties into three components.

Paper **Polarization and Party Politics: The Changing Face of American Tolerance?**
Michael H. Murakami, *University of California, Berkeley*
Overview: I use survey data collected over the last 30 years to examine if increasing party polarization among attentive, strong

	partisans is causing changes in either the level of political intolerance or how intolerance is spread across target groups.				
Paper	<u>Polarizing President: Partisan Legacy of George W. Bush</u> Keiko Ono , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: This paper examines the increase in polarization of President Bush's evaluations by the public (2000-2004). Approval and other more affective evaluations of Bush has become much more polarized along the party line since he took office in 2001.			Paper	<u>Do the Media Monitor Ideological Shirking? Media Coverage of Legislative Voting Records Relative to District Preferences</u> Christian R. Grose , <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Keesha M. Middlemass , <i>Vera Institute of Justice/University of Kansas</i> Overview: We find that media sources are more likely to cover MCs with voting records that are much more conservative than their district preferences, but not MCs with more liberal voting records than their districts.
Disc.	John A. Clark , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Brian F. Schaffner , <i>American University</i>			Paper	<u>The Evolution of Online Campaigning in Congressional Elections, 2000-2004</u> Girish J. Gulati , <i>Bentley College</i> Christine Williams , <i>Bentley College</i> Overview: This paper examines how the content and features of online campaigning have evolved since the Internet became a mode of political communication. An extensive content analysis of the 2000-04 campaign web sites of Senate and House was conducted.
23-8	<u>CAMPAIGNS AT THE GRASSROOTS: CONTACTING, MOBILIZING, AND CONTRIBUTING</u> TBA, Fri 8:30 am Christopher Kenny , <i>Louisiana State University</i>			Disc.	Shad B. Satterthwaite , <i>University of Oklahoma</i>
Room	<u>Voting on the Rez: How Parties, Campaigns, Interest Groups, and Non-Profits Increased American Indian Turnout in South Dakota in 2004</u> Elizabeth T. Smith , <i>University of South Dakota</i> Richard Braunstein , <i>University of South Dakota</i> Overview: Turnout in American Indian counties in South Dakota soared in 2004 due to grassroots campaign organizing techniques by parties and campaigns, and culturally sensitive political education by 501 c (4) and (5) groups and 527 committees.			24-4	<u>MEDIA CONSUMPTION HABITS AND POLITICAL PROCESSES</u> TBA, Fri 8:30 am Richard R. Lau , <i>Rutgers University</i>
Chair	<u>Giving Your Money vs. Giving Your Vote in U.S. Federal Elections</u> Robert C. Lowry , <i>Iowa State University</i> Overview: I compare the relative importance of electoral competition and the characteristics of congressional district residents as determinants of the number of donors to different kinds of federal committees, average amounts per donor, and voter turnout.			Room	<u>Reconsidering "Best Practices" in Media Effect Research</u> Richard R. Lau , <i>Rutgers University</i> Marco R. Steenbergen , <i>University of North Carolina</i> Samuel W. Winslow , <i>Rutgers University</i> Overview: Best practice in media research combines contextual measures of the content of the media in a particular location with individual-level survey data on respondents viewing habits, ignoring data nesting.
Paper	<u>Turnout in Congressional Elections: The Role of the NRA</u> Christopher Kenny , <i>Louisiana State University</i> Eric Jenner , <i>Policy and Research Group</i> Overview: This paper examines the ability of the National Rifle Association (NRA) to stimulate turnout in US House races in 1994, 1996, and 1998. A basic model of congressional turnout is specified that includes endorsements and membership numbers of the NRA			Paper	<u>Political Disagreement and the Decline of the Deliberative Body: Exploring the Consequences with Agent-Based Modeling</u> Cheng-Shan Liu , <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: This paper uses agent-based modeling experiments to explore the patterns of political disagreement and vote preferences, as well as the role of political experts, when voters become less likely to discuss politics or to access the media.
Paper	<u>The Ground War 2000-2004: Strategic Targeting in Grassroots Campaigns</u> Peter W. Wielhouwer , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Costas Panagopoulos , <i>Yale University</i> Overview: The 2000-2004 elections saw the highest levels of grassroots campaigning in the last half-century. By accounting for strategic contexts we provide a new picture of campaigns. Efforts to mobilize their bases and to compete for swing voters.			Paper	<u>Using Media Consumption Typologies to Understand Political Attitudes</u> Hyun J. Yun , <i>University of Florida</i> Lynda L. Kaid , <i>University of Florida</i> Overview: Using data gathered during the 2004 presidential election at multiple sites throughout the United States, this study develops media consumption typologies to explain different types of information and persuasion effects in the 2004 campaign.
Paper	<u>The Ground War 2000-2004: Strategic Targeting in Grassroots Campaigns</u> Peter W. Wielhouwer , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Costas Panagopoulos , <i>Yale University</i> Overview: The 2000-2004 elections saw the highest levels of grassroots campaigning in the last half-century. By accounting for strategic contexts we provide a new picture of campaigns. Efforts to mobilize their bases and to compete for swing voters.			Disc.	Stephen E. Bennett , <i>University of Southern Indiana</i>
Disc.	Keena Lipsitz , <i>Queens College, CUNY</i>			25-101	<u>ROUNDTABLE ON MOTHERHOOD AND THE U.S. WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIES</u> TBA, Fri 8:30 am Lynn Kamenitsa , <i>Northern Illinois University</i>
24-3	<u>MEDIA AND THE POLITICS OF CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS</u> TBA, Fri 8:30 am Shad B. Satterthwaite , <i>University of Oklahoma</i>			Room	<u>Can Negative Campaigning Break the Core?</u> Garrett Ryan Asay , <i>University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: A core is a position that cannot be defeated. The results of my research suggest that using negative advertising to introduce new issues in the first two weeks of the campaign could enable a trailing candidate to break the core.
Chair	<u>Local News Media Issue Coverage of House Members</u> Brian J. Fogarty , <i>University of Missouri, St. Louis</i> Overview: This paper examines local newspapers issue coverage of House members inside and outside of election seasons.			Chair	Maryann Barakso , <i>American University</i> Denise L. Baer , <i>Strategic Research Concepts and George Washington University</i> Vicky Lovell , <i>Institute for Women's Policy Research</i> Lynn Kamenitsa , <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: From Cindy Sheehan to security moms, motherhood has emerged as a personal identity with political salience in recent years. We examine the dilemma this poses for the women's movement, its possible responses, and the political implications thereof.
Paper	<u>Local News Media Issue Coverage of House Members</u> Brian J. Fogarty , <i>University of Missouri, St. Louis</i> Overview: This paper examines local newspapers issue coverage of House members inside and outside of election seasons.			Panelist	

26-8	<u>FAITH, POLITICS AND RACE</u>				insight into justice and virtue--and what does it tell us about ourselves?
Room	TBA, Fri 8:30 am				
Chair	Shannon R. Sinegal, <i>University of New Orleans</i>				
Paper	<u>Prayer and Politics: An Explanation for Black Church Political Involvement</u> Eric L. McDaniel, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: Using organizational theory, this paper attempts to explain why, when, and how churches choose to become involved in political matters.		Paper	<u>Law and Reason in Plato's Minos</u> Svetozar Minkov, <i>Roosevelt University</i> Overview: The paper explores the relation between law and reason.	
Paper	<u>Standing in the Gap: African American Churches Mobilizing Hurricane Aid</u> Kimberly Mealy, <i>Wellesley College</i> Overview: This paper examines Boston and Gulf Region churches who have formed church and government partnerships for hurricane aid. Multi-faith/race coalitions, political behavior and trust in government are studied using interviews and content analysis.		Disc.	Nathan Tarcov, <i>University of Chicago</i> Gabriel T. Bartlett, <i>University of Toronto</i>	
Paper	<u>The Intersection of Theology and Ideology in Black America</u> Stephanie C. McLean, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Marvin P. King, <i>University of Mississippi</i> Overview: This paper analyzes two dimensions, Law and Order and Economic Freedom, in the ideological gap between white and black Americans. We argue that African-Americans will not develop the kind of "values divide" currently emerging among white Americans.		27-6	<u>MODERN CONFRONTATIONS WITH ANTIQUITY: DIVERGENCE OR RETURN</u>	
Paper	<u>God, Karate and "Halo" in America: Fostering Shared Political Cultures</u> Joseph E. Yi, <i>Oberlin College</i> Overview: God, Karate and "Halo" in America: how to foster communications and shared political cultures in a historically divided society.		Room	TBA, Fri 8:30 am	
Paper	<u>The Intersection of Theology and Ideology in Black America</u> Stephanie C. McLean, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Marvin P. King, <i>University of Mississippi</i> Overview: This paper analyzes two dimensions, Law and Order and Economic Freedom, in the ideological gap between white and black Americans. We argue that African-Americans will not develop the kind of "values divide" currently emerging among white Americans.		Chair	Michael W. Grenke, <i>St. John's College, Santa Fe</i>	
Disc.	Michelle L. Chin, <i>Arizona State University</i>		Paper	<u>An "Auditor establish'd within" - Reason, Passion, and Resolution of Character in Shaftesbury's Characteristics</u> Travis S. Cook, <i>St. John's College, Santa Fe</i> Overview: This paper examines Shaftesbury's account of philosophizing. It shows that Shaftesbury departs from the modern, skeptical approach to philosophy as embodied by Descartes and Locke and that he attempts to reestablish a classical notion of philosophy,	
27-4	<u>PLATO ON DEMOCRATIC DELIBERATION, POLITICAL VIRTUE, AND LAW (Co-sponsored with the Society for Greek Political Thought, see 50-4)</u>		Paper	<u>Hegel's Ethical Family</u> Scott Yenor, <i>Boise State University</i> Overview: This paper discusses the place of the family in Hegel's project of reconciling human beings to the modern political world.	
Room	TBA, Fri 8:30 am		Paper	<u>Modesty as a Nietzschean Virtue</u> Lise M. van Boxel, <i>St. John's College, Santa Fe</i> Overview: Nietzsche argues philosophy cannot provide us with a content-rich account of the good. Rather, it provides only a formal good. Nietzsche thereby reminds us of the limited character of human knowledge.	
Chair	Catherine H. Zuckert, <i>University of Notre Dame</i>		Paper	<u>Carl Schmitt and Leo Strauss: their Debate about Hobbes</u> Jenna S. Storey, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: In the 1930s, these German thinkers turned to study Hobbes to explain the intellectual foundations of modernity, and ultimately to critique the basis of modern political forms. I focus on their debate about the importance of Hobbes's social contract.	
Paper	<u>Legislating for the Irrational: The Public Paideia in Book Seven of the Laws</u> Jill M. Budny, <i>Marquette University</i> Overview: This paper examines the public paideia in Book Seven of the Laws, and argues that every aspect of this new education should be understood as aiming to limit the influence of the irrational over the upbringing of children.		Disc.	Michael W. Grenke, <i>St. John's College, Santa Fe</i> Louis Hunt, <i>Michigan State University</i>	
Paper	<u>Legislation and the Athenian Stranger's Anthropology in Plato's Laws</u> Emma Cohen de Lara, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: This paper shows how the nature of political virtue and education in the Laws can be explained by the Athenian Stranger's anthropology, which is distinct from Socrates' view of man in the Republic.		28-18	<u>SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND POLITICAL THEORY</u>	
Paper	<u>The Harmony of Political Virtue and the Muse: Poetry in Plato's Laws</u> Catherine B. Horsefield, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: This paper argues that Plato's account of poetry in the Laws culminates in the harmonious integration of intelligence, poetry, and political virtue.		Room	TBA, Fri 8:30 am	
Paper	<u>What's Love Got To Do With It? An Analysis of Eros in Plato's Symposium</u> Manuel Lopez, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: Plato claims that Socrates, the founder of political philosophy, knows nothing other than erotic matters. What is the relation between Socrates' eros and his wisdom, his piercing		Chair	John Phillips, <i>University of Maryland</i>	
			Paper	<u>Nanotechnology and Political Theory</u> Charles T. Rubin, <i>Duquesne University</i> Overview: Nanotechnology advocates claim it will fundamentally change the world. This paper examines what happens to political thought when basic constraints of the human condition no longer play a role in constructing political arrangements.	
			Paper	<u>Liberty vs. Progress? The Biomedical Challenge to Liberal Thought</u> Anja J. Karnein, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This paper examines the challenge to contemporary liberal thought posed by a scientific progress that threatens core liberal concepts such as freedom and equality as well as traditional assumptions about human nature.	
			Paper	<u>Henry Adams on Science, History, and the American Regime</u> Will R. Jordan, <i>Mercer University</i> Overview: This paper considers how the American regime was altered by the intellectual and scientific currents of the 19th century. It draws specifically upon Henry Adams's reaction to Darwinism.	
			Disc.	Mark S. Kremer, <i>Kennesaw State University</i>	

28-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: DEWEY'S PRESCRIPTIONS FOR DEMOCRACY

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Presenter Pragmatism and Political Liberalism

Colin Koopman, *McMaster University*

Overview: Pragmatist political theory has less in common with Rawls' liberalist liberalism than critics (Rorty, MacGilvray) claim. Deweyan democracy casts doubt on the attempt, expressed in the idea of the original position, to drive philosophy out of politics.

Presenter John Dewey and the Continued Search for a Great Community

Azi Lev-on, *University of Pennsylvania*

Overview: The potentials of information and communication technologies (ICTs) for collective action are central for Dewey's democratic theory. I ask if new ICTs support Dewey's hope to heal public short-sightedness and stimulate large-scale collaborations.

29-205 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: EDUCATION & MULTICULTURALISM

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Presenter Education and Multiculturalism: Understanding Our Duties

Christopher J. Lebron, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Overview: As a public good education is a proper subject of political ethics. Here, addressing challenges minorities face in the education system, I offer an ethical framework which addresses these challenges and the duties of the education system.

29-206 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: RECOGNITION AND AUTONOMY

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Presenter Conceptions of Autonomy in Urban Poverty Literature

Elizabeth Ben-Ishai, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Overview: Analyses of urban poverty mistakenly understand autonomy as independence. In failing to take into account the relational nature of autonomy, these theories obscure the power relations that reproduce the urban ghetto.

30-6 FORMAL THEORIES OF DELIBERATION

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair Elizabeth M. Penn, *Harvard University*

Paper Deliberation as Coordination Through Cheap Talk

Randall Calvert, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Overview: Viewing deliberation as communication prior to a many-player game of social action--fundamentally a coordination problem--this paper finds the effects upon equilibrium payoffs of length of deliberation and of consensus vs. plurality processes.

Paper Deliberation, Ideological Bias, and Group Choice

Catherine Hafer, *New York University*

Overview: The paper analyzes a model of deliberation in which agents with uncertainty over their own preference make choices regarding group membership and deliberative participation. Equilibrium choices give rise to group polarization.

Paper Deliberation as Self-Discovery: Experimental Evidence

Eric S. Dickson, *New York University*

Overview: In a lab experiment, we test a formal model of deliberation in which subjects "exchange arguments" and learn only when receiving an argument they consider valid. The model's predictions explain the data better than Bayesian rationality does.

Paper The Cultural Consistency Paradox

Jenna Bednar, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Scott E. Page, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Overview: We create two incentives that each lead to cultural (behavioral) consistency: first, agents are rewarded for coordinating their behavior with others, and second, they are rewarded for adopting behavior that is internally consistent.

Disc. Elizabeth M. Penn, *Harvard University*

30-7 FORMAL THEORIES OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair Barry O'Neill, *University of California, Los Angeles/Russell Sage Foundation*

Paper Inequality and Media Capture

Maria Petrova, *Harvard University*

Overview: In this paper I build formal theoretical model of relationship between inequality and media freedom, and find empirical support of the theory in both cross-country and panel data models.

Paper Exposing Political Corruption: The Role of Opposition and Free Press

Jana W. Kunicova, *California Institute of Technology*

Kyle Mattes, *California Institute of Technology*

Overview: In an infinitely-repeated game, we study the incentives and constraints of elected politicians to engage in political corruption in two-party systems. We examine the constraining effects of political opposition and an independent monitoring agency.

Paper A Simple Model of the Income Effects of Free Markets and Democracy

Bob Robson, *University of Iowa*

Overview: A simple model of a society consists of three citizens and three income producing assets. In iterated rounds, income is allocated to citizens. The rules used to lead to different predicted relationships between the mean and median incomes.

Paper A Theoretical Defense of Democracy: Aristotle and

Machiavelli in Light of Formal Theory

Krishna Ladha, *University of Mississippi*

Overview: In contrast to the impossibility or instability results offered in the tradition of Arrow, Sen, McKelvey, Schofield and Riker, this paper presents a theoretical defense of democracy.

Disc. Georgy Egorov, *Harvard University*

Barry O'Neill, *University of California, Los Angeles/Russell Sage Foundation*

31-5 CAUSATION AND OTHER DIFFICULT CREATURES

Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am

Chair Amy R. Gershkoff, *Princeton University*

Paper Cross-Country Counterfactuals: Matching in IR and Comparative Politics

Alexis J. Diamond, *Harvard University*

Overview: New matching-based methods can help answer causal questions about countries over time, facilitating both quantitative and qualitative analyses. My empirical example is a canonical IR dataset on UN peacekeeping operations.

Paper Interpreting Long Tails: Qualitative Analysis of Regression Residuals

Ashwini Chhatre, *Duke University*

Arun Agrawal, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Overview: The paper demonstrates a strategy to utilize qualitative knowledge of particular cases in improving causal inference from regression analysis.

Paper Interpreting Long Tails: Qualitative Analysis of Regression Residuals

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Paper Who Can be Mobilized? Attributing Differential Treatment Effects by Group in a Field Experiment of Turnout

Jake Bowers, *Harvard University*

Ben Hansen, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Overview: Do "get out the vote" efforts decrease the participation gap between the rich and the poor? We use randomization inference for a field experiment to answer this question.

Paper	<u>When Fisher's Lady Tasting Tea Approaches the Threshold: Randomization Inference and the Regression Discontinuity Design</u> Holger L. Kern , <i>Cornell University</i> Jens Haimueller , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: Our paper argues in favor of combining regression-discontinuity designs and randomization inference.	test hypotheses to prove this by analyzing their voting behaviour.
Disc.	Cindy D. Kam , <i>University of California, Davis</i>	
32-5	<u>INTEREST GROUP LOBBYING</u>	
Room	TBA, Fri 8:30 am	
Chair	Holly Brasher , <i>University of Alabama, Birmingham</i>	
Paper	<u>Interest Group Participation in Supreme Court Amicus Briefs, 1953-1993</u> James W. Endersby , <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Richard A. Almeida , <i>Southeast Missouri State University</i> Overview: Trends show increasing group participation in amicus curiae. Interests are classified as associations, membership groups, public interest firms, unions, corporations, and governments and agencies. .	
Paper	<u>Lobbyists' Decisions to Contact the Bureaucracy: Why Bother?</u> Amy M. McKay , <i>Duke University/Loyola University</i> Overview: Using the Hollow Core dataset (1993), the author investigates why lobbyists focus their efforts on the federal bureaucracy, the Congress, or both.	
Paper	<u>Interest Groups in the States Revisited</u> Anthony J. Nownes , <i>University of Tennessee</i> Krissy Gladders , <i>University of Tennessee</i> Overview: This paper reports the preliminary results of a survey of lobbyists in three states.	
Paper	<u>Competitiveness and Women Lobbyists in Washington D.C.</u> Nidhi Sharma , <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i> Overview: The paper will explore whether competitiveness on which women lobbyists rank themselves lower to men lobbyists is an important personality trait for lobbyists in Washington DC.	
Disc.	Scott Ainsworth , <i>University of Georgia</i>	
33-3	<u>PERSPECTIVES ON THE RHETORICAL PRESIDENCY</u>	
Room	TBA, Fri 8:30 am	
Chair	Dickinson Matthew , <i>Middlebury College</i>	
Paper	<u>Going Public Gone Bad? George Bush's Campaign for Social Security Reform</u> Amy Carter , <i>Westminster College</i> Overview: The research explores why Bush's campaign to change Social Security failed, despite relentless public campaigning.	
Paper	<u>The Non-Rhetorical Presidency</u> Douglas J. Hoekstra , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: "The Non-Rhetorical Presidency" examines primary and historical sources on the Ford and Eisenhower presidencies to show the continuing practice and relevance of a counter-model to the precepts and predictions of the original Rhetorical Presidency.	
Paper	<u>The Politics of Presidential Rhetoric: Public Salience and Public Opinion</u> B. Dan Wood , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Sarah R. Kessler , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This study examines both the president's ability to affect the relative salience of public policy issues and public opinion on those issues. It then explores the interaction of these effects.	
Disc.	William E. Cunion , <i>Mount Union College</i>	
34-6	<u>AGENDA DELEGATION IN PARLIAMENTS</u>	
Room	TBA, Fri 8:30 am	
Chair	Rodolfo Espino , <i>Arizona State University</i>	
Paper	<u>The EP Rapporteurs: Agenda Setters or Coalition Builders?</u> Hae-Won Jun , <i>Hanyang University</i> Overview: This paper examines the role of rapporteurs in the EP. I argue that the rapporteurs have constrained but substantial agenda-setting power to be conditional trustees for the MEPs. I	
Paper	<u>Executive-Legislative Relations in Italy: From Decreti to Deleghe</u> Amie Kreppel , <i>University of Florida</i> Overview: This paper explores the character and broad impact of the internal reforms adopted by the Italian Parliament in 1996-1997. In particular, the decision of the Parliament to delegate increased legislative power to the Executive branch is analyzed.	
Paper	<u>Testing Theories of Legislative Institutions: Rapporteurs in the EP</u> Antoine Yoshinaka , <i>University of California, Riverside</i> Gail McElroy , <i>Trinity College, University of Dublin</i> Shaun Bowler , <i>University of California, Riverside</i> Overview: We test distributive, informational, and partisan theories of legislative institutions by examining the appointment of rapporteurs in the European Parliament using quantitative and interview data from the 4th and 5th Parliaments.	
Disc.	Michael Jensen , <i>Arizona State University</i>	
34-16	<u>AGENDA SETTING ACROSS AND WITHIN INSTITUTIONS</u>	
Room	TBA, Fri 8:30 am	
Chair	Marc Debus , <i>University of Konstanz</i>	
Paper	<u>Examining the Determinants of Upper House Assertion</u> David Fisk , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: This paper investigates the circumstances under which upper houses within parliamentary systems use their political authority to obtain their desired policy outcomes (what I refer to as upper house assertion).	
Paper	<u>Bicameralism and Delegation: Party Positions, Party Members, and Policy Making</u> William B. Heller , <i>Binghamton University</i> Overview: This paper examines the extent to which principal-agent relationships counter or offset the advantages of institutional authority. It focuses on how legislatures deal with agents and competitors, in a study of bicameral parliamentary systems.	
Paper	<u>Coordination Problems in Bicameral Agenda Setting</u> Roger Larocca , <i>Oakland University</i> Overview: This research project offers a theoretical and empirical analysis of the surprising coordination problem that exists between the House and the Senate legislative agendas using a new issue-level database of all bills introduced in the 103rd Congress.	
Paper	<u>The Voter's Dilemma and the Presidential-Parliamentary Debate: A General Electoral Theory of Legislative Conflict and Cooperation</u> Mona M. Lyne , <i>University of South Carolina, Columbia</i> Overview: Building on direct versus indirect links between voters and politicians, I develop fully general theory of legislative conflict and cooperation that applies across all veto players in all regime types.	
Paper	<u>Agenda Setting in a Multi-Institutional Environment</u> Nathan W. Monroe , <i>Michigan State University</i> Thomas H. Hammond , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: We develop and test a theory of legislative agenda setting that takes account of the preferences of other actors on the legislative system.	
Disc.	Alan D. Rozzi , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i>	

35-4 THE EFFECTS OF REDISTRICTING ON REPRESENTATION
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair James B. Cottrill, *Santa Clara University*
Paper Evaluating Redistricting Criteria and Potential Effects of Enhanced Competition in California
Iris Hui, *University of California, Berkeley*
Bruce Cain, *University of California, Berkeley*
Karin MacDonald, *University of California, Berkeley*
Overview: The paper examines various definitions of 'electoral competitiveness' and explores how to draw potentially competitive districts and the impact on state legislature.

Paper Incumbent Decision-Making in Response to State Legislative Redistricting
Todd R. Makse, *The Ohio State University*
Overview: Models of the redistricting process should more explicitly consider incumbents' perspectives. This paper uses data from state legislative redistricting to fashion information-rich measures of incumbent preferences and consider their applications.

Paper Substantive Effects of Redistricting
Michael A. Bailey, *Georgetown University*
Michael McDonald, *George Mason University*
Overview: We develop theoretical reasons to pay more attention to the ideology and size of states and then use this theory to assess the ideological and partisan effects of redistricting since 1970.

Paper Using Redistricting as an Instrument to Analyze Voter Choice
Daniel Doherty, *Yale University*
Overview: Redistricting has been used as an instrument, but only in studying the "personal vote." If one makes a slight, uncontroversial adjustment to the basic model of voter decisionmaking, redistricting can be used to evaluate broader Downsian questions.

Disc. Justin M. Buchler, *Case Western Reserve University*

36-4 DETERMINANTS OF JUDICIAL DECISION MAKING
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Mark S. Hurwitz, *Western Michigan University*
Paper Structure and Equilibrium in the United States Supreme Court
Robert Anderson, *Stanford University*
Alexander M. Tahk, *Stanford University*
Overview: We model Supreme Court decision-making using the form of "issue-by-issue" opinion voting used by the Court. This model predicts stable outcomes in a multidimensional policy space and has important implications for most modern models of the Court.

Paper When Federal Courts Resolve Redistricting Cases, Party Matters – Sometimes
Mark J. McKenzie, *University of Texas, Austin*
Overview: My study tests the neutrality of federal judges in redistricting cases. I find that while judges are not overtly crass partisan actors in resolving redistricting disputes, their partisanship does play a role in decision-making in more subtle ways.

Paper Federalist Society Membership and Voting Behavior in the Courts of Appeals
Banks Miller, *The Ohio State University*
Nancy Scherer, *The Ohio State University*
Overview: We study the impact of Federalist Society membership on judicial decision-making in several legal issue areas. We focus on the assertion by liberal interest groups that Society members are more conservative than Republican judges who are not members.

Paper Issue Framing on the United States Supreme Court
Justin Wedeking, *University of Minnesota*
Overview: I explore how Supreme Court justices frame salient policy issues. Additionally, I explore how issue framing relates to judicial decision making.

Paper The Effect of Ideology on Supreme Court Judging Over Time
Sean Wilson, *Pennsylvania State University*
Overview: A time series analysis that, unlike prior works, does not manipulate the voting data into summary percentages before regression is performed, thereby avoiding ecological inference and micronumerosity. Findings are interesting.

Disc. Pamela C. Corley, *Vanderbilt University*

38-5 USING SURVEY DATA AT THE STATE LEVEL
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Colin L. Provost, *Nuffield College, Oxford University*
Paper Using Survey Data to Analyze the Impact of Anti-Abortion Legislation
Michael J. New, *University of Alabama*
Overview: This paper will use survey data to analyze various types of state level anti abortion legislation. Special attention will be paid to laws that are intended to influence the behavior of minors such as parental involvement laws.

Paper Legislative Term Limits: To Know Them is Not to Love Them
Carol S. Weissert, *Florida State University*
Overview: Survey results from lobbyists, party chairs and the public in Florida concerning their past and current views of legislative term limits. Those with the most experience with term limits are most likely to disapprove of them.

Disc. Sarah Morehouse, *University of Connecticut*

39-4 POLITICAL ECONOMY VIEWS ON SERVICE DELIVERY AND POLICY CHOICE
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair Allen B. Brierly, *University of Northern Iowa*
Paper A Tiered Approach to Analyzing Urban Services
Joseph G. Frank, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Overview: A dynamic four-tiered model of urban public service delivery and residential segregation, this analysis is based on Tiebout, but offers that individual choices are constrained severely by socio-economic and political forces.

Paper The Political and Administrative Market for Service Contracting
Robert M. Stein, *Rice University*
Stephanie S. Post, *Rice University*
Overview: Our paper explores how the competitive markets for elected officials and administrators operate together to promote service contracting and other administrative modes of services provision.

Paper Local Governance, Institutional Collective Action, and Local Service Delivery
Moon-Gi Jeong, *University of Texas, San Antonio*
Overview: Local service delivery through contracting-out has gained great attention over the last two decades. Proponents of service delivery through contracting-out pushed efficiency gains as underlying rationales of government contracting

Paper Types of Localized Market Failure and Government Response: An Analysis
Jill L. Tao, *University of Oklahoma*
Overview: Government regulation is generally accepted as a necessary response to failures of the market (Downs 1967). Even those who argue that government intervention is not necessary (or is indeed, detrimental) to remedy market failures

Disc. Jered B. Carr, *Wayne State University*

40-9 **INNOVATIVE APPROACHES TO STUDYING ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY**
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair **Barry G. Rabe**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Paper **Environmental Policy Integration: A New Approach for the Environment?**
John A. Hoornbeek, *Kent State University*
 Overview: This paper assesses Environmental Policy Integration (EPI) efforts in three major American policy sectors - agriculture, transportation, and energy. It argues that EPI efforts are an increasingly important part of American environmental policy.

Paper **Collaborative Governance and Adoption of Clean Lighting Technology**
Seong-gin Moon, *University of Colorado, Denver*
Peter deLeon, *University of Colorado, Denver*
 Overview: This paper adopts a neo-institutional perspective to explain corporate voluntary adoption of energy efficient lighting technology through EPA's Green Lights Program.

Paper **Beyond Penalties: Characterizing State Environmental Policy Design**
Chris J. Koski, *University of Washington*
 Overview: I examine and develop a classification scheme for the structure of state environmental regulatory policy design. This project adds to other methodological efforts to characterize variation in state policy.

Paper **Above and Beyond: State Regulation of Animal Feeding Operations**
Mahalley D. Allen, *California State University, Chico*
 Overview: Some states, authorized by the EPA to regulate the discharge of water pollutants, impose additional regulations on factory farms. I examine determinants of states' adoptions of stringent regulations on pollution caused by modern agriculture.

Disc. **Warren S. Eller**, *Texas A&M University*
Barry G. Rabe, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

40-301 **POSTER SESSION: PUBLIC POLICY**
Presenter **Europe's New Welfare Worlds**
Room TBA, Board 1, Fri 8:30 am
Faon C. Grandinetti, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: This paper seeks to expand Gosta Esping-Andersen's welfare state classifications (1990), which have been severely limited by changes in Europe over the past 15+ years, by categorizing the new capitalist welfare states in Europe.

Presenter **Understanding Religious Views in Policy Making**
Room TBA, Board 2, Fri 8:30 am
Roberto M. Ike, *Lincoln University*
 Overview: This paper uses the advocacy coalition framework (ACF) as a model to analyze the participation of religious groups and views in policy making. It also uses ACF to understand how such participation can fail to achieve desired outcomes.

Presenter **Eudaimonia in Polity: An Analysis of Development and Gender Equality**
Room TBA, Board 3, Fri 8:30 am
Erik W. Kuiler, *George Mason University*
 Overview: Using Aristotelian political and ethical theories to frame an analysis of gendered wellbeing from a world-polity perspective, I develop a paradigm for eudaimonia in polity and support my thesis with statistical analyses of IBRD and UN panel data.

Presenter **Evaluating Collaborative Initiative Response to Natural Disasters**
Room TBA, Board 4, Fri 8:30 am
Olivia M. McDonald, *Regent University*
 Overview: This paper delineates the variables required to maximize the effective use of multiple organizations as they respond to natural disasters.

Presenter **On the Rupture and Reconstruction of Social Network of the Jobless in China**
Room TBA, Board 5, Fri 8:30 am
Zaijian Qian, *Nanjing Normal University*
 Overview: The Chinese people pay much attention to their face and they care a lot to save it in social life. However, this is not always the case for the jobless. In order to find jobs, they have to rely on both formal and informal networks to seek support.

Presenter **Prospective Ethical Dilemmas In Federal Emergency Management Contingencies**
Room TBA, Board 6, Fri 8:30 am
Jeff Reimers, *Yale University*
 Overview: What ethical dilemmas must be pre-addressed in the crafting of America's post 9-11 federal emergency response protocol regarding biochemical attacks?

Presenter **Land Use Policy and Economic Cost Recovery in Disasters and the Policies of FEMA**
Room TBA, Board 7, Fri 8:30 am
Allen K. Settle, *California Polytechnic State University*
 Overview: What should be the policies for financial cost recovery and land use in flood area? What is the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) approach when they have taken a virtual "hands-off" policy funding flood control work

Presenter **Incarceration of Non-Violent Juvenile Offenders: A Baby-Bathwater Metaphor**
Room TBA, Board 8, Fri 8:30 am
Susan M. Kunkle, *Kent State University*
 Overview: CBA of incarceration of non-violent juvenile offenders.

Presenter **Defining the Problem of Polygamy in America**
Room TBA, Board 9, Fri 8:30 am
James J. Snyder, *Bowling Green State University*
Rebecca L. Weis, *Bowling Green State University*
 Overview: Polygamy has been defined in widely differing terms since the 1800's, and in part as a result polygamy policies have been ineffective. This paper will explore how changes in the problem definition of polygamy affect the policies under consideration.

Presenter **Ohio Economic Development: A Cost-Benefit Analysis**
Room TBA, Board 10, Fri 8:30 am
William Franko, *Kent State University*
 Overview: Ohio Economic Development: a cost-benefit analysis.

43-101 **ROUNDTABLE: ADAPTIVE GOVERNANCE, DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY, AND COLLABORATIVE MANAGEMENT**
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair **Bill Leach**, *California State University, Sacramento*
Panelist **John Scholz**, *Florida State University*
Peter Levine, *University of Maryland*
Paul Sabatier, *University of California, Davis*
Marion Iris Young, *University of Chicago*
Tanya Heikkila, *Columbia University*
 Overview: Editors of three major volumes released in 2005 will join discussants and the audience in reflecting upon the future of theory, research, and practice regarding models of democracy that emphasize dialogue and consensus-building among stakeholders.

43-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LOOKING OUT FOR CHILD WELFARE**
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Presenter **More than Money: Funding Source Impact on Organizational Behavior**
Wendy R. Ginsberg, *University of Pennsylvania*
Don Kettl, *University of Pennsylvania*
 Overview: Scholars have largely ignored the impact of policy feedbacks on nonprofit/governmental partnerships. This paper attempts to unpack the questions raised by the partnership, including changes in organizational and governmental behavior.

- Presenter** **Regulation, Enforcement and Supply of Childcare**
Joohyun Kang, *Florida State University*
 Overview: The purpose of paper is to offer refinements on previous works studied the relationship between childcare regulations and the supply of childcare centers by testing the joint effects of the stringency of regulation and effectiveness of enforcements
- 43-202** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: INTEREST GROUPS AND BUREAUCRACY**
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Presenter **State Agency Responsiveness to Organized Interests: Three Decades of Change**
Susan W. Yackee, *University of Southern California*
Christine A. Kelleher, *University of Michigan, Dearborn*
 Overview: We combine data from the American State Administrators Project with information on organized interests registered to lobby in the states. We investigate for the first time the changing patterns of influence by interest groups on state agencies.
- Presenter** **The Strategy of Advocacy**
Jill D. Nicholson-Crotty, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
 Overview: This study argues that nonprofit participation in politics is a two-stage process best understood through the lense of strategic management theory rather than through traditional interest group approaches.
- 44-5** **MAKING THE HISTORICAL LEGACIES OF RACISM VISIBLE**
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair **Mark Q. Sawyer**, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Paper **Katrina's Political Roots: Race, Class, and Federalism in U.S. Politics**
Paul Frymer, *University of California, Santa Cruz*
Dara Z. Strolovitch, *University of Minnesota*
Dorian T. Warren, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: This paper examines the role of American political institutions in structuring and perpetuating the types of inequities that exacerbated the Katrina disaster.
- Paper** **A Review of the 1965 Immigration Act and Its Political Relevance in 2005**
Christina M. Greer, *Columbia University*
 Overview: This preliminary work is an analysis of the 1965 Immigration Act and the important racial and ethnic ramifications that affect the future of black politics.
- Paper** **Making the National Crime Problem: Law, Order, and Black Civil Rights**
Naomi Murakawa, *University of Washington*
 Overview: This paper challenges the conventional wisdom that rising crime rates created an electoral incentive to be "tough on crime." National leaders politicized crime in route to opposing black civil rights nearly a decade before crime escalated.
- Paper** **The Shadow of Jim Crow: U.S. Social Policy and the Racial Gap in Education**
Alvin Bernard Tillery, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: The paper examines the extent to which the racial gap on SAT scores can be linked to racial discrimination in the allotment of funds from New Deal social programs.
- Disc.** **Paul Frymer**, *University of California, Santa Cruz*
Mark Sawyer, *University of California, Los Angeles*
- 45-1** **PRACTICAL POLITICS**
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair **Thomas F. Schaller**, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*
Paper **Community Involvement in Issues: Increasing Dialogue in School Board Issues**
Stephen C. Brooks, *University of Akron*
Susan Vogelsang, *Summit County School Board Governance Project*
 Overview: The paper describes a program for increasing citizen involvement in education issues by increasing competition in school board elections. It will be of interest to scholars of community organization, political participation and citizen policy-making.
- Paper** **Political Message and Incremental Change in Local Politics**
Thomas C. Lewis, *No Affiliation*
 Overview: Other than elementary get-out-the-vote techniques, the practice of local politics has become pure message. A result is incremental change and institutional stalemate.
- Paper** **Turning the Tide: Charging a New Direction After 177 Years**
Sandra L. Frankel, *Town of Brighton*
Janet B. Miller,
 Overview: An urban suburb of 35,000 people in upstate, western New York changed course after 177 years of domination by the Republican Party, and elected a Democratic executive and council.
- Paper** **Situational Characteristics and Patterns Influencing Senate Non-Votes**
Sharon L. Keranen, *Wayne State University*
 Overview: Congressional voting participation is at an all time high of 95%; little attention is given to the remaining 5% non-voting outcomes. This study looks for individual senator characteristics and party situations that may influence Senate non-votes.
- Disc.** **Thomas F. Schaller**, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*
- 47-5** **RELIGION, POLITICS, AND THE COURTS**
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair **Shanna L. Pearson-Merkowitz**, *University of Maryland*
Paper **Is McCreary a Lemon?: Neutrality and the Lemon Test in McCreary v. ACLU**
Rebecca J. McCumbers, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: This paper will examine the Supreme Court's 2005 rulings on Ten Commandments displays in the McCreary and Van Orden cases to see if the Court does indeed have a consistent standard for judging Establishment Clause cases.
- Paper** **The Religious Geography of Religious Speech**
John C. Blakeman, *University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point*
 Overview: This paper investigates federal court litigation concerning religious expression in the context of the religious population of communities from which such court cases arise.
- Paper** **Contested Sites: Roadside Memorials, 1st Amendment and Popular Debate**
Clay McNearney, *Marshall University*
 Overview: Roadside memorials at accident sites are recently popular. Their size, nature, placement and even existence has become contested. This paper examines the language of that polarizing debate.
- Paper** **Citizenship, Religious Beliefs, and Same-Sex Marriage**
Emily R. Gill, *Bradley University*
 Overview: This paper will explore whether recognizing same-sex marriage constitutes endorsement of same-sex relationships, and whether support for same-sex marriage is sectarian in nature, just as opposition to it is considered sectarian by some.
- Disc.** **Mary Segers**, *Rutgers University*
- 47-14** **RELIGION AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**
Room TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair **Myunghae Kim**, *Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville*
Paper **Ukrainian Evangelicals and Russian Jews in Russian Revolutionary Politics**
Sergei I. Zhuk, *Ball State University*
 Overview: The spread of the radical evangelical movement in the Ukrainian countryside by the 1880s coincided with the activities of the Jewish revolutionary intellectuals, who tried to exploit the anti-state feelings of persecuted dissenters.
- Paper** **Three Christian Responses to the Plight of the Poor in Brazil**
Raimundo C. Barreto, *Princeton Theological Seminary*
 Overview: The decreasing influence of Catholic Base Communities demands a search for new responses to the suffering the poor. I try to contribute to these new explorations

- by turning to three responses to the plight of the poor among Brazilian Protestants.
- Paper** **Falun Gong and State Persecution**
Weishan Huang, *The New School*
 Overview: The media, legal and constitutional supports become critical means for Falun Gong to remove its stigmatic fame. The research will include the studies on its continued mobilization, movement strategies, and its relationship with the government of China
- Paper** **Traditional Religion - A Useful Tool in Policy-Making**
Ringo Ringvee, *Ministry of Interiors*
 Overview: The paper examines the use of religion-related issues in the domestic and foreign politics. The examples are taken from Estonia where the conflict between two Orthodox Churches has had impact on the relations between Estonia and Russia.
- Disc.** **Frank P. Le Veness**, *St. John's University*
Peter C. Bisson, *Campion College at the University of Regina*

48-4 **ENGAGING POLITICAL SCIENCE UNDERGRADUATES**

- Room** TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair **Dina M. Krois**, *Lansing Community College*
Paper **Political Lives of Women: Teaching with Biographies**
Kathleen McGinnis, *Trinity (Washington) University*
 Overview: The biographies of women are useful tools for understanding how political roles, processes, and institutions combine to define political lives. Biography can provide the "voice" of women so often absent from political discourse.
- Paper** **The Politics of Information Literacy: Integrating Information Literacy into the Political Science Curriculum**
Patricia J. Campbell, *University of West Georgia*
Christy R. Stevens, *University of West Georgia*
 Overview: This paper discusses the results of a six month collaboration between a Political Science professor and an instruction librarian that successfully integrated information literacy into Political Science curriculum.
- Paper** **Teaching Research Methods through Community-Based Research**
Francis Neely, *San Francisco State University*
Corey Cook, *San Francisco State University*
 Overview: We discuss the benefits of using an applied research project in political science courses. In 2004 and 2005 undergraduate students conducted exit polls of voters in San Francisco to examine the impact of reform to an Instant-Runoff Voting system.
- Paper** **Engaging Political Science Undergraduates Across Campuses in Research**
Mark Sachleben, *Miami University*
 Overview: This paper examines the usefulness of directed undergraduate coding of data to promote critical thinking and writing. It discusses the institutional barriers as well as the benefits to students of such a project.
- Disc.** **Bruce E. Caswell**, *Rowan University*

49-103 **ROUNDTABLE: WHERE MOST OF US ARE: NAVIGATING THE PROFESSION OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN NON-PHD DEPARTMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS**

- Room** TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair **Joanna V. Scott**, *Eastern Michigan University*
Panelist **Jacqueline DeLaat**, *Marietta College*
Tony Affigne, *Providence College*
Shirley Geiger, *Savannah State University*
 Overview: This roundtable will address the many issues related to life at non-Ph.D. institutions. Members of the roundtable will discuss such topics as the transition to teaching intensive environments, balancing teaching and publishing, and tokenism in small liberal arts colleges.

50-3 **NATURE AND JUSTICE IN GREEK POETRY AND PHILOSOPHY**

- Room** TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair **Dustin Gish**, *John Cabot University*
Paper **The Iliad: The Origins of Justice in an Epic Poem of War**
Marlene K. Sokolon, *Concordia University*
 Overview: This paper explores the concept of justice in the Iliad. Specifically, it examines the relationship between emotions and just action and whether justice is connected to concepts of harmony and order.
- Paper** **On 'Nature' as a Standard in Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics**
Kathryn E. Sensen, *Harvard University*
 Overview: It is widely assumed that Aristotle's moral and political philosophy relies upon "nature" as a standard. What does this mean? And to what extent is it the case? This paper explores these questions by analyzing Books VII through X of Aristotle's Nicom.
- Paper** **Poetic Education, Politics, and the Void in Hesiod**
Robert A. L'Arrivee, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: According to Hesiod, how does poetic education preserve politics from the void? I examine the relation between the ruler and the poet, and how they sustain human communities in spite of the ever-present threat of the void and political anarchy.
- Disc.** **Elliot M. Bartky**, *Indiana-Purdue University, Ft. Wayne*
Ann Ward, *University of Regina*

51-101 **ROUNDTABLE: WHAT LGBT POLITICS AND PUBLIC POLICY SCHOLARS CAN LEARN FROM ONE ANOTHER**

- Room** TBA, Fri 8:30 am
Chair **Kenneth Sherrill**, *Hunter College of CUNY*
Panelist **Cynthia Burack**, *The Ohio State University*
Donald Haider-Markel, *University of Kansas*
Laura Langbein, *American University*
 Overview: In recent years a significant body of work has emerged on the role of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender issues in U.S. politics. How can mainstream public policy studies and policy analysis inform and improve gay political science research?

Friday, April 21 – 10: 30 am – 12:15 pm

1-1 BIOLOGY AND GENETICS AS THE FUTURE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE INQUIRY

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am

Chair **Andrea Bonnicksen**, *Northern Illinois University*

Paper **Genetic Configurations of Political Phenomena: New Theories, New Methods**

Ira H. Carmen, *University of Illinois*

Overview: I present a new theory -- sociogenomics -- to replace behavioralism and rational choice as the salient paradigm of political science inquiry. The paradigm is based on the relationship of DNA to the attitudes and behaviors of political actors.

Paper **Genetics and Politics**

John R. Hibbing, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*

John R. Alford, *Rice University*

Overview: In this paper, we review the empirical evidence, biological mechanisms, and rationale for the relevance of genes to sociopolitical attitudes and behaviors.

Paper **The Genetic Basis of Voter Behavior**

James H. Fowler, *University of California, Davis*

Overview: I match voter registration records from Los Angeles County to a volunteer adult twin registry of same sex monozygotic and dizygotic twins to show that genetics plays a significant role in determining who votes.

Paper **Public Opinion and Biofeedback: The Interaction of Emotion and Ambivalence**

Mitchel N. Herian, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*

Overview: Using Galvanic Skin Response indices and self-reported emotional reactions toward three politicians. It was found that it was possible to accurately predict emotional self-reports in one of three cases.

Disc. **Roger Masters**, *Dartmouth College*

2-3 ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am

Chair **Brian J. Gerber**, *West Virginia University*

Paper **Norway, Sweden, and Finland's Radical Natural Resource and Energy Policies**

Frank T. Manheim, *George Mason University*

Overview: Norway, Sweden, and Finland are international leaders in environmental and energy policies. Performance-based, rather than command-and-control environmental policies prevail. These policies facilitate achievement of simultaneous breakthroughs

Paper **Do Greens Make a Difference? Their Impact on European Energy Policies**

Francis McGowan, *University of Sussex*

Overview: This paper explores the impact of Green parties on policies in western Europe. We look at two cases where Green parties may have been influential - phasing out nuclear power and encouraging renewable energy.

Paper **Turning Wittfogel on His Head: China's Emerging Hydraulic Society**

Andrew C. Mertha, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Overview: In this paper, I analyze the growing political participation in China today, specifically with regard to its hydropower policy making and project implementation. Drawing from two cases in Sichuan and three from Yunnan

Disc. **Brian J. Gerber**, *West Virginia University*

2-9 INTERESTS, THE ECONOMY AND INSTITUTIONS -- VOTER CHOICE

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am

Chair **Karl Kaltenthaler**, *University of Akron*

Paper **Performance Pressure: Patterns of Partisanship and the Economic Vote**

Mark A. Kayser, *University of Rochester*

Christopher Wlezien, *Temple University*

Overview: Declining partisan attachment has strengthened the economic vote in countries with high clarity of responsibility.

Paper **A Micro-Level Study of the Effects of Clarity of Responsibility on Economic Voting**

Erik R. Tillman, *Emory University*

Overview: This paper examines the mediating role of the institutional clarity of responsibility on the effects of sociotropic economic judgments on party choice and abstention, using cross-national election study data.

Paper **Differences in Voting Behavior in East and West Germany**

Melanie Kintz, *Western Michigan University*

Overview: This paper is analyzing the results from the 2005 Bundestag election from the perspective of differences between East and West Germans in their vote choice.

Paper **Globalization, Room to Maneuver Constraints and Vote Choice**

Timothy T. Hellwig, *University of Houston*

Overview: Paper argues that voters respond to globalization by reducing the weight assigned to economic considerations and, to compensate, by increasing the weight assigned to non-economic issues. Analyses of British and French data support the argument.

Disc. **Karl Kaltenthaler**, *University of Akron*

3-15 FINANCIAL CRISES COMPARED: ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am

Chair **Seung-Whan Choi**, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

Paper **The Impact of Economic Reforms on Corporate Governance**

Nancy E. Brune, *Princeton University*

Overview: This paper explores the impact of neo-liberal economic reforms (i.e. privatization) on governance in emerging economies and the institutions that mediate these effects.

Paper **Political Institutions and Financial Market Regulation: Argentina and Thailand in the 1990's**

Wongi Choe, *University of Oklahoma*

Overview: This paper examines how party institutional constraints shapes the ways in which politicians deal with financial regulations by comparing the financial reform experiences in Argentina and Thailand in the 1990s.

Paper **The Link Between Domestic Political Institutions and Asian Financial Crises**

Jung In Jo, *Lee University*

Overview: In this paper, I attempt to answer several puzzling questions on economic crises focusing on political institutions. Is the timing of crises related to political institutions? For instance, are some regime types or party systems prone to crisis?

Paper **Power Distribution and the Resolution of Financial Crises**

Gabriela Nava-Campos, *Northwestern University*

Overview: The paper examines how power distribution affects the resolution and costs of financial crises. It shows that while polities with more dispersed power distributions take longer to resolve these problems, they also do so at a lower cost to society.

Paper **The Paradox of Liberalization: State, Market and Banks in Mexico**

Irma E. Sandoval-Ballesteros, *Institute for Social Research, UNAM*

Overview: Through an analysis of the banking sector in Mexico, this paper argues that the economic reforms of the 1980s and 1990s implied a reorientation, not a reduction, of the role of the state and a reinvigoration, not erosion, of interest group politics.

Disc. **Armando Razo**, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

3-19 DANGEROUS LIAISONS: ELECTION MANAGEMENT BODIES AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am

Chair **Beatriz Magaloni**, *Stanford University*

Paper **Ideological Divides Among Magistrates in an Appeals Court: An Inspection of Mexico's Election Tribunal**

Eric Magar, *ITAM, Mexico City*

Federico Estevez, *ITAM-Mexico City*

	Overview: Although two organs with separate powers - the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) and the Federal Electoral Tribunal (TRIFE) – oversee Mexican elections, analysts have been paying much more attention to the first than the second. While IFE has author		
Paper	<u>Election Management Bodies as Market Regulators: Alternative Models of Campaign Finance Oversight</u> Alejandro Poire , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This paper evaluates the role played by Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) and other agencies entrusted with enforcing political finance regulation.	4-11	<u>PRIVATIZATION, MARKETS AND DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT</u>
Paper	<u>Voting to Manage Elections: A Comparative Examination of Federal Election Institutes in Brazil and Mexico</u> Guillermo Rosas , <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: Recent scholarship has investigated the political consequences of alternative electoral management bodies. Institutional similarities and differences between Mexico's Instituto Federal Electoral (IFE) and Brazil's Tribunal Federal Eleitoral	Room Chair	TBA, Fri 10:30 am Jonathan C. Benjamin-Alvarado , <i>University of Nebraska, Omaha</i>
Paper	<u>Productive Partisanship: How Ideological Conflict Creates Strong Public Institutions</u> John M. Ackerman , <i>FLACSO, Mexico</i> Overview: This paper looks to demonstrate the limits of theories about the impact of veto players and divided government on policy making.	Paper	<u>Competing Theories? Re-thinking the Use of Proxy Variables in the Privatization Literature</u> Julie VanDusky , <i>SUNY, Binghamton</i> Overview: In order to untangle the "competing" privatization theories, this paper re-structures the privatization argument using the logic of willingness and capability, allowing for a more clearly specified empirical model.
Disc.	Todd Eisenstadt , <i>American University</i>	Paper	<u>The Cost of Liberalization: Public Spending and Privatization in Brazil</u> Christina Schatzman , <i>Arizona State University</i> Overview: Does neoliberal economic reform permit states to more efficiently allocate resources? This paper examines this question by analyzing the effect of privatizing state enterprises on state spending in Brazil from 1980 to 2000.
3-22	<u>UNDERSTANDING DEMOCRATIZATION'S BACKSLIDERS</u>	Paper	<u>Democratization's Effect on Development Through Privatization: Evidence from China, Russia, and Post-Socialist Europe</u> Andrea E. Jones-Rooy , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: I empirically evaluate the divergent democratization trajectories of China and post-Socialist Europe and Russia since 1989 to identify how different stages of democratic evolution influences the effectiveness of privatization on development.
Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am	Disc.	Jonathan C. Benjamin-Alvarado , <i>University of Nebraska, Omaha</i>
Chair	Kathleen R. Barrett , <i>Georgia State University</i>		
Paper	<u>Elite Fragmentation and Institutional Change: Costa Rica's Troubled Model</u> Ludovico Feoli , <i>Tulane University</i> Overview: Despite its reputation for consolidated democracy and successful human development, over the past few years Costa Rica has been declining in numerous international rankings of governance and competitiveness. This decline stems from the country's	4-102	<u>ROUNDTABLE: THE MEXICAN 2006 PANEL STUDY: A ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION</u>
Paper	<u>The Philippine Democracy After Marcos: Problems of Democratic Consolidation</u> Akm K. Islam , <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i> Overview: Why the Philippines, like many other third wave democracies, face tremendous difficulty consolidating their newly established democracy? My research tries to address this question.	Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Paper	<u>Explaining People's Evaluation of Democracy in Latin America</u> Clemente Quinones , <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Abby Cordova-Guillen , <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Overview: The purpose of this paper is to explain people's evaluation of democracy in Latin America. We use a cross-sectional, cross country analysis, which includes Mexico, Central America, Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, and the Dominican Republic.	Chair	James A. McCann , <i>Purdue University</i>
Paper	<u>Arab Constitutions: Seeds for Democracy</u> Timothy J. Schorn , <i>University of South Dakota</i> Overview: Arab constitutions contain the seeds necessary to develop democratic governments. They also contain the ability to thwart the transition to democracy.	Panelist	Chappell Lawson , <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Alejandro Moreno , <i>Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México</i> Kenneth F. Greene , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Luis Estrada , <i>Central de Estrategias Políticas</i> Overview: As the presidential campaigns in Mexico enter their final stages, the panelists in this Roundtable will discuss findings from the first two waves of the "Mexican 2006 Panel Study".
Paper	<u>Security Conditions and Civil-Military Relations in South Korea and the Philippines</u> Jongseok Woo , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: This research examines how international/internal security threat conditions affect the military's domestic political role in South Korea and the Philippines.	5-8	<u>EUROSKEPTICISM AND NATIONALIST ATTITUDES IN THE EU</u>
Disc.	Gretchen G. Casper , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i>	Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am
		Chair	Barbara S. Kinsey , <i>University of Central Florida</i>
		Paper	<u>Second Order Elections and the Success of Euro-Skeptic Parties</u> Bryan S. Glass , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Terri Givens , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: The European Parliament elections are the only national elections in Britain where you will not see strategic voting. We will show that small Euro-Skeptic parties are strategically deserted in national legislative elections.
		Paper	<u>Consonant Federalism?: Exclusive Identities and Euroskepticism</u> Jennifer L. Miller , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: This paper seeks to explain Euroskepticism in terms of national identity and how living in a federal arrangement conditions support for European integration.
		Paper	<u>Taking Europe to its Extremes: Extremist Parties and Public Euroskepticism</u> Catherine E. Netjes , <i>Free University, Amsterdam</i> Erica E. Edwards , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: In this paper, we revisit the age-old debate on elite-mass linkages in the European Union (EU). We examine the way in which political contexts shape individual differentiation in EU support by focusing on the cueing effects of extremist parties.

Paper	<u>Regional Minority Nationalist Attitudes Towards European Integration</u> <i>Anna M. Olsson, American University</i> Overview: This paper seeks to clarify the relationship between support for European integration and linguistic and/or politicized minority nationalism at the regional level, thus trying to find patterns of well-needed citizen support for the European project.	Paper	<u>Street Democracy and Neoliberalism in Latin America</u> <i>Petros Vamvakas, Emmanuel College</i> Overview: It is my contention that the neoliberal models that were implemented in Latin America attacked and weakened the state in favor of markets within the polity, but failed to understand that in developing societies
Paper	<u>Euroskeptical Voting in European and National Elections</u> <i>Robert Pahre, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> <i>Elizabeth Radziszewski, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: We compare voters' choice of (non-)governing parties and Euroskeptical/pro-EU parties across national elections and European Parliament elections. Voters make strategic choices in both settings that differ across (non-)majoritarian national polities.	Paper	<u>Cooperation and Conflict Between Firms and Communities</u> <i>Jose Vargas-Hernandez, Instituto tecnologico de cd. Guzman</i> Overview: The aim of this paper is to analyze relationships of cooperation and conflict between a mining company and the involved communities, New Social Movements and the three levels of government.
Disc.	<i>Barbara S. Kinsey, University of Central Florida</i>	Disc.	<i>Sybil D. Rhodes, Western Michigan University</i> <i>Gina Yannitell Reinhardt, Texas A&M University</i>
5-19	<u>THE IMPACT OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN EUROPE</u>	8-5	<u>VOTING BEHAVIOR IN SOUTH KOREA AND TAIWAN</u>
Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am	Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair	<i>M. Shawn Reichert, University of Central Florida</i>	Chair	<i>Gang Guo, University of Mississippi</i>
Paper	<u>When Institutions Change, and How those Changes Change Members: Examining the Impact of EU Accession on Investor Risk in Western Europe</u> <i>Julia Gray, University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: TBA	Paper	<u>Retrospective Economic Voting in Taiwan</u> <i>Eunjung Choi, University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: I explain less significance of economic evaluations on individual vote choice in Taiwan than in Western countries with social, political, and informational contexts that make difference in the availability and accessibility of economic issues
Paper	<u>Reforming Federalism: The Politics of Institutional Change in Germany</u> <i>Gunther M. Hega, Western Michigan University</i> Overview: This paper assesses the work of the German "Federalism Commission" and its attempt to reform institutional arrangements that have become widely regarded as at least partially responsible for the German "Reformstau" or "reform gridlock" in the 1990s.	Paper	<u>Democratization and Changing Voting Behavior in Korea</u> <i>Byong-Kuen Jhee, University of Missouri, Columbia</i> <i>Geiguen Shin, University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Overview: This paper is an attempt to examine whether and how democratic consolidation has changed voting behavior in new democracies.
Paper	<u>Endogenizing Institutions</u> <i>Zeki Sarigil, University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: When, why and how do institutions change? This question is a primary issue on recent institutional literature. By analyzing institutional changes in civil-military relations in Turkey, this study tries to provide some answers to this question.	Paper	<u>Making Sense of Party Images, Party Performance, and Issue Positions</u> <i>Chia-hung Tsai, National Chengchi University</i> Overview: A conditional logit model is developed to predict voting choice in a multi-party system. Individual's party images and ranking of party performance in the Legislative Yuan are significant predictors, controlling for parties' issue positions.
Disc.	<i>Olga A. Avdeyeva, Purdue University</i>	Paper	<u>Ideology and Region in the Korean Election: A Model for the Korean Voter</u> <i>Jaehyeok Shin, University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: The paper aims to explore the political impact of ideological cleavage on the regional party system in Korea, constructing a new logistic regression model that explains the voter's decision in the 2002 presidential election.
7-4	<u>FROM INTEREST GROUPS TO STREET MOBS: NEOLIBERALISM AND NON-STATE ACTORS IN LATIN AMERICA</u>	Paper	<u>Temporary Fluctuation or Transformation-Random Parameter Logit Model of the 2004 General Election in Korea</u> <i>Woojin Kang, Florida State University</i> Overview: With random parameter logit model, this paper analyzes the 2004 general election in Korea in terms of party system.
Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am	Disc.	<i>Gang Guo, University of Mississippi</i> <i>Pierre F. Landry, Yale University</i>
Chair	<i>James C. Franklin, Ohio Wesleyan University</i>	9-101	<u>ROUNDTABLE: POLITICS OF HIV/AIDS</u>
Paper	<u>The Discourse of Citizen Participation in International Organizations</u> <i>Guillermo Cantor, University of Maryland, College Park</i> Overview: The article examines the sources and implications of the concepts of civil society participation and democracy that are explicitly and implicitly contained in the Inter American Development Bank's "Strategy for Promoting Citizen articulation".	Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Paper	<u>The Role of Non-State Actors in the Peruvian Process of Neoliberal Economic Reform</u> <i>Alba Hesselroth, University of Southern California</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the role of non-state actors - mainly the media, the academia, and think tanks - as promoters of market-oriented policy ideas, and whether their influence on the wider public facilitated economic policy change in Peru.	Panelist	<u>Two Roads Diverged: Facing the HIV/AIDS Crisis in Kenya and Tanzania</u> <i>Meg W. Keiley-Listermann, Georgia Perimeter College</i> <i>Jose A. da Cruz, Armstrong Atlantic State University</i> Overview: As HIV/AIDS rages across Africa, two countries have taken alternate paths to face the crisis. Kenya and Tanzania have both identified the human and economic "costs" of the disease, but the institutional responses reflect the governmental differences.
Paper	<u>Civil Society and Poverty-Reduction Policy: Argentina in the 1990s</u> <i>Romina Miorelli, London School of Economics and Political Science</i> Overview: The paper explores the government's discourse on civil society in poverty reduction policy of the 1990's Argentina. Multilateral banks influenced the discourse, but domestic political decisions and persistent local views were crucial.	Panelist	<u>Social Rights in South Africa: The Difference Between AIDS and Land Reform</u> <i>Jennifer Yvette Terrell, The New School for Social Research</i> Overview: Social rights are defined through constitutional challenges. I compare the success of two social movements that

	have launched constitutional challenges and argue that success relates to the type of remediation sought by the movement.				interests. This paper examines the evolving strategies of key interest groups through time and their implications for the future.
Panelist	<u>The Politics of HIV/AIDS and Implications for Democracy in Kenya</u> Henry K. Wambui , <i>Central Missouri State University</i> Overview: The paper examines relations between HIV/AIDS activism and democratic consolidation in Kenya. Mobilization against the pandemic is seen as instrumental for democratic consolidation due to popular political participation in policy formulation.		Paper	<u>Faith and Post-Communism: State, Law and Religious Competition in Transition</u> Ani Sarkissian , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper questions the role of religion in the post-Communist world. It examines both religious regulations and the political activities of religious groups to understand how law, tradition, and competition affect democracy in the region.	
10-6	<u>THE CONTINUING EVOLUTION OF POST-COMMUNIST DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS</u>		Disc.	Frank P. Le Veness , <i>St. John's University</i>	
Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am		10-301	<u>POSTER SESSION: POLITICS OF COMMUNIST AND FORMER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES</u>	
Chair	Lada K. Dunbar , <i>University of Michigan, Dearborn</i>		Presenter	<u>The Iraqi Communist Party and the Challenge of Pragmatism</u>	
Paper	<u>Partial Veto Points: Bicameralism in the Czech Republic</u> Andrew Roberts , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: This paper looks at upper houses that hold a suspensory veto - ie, their veto can be overridden by a lower house majority. This paper examines the mechanisms through which such houses can exercise influence by looking at the Czech Senate.		Room	TBA, Board 1, Fri 10:30 am Alexander R. Dawoody , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Overview: This paper examines ICP's political history and its ideological changes. It also examines the trends that contributed to the shifts in the party's political path from an anti-colonialist, independent political organization that earned it the support	
Paper	<u>Explaining Late Lustrations in Slovakia: Limited Choices and Limiting Coalitions</u> Jana W. Kunicova , <i>California Institute of Technology</i> Monika Nalepa , <i>Rice University</i> Overview: Why did Slovakia, in contrast to the Czech Republic and other East Central European countries, fail to deal with its communist past immediately following the transition? We propose an institutional explanation based on gate-keeping powers.		Presenter	<u>Leftist Violence and the Violence of its 'Other' in the Twentieth Century</u>	
Paper	<u>Cabinet Duration in Central and Eastern Europe</u> Jill N. Wittrock , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: This article provides a systematic comparative analysis of coalition behavior in Central and Eastern Europe.		Room	TBA, Board 2, Fri 10:30 am Daryl J. Glaser , <i>University of Witwatersrand</i> Overview: This paper is an intervention in emotive debates about the relative scale and significance of mass killings by forces of the left and right (loosely defined) during the twentieth century.	
Paper	<u>Survival of the Fittest? Cabinet Duration in Post-Communist Europe</u> Zeynep Somer , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: This paper questions what affects cabinet durations in ten post-Communist states by using duration models. It is found that institutional arrangements and economic performance are influential for the survival rates of post-Communist governments.		Presenter	<u>Construction of the 'National-Popular': Communism and the Founding of Democracy in Kerala</u>	
Paper	<u>Romania after Communism: Political, Electoral and Institutional Gambles</u> Madalina C. Hanes , <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: I argue that Romania maintained a stable democratic regime despite its faulty institutional design. Changes could be made to address problems like power struggles between the Presidency, the Legislative and the Executive.		Room	TBA, Board 3, Fri 10:30 am Nissim Mannathukkaren , <i>Queen's University</i> Overview: While communism has generally been associated with authoritarianism this paper will look at a rare example of transition to democracy brought about by the communist movement in the Indian state of Kerala.	
Disc.	Erik S. Herron , <i>University of Kansas</i>		Presenter	<u>Electoral Institutions and Ethnic Conflict in Austria-Hungary, 1867-1914</u>	
10-16	<u>THE EMERGENCE AND ACTIVITY OF COMMUNIST AND POST-COMMUNIST INTEREST GROUPS</u>		Room	TBA, Board 4, Fri 10:30 am Philip J. Howe , <i>Adrian College</i> Overview: This paper tests competing theories of democratic institutions in ethnically divided societies by examining parliamentary elections, legislative behavior, nationalism and the expansion of the suffrage in Austria-Hungary between 1867 and 1914.	
Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am		11-16	<u>SOVEREIGNTY, SUPRANATIONALISM AND TRANSNATIONALISM</u>	
Chair	Dinissa S. Duvanova , <i>The Ohio State University</i>		Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am	
Paper	<u>Understanding Interest Group Activity in the Emergent Democracies of Eastern Europe</u> Ronald J. Hrebennar , <i>University of Utah</i> Clive S. Thomas , <i>University of Alaska Southeast</i> Overview: This paper develops a theoretical framework for understanding the development and characteristics of interest groups and the broader category of "interest" system in the former Communist countries of Eastern Europe.		Chair	Christopher Balding , <i>University of California, Irvine</i>	
Paper	<u>Interest Groups in Russia's Political and Economic Transformation</u> Lynn D. Nelson , <i>Virginia Commonwealth University</i> Irina Y. Kuzes , <i>Virginia Commonwealth University</i> Overview: The radical transformation of Russia's political and economic life since 1991 reflects the influence of divergent		Paper	<u>Constituting States as Members: Diplomacy and the Origins of Sovereign Equality</u> Lora Anne Viola , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: Through an analysis of the fifteenth-seventeenth century origins of diplomacy, this paper argues that diplomatic practices act as the regulative devices controlling the acquisition and distribution of sovereignty in the international system.	
			Paper	<u>The Fragmentation of Sovereignty: Globalization and the Persistence of States</u> Neil A. Englehart , <i>Bowling Green State University</i> Overview: Arguments that the state is in decline assume that states must be fully sovereign. I argue that sovereignty is fragmenting, with states stronger due to globalization, but less able to fully control policy	
			Paper	<u>Towards Labor Transnationalism: The Reorientation of Global Labor</u> Jonathan C. Rothermel , <i>Temple University</i> Overview: "Solidarity Forever" is a common slogan heard in the realm of labor internationalism, but does rhetoric match reality? This paper puts forth a useful typology of labor internationalism and its evolution towards labor transnationalism.	

Paper	<p><u>Administration of Global Government: The Challenge of Transnational Rulemaking and Regulation</u> Jonathan Koppell, Yale University Overview: This paper examines the unique administrative challenges associated with governance of novel institutions charged with regulating all types of transnational activities, from trade to crime to communications. Specifically, the process of rule making</p>	Paper	<p><u>The New "Peculiar Institution": International Labor Standards, Human Rights, and Prison Labor in the Contemporary United States</u> Susan L. Kang, University of Minnesota Sarah C. Walker, University of Minnesota Overview: Though the US opposes the use of forced labor for its trading partners, there has been an substantive empirical increase in the use prison labor by states for private enterprises.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Defiant Ally: The Case of the EU's Support to the ICC</u> Lucrecia Garcia-Iommi, University of Notre Dame Overview: Using process tracing I show that EU's support for the ICC constitutes the first example of a unanimously supported and supranationally originated international policy by the EU. Expert committees are the intervening variables at different stages.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Do As Thy Neighbor? - A Spatial Econometric Analysis of Human Rights</u> Julie Lantrip, University of North Texas J. Michael Greig, University of North Texas Steven C. Poe, University of North Texas Overview: Using spatial data analysis, we apply the diffusion processes identified in the international conflict literature to the diffusion of human rights through neighborhood effects, economic and political alliances, and transnational advocacy networks.</p>
Disc.	<p>Hans Schattle, Roger Williams University</p>	Disc.	<p>Christian Davenport, University of Maryland, College Park Carmela Lutmar, Princeton University</p>
12-11	<p><u>FDI, INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, AND FIRM BEHAVIOR</u></p>	14-10	<p><u>EUROPEAN SECURITY</u></p>
Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am	Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair	John Freeman, University of Minnesota	Chair	Carol Atkinson, The Ohio State University
Paper	<p><u>Bilateral Investment Treaties and Foreign Direct Investment: A Network Approach</u> John S. Alquist, University of Washington Michael D. Ward, University of Washington Overview: Do Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs) influence direct investment flows between countries? We deploy a new class of statistical models of networks to answer this question and examine the stability of this relationship over time.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Threat Perception and Human Rights Abuse</u> Denese A. McArthur, Binghamton University Zulema Blair, Medger Evers College, CUNY Overview: This paper investigates the effects of domestic and international crises on states' levels of respect for civil rights and liberties, and personal integrity rights.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Institutional Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment Patterns: Evidence from the OECD</u> Marshall W. Garland, Texas Tech University Overview: My paper examines the role domestic political institutions have in affecting multinational's foreign investment decisions across OECD countries. I find candidate-centered electoral systems increase incoming foreign investment flows.</p>	Disc.	<p>Christian Davenport, University of Maryland, College Park Carmela Lutmar, Princeton University</p>
Paper	<p><u>Security Shocks and Risk-Sharing Networks</u> Matthew C. Harding, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Alexander Marcus, Harvard University Overview: We explore what kinds of firms are especially vulnerable to a volatility shock generated by an un-anticipated terrorist attack. We also analyze how different types of cross-national risk-sharing networks affect the resulting volatility.</p>	14-10	<p><u>Expanding the Neighborhood Watch: Eastern Perspectives on NATO Enlargement</u> Suzette R. Grillot, University of Oklahoma Rebecca J. Cruise, University of Oklahoma Valerie J. D'Erman, University of Oklahoma Overview: This study explores the implications of NATO expansion from an eastern perspective.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Institutions for Investment: Domestic Politics and the Sources of Cross-National Variation in FDI Restrictions</u> Sonal S. Pandya, Harvard University Overview: This paper analyzes cross-national variation in FDI restrictions. It builds on a model of FDI's income effects to examine how political institutions mediate the translation of preferences. Empirical tests utilize original data on FDI restrictions.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Post 9/11 Neutrality? An Analysis of Defense Options for Finland in the 21st Century</u> David R. Forest, Illinois State University Overview: How will Finland react given its traditional role of neutrality to the new European defense initiatives? The movement towards common security and defense policies will help to redefine the roles of the individual member states and the EU as a whole.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes</u> Clint Peinhardt, University of Texas, Dallas Todd Allee, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Overview: We introduce a new database on arbitration cases to ICSID, little-known international organization that is at least in part responsible for the growth of bilateral investment treaties.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Post-Soviet Central Asia as a Geo-strategic Hinterland of the Eurasia: US's and Russian Interests and Contradiction in the Region</u> Bek-Myrza Tokotegin, Bosphorus University Overview: The relocation of Central Asia from the periphery to the center of the United States' strategic interest at the end of 2001 fundamentally altered the region's geopolitical landscape.</p>
Disc.	<p>B. Peter Rosendorff, University of Southern California</p>	Paper	<p><u>Strategy in Europe: Does Grand Strategy Even Exist?</u> Craig B. Greathouse, University of Arkansas, Monticello Overview: Examines the development of grand strategy in the common European security framework. Using a six point framework the major actors in the security debate are compared with their convergence to or divergence from a common security structure.</p>
13-1	<p><u>THE DOMESTIC POLITICS OF HUMAN RIGHTS</u></p>	Disc.	<p>Andrew C. Richter, University of Windsor</p>
Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am	14-301	<p><u>POSTER SESSION: INTERNATIONAL SECURITY</u></p>
Chair	Christian Davenport, University of Maryland, College Park	Presenter	<p><u>External Military Intervention in Civil Wars: A Quantitative Study of the Initiation and Escalation of Third-Party State Interventions</u></p>
Paper	<p><u>International Enforcement of Democracy Clauses</u> Daniela Donno, Yale University Overview: The article proposes a theory of democracy clause enforcement that explains the location, timing and tools used to respond to violations of democratic standards. It is tested using an original dataset of EU involvement in post-communist countries.</p>	Room	<p>TBA, Board 5, Fri 10:30 am Jordan M. Miller, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor Overview: The paper addresses two topics concerning external military intervention: the question of why a third-party state militarily intervenes in a civil war; and given an intervention,</p>

the decision of the intervening state to change its level of support.

Presenter **Extended Deterrence and Taiwan's Public Opinion**
Room TBA, Board 6, Fri 10:30 am
Chair **Jung-Ming Chang**, *National Chung Cheng University*
Paper Overview: The author finds that Taiwanese have a weak sense of extended deterrence, but they are willing to choose independence than to remain status quo across the Taiwan Strait were they attacked by China.

Presenter **The Art of War: Machiavelli in Iraq**
Room TBA, Board 7, Fri 10:30 am
Chair **Vassilios Damiras**, *Dominican University*
Paper **Diana C. Felix**, *Dominican University*
 Overview: This paper is mostly about the United States foreign policy in Iraq. It deals with Niccolo Machiavelli's The Prince and as to how the United States has so far followed some of his guidelines towards invading and conquering Iraq. Moreover, how the Bush administration should follow some of his procedures in order to bring democracy to the Middle East.

15-14 **TERRORISM**
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair **David E. Schmitt**, *Northeastern University*
Paper **The Impact of Heterogeneous Motivations within Terrorist Organizations**
David A. Siegel, *Stanford University*
Jacob N. Shapiro, *Stanford University*
 Overview: We model the interaction of terrorist bosses with a heterogeneous population of middlemen in order to explore how the varied motivations of middlemen affect the efficacy of both terrorist organizations and state strategies to combat them.
Paper **The Strategy Choice and Institutions' Design for the War Against Terrorism**
Konstantin Yanovskiy, *Institute for the Economy in Transition*
Ilia Zatkoveckiy, *MAOF Research Center (Israel)*
 Overview: The report considers the causes of the terrorist activities; the democratic politicians' incentives of opportunist behavior and generals' propensity fight for peace. The policy of compromises appears be inefficient means to prevent terror.
Paper **Getting It Right: Understanding Effective Counter-Terrorism Strategies**
William J. Josiger, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Are some counter-terrorism strategies more effective against particular types of terrorism? Can we draw some conclusions about effective policies by examining other governments' experiences, in particular those of the UK, Spain, France, and Italy?
Disc. **David E. Schmitt**, *Northeastern University*

17-12 **THE UNITED NATIONS TODAY**
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair **Jonathan R. Strand**, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*
Paper **Idealist Institution, Realist World: UNSC Decisions and National Interests**
Annika M. Hinze, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Overview: This study shows how national interests affect decision-making by the P-5 on the UN Security Council. In two case studies, speeches of decision-makers of the P-5 are analyzed to prove that national interests do affect decision-making on the UNSC.
Paper **The Security Council Responses to a Changing International Environment**
Mark Sachleben, *Miami University*
 Overview: This paper discusses the development of a database used to ascertain the response of the UN Security Council to different types of threats to international security. The paper treats the Council as a collective of states, instead of a single entity.
Paper **The Unseen Power of the Professional Cultures inside the UN Organizations**
Maciej J. Bartkowski, *Bard College*
 Overview: This study considers major policy developments in selected UN organizations during the last decade and shows

how professional cultures determined the implementation and eventual outcomes of institutional changes.

Paper **The U.N. as Dystopia: The Critique from Inside and Outside**
Dennis C. Hickey, *Edinboro University of Pennsylvania*
 Overview: This paper will examine the crescendo of criticism directed against the U.N. in the U.S., with specific reference to the domestic origins and motivation of this criticism and the credibility (or lack thereof) of its primary arguments.
Disc. **Michael B. Hawes**, *Georgetown University*
Jonathan R. Strand, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

17-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: TRANSNATIONAL DEMOCRACY**
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Presenter **Thomas D. Zweifel**, *Columbia University*
Johannes van de Ven, *University of Louvain*
 Overview: A roundtable on the emerging field of 'transnational democracy.' How can we measure transnational democracy? How can we achieve it?

18-8 **TRUST AND EFFICACY**
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair **Luke Keele**, *The Ohio State University*
Paper **Priming, Performance, and the Dynamics of Political Trust**
Marc Hetherington, *Vanderbilt University*
Thomas J. Rudolph, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: This paper examines the impact of the public's national importance judgments on political trust over time. We argue that such judgments should have both conditional and unconditional effects on public trust in government.
Paper **Trust, Efficacy, and A Sense of Community**
Mary R. Anderson, *University of Memphis*
 Overview: What are the antecedents of efficacy and trust? This paper explores one possibility by examining the relationship between trust, efficacy, and a sense of community.
Paper **Electoral (Il)legitimacy, Political Attitudes and Participation**
Stephanie C. McLean, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: This paper uses experimental data on American electoral attitudes to study the effects of "shocks" to government legitimacy. I analyze attitudes about the electoral system, and the effects of electoral problems on political efficacy and behavior.
Paper **Measuring Political Efficacy with Positive Overtones: A Survey Experiment**
Thomas J. Scotto, *West Virginia University*
Harold D. Clarke, *University of Texas, Dallas*
Allan Kornberg, *Duke University*
 Overview: A report of an experiment from the Political Support in Canada study. Using a split-sample, pre-post design, we find different response patterns among individuals asked the standard political efficacy battery rephrased with positive language.
Paper **Racial Trust and African Americans' Perceptions About Representation**
Shayla C. Nunnally, *University of Connecticut*
 Overview: African Americans have lower levels of political trust than other racial groups. This paper examines to what extent the race of political actors affects African Americans' political trust.
Disc. **Elizabeth Theiss-Morse**, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*

19-3 **CLASS VOTING**
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair **Stacy G. Ulbig**, *Missouri State University*
Paper **Economy and Turnout: Different Classes at U.S. Presidential Elections**
Uisoon Kwon, *Western Michigan University*
 Overview: The responsiveness of the lower class turnout to the macro economic conditions is different from the non-lower class. The non-lower class was demobilized at greater degree than the lower class when macro economic conditions were poor.

Paper **The Paradox Social Class Voting: Individual vs. Aggregate Level Analysis**
John McAdams, *Marquette University*
 Overview: This paper seeks to explain the apparent conflict between the Republican voting of high-income individuals and the Democratic voting of more affluent states and counties. The theory of the New Class resolves this apparent contradiction.

Paper **The Surprising Life of Class Politics**
Solon J. Simmons, *University of Wisconsin*
 Overview: This paper uses the unique open ended party/candidate likes/dislikes items from the national election studies to explore the effect of various salient moral claims on vote choice in presidential elections over the period 1952-2004.

Paper **The 2004 Presidential Election From A Spatial Perspective**
Ian Sue Wing, *Boston University*
Joan Walker, *Boston University*
 Overview: We explore the geographic polarization of the U.S. electorate by estimating the spatial variation in the correlates of voting returns in the 2004 presidential election, and find spatially complex patterns of polarization within population sub-groups.

Disc. **Jon K. Dalager**, *Georgetown College*

19-5 **CONTEXT AND TURNOUT**
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair **Richard N. Engstrom**, *Georgia State University*
Paper **Political Culture, Cross-Pressures and Non-Voting**
Peter Achterberg, *Erasmus University, Rotterdam*
 Overview: This paper investigates how changes in the political culture of western countries giving rise to increasing cross-pressures at the individual level, relate to cross-national and in-time differences in turnout.

Paper **Residential Effects on Vote Choice in the 2000 Presidential Election**
Jonghoon Eun, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: This paper addresses the question whether and how residential factors affect individual vote decision in the 2000 presidential election. For the empirical analysis, I rely on the Generalized Hierarchical Linear Model and use multilevel data.

Paper **Micro and Macro Explanations of Cross-National Voter Turnout**
Gregory Love, *University of California, Davis*
Ryan Carlin, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
 Overview: We propose a multilevel model of cross-national voter turnout. Democratic institutionalization and electoral systems affect the explanatory leverage of SES and mobilization theories. We merge CSES data with classic and new institutional factors.

Paper **Youth Political Participation: Home Politics vs. Neighborhood Politics**
Julianna L. Sandell, *Pennsylvania State University*
 Overview: How do youths reconcile political information from two bases of social experience: the home and the neighborhood? Using the NELS merged with ROAD, I examine the differential effects of home politics and neighborhood politics on youth voter turnout.

Disc. **Martin Johnson**, *University of California, Riverside*
Kimberly L. Nalder, *California State University, Sacramento*

21-3 **HOW ELECTORAL RULES SHAPE REPRESENTATION AND RESPONSIVENESS**
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair **Richard E. Matland**, *University of Houston*
Paper **Party Systems and Substantive Representation: Static and Dynamic**
G. Bingham Powell, *University of Rochester*
HeeMin Kim, *Florida State University*
Richard C. Fording, *University of Kentucky*
 Overview: How party system features such as polarization and number of parties, as well as election rules, shape static and dynamic connections between the median voter, legislatures and

governments after elections in industrialized societies over 50 years.

Paper **Nominating Women Candidates: Political Parties and Strategic Choice in British Elections**
Daniel Pemstein, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
William T. Bernhard, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: We develop a strategic model of candidate placement in SMD elections. Parties often have incentives to place women in marginally unsafe districts. We assess our theory on British general election data with an estimator derived from our formal model.

Paper **Institutional Design and the Responsiveness of Representative Government**
Elisabeth R. Gerber, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Justin Phillips, *Columbia University*
Caroline Tolbert, *Kent State University*
 Overview: We develop and test a theory of institutional responsiveness that allows us to understand the capacity of local governments to respond to changing preferences for public policies.

Paper **Electoral Systems and Policy Sophistication**
Salomon E. Orellana, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: In this paper I explore whether ideological diversity helps legislatures cope with the massive complexity involved in policy-making, and whether two-party systems tend to produce more reactionary policy-making than multi-party systems.

Disc. **Richard E. Matland**, *University of Houston*

22-102 **ROUNDTABLE: IS THERE A "CULTURE WAR" IN THE AMERICAN PUBLIC? (Co-sponsored with Politics and Religion, see 47-101)**
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair **Geoffrey C. Layman**, *University of Maryland*
Panelist **Allan Abramowitz**, *Emory University*
Edward Carmines, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
Morris P. Fiorina, *Stanford University*
James L. Guth, *Furman University*
Clyde Wilcox, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: TBA

22-206 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PUBLIC OPINION AND TAX POLICY**
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Presenter **Taxation and Presidential Approval: Separate Effects from Tax Burden and Tax Structure Turbulence?**
Jan Vermeir, *Vrije Universiteit Brussel*
Benny Geys, *Vrije Universiteit Brussel*
 Overview: We test the hypothesis that both the level of tax burden and the change in tax structure affect the US president's popularity. We find a negative impact of tax burden, deficit as well as changes in tax structure, but only for Republican presidents.

24-5 **THE MEDIA AS ECONOMIC INPUT AND OUTPUT**
Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair **Garrett Ryan Asay**, *University of California, Irvine*
Paper **Profiting off the Poor? The Story of Welfare Privatization in the States**
Michelle D. Brophy-Baermann, *University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point*
Andrew J. Bloeser, *University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point*
Mark Wrighton, *University of New Hampshire*
 Overview: We look at the debate over welfare provision in state capitols to understand how PRWORA made welfare privatization an option for states. We analyze legislative testimony and press coverage of welfare in 4 states in the years leading up to PRWORA.

Paper	<u>The Propaganda Model: Evaluating a Theory on the Political Economy and Performance of the Mass Media</u> Andrew C. Kennis, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: TBA	Paper	their representative role when campaigning in the district, but a greater emphasis on their policymaking role when in DC.
Paper	<u>Modeling Media Liberalization: How Press Independence Reflects International, Political and Economic Pressures</u> Orion A. Lewis, <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Overview: The news media is considered a key variable on the path to democratization, but few studies have sought to develop a generalizable model of press independence for an era of increasing globalization and neo-liberal economic policies.	Paper	<u>Gender-based Strategies in Candidate Websites</u> Monica Schneider, <i>University of Minnesota, Twin Cities</i> Overview: Under what conditions do male and female candidates use rhetoric that is consistent or inconsistent with gender stereotypes? I examine House and Senate candidates' use of different types of gender-based strategies in websites from the 2004 election.
Paper	<u>The Political Economy of Press Freedom</u> Piero Stanig, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: A model of the strategic interaction between politicians, publishers and newspaper editors offers insights on how competition on the media market and legal protection of freedom of speech affect the information regarding political malfeasance availab	Paper	<u>Scandals in the News: Different Sexes, Different Coverage?"</u> Michael D. Cobb, <i>North Carolina State University</i> Yasmin Farahi, <i>North Carolina State University</i> Overview: We analyze local and national media coverage of political scandals to examine whether the sex of a politician affects news reports about scandals and if biased coverage of scandals, if it exists, influences voters' reactions.
Paper	<u>The Dynamics of Media Content</u> Joseph E. Uscinski, <i>University of Arizona</i> Overview: This paper looks at news content as an economic product that news firms sell in order to make a profit. Classic models of firm placement suggest that firms should locate themselves at or near the median consumer so as to maximize sales.	Paper	<u>Face-ism in Online Representations of Politicians in Four Western Countries</u> Sara H. Konrath, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Dave Foldes, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Norbert Schwarz, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Kevin Francies, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Anise Hayes, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Daniel Albo, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: Men are often portrayed in various types of media with more facial prominence than women ("face-ism"). We found that face-ism also exists in online presentations of politicians in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Norway.
Disc.	Michelle D. Brophy-Baermann, <i>University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point</i>	Disc.	Janet K. Boles, <i>Marquette University</i> Tracy L. Osborn, <i>Bridgewater State College</i>
24-6	<u>MEDIATING WAR AND TERROR</u>	25-5	<u>THE ONCE AND FUTURE GENDER GAP</u>
Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am	Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair	Nathan D. Abrams, <i>University of Aberdeen</i>	Chair	Sue Tolleson-Rinehart, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i>
Paper	<u>Determinants of News Coverage of Terrorist Events</u> Nathalie J. Frensley, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> David Levin, <i>University of Texas, El Paso</i> Overview: What types of terrorist events garner the most and least coverage? We analyze effects of event attributes, affinity, economic ties, distance, foreign aid and location of foreign bureaus and correspondents on major US print and broadcast outlet coverage.	Paper	<u>The Gender Gap, The Marriage Gap, and the 1984 Election</u> Guy C. Dalto, <i>Birmingham Southern College</i> Overview: The political psychology and victimization literature finds that the sexes react differently to punishment. Results for the 1984 election find that female victims of violence were more liberal, opposed the death penalty, and supported Mondale.
Paper	<u>Imag(in)ing Ward Churchill: the Framing of a 9/11 Frame Contestor</u> Erika G. King, <i>Grand Valley State University</i> Mary DeYoung, <i>Grand Valley State University</i> Overview: This study is a content analysis of mainstream media coverage of Ward Churchill's 9/11 frame-contesting essay, "Some People Push Back." We use Entman's concept of cascading activation to explain the intense media focus and its thematic content.	Paper	<u>Autonomy and the Gender Gap</u> Hannah G. Holden, <i>Rutgers University</i> Overview: Using 2000 and 2004 National Election Survey (NES) data I test whether Susan J. Carroll's autonomy thesis remains a viable explanation for the gender gap in vote choice.
Paper	<u>Contesting Media Models: Cascading Activation vs. Propaganda</u> Mark Major, <i>William Paterson University</i> Overview: Does Entman's "cascading activation model" provide a more comprehensive framework of analysis than Herman and Chomsky's "propaganda model" to explain mainstream media coverage of US foreign policy in the post-Cold War era?	Paper	<u>The Gender Gap in Presidential Voting: An Electoral College Perspective</u> Barbara C. Burrell, <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: The role of gender in the 1988-2004 presidential elections from an Electoral College perspective is examined. Turnout rates and voting decisions of men and women across states are analyzed.
Disc.	Nathalie J. Frensley, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i>	Paper	<u>W is for Women: Online Targeting of Women Voters in the 2004 Presidential Election</u> Abby G. LeGrange, <i>University of Florida</i> Kristen D. Landreville, <i>University of Florida</i> Overview: The gender gap continues to be worthy of academic and media attention as candidates compete for women's votes. This study examines Bush and Kerry's online campaign material for women voters, such as news releases, e-mails to supporters and blogs.
25-4	<u>PRESENTATION OF FEMALE POLITICIANS BY SELF AND OTHERS</u>	Paper	<u>Policy Mood and the Gender Gap</u> Paul M. Kellstedt, <i>Texas A&M University</i> David A. M. Peterson, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Mark Ramirez, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Has the gender gap in policy attitudes changed over the last three decades? We investigate the emergence, growth, and decline in the gender gap toward government liberalism
Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am		
Chair	Tracy L. Osborn, <i>Bridgewater State College</i>		
Paper	<u>Gender Roles, Impression Management Goals and Political Ambition</u> Elizabeth S. Smith, <i>Furman University</i> Overview: This paper examines the role of impression management goals and gender norms in shaping young women and young men's political ambition.		
Paper	<u>Gender and the Presentation of Self at Home and in the Office</u> Girish J. Gulati, <i>Bentley College</i> Overview: An analysis of the campaign and office websites of House members reveals that women place a greater emphasis on		

		("Policy Mood") since 1972 using a multi-item index derived from the GSS.			
Disc.		Lanethea Mathews-Gardner , <i>Muhlenberg College</i> Sue Tolleson-Rinehart , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i>		Paper	<u>Too Close for Comfort: Race, Media, and Hurricane Katrina</u> Ismail K. White , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Tasha S. Philpot , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: We examine the extent to which the media's presentation of Blacks espousing various ideologically and racially based assessments of the government's response to Hurricane Katrina altered views of the issue, race relations, and politics in general.
26-16		<u>IMMIGRATION ATTITUDES AND INCORPORATION</u>		Disc.	Maurice Mangum , <i>Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville</i>
Room		TBA, Fri 10:30 am		27-8	<u>POLITICAL THEOLOGY</u>
Chair		Deborah J. Schildkraut , <i>Tufts University</i>		Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Paper		<u>The Impact of Differentiation on African American Attitudes Toward Immigration</u> Tatishe M. Nteta , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Using the 1992-2000 pooled Los Angeles County Social Survey, I test the impact of the following eight determinants of African American attitudes toward immigration: context, contact, threat, sociotropic assessments, racial attitudes, self interest,		Chair	Paul E. Kirkland , <i>Kenyon College</i>
Paper		<u>Comparing Anglo and Latino Attitudes Toward English as the Official Language of the United States</u> Adrian D. Pantoja , <i>Arizona State University</i> Sarah Allen Gershon , <i>Arizona State University</i> Overview: Using pooled data from the 1997-1998 Los Angeles County Social Survey, we attempt to add to this literature, examining the factors structuring Anglo and Latino attitudes towards English as the official language.		Paper	<u>The Political Theology of Prerogative</u> Clement Fatovic , <i>Florida International University</i> Overview: This paper uses Carl Schmitt's insight that "all significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts" to develop a normative critique of the theological dimensions of prerogative in liberal political thought.
Paper		<u>Representing Non-Citizens? Analyses of the 1996 Welfare Reform Act and the 1998 Noncitizen Benefit Clarification and Other Technical Amendments Act</u> Grace E. Cho , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: This paper examines the representation of non-citizens' interests in the US Congress by using the 1996 Welfare Reform Act and the subsequent 1998 Noncitizen Benefit Clarification and Other Technical Amendments Act as case studies.		Paper	<u>Cabbage Heads and Catholics: Hegel on Religion, Revolution and the Terror</u> Loren C. Goldman , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This paper seeks to reconcile the apparently shifting accounts of the French Revolution in Hegel's Phenomenology and Philosophy of History.
Paper		<u>Does GOP Identity Among Vietnamese and Cuban Parents Differ from Children?</u> Steven N. Tran , <i>University of Houston</i> Overview: Immigrants who immigrate to the US to escape Communist oppression are more likely to support the Republican Party. But are Republican affiliations, particularly among Vietnamese and Cuban immigrants socialized onto their American born Children?		Paper	<u>Hegel on Politics and Religion in the Bhagavad-Gita</u> Louis Hunt , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: This paper examines the interrelation between liberal constitutionalism and liberal religious traditions through a reading of Hegel's interpretation of Hindu political thought in the Bhagavad-Gita.
Disc.		Matthew A. Barreto , <i>University of Washington</i>		Paper	<u>Moral Progressivism – A Solution to the Problem of Political Extremes?</u> Jessica H. Johnson , <i>University of Cincinnati</i> Overview: This paper explores moral progressivism, a modified version of the "Social Gospel" of the early twentieth century, as an active yet moderate alternative to the dominant, polar-extreme ideologies of religious conservatism and technocratic secularism.
26-17		<u>RACIALIZED ATTITUDES</u>		Disc.	Paul E. Kirkland , <i>Kenyon College</i> Christopher A. Colmo , <i>Dominican University</i>
Room		TBA, Fri 10:30 am		27-26	<u>THE POLITICS OF VIRTUE</u>
Chair		David C. Wilson , <i>The Gallup Organization</i>		Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Paper		<u>Recognizing White Privilege: How it Affects Opinion on Racial Policies</u> Tehama M. Lopez , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This paper explores the conditions under which white Americans will express that being white systematically benefits them. It furthermore examines the role of recognizing this privilege in support of policies of racial equality.		Chair	Wynne W. Moskop , <i>Saint Louis University</i>
Paper		<u>Competing Racial Norms? Content Analysis and Experimental Evidence</u> Thomas C. Craemer , <i>University of Connecticut</i> Overview: An multidimensional norms taxonomy is derived from a content analysis of Black Liberation sources. A racially heterogenous sample displays unconscious traces of White Supremacy alongside conscious endorsements of Multiculturalism and Integrationism.		Paper	<u>Augustine and Locke on the Church</u> David P. Ramsey , <i>Baylor University</i> Overview: Both Augustine and Locke were concerned with questions of education and its relation to civil society, but they developed vastly different educational regimens, each a part of their political project.
Paper		<u>Racial Differences in the Correlates of Political Interest</u> Ray Block, Jr. , <i>Middle Tennessee State University</i> Overview: This paper explores the demographic and attitudinal explanations of political interest to demonstrate that Blacks and Whites differ in what motivates them to follow politics.		Paper	<u>Augustine, Lincoln, and the Politics of Charity</u> Joseph A. Harder , <i>No Affiliation</i> Overview: This paper draws on my doctoral dissertation on Abraham Lincoln, and my research on Saint Augustine. My argument is that Lincoln, especially in his last writings and in the Second Inaugural address, develops an Augustinian politics of charity.
				Paper	<u>Putnam, Tocqueville, and the Vocation of the Democratic Moralists</u> Brian Danoff , <i>Miami University</i> Overview: This paper critically examines Robert Putnam's use of what Tocqueville calls the "doctrine of self-interest properly understood." The paper also explores the nature and the significance of Tocqueville's own ambivalence about the "doctrine."

Paper	<u>Evil Luxury & Virtuous Beauty: Ethical Consumption in Republicanism</u> Jim S. Josefson , <i>Bridgewater College</i> Marcel P. Anderson , <i>Bridgewater College</i> Justin A. Knight , <i>Bridgewater College</i> Overview: In this paper, we explore an under-appreciated theme in republican thought, the importance of restrained but aesthetic consumption to the health of republican societies.	
Disc.	Wynne W. Moskop , <i>Saint Louis University</i> Daniel A. Silver , <i>University of Chicago</i>	
29-10	<u>INTERPRETATION AND POLITICAL VOICE</u>	
Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am	
Chair	Nicholas Dungey , <i>California State University, Northridge</i>	
Paper	<u>Fusing Horizons: Gadamerian Reflections on the Hermeneutical Strategies of Quentin Skinner and Leo Strauss</u> Ian A.M. Ward , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: In this paper I offer a critical comparison of the hermeneutical strategies and approaches to the history of political thought championed by Leo Strauss and Quentin Skinner.	
Paper	<u>Machiavelli's Pharmacy</u> Martyn de Bruyn , <i>St. John Fisher College</i> Overview: This paper examines the role of magical potions in Machiavelli's literary works. The author will explore the link between myth, death and writing through a Derridian analysis of Machiavelli's plays.	
Paper	<u>Karl Popper</u> Joseph Agassi , <i>Tel-Aviv University/York University, Toronto</i> Overview: Popper's political theory invites a reassessment. Its great influence invites examination. It is open to both criticism and new, exciting applications.	
Paper	<u>Technology, Free Labor and Slavery: Lincoln's Lectures on Discoveries and Inventions</u> Jon D. Schaff , <i>Northern State University</i> Overview: The paper aims to show how Lincoln's neglected Lectures on Discovery and Invention contribute to his overall theory of technology and labor, and thus his argument against slavery. In these lectures Lincoln shows how technology and education liberate	
Paper	<u>Principles as Expressions of Political Commitment</u> James E. Roper , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: Values are vague. Principles are more precise. Values are logically incomparable, whereas principles, expressed in sentences, relate inferentially to other principles. Therefore, principles are better suited to express political commitments.	
Disc.	Stephen P. Chilton , <i>University of Minnesota, Duluth</i> John R. Harris , <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i>	
29-207	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: NORMS AND GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE</u>	
Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am	
Presenter	<u>Bureaucracy, Representation, and the Fear of the Amorphous or Polymorphous</u> Roger M. Michalski , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: Conservatives misguidedly fear bureaucratization in the 19th century (as engendering anomie/formlessness) since they are incapable to see the role-differentiation that is built into the concept of bureaucracy as a boundary-preserving mechanism.	
29-208	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LIBERTARIAN THOUGHT</u>	
Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am	
Presenter	<u>An Egalitarian Improvement to Michael Otsuka's Left-Libertarian Project</u> Eric S. Roark , <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Overview: This paper defends a version of left-libertarianism that suitably respects both the strong self-ownership of persons and the egalitarian "distribution" of world resources.	
Presenter	<u>Libertarianism and the Dichotomy Between Positive and Negative Rights</u> Edwin E. Etieyibo , <i>University of Alberta</i> Overview: With the kind of deep cultural diversity that exists in modern societies, issues of rights are becoming hot topics. In this paper, I examine a libertarian approach to rights, and argue that its dichotomy between negative and positive rights fails.	
30-8	<u>FORMAL THEORIES OF ELECTIONS: CANDIDATE LOCATIONS</u>	
Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am	
Chair	Justin Fox , <i>Yale University</i>	
Paper	<u>A Network Explanation of Correlations in Voting Behavior</u> Betsy Sinclair , <i>California Institute of Technology</i> Overview: This paper examines the relationship between the structure of voters' social connections and the informational content in their candidate choice.	
Paper	<u>The "Minimum-Sum Point" as a Solution Concept in Spatial Voting</u> Tse-min Lin , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: This paper explores the geometric and behavioral properties of the minimum-sum point, i.e., the point at which total distances from all voter ideal points are minimized, as a solution concept in the theory of spatial voting.	
Paper	<u>Equilibrium in a Two Dimensional Model with Voting and Location Decisions</u> Allen B. Brierly , <i>University of Northern Iowa</i> Overview: Can entrants enter? And when contestations occur, is the resulting equilibrium symmetric? This study describes multiple equilibrium, including symmetric Nash equilibria for local public goods markets.	
Paper	<u>Citizen Candidates Under Uncertainty</u> Jon X. Eguia , <i>California Institute of Technology</i> Overview: This paper presents a citizen candidate model of representative democracy with uncertainty.	
Disc.	Justin Fox , <i>Yale University</i>	
30-20	<u>FORMAL THEORIES OF THE U.S. SENATE: FILIBUSTERS AND NOMINATIONS (Co-sponsored with Legislative Politics: Institutions, see 34-23)</u>	
Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am	
Chair	Henry A. Kim , <i>University of California, San Diego</i>	
Paper	<u>Cronism? Explaining Opaque Nominees to Positions of Influence</u> Andrea Mattozzi , <i>California Institute of Technology</i> Matias Laryczower , <i>California Institute of Technology</i> Overview: We model political appointments to non-elective positions such as Supreme Court judges. Uncertainty on the appointee's decision-making environment and disagreement between the Senate and the President may explain the nomination of cronies.	
Paper	<u>Minority Rights in Majoritarian Institutions</u> Kevin A. Roust , <i>Duke University</i> Overview: Many legislatures choose their own rules of operation, often providing important powers to minorities and other small groups. A model with endogenous rules finds that most legislators benefit when the minority has influence.	
Paper	<u>Filibustering and Reputation in the U.S. Senate</u> Fang-Yi Chiou , <i>Academia Sinica</i> Overview: This paper constructs a reputation game with incomplete information to analyze legislative obstruction and policy decisions in the U.S. Senate. The main finding is that the	

likelihood of a filibuster is a function of the time left in a Congress.

Disc. David Epstein, *Columbia University*

32-6 **INTEREST GROUP NETWORKS AND REPRESENTATION**

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am

Chair David Paul, *The Ohio State University, Newark*

Paper **NGO Research Program: A Collective Action Perspective**
Erica J. Johnson, *University of Washington*
Aseem Prakash, *University of Washington*
Overview: Nonprofit, nongovernmental organizations, considered critical indicators of functioning democracy, are undertheorized. This paper draws from political science, sociology, and public management to develop a more general approach to collective action.

Paper **One Person, One Lobbyist? American Public Constituencies and Organized Representation**
Matthew J. Grossmann, *University of California, Berkeley*
Overview: Using new data on 1,710 interest organizations in Washington and 140 of the constituencies that they represent, I analyze which types of public factions are better represented by organized advocates in Congress and the administration.

Paper **The Structure of Interest Group Issue Networks in DC**
Suzanne M. Robbins, *George Mason University*
Overview: This project expands upon what we know about interest group networks using theories from the public policy literature.

Paper **Standing Out in the Crowd: How Interest Groups Forge Unique Identities**
Michael T. Heaney, *University of Florida*
Overview: I present a dynamic model in which interest groups identify themselves with a particular policy community and then differentiate themselves in multiple dimensions from other groups in that community.

Disc. David M. Paul, *The Ohio State University, Newark*

33-4 **PRESIDENTIAL IMAGE-MAKING STRATEGIES**

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am

Chair Jennifer J. Hora, *Roanoke College*

Paper **War of Words: Tracking Changes in Presidential Speech Drafts**
Ken Collier, *Stephen F. Austin State University*
Overview: This paper uses the quantitative analysis of changes to presidential speech drafts to provide insights into the institutional conflicts within the modern White House.

Paper **Whom Does the President Speak To and Why Does it Matter?**
Sara M. Gubala, *Michigan State University*
Overview: The public presidency literature has looked at why speeches matter but has not examined where speeches are given and to whom the speeches are given to. This paper examines this gap by examining where presidents give speeches and to whom they talk to.

Paper **Determining Successful Strategies of Presidential Leadership of Opinion**
Brandon Rottinghaus, *University of Idaho*
Overview: In this article, we take a particular subset of opinion "leadership" (issues that are unpopular before the president speaks but popular afterwards) and examine conditions under which the president might be influencing these trends.

Paper **The Entertainer-In-Chief: The First Lady as Presidential Image-Maker**
Tabitha A. Warters, *Francis Marion University*
Overview: This paper examines the soft media outreach by Laura Bush. It looks at the need by the White House to reach out to the viewers of these outlets and the effect the First Lady's appearances have had on presidential leadership.

Disc. Elvin T. Lim, *University of Tulsa*
Jennifer J. Hora, *Roanoke College*

33-11 **THE POLITICS OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am

Chair James D. King, *University of Wyoming*

Paper **Progressive Ambition and the Presidency: 1972-2008**
Randall E. Adkins, *University of Nebraska, Omaha*
Andrew J. Dowdle, *University of Arkansas*
Wayne P. Steger, *DePaul University*
Overview: We use a probit regression model to account for the decisions of governors and senators to run for president from 1972-2004. We also forecast which governors and senators will run for president in 2008.

Paper **The Geography of Presidential Fundraising**
Brendan J. Doherty, *University of California, Berkeley*
Overview: In this paper, I examine the frequency and geography of presidential fundraising from 1977 to 2004 to assess the president's changing role as fundraiser-in chief.

Paper **The Empirical Implications of Electoral College Reform**
Darshan J. Goux, *University of California, Berkeley*
David A. Hopkins, *University of California, Berkeley*
Overview: The debate on electoral college reform has historically been dominated by theoretical arguments. This paper employs quantitative evidence to evaluate the likely practical consequences of electoral college reform.

Disc. Russell D. Renka, *Southeast Missouri State University*

34-7 **REPRESENTATIVENESS AND DESIRABILITY OF COMMITTEES**

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am

Chair Charles Stewart, III, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Paper **A New Look at Committee Theories in the States**
James S. Battista, *University of North Texas*
Overview: Analyzes the representativeness of committees in 98 state legislative chambers.

Paper **Committee Prestige in the Senate, 1947-2004**
R. Brian Law, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Overview: This paper defines and measures Senate committee prestige from 1947-2004 by Congress. The bi-annual measure highlights the rise and fall of different committees as the legislative branch has responded to the evolving environment.

Paper **The Committee Assignment Process as an All-Pay, Sealed Bid Auction**
Daniel Lee, *Duke University*
Overview: This paper analyzes the committee assignment process as an all-pay, sealed bid auction. I derive equilibrium effort strategies for individual legislators who compete for vacant committee seats on a committee.

Paper **Freshman Committee Assignments in the House of Representatives**
Jacob R. Straus, *University of Florida*
Overview: This paper examines the types of committee assignments first term (or freshman) members of Congress receive from the House leadership.

Paper **The Electoral Connection and Committee Requests: Matrix Reloaded**
Christopher G. Faricy, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Overview: The heterogeneity of committees allows House members to choose assignments that align with personal preferences and constituency interests. I find constituency variables and prior occupation predicts requests better than district interests.

Disc. Jonathan Woon, *Carnegie Mellon University*

34-14 WHY REPRESENTATIVES NEED A WHIPPING

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair Matthew M. Schousen, *Franklin & Marshall College*
Paper Party Voting and the Institutionalization of the Whip System

Brad T. Gomez, *University of South Carolina*
 Overview: This paper examines the institutionalization of the party whip system in the Congress and its effect on intraparty cohesion and party voting. Using data from 1870-2004, I test the whips' ability to signal party preferences and induce compliance.

Paper Partisan vs. Institutional Leadership in the U.S. Congress
 Matthew N. Green, *Catholic University of America*
 Overview: Congressional party leaders have acted at times on behalf of institutional goals, such as protecting the power of Congress, over partisan goals. In this project, I examine when and why party leaders exercise such leadership.

Paper Party Power and the Expansion of the House Whip Networks
 Scott R. Meinke, *Bucknell University*

Overview: Proposes and tests changing explanations for expanding whip systems in the House from the 1960s to the present, exploring the composition of the whip network and examining the effects of whip membership on member behavior.

Paper Party Leadership and Floor Amendments in the U.S. Senate
 Timothy Werner, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: Increases in Minority Leader tenure lead to the greater strategic use of floor amendments as policymaking tools on significant legislation in the U.S. Senate. Increases in Majority Leader tenure have no effect on the suppression of amendments.

Paper From Rules to Norms: The Role of Speaker's Precedents in the House
 Thomas J. Raven, *Syracuse University*
 Overview: This paper examines the mechanism through which rules are refined through precedents set by Speaker's rulings. Establishing a better understanding of this process will help forge a critical link between changing rules and developing norms.

Disc. John W. Patty, *Harvard University*

35-5 POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair Paolino Philip, *University of North Texas*
Paper The Electoral Consequences of Party Loyalty in Congress
 Jamie L. Carson, *University of Georgia*
 Gregory Koger, *University of Montana*
 Matthew Lebo, *Stony Brook University*

Overview: We estimate the effects of each House member's party unity—the tendency of a member to vote with his or her party on issues that divide the two major parties—on vote margin and probability of reelection from 1979 to 2004.

Paper Party Reputations and Candidate Strategies
 Jeffrey D. Grynviski, *University of Chicago*

Overview: This paper introduces a simple formal model that explains how political parties' historical reputations shape candidates' electoral strategies.

Disc. Doug Roscoe, *University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth*

36-1 DECISION MAKING ON U.S. COURTS OF APPEALS

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair Steven Puro, *St. Louis University*
Paper An Examination of Recent Trends of Decision Making in the US Courts of Appeals

Mark S. Hurwitz, *Western Michigan University*
 Ashlyn K. Kuersten, *Western Michigan University*
 Overview: In this paper we examine a number of issue areas concerning decision-making in the US Courts of Appeals for recent years and compare these data with those from prior years,

based on release of the extension of the Songer Database through 2003.

Paper Explaining Publication Areas of Federal Trial and Appellate Court Judges

Susan W. Johnson, *University of North Carolina, Greensboro*
 Ronald Stidham, *Appalachian State University*
 Kenneth Manning, *University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth*
 Robert A. Carp, *University of Houston*

Overview: This study seeks to address the question of what causes lower court judges to publish decisions in particular areas of case law.

Paper Small Group Theory and the U.S. Courts of Appeals
 Wendy Martinek, *Binghamton University*

Overview: The collegial nature of decision-making on appellate courts is typically considered only to the extent that collegial context offers opportunities for strategic behavior. Small group theory suggests a different (i.e., psychological) approach.

Paper Senior Judges' Decision-Making in the U.S. Courts of Appeals

Rorie Spill Solberg, *Oregon State University*
 Lisa Holmes, *University of Vermont*
 Susan Haire, *University of Georgia*

Overview: The ability to take senior status provides federal judges with an option beyond remaining fully active or retiring completely. This paper examines the effects of senior status on decision making and policy in the U.S. Courts of Appeals.

Disc. James C. Brent, *San Jose State University*
 Sean Farhang, *University of California, Berkeley*

38-6 IMPLEMENTING THE "LAYER CAKE"

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair Duane D. Milne, *West Chester University*
Paper Structure, Function, Politics, and Risk: Policy Reform Under Federalism

Joanna Mosser, *Yale University*
 Overview: This paper argues for a risk-based approach to the problem of institutional choice under federalism and explores how spatially rooted incentives and challenges shape intergovernmental policy management.

Paper Organizations, Intergovernmental Relations, Knowledge Use and Katrina

Adrian S. Petrescu, *University of Texas, Brownsville*
 Overview: Using organizational portfolio theory, I verify if congruence between structure of an organization and its type of task it addresses may lower the likelihood of enacting and implementing imperfect policies and processes. I test on the Katrina disaster.

Paper State Adjustments to Congressional Lawmaking: Adapting to Stifling Federalism

Elizabeth A. O'Shaughnessy, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Overview: Lately lawmaking in Congress is dominated by the majority party, and passage of federal preemptions continues. In reaction, states must act to prevent their own policy innovations from being stifled, indicating a new emergent pattern of federalism.

Paper Devolution in Practice: A Conceptual Framework

Alison Gash, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: This paper presents a conceptual framework of devolution to address the following questions: What are the essential characteristics of devolution? Who are the key players and what are their roles? How can we assess its benefits?

Paper Tandem-Institutions Transforming the Locus of Federal Oversight

Edward A. Miller, *Brown University*
 Overview: This article argues that rather than isolating the judiciary and placing it in a competitive relationship with other institutions, federal oversight typically involves active support, or at least acquiescence, from multiple branches of government.

Disc. Laura E. Evans, *University of Washington*

38-301 POSTER SESSION: COMPARATIVE INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

Room TBA, Board 8, Fri 10:30 am

Presenter **Changing Matching Grants to Lump Sums. Danish Local Government Evidence**

Thomas Pallesen, *Aarhus University, Denmark*

Overview: Central to fiscal federalism is the idea that matching grants stimulate local spending more than lump-sum subsidies.

The paper questions the conventional wisdom with empirical evidence from a change of grant regime in Danish local governments.

38-302 POSTER SESSION: GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGNS

Room TBA, Board 9, Fri 10:30 am

Presenter **The Election of U.S. Governors from 1977 to 2002**

John A. Hamman, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*

Overview: The paper tests theories of candidate motivation by analyzing the effect of incumbent vulnerability (previous election margin, average popularity, and scandal) on the frequency of different types of candidates running in primaries.

39-2 EFFECTIVENESS AND EQUITY IN URBAN EDUCATION SYSTEMS

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am

Chair **Deirdre A. Oakley**, *Northern Illinois University*

Paper **No Child Left Behind and the Public School Principals**

Scott F. Abernathy, *University of Minnesota*

Overview: Using data from an original survey of Minnesota public school principals, I examine the connection between leadership and No Child Left Behind. I consider the prospect of aligning NCLB's assessments and incentives with effective leadership.

Paper **Mayors Improving Student Achievement: Evidence from a National Achievement Database**

Kenneth K. Wong, *Brown University*

Francis X. Shen, *Harvard University*

Overview: Using a database of 104 cities and school districts, covering 40 states and over 70,000 schools, we find that in the time period 1999-2003, mayoral appointed school boards are positively related to elementary school student achievement.

Paper **The Fight For School Equity in Chicago's Latino Neighborhoods**

Melissa R. Michelson, *California State University, East Bay*

Overview: Latino community struggles for school equity in Chicago's Little Village and Pilsen neighborhoods.

Disc. **Richard C. Hula**, *Michigan State University*

42-3 LOCAL ECONOMIC POLICY

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am

Chair **Ole D. Rasmussen**, *University of Copenhagen*

Paper **Business Property Tax Incentives in Indiana**

Dagney G. Faulk, *Indiana University, Southeast*

Overview: This paper analyzes the types and level of property tax abatement granted by local governments in Indiana over a 20 year period and reasons for the increase in abatement levels over time.

Paper **An Institutionalism Framework For Economy Development in Local Level: Who Gets What? In Case of Housing Policy**

Eunro Lee, *Florida State University*

Seokki Ahn, *Florida State University*

Overview: This paper is to examine new institutionalism to the study of local economic development policy. This paper proposes diverse roles of local government and provides the strength of political factors (public opinion and interest groups) in economic

Paper **Effects of Globalization on Large U.S. Metropolitan Areas**

Ardeshir Anjomani, *University of Texas, Arlington*

Overview: Examining literature on globalization and income inequality and integrating the two fields, findings of the impact of globalization on income distribution, race and underclass

poverty as well as non-English speaking immigrants is presented.

Paper **Measures of Municipal Fiscal Health: Linking Primary and Secondary Data**

Steven C. Deller, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Overview: We evaluate the extent to which primary measures of municipal fiscal stress are associated with secondary measures frequently identified in the literature.

Disc. **Dagney G. Faulk**, *Indiana University, Southeast*

Ole D. Rasmussen, *University of Copenhagen*

43-9 BUREAUCRATIC MANAGEMENT (Co-sponsored with Midwest Public Administration Caucus, see 56-4)

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am

Chair **Terry Moe**, *Stanford University*

Paper **Above Politics: Bureaucracy and Credible Commitment**

Andrew B. Whitford, *University of Georgia*

Gary J. Miller, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Overview: We offer six vignettes on how agencies can become "above politics" – separated from political control – and how that separation has produced economic benefits for the United States over the last century.

Paper **Strategic Public Management and Performance: A Contingency Approach**

Holly T. Goerdel, *University of Kansas*

Kenneth J. Meier, *Texas A&M University*

Laurence J. O'Toole, *University of Georgia*

Overview: The influence of management strategies on performance is contingent on past organizational performance, environmental context, and variegated performance indicators.

Paper **The Smart-Seller Challenge: Exploring Determinants of Nursing Home Privatization**

Anna A. Amirkhanyan, *American University*

Overview: Investigating the impact of four categories of antecedents on the privatization decision in local governments, analysis of panel data finds a stronger effect of mission-related and institutional factors, compared to fiscal or political determinants.

Paper **Facilitative Leadership: A Study of Federal Agency Supervisors**

Victoria M. McCarthy, *University of Oklahoma*

Overview: Leadership within public organizations continues to be of concern for organizational effectiveness. This paper discusses the role of leadership at the supervisory level in federal agencies.

Paper **Understanding the Motivational Structure Leading to High Performance of Federal Employees**

Sungjoo Choi, *University of Georgia*

Overview: This study examines the impact of effective leadership on organizational performance and work motivation of public employees. It analyzes the 2002 Federal Human Capital Survey by using structural equation model and confirmatory factor analysis.

Disc. **John Brehm**, *University of Chicago*

44-6 MASSIVE RESISTANCE AND THE FIGHT FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS IN NORFOLK VIRGINIA

Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am

Chair **Jeff L. Littlejohn**, *Sam Houston State University*

Paper **The School-Closing Crisis of 1958-59: The Battle to Integrate Norfolk Schools**

Jeff L. Littlejohn, *Sam Houston State University*

Overview: This paper examines Norfolk's school-closing crisis of 1958-59, which pitted Mayor W. F. Duckworth, local segregationists, and Governor J. Lindsay Almond, Jr. against local African American families, the NAACP, and the Committee for Public Schools.

Paper	<u>The Defenders: Virginia's Neo-Bourbons And Massive Resistance</u> Tom Cox , <i>San Houston State University</i> Overview: The paper examines the role that the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties played in the Massive Resistance movement in Norfolk, Virginia.	48-102 <u>ROUNDTABLE: TEACHING BUDGETING AND FINANCE WITH CASE STUDIES, SIMULATIONS AND EXERCISES</u> Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am Chair Harvey J. Tucker , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Panelist Kurt Thurmaier , <i>Iowa State University</i> Rebecca Hendrick , <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i> Alfred Tat-Kei Ho , <i>Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis</i> Overview: This roundtable will discuss how case studies, simulations and exercises are used in courses on government budgeting and finance.
Paper	<u>Massive Resistance In Print: The Battle for the News in Norfolk, Virginia</u> Gwen Pharr , <i>Norfolk State University</i> Overview: This paper compares and contrasts the presentation of Massive Resistance in Norfolk's local newspapers: the Ledger-Dispatch, the Virginian-Pilot, and the Journal and Guide.	
Paper	<u>The Ecumenical Moment: Religious Support for Integrated Schools in Norfolk</u> Charles Ford , <i>Norfolk State University</i> Overview: This paper assesses the crucial roles of religious leaders of various denominations in ending de jure segregation in Norfolk, Virginia.	49-102 <u>ROUNDTABLE: WOMEN SHOULD ASK: NEGOTIATION IN THE ACADEMIC WORKPLACE</u> Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am Panelist Georgia Duerst-Lahti , <i>Beloit College</i> Susan Welch , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Nancy McGlen , <i>Niagara University</i> Kay Lehman Schlozman , <i>Boston College</i> Kristi Andersen , <i>Syracuse University</i> Lynn Maurer , <i>Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville</i> Overview: This panel will provide a discussion of gender dynamics in negotiations. Members of the roundtable include current and former department chairs and deans. Panelists will reflect on their experiences and provide advice about negotiating skillfully and effectively.
Disc.	Davis Yvonne Frear , <i>Sam Houston State University</i> Marvin P. King , <i>University of Mississippi</i>	
46-4	<u>TECHNOLOGY AND POLITICAL MOBILIZATION</u> Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am Chair Barbara A. Strassberg , <i>Aurora University</i> Paper <u>Regimes of Intra-Party Communication: A Study of Socio-Ontological Flux</u> Christopher J. Poor , <i>University of Otago, New Zealand</i> Overview: My research studies activists' prosecution of accountability claims. I advance the concept of socio-ontological flux to explain how the use of the internet can create a new regime of communication which negates leaders' monopoly of resources	51-5 <u>PUBLIC OPINION AND LGBT POLICIES IN THE UNITED STATES</u> Room TBA, Fri 10:30 am Chair Jami Kathleen Taylor , <i>North Carolina State University</i> Paper <u>Attitudes Towards GLBT Issues in Arkansas: Libertarian, But Not Libertine</u> Jay Barth , <i>Hendrix College</i> Janine Parry , <i>University of Arkansas</i> Overview: A year after three in four Arkansas voters endorsed a state constitutional amendment barring state recognition of same-sex marriages, the 2005 Arkansas Poll presents the opportunity for deeper insights into the attitudes of Arkansans on a variety of GLBT- Issues.
Paper	<u>Weeds in the Cracks of the Sidewalk: Human Agency and the Rutgers Tent State University Movement</u> Timothy E. Durant , <i>University of Oregon</i> Overview: This is a real-time study of a social movement argues that human agency is crucial to the mounting of successful collective action, highlighting specific instances (in areas such as ideology and tactics) where agency was the driver.	Paper <u>How Opinions about Gays, Lesbians, and Homosexuality Shape Support for Gay Rights</u> Paul R. Brewer , <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Overview: I examine Americans' judgments about homosexuality, explanations for its origins, stereotypes about gays and lesbians, and emotional reactions toward gays and lesbians, as well as how these are related to one another and to support for gay rights.
Paper	<u>Political Attribution: Individualism and Collectivism</u> Kwang-Il Yoon , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: This paper tests the hypothesis that citizens in collectivistic countries are more likely to attribute their personal grievances to government than citizens in individualistic countries and this relationship is moderated by symbolic politics.	Paper <u>GLBTQ Issues: Evolution or Creative Design?</u> Peter W. Brusoe , <i>American University</i> Overview: This paper tests whether or not GLBTQ issues evolved ala Carmines and Stimson or if it was a result of Kingdon's focusing event theory.
Disc.	Barbara A. Strassberg , <i>Aurora University</i>	Paper <u>Young Adults' Perceptions of Gay Rights by Gender, Party, and Religion</u> Heide Hlawaty , <i>Metropolitan College of New York</i> James D. Decker , <i>Macon State College</i> Overview: Evaluation of young adults' attitudes in 2 middle Georgia institutions of their perceived homosexual's rights. Significant differences were found by gender and partisan membership. Religious affiliation did not produce as many significant differences
47-301	<u>POSTER SESSION: POLITICS AND RELIGION</u>	Disc. Kenneth Sherrill , <i>Hunter College</i> Barry L. Tadlock , <i>Ohio University</i>
Presenter	<u>What Has Washington To Do With Jerusalem?</u>	
Room	TBA, Board 10, Fri 10:30 am Jason T. Larson , <i>Syracuse University</i> Overview: This paper examines the relationship between American politics and Christianity by drawing parallels and connections to the history of the early Christian movement in the context of the Roman Empire.	
Presenter	<u>Gender Difference and Equality: Conformity or Individualism?</u>	
Room	TBA, Board 11, Fri 10:30 am Debra Daniels , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: The paper considers the differing visions while highlighting the nature of the debate over gender and equality in the evangelical community. The purpose is to develop a sketch of the emerging vision and the scope of this understanding of equality.	
Presenter	TBA	
Room	TBA, Board 12, Fri 10:30 am Erika R. Seeler , <i>Duke University</i> Overview: TBA	

54-1	<u>SOCIAL ACTIVISM AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT</u>
Room	TBA, Fri 10:30 am
Chair	James R. Simmons , <i>University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh</i>
Paper	<u>Ecumenical Organizing and Social Justice in Suburbia</u> Hugh Bartling , <i>DePaul University</i> Overview: This paper focuses on the various ways in which groups with significant religious components are leveraging social networks to address problems of sustainability and social justice in suburban communities. By looking at particular cases of activism
Paper	<u>Shock Wave: Global New Left Revolts March – October 1968</u> Christian W. Erickson , <i>Roosevelt University</i> Overview: 1968 heralded the apex of a transnational University based revolt, represented by the rise of New Left student and counter-cultural youth movements throughout the capitalist-bloc of nation-states. In this paper I will explore what these University-centered revolts had in common and how their temporal coordination represented a truly transnational movement which resonated throughout the world.
Paper	<u>Political Disengagement on Campus</u> James R. Simmons , <i>University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh</i> Overview: This paper will examine trends in political engagement for both the student body and faculty on contemporary U.S. campuses. It will report on attitudes and involvement at American universities
Paper	<u>Gay Marriage in Massachusetts: The Evolution of an Issue</u> John C. Berg , <i>Suffolk University</i> Overview: The past, present, and future of the gay marriage issue in Massachusetts, from the court decision in 2003 to the possible popular vote on a constitutional amendment in 2008, including the development of public opinion on the issue.
Paper	<u>Pateman's Participatory Democratic Theory and Preference Formation Reconsidered</u> Karl E. Johnson , <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: Drawing on Lindlbom's 1981 address to the APSA, and several disciplinary perspectives, this paper reexamines Pateman's (1970) subsidiary hypothesis in order to speculate about what and how employee-citizens may come to learn about "economic reality."
Disc.	James R. Simmons , <i>University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh</i>

Friday, April 21 – 1:45 pm – 3:30 pm

1-102 ROUNDTABLE: NEW DIRECTIONS AT THE POLITICAL RESEARCH QUARTERLY

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Chair Amy Mazur, Washington State University

Panelist Cornell W. Clayton, Washington State University

Ian Shapiro, Yale University

Rogers Smith, University of Pennsylvania

Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, University of Utah

Daniel Diermeier, Northwestern University

Overview: Amy Mazur and Cornell Clayton, incoming editors of the Political Research Quarterly, chair a roundtable discussion with an esteemed panel of colleagues concerning new directions at the journal.

2-6 AMBITION, STRATEGY AND ROLL CALL VOTES -- MP BEHAVIOR

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Chair Guy D. Whitten, Texas A&M University

Paper A Spatial Analysis of the XIII Italian Parliament

Riccardo Pelizzo, Singapore Management University

Massimiliano Landi, Singapore Management University

Overview: We present a spatial map of Italian politics by applying the Poole and Rosenthal methodology to roll calls in the Italian House during the XIII Legislature. We then analyze measures of cohesion and the concentration of coordinates within each party.

Paper Political Ambition in the European Parliament

Stephen Meserve, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Dan Pemstein, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

William Bernhard, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Overview: MEPs planning a return to domestic politics have incentives to preserve nation-state prerogatives and provide benefits to national constituents. We test the argument using roll-call votes in the European Parliament during the 1990s.

Paper Constituency Service, Parliamentary Dissent, and the

Personal Vote in Britain and New Zealand

Christopher J. Kam, University of British Columbia

Overview: I show how British and New Zealand MPs use dissent from the party line, to complement their constituency service efforts. Dissent boosts the MP's profile, attracts non-partisan voters, and offers efficiency advantages over constituency service.

Paper The Chamber of Secrets: Party-Switching in the Italian Chamber of Deputies

Melanie R. Castleberg, Texas Tech University

Overview: In mixed-member electoral systems, SMD deputies should switch parties more than PR deputies who feel electoral ties to their parties. I test this proposition in the Italian Chamber of Deputies.

Disc. Guy D. Whitten, Texas A&M University

2-7 POLITICAL CHANGE -- PARTISANS AND CLEAVAGES

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Chair Michael P. Bobic, Emmanuel College

Paper Trends in Party Membership and Membership

Participation

Susan E. Scarrow, University of Houston

Overview: This paper uses cross-national survey evidence to examine changing levels of participation within political parties in established and new European democracies. Have activity patterns changed as memberships have shrunk?

Paper The Salience of Cultural Issues in Politics and its Influence on Class Voting

Jeroen van der Waal, Erasmus University

Peter Achterberg, Erasmus University

Overview: In this paper we investigate the salience of cultural issues in the political culture of 14 Western countries, and the consequences of this salience for the traditional class-party alignments.

Paper Party System Fragmentation and Declining Social Cleavages in Western Europe

Robin E. Best, Binghamton University

Overview: Party system fragmentation has increased in virtually all Western democracies in the post-WWII era. I explore the relationship between this fragmentation and the declining electoral relevance of social cleavages.

Paper Understanding the Dynamics of Changes in Party Identification in France

Jean-Gabriel Jolivet, Purdue University

Overview: If political institutions shape the foundations of public opinion, changes in institutions should affect the basic party dispositions of younger cohorts of voters who come of age of voting while not affecting the older generations in a similar way.

Disc. Michael P. Bobic, Emmanuel College

3-13 VOTING, POCKETBOOKS AND TRUST: NEW SURVEY EVIDENCE ON CITIZEN MOTIVATIONS

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Chair Ying Lin, University of Washington

Paper Do Economic Differences or Institutions Explain Variance in the Economic Vote Among Countries?

Ulises Beltran, Centro de Investigacion y Docencia Economicas

Overview: This paper explores variance in the individual economic vote explained by economic size of institutions.

Paper Declining Satisfaction with Democracy in Mexico: Economics or Politics?

David Crow, University of Texas, Austin

Overview: Does Mexicans' declining satisfaction with democracy owe more to negative economic or political evaluations? Analyzing a two-wave panel with dynamic loglinear latent class models, I conclude democratic performance outweighs the economy.

Paper The Role of Perceptions of the Economy on Political Evaluations

David R. Dreyer, Michigan State University

Overview: This paper will test whether perceptions of the economy are important in a least likely scenario in which economic security is low.

Paper Why Do We Trust Institutions? The Bolivian Case

Vivian Schwarz-Blum, Vanderbilt University

Overview: What are the factors that determine if and how much citizens trust their political institutions? The study uses data from the Bolivia 2004 LAPOP survey to explore what is determining Bolivian citizens' levels of trust in their political institutions.

Disc. William Mishler, University of Arizona

3-102 ROUNDTABLE: ARTICULATION OF INTERESTS BY NGOS AND LOBBY GROUPS

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Panelist Situating the NGO Sector Within Political Science: A Comparative Case Study

Shanna R. Dietz, Indiana University, Bloomington

Megan J. Hershey, Indiana University, Bloomington

Overview: Employing a comparative case study methodology, this paper seeks to explore the significance of the burgeoning NGO sector on global society and to situate this phenomenon within the discipline of political science.

Panelist Determinants of Lobbying Strategies on Economic Issues: An Empirical Analysis of Brazil and India

Vineeta Yadav, Yale University

Overview: Lobbies affect the information asymmetry between parties and members. This strengthens parties in systems where institutions allow them to identify, reward, and punish members; and weakens them otherwise. I use survey data on lobbies from Brazil & India

3-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE LEGAL UNDERPINNINGS OF IRAN'S REGIME

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Presenter Iranian Legal Philosophy from the Revolution to the Contemporary Reformers

Michael D. Daniels, *University of Kansas*

Overview: The paper addresses the legal philosophy of the Islamist movement in Iran. I aim to determine what internal legal reforms the Islamist movement aims to achieve and to answer whether an Islamist State can ultimately exist as a democratic state.

4-3 MEASURING AND ACCOUNTING FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Chair Staffan I. Lindberg, *Kent State University*

Paper Diversifying Strategies of Legitimation: Regime Survival in the Middle East

Caroleen Marji, *New York University*

Overview: I explore the strategies authoritarian regimes employ to ensure their survival. At critical junctures, regimes face crises that should lead to their demise, but they survive due to subsystem changes they make to ensure their survival.

Paper Measuring Procedural Democracy and Rights in the Middle East

Emile Sahliyeh, *University of North Texas*

Todd Spinks, *University of North Texas*

Overview: This measurement model will improve our ability to identify patterns of distribution of power and respect and violation of rights in the Middle East and put this discussion on a more empirically accountable footing.

Paper Democracy, Accountability, and Islamist Political Parties

Hootan Shambayati, *Bilkent University*

Overview: This paper argues that the main obstacle to democratization in the Middle East is the weakness of institutions that can hold parliaments and elected institutions accountable while accommodating Islamist or other "radical" political parties.

Paper TBA

Kevin E. Grisham, *University of California, Riverside*

Overview: TBA

Disc. Assem M. Dandashly, *University of Oklahoma*

4-23 EXPANDING THE AMBIT OF EAST ASIAN DEMOCRACIES

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Chair David D. Yang, *Princeton University*

Paper Classing Ethnicity: Strategies of Mass Mobilization in the Transition to Democracy

David D. Yang, *Princeton University*

Overview: This paper seeks to bring attention to the "class" component of many types of political transitions conventionally understood as driven by ethnic, nationalist mobilization.

Paper East Asian Democratization and the Political Business Cycle

Wen-Chia Shen, *Michigan State University*

Overview: This paper investigates the election-policy link in two East Asian countries, South Korea and Taiwan. I test whether countries' time-varying degrees of democracy affect the way in which economic policy is chosen as elections approach.

Paper The Military's Political Restraint: Model and Evidence from South Korea and Taiwan

Fiona Yap, *University of Kansas*

Overview: The paper develops a game-theory model to predict the military's restraint and tests the model using qualitative and quantitative evidence from South Korea and Taiwan from the 1960s to 2000.

Disc. Kevin J. Fandl, *George Mason University*

5-9 FOREIGN POLICY AND SECURITY IN THE EU

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Chair John McCormick, *Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis*

Paper An Adequate Security in an Enlarged European Union

Vivien L. Exartier, *West Virginia University*

Overview: The Security Doctrine issued by Mr. Solana last year does not meet the challenges of security in an enlarged European Union.

Paper The European Union: A Post-Modern Superpower

John McCormick, *Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis*

Overview: Looks at the European Union as a new model superpower. Rather than being a superpower in the cold war sense, the EU is a post-modern superpower: post-industrial, post-military, multi-cultural, scientific, welfarist, and so on.

Paper Who Represents the EU in Foreign Policy? – Patterns from Three Case-Studies

Claire Piana, *DePaul University*

Overview: The paper examines the various ways the EU is represented in its foreign policy when dealing with external actors and the conditions under which member-states choose specific institutional arrangements when acting as a unified body.

Paper Canadian National Security Policy and the European Union, 1991-2001

Benjamin Zyla, *Royal Military College of Canada*

Overview: This paper will analyze Canada's relationship with Europe between 1991-2001. It refutes the argument that Canada's role in the world is in decline and will argue that Canada remained engaged in European security despite defence cutbacks.

Disc. Benjamin Zyla, *Royal Military College of Canada*

5-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LEFT AND RIGHT EXTREMIST VIOLENCE IN WESTERN EUROPE

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Presenter Left and Right Extremist Violence in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis

Odul Celep, *East Stroudsburg University of Pennsylvania*

Maria Elena Sandovici, *Lamar University*

Overview: In this paper, we investigate the factors that increase citizens' likelihood of supporting extremist ideology and parties on the left and right. We examine (1) ideological positioning, (2) protest feelings, and (3) demographic characteristics.

5-204 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PROVINCIAL INTERESTS AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Presenter Provincial Interests and Political Integration: Voting in the French Maastricht Referendum

Andrew Austin, *CERGE-EI*

Overview: Formal model tested for 1992 French Maastricht referendum. Areas most affected by CAP reform more likely to vote no, prosperous areas more likely to vote yes. No evidence voters saw this as poll on Mitterand. Tastes for EU integration highly persistent.

6-1 ELECTIONS AND VOTING IN CANADA

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Chair Christopher H. Achen, *Princeton University*

Paper The Nature and Effects of Advance Voting in Canada

Peter J. Loewen, *Universite de Montreal*

Overview: I examine advance voting in the 2004 Canadian election. Advance voters differ from normal voters, and some parties do better than others in advance voting. But, advance voting success does not predict victory and likely does not change outcomes.

Paper	<u>Election Campaign Polling and the Media: Where Did It Go Wrong in 2004?</u> Mark A. Pickup , <i>University of Oxford</i> Richard Johnston , <i>University of British Columbia</i> Overview: The campaign polls during the 2004 Canadian federal election and the media coverage of those polls are examined to determine how the predicted outcome of the election could be so wrong.	8-6	<u>TAIWAN'S PARTIES AND LEGISLATURE</u>
Paper	<u>The Conservative Party and the 2004 Canadian Election</u> Laura B. Stephenson , <i>University of Western Ontario</i> Overview: This paper investigates the Conservative Party's performance in the 2004 Canadian election, concentrating on voters' perceptions, the impact of campaign information, and the party's role as the only viable alternative to the governing Liberals.	Room	TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Paper	<u>Same-Sex Marriage and Voting Behavior in Canada</u> Eugénie Dostie-Goulet , <i>Université de Montréal</i> Overview: Same-sex marriage, now legalized in Canada, was an electoral issue for the 2004 Canadian Election. Multinomial analyses allow us to conclude that even if this issue has influenced vote choice, it has had no net effect on the result of the election.	Chair	Nyblade Benjamin , <i>University of British Columbia</i>
Disc.	Christopher H. Achen , <i>Princeton University</i>	Paper	<u>Colonizing Taiwan: Kuomintang's Methods of Control and 50 Years of Dominance</u> Ketty W. Chen , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: The paper investigates the political domination methods used by the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) during its 50-year domination on the island of Taiwan.
7-5	<u>GUNS, DRUGS, AND DEATH: POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN LATIN AMERICA</u>	Paper	<u>Plus ça change: Continuity and Change in Taiwan's Party System</u> Alexander C. Tan , <i>University of Canterbury</i> Overview: Using time series data on Taiwan's legislative elections and the new Taiwan Election and Democratization Study 2005 election survey data set, this study examines the continuity in trends as well as the changing features in Taiwan's party system.
Room	TBA, Fri 1:45 pm	Paper	<u>Getting Bills Through the Committee Stage in the Taiwanese Legislature</u> Nathan F. Batto , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: This paper looks at how parties in the Taiwanese legislature get bills to the floor while ensuring their content accords with party goals. If committee members demand a heavy price in the normal review process, parties can opt for alternative paths.
Chair	Jeffrey Ryan , <i>University of Arkansas</i>	Disc.	Nyblade Benjamin , <i>University of British Columbia</i>
Paper	<u>Political Participation and War in Colombia</u> Miguel Garcia , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: I study the impact of armed actors' presence and violence on turnout in Colombia showing: 1) political violence decreases turnout, 2) areas with presence of guerrillas and coincident presence of guerrillas and paramilitaries have the lowest turnout.	8-7	<u>RURAL CHINA: POLITICS AND POLICY</u>
Paper	<u>Coca, Bullets, Exports, and Growth</u> Jennifer S. Holmes , <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i> Sheila Amin Gutiérrez de Piñeres , <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i> Overview: In Colombia, we examine the effects of coca production and types of violence on both disaggregated exports and sectoral GDP. We identify sectors of the economy and exports that are resistant to disruptions due to displacement by coca or violence.	Room	TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Paper	<u>Armed and Dangerous: Colombia's Paramilitary Groups</u> Julie M. Mazzei , <i>Cleveland State University</i> Overview: Empirical research suggests that a specific confluence of variables facilitated the emergence of paramilitary groups in Colombia, among them the mobilization of resources from factions of the elite, the military, and politicians.	Chair	Wenfang Tang , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i>
Paper	<u>Free Traders and Drug Smugglers: Does Trade Liberalization Weaken or Strengthen States' Ability to Combat Drug Trafficking?</u> Horace A. Bartilow , <i>University of Kentucky</i> Overview: This paper answers the question of whether trade liberalization weaken the ability of states to combat drug trafficking? This question is motivated by an emerging theoretical debate about new threats to state security in the age of globalization.	Paper	<u>Corporatizing Guangdong Villages-Democratizing Rural Southern China</u> Yi Man Leung , <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: Examining the consequences of Guangdong's test on a local institutional change of corporatizing villages and turning village committees into corporation boards, in response to the Organic Law that institutionalized village elections in China in 1998.
Paper	<u>Repression or Concession? Responses to Challenges in Latin America</u> James C. Franklin , <i>Ohio Wesleyan University</i> Overview: This paper examines over 1000 contentious challenges that took place in seven Latin American countries to determine what types of challenges and what circumstances tend to result in repression and/or concessions.	Paper	<u>Comparing Village Elections in China and Vietnam</u> Mayling Birney , <i>Yale University</i> Overview: Drawing upon interviews and original field research in China and Vietnam, this paper contrasts the different approaches to, and assesses the different impacts of, village elections in China and Vietnam.
Disc.	Eric Selbin , <i>Southwestern University</i> Jeffrey Ryan , <i>University of Arkansas</i>	Paper	<u>Power and Cooperation: Peasants, Elites, and the State in New Chinese Coops</u> Liang Sun , <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: Based on fieldwork in 4 peasant cooperatives in central China, I identify types of power relations between peasants, business elites, and state agents state in the rising new cooperative movement.
		Paper	<u>Changing Role of Agriculture in Economic Development in Post-Mao China</u> Yinan R. Wang , <i>Miami University</i> Overview: This paper examines the dynamics of Chinese food and agricultural politics and policies in the reform period.
		Disc.	Wenfang Tang , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Tianjian Shi , <i>Duke University</i>
		10-5	<u>POST-COMMUNIST RESEARCH AFTER COMMUNISM: THE STATE OF THE FIELD</u>
		Room	TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
		Chair	William Zimmerman , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i>
		Paper	<u>Improving Measures of Normal States-the Case of Russia</u> William Zimmerman , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: Is Russia a normal country? How would we know? Focusing on Russia, this paper suggests ways to improve the measurement of an important concept and at the same time achieve a better feel for future outcomes for Russian political development.

Paper	<p><u>Toward Resolving the Measurement Problem in QCA: An Exploration of Fuzzy Mathematics</u> Terry D. Clark, <i>Creighton University</i> Jennifer M. Larson, <i>Creighton University</i> Overview: The use of fuzzy mathematics in comparative politics has been confined to qualitative comparative analysis (QCA). We consider mathematical approaches that might overcome measurement problems associated with the use of fuzzy mathematics in QCA.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Europeanization, Electoral Institutions and Party Development in Post Communist Politics</u> John T. Ishiyama, <i>Truman State University</i> Terry D. Clark, <i>Creighton University</i> Overview: In recent years, there has been a growing interest in the domestic political consequences of "Europeanization." Although there has been a small but increasing body of work on the effects of this process on political party development in the West</p>
Paper	<p><u>TBA</u> Jill N. Wittrock, <i>University of Iowa</i> Terry D. Clark, <i>Creighton University</i> Overview: TBA</p>
Paper	<p><u>What is Next? Taking the Next Step in the Field of Communism and Post-Communist Studies</u> Irina S. Khmelko, <i>Georgia Southern University</i> Overview: This paper outlines some of the major discussions in the field of Communist and Post-Communist studies. It offers one of the possible approaches to answering the question of where the scholars of ECE can take the research next.</p>
Disc.	<p><u>Erik Herron, University of Kansas</u></p>
11-6	<p><u>IR AND FOREIGN POLICY</u></p>
Room	TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair	Clair Apodaca, <i>Florida International University</i>
Paper	<p><u>Presidents, Leadership Variation, and Foreign Policy Outcomes</u> David J. Plazek, <i>West Virginia University</i> Overview: The paper examines presidential administrations from Harry Truman to George H. W. Bush to assess whether the variation in the political orientation of leadership contributes to divergence in foreign policy goals and outcomes.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Multiple Identities, Multiple Policies (?)</u> Tuba Unlu, <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: This study aims to illustrate how identity of a state can be manipulated by the decision/foreign policy makers, and can be used strategically.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Turkey and the NATO Question: American and Anglo-Canadian Perspectives</u> Richard P. Garlitz, <i>Ohio University</i> Overview: Security factors dominated American thinking with respect to Turkish membership in NATO through 1952, but cultural considerations informed the Anglo-Canadian view. The paper links the NATO debate with the current one concerning Turkey and the EU.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Hegemonic Influence and the Creation of Regional Architecture in Latin America</u> Katharine Petersen, <i>University of Arizona</i> Overview: This paper seeks to understand the dynamics of non-issue specific regional integration in Latin America by modeling the decisions of states to join regional organizations which the United States has been instrumental in forming.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Imposing American Ideals: Collective Ideas, Nationalism, and Great Power Foreign Policy</u> Duane Adamson, <i>Brigham Young University</i> Overview: An evaluation of U.S. foreign policy efforts to transform specific collective ideas tied to national identity in post World War II societies. The paper explores the perceived successes of post-war Germany and Japan to more recent cases.</p>
Disc.	<p><u>Robert F. Trager, Oxford University</u></p>

11-19	<p><u>THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT POWERS AND THE FUTURE OF IR THEORY</u></p>
Room	TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair	Mrinalini Menon, <i>University of British Columbia</i>
Paper	<p><u>Balancing by not Bandwagoning</u> Mark E. Schaefer, <i>Marietta College</i> Overview: States tend to concern themselves with overt balancing, but French and German history show another form of balancing, balancing by not bandwagoning. This holds lesson-drawing merit for the US and its lack of usual partners prior to the Iraq War.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Testing Ideology Against Neorealism in Hitler's Drive to the East</u> Alex T. Schulman, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: I examine the diplomatic record to test the claims of neorealism that Hitler's foreign policy decisions were rational, and then present a counter-argument - that ideology trumped rationality.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Domestic Institutions, Imperial Accommodation, and Britain's Settler Colonies</u> Chad Rector, <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: Like the U.S. today, the British Empire relied on cooperation from junior partners. Institutions that gave influence to groups with relationship-specific assets in the settler colonies made Britain's self-restraint credible</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Congress of Vienna System - Power, Identity and New Ideas</u> Fabrice Paracuellos, <i>University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: The emergence on a new idea - that liberalism constituted a threat to the European monarchies - has more power in explaining the peace of the Congress of Vienna system than distribution of power or institutional landscape</p>
Paper	<p><u>Dangerous Rebels? Role of Violent Non-State Actors in Great Power Decline</u> Olga Bogatyrenko, <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: The paper relies on organizational and IR literatures to discuss the extent to which great powers are vulnerable to violent non-state actors. Hypotheses are tested qualitatively via a comparative case study of Imperial Russia and Great Britain.</p>
Disc.	<p><u>Nathan A. Paxton, Harvard University</u></p>
12-5	<p><u>MONETARY INSTITUTIONS, REGIMES, & POLICY IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY (Co-sponsored Economic Policy, see 42-15)</u></p>
Room	TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair	Christopher Adolph, <i>University of Washington</i>
Paper	<p><u>Democracy and Data Dissemination: The Effect of Political Regime on Transparency</u> B. Peter Rosendorff, <i>University of Southern California</i> James R. Vreeland, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: Policymakers provide credible announcements of intended inflation and unemployment rates in democracies; data establishes that transparency is correlated with regime type, even after controlling for level of development and country-specific effects.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Institutional Structures and Monetary Instruments</u> Dominick E. Wright, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: The structure of a governmental institution constrains the choice of monetary instruments, while inducing preferences over macroeconomic outcomes. An analysis of fixity and inflation conditioned on institutional structure explores this hypothesis.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Depositing Credibility: Capital Account Liberalization, Dollarization, and Government Credibility</u> Kelly P. Wurtz, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: I argue that those governments that combine credibility in their respect for property rights, but lack credibility in macroeconomic policy, can strategically allow foreign currency deposits to commit to stable macroeconomic policies.</p>

Paper	<p><u>An Examination of the Relationship of CBI and Public Corruption</u> James Thomas Fetter, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: In this paper, I explain the variation of CBI across countries as a function of public corruption. Because public corruption reduces political and economic transparency, CBI is expected to vary inversely with public corruption.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Female Suicide Bombers: Case Study of the Chechen "Black Widows"</u> Irina Bazaria, <i>University of Cincinnati</i> Overview: This research paper reviews theories of female suicide bombers, focuses on their characteristics, analyzes their personal motives, makes assessments of tactics and strategies behind using female suicide bombers.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Monetary Independence and Trade Relations in Flexible Exchange Rate Regimes</u> Vera E. Troeger, <i>University of Exeter</i> Overview: This paper argues that the level of monetary flexibility a government enjoys does not only depend on the implemented monetary institutions but also on the economic relationships, especially trading relations with relevant key currency areas.</p>	Paper	<p><u>From Burkhass to Bombers: An Analysis of Women Martyrs as Suicide Bombers</u> Laura V. Fontaine, <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Hugh R. Kardell, <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Overview: Suicide terrorism has recently become a widely used tactic and a significant strategic threat to the international community. To date, the motivations and factors to explain why women are becoming martyrs have not been fully explored or understood.</p>
Disc.	<p>David Andrew Singer, <i>University of Notre Dame</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>What Drives Terrorism: Analyzing the Factors That Influence Suicide Bombing</u> Tyson Chatagnier, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper looks at several potential influences on decisions by Palestinian terrorist groups to launch suicide bombings against Israel. It attempts to ascertain by statistical analysis which factors make suicide bombings more or less likely.</p>
13-5	<p><u>THE IMPACT OF REGIME TYPE ON REGIME CHANGE</u></p>	Disc.	<p>Skyler J. Cranmer, <i>University of California, Davis</i> Christian W. Erickson, <i>Roosevelt University</i></p>
Room	<p>TBA, Fri 1:45 pm</p>	15-301	<p><u>POSTER SESSION: CONFLICT PROCESSES</u></p>
Chair	<p>Allan C. Stam, <i>Dartmouth College</i></p>	Presenter	<p><u>When Will States Negotiate? Pain and Strategy in International Conflict</u></p>
Paper	<p><u>Signaling, Resolve, and the Duration of Interstate Wars</u> Jonathan E. Berohn, <i>University of Colorado</i> Randall J. Blimes, <i>University of Colorado</i> Overview: We examine how resolve affects the duration of wars in two ways. First we assume that resolve is fixed throughout a conflict and examine how nations can credibly signal resolve levels to opponents. We then relax the assumption that preferences remain.</p>	Room	<p>TBA, Board 1, Fri 1:45 pm Belinda L. Bragg, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper addresses the question of why some crises between states are resolved through negotiation while others result in continued conflict. The theoretical model is tested using both experimental and empirical analysis.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Does Military Rule Mean Lost Wars? Authoritarian Subtypes and War Outcomes</u> Ozlem Elgun, <i>Emory University</i> Overview: This paper examines the effect of authoritarian regime type on conflict outcome, and argues that although military regimes are more likely to initiate militarized interstate disputes, they are less likely to win these conflicts.</p>	Presenter	<p><u>Third-Party Intervention in Ethnic Conflicts</u></p>
Paper	<p><u>Military Occupations and Regime Changes: An Empirical Examination 1914-2004</u> Carmela Lutmar, <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: This paper is concerned with the phenomena of military occupation, regime changes, and the links between them.</p>	Room	<p>TBA, Board 2, Fri 1:45 pm Ada Hyso, <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Overview: This study aims to examine how ethnic composition, affinity and discrimination, as well as power relations affect third party interventions in an ethnic conflict</p>
Paper	<p><u>Needs the NGOs? The Research on the Development of NGOs in China</u> Chun-yuan Wang, <i>Duke University</i> Yan-yi Chang, <i>National Chung-Cheng University</i> Jun-yi Hsieh, <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: This paper is interesting in the subject that since China is an authoritarian government, why does she need NGOs to deal with the international cooperation or interaction. The development of the NGOs in China will be examined in the paper.</p>	Presenter	<p><u>Beyond Diplomacy: Conflict Management in the Network Society</u></p>
Paper	<p><u>Politics, Threats, and War: A Test of a New Measure of Political Regime Type</u> Wayne A. Thornton, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This paper presents a new methodology for characterizing political regime types, and applies it to analyze how the institutional structure of governments shapes their behavior regarding threats and war.</p>	Room	<p>TBA, Board 3, Fri 1:45 pm Daniel Wehrenfennig, <i>University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: This paper will explore the actual practice of communication in conflict management and contemplate the changes in the diffusion of power, networking and communication in the "network society" to evaluate the challenges and opportunities.</p>
Disc.	<p>Zaryab Iqbal, <i>University of South Carolina</i></p>	Presenter	<p><u>The Explanatory Value of Political Psychology in International Relations</u></p>
14-6	<p><u>TERRORISM: SUICIDE BOMBING</u></p>	Room	<p>TBA, Board 4, Fri 1:45 pm Cengiz Erisen, <i>SUNY, Stony Brook University</i> Overview: This paper examines the inferences of political psychology in international relations. The main goal is to study the propositions of political psychology in understanding the international conflicts.</p>
Room	<p>TBA, Fri 1:45 pm</p>	17-301	<p><u>POSTER SESSION: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND ORGANIZATION</u></p>
Chair	<p>Christian W. Erickson, <i>Roosevelt University</i></p>	Presenter	<p><u>Canada-US Cooperation on the Great Lakes after 9/11</u></p>
Paper	<p><u>Landscapes of Violence: A Comparative Study of Insurgency in the Northern Caucasus</u> Jason M. Lyall, <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: This paper examines the determinants of insurgent strategies in Russia's Northern Caucasus by combining Geographic Information Systems (GIS), a district-level natural experiment, and a new dataset of insurgent attacks (including suicide terrorism) for the 1999-2005 period.</p>	Room	<p>TBA, Board 5, Fri 1:45 pm Edna R. Keeble, <i>Saint Mary's University</i> Roy Keeble, <i>Independent Researcher</i> Overview: This paper is about the level of Canada-US cooperation in the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway system after 9/11. In this case, we see a seamless integration of security measures into existing arrangements while not jeopardizing maritime trade.</p>

Presenter **The Shanghai Cooperation Organization: A Structural Functional Analysis**

Room TBA, Board 6, Fri 1:45 pm
Andrew M. Akin, *University of Alabama*
 Overview: This paper presents an organizational study of the emerging Shanghai Cooperation Organization. The SCO provides a new chapter to the post communist study of the Eastern and Southern regions of the former Soviet empire.

18-101 **AUTHORS MEET CRITICS: HUCKFELDT, JOHNSON, AND SPRAGUE 'S POLITICAL DISAGREEMENT**

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair **Jennifer Jerit**, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
Panelist **Robert Huckfeldt**, *University of California, Davis*
Paul E. Johnson, *University of Kansas*
James H. Kuklinski, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
James N. Druckman, *Northwestern University*
Michael X. Delli Carpini, *University of Pennsylvania*
James L. Gibson, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: This panel will discuss Huckfeldt, Johnson, and Sprague's, Political Disagreement: The Survival of Diverse Opinions within Communication Networks.

18-205 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: A LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO EU CONFLICT PREVENTION POLICIES**

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Presenter **From Text to Reality: A Linguistic Approach to EU Conflict Prevention Policies**
Simone Raudino, *UNDESA*
 Overview: This paper aims to demonstrate how important the tenets of social linguistics are in the study and comprehension of all political phenomena, including the setting up of a European conflict prevention policy.

19-11 **RACE AND TURNOUT**

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair **David L. Leal**, *University of Texas, Austin*
Paper **Racial Diversity and Barriers to Participation**
Rodney E. Hero, *University of Notre Dame*
Caroline Tolbert, *Kent State University*
Bridgett King, *Kent State University*
 Overview: Racial Diversity and Barriers to Participation

Paper **Left Out in the Cold? The Effect of Dispersed Minority Populations on Turnout**
Ernest McGowen, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: This paper will examine the turnout rates of minority populations with particular focus on those populations left out of minority majority districts.

Paper **The Temporal Effect of the First Latino Congressmen on Voter Turnout**
Francisco I. Pedraza, *University of Washington*
 Overview: An analysis of the impact of the first Latinos in Congress from CA, FL, NY and TX on voter turnout. The exercise explores turnout patterns across time for both Latinos and non-Latinos in congressional districts represented by a Latino.

Paper **Residential Mobility and Racial Differences in Political Mobilization**
Ricardo Ramirez, *University of Southern California*
 Overview: Tests whether validated registered voters who move more often (frequency of residential movement) in the previous five years are less likely to report being contacted by a candidate, political party, or organization

Disc. **Matthew A. Barreto**, *University of Washington*

20-6 **THE DYNAMICS OF VOTER TURNOUT (Co-Sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 19-18)**

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair **Peter W. Wielhouwer**, *Western Michigan University*
Paper **The Impact of Radio Advertisements on Voter Turnout**
Costas Panagopoulos, *Yale University*
Donald Green, *Yale University*
 Overview: This study reports the findings of a randomized field experiment to test the effect of radio advertisements on voter turnout in mayoral elections taking place across the United States during fall 2005.

Paper **The 2004 Youth Vote: A Retrospective**
Zachary F. Cook, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
 Overview: The significance of the 2004 "youth vote" is analyzed using election returns, media analysis, and exploratory interviews with youth advocates, party officials and Bush/Kerry campaign officials.

Paper **Uncovering the Hidden Effects of Issues**
Aaron Dusso, *George Washington University*
Ryan L. Schoen, *George Washington University*
 Overview: This paper explores voting behavior in congressional elections between 1976 and 2000 and extends recent research on issue voting. We expect the presence of salient issues to increase turnout and also affect the choice of one party over another.

Paper **Morality Politics, Direct Democracy, and Turnout**
John A. Grummel, *West Virginia State University*
 Overview: This research examines whether ballot measures concerning moral issues (in general) as well as comparing individual types of moral issues, have an impact on voter turnout.

Paper **Economic Voting in the 2004 Presidential Election**
Chia-yin Wei, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: This paper centers on the relationship between voters' perception of economic conditions and their voting behavior in the 2004 presidential election in the United States.

Disc. **Jeremy M. Teigen**, *Ramapo College*

21-4 **IMPACT OF ELECTORAL SYSTEMS**

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair **G. Bingham Powell**, *University of Rochester*
Paper **Are Proportional Systems More Representative Than Majoritarian Systems?**
Rumel S. Mahmood, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: This analysis extends the number of countries and sources of data which Powell used to conclude that majoritarian systems are less congruent to the median voter than are proportional systems, finding the relationship is weak.

Paper **Measuring Geographic Representative Strength**
Eser Sekercioglu, *Stony Brook University*
Gizen Arikan, *Stony Brook University*
Ali Carkoglu, *Sabanci University*
 Overview: We propose a method to compare how well electoral systems translate votes into seats. Treating legislatures as euclidian spaces we compare two or more parliaments in terms of how well geographic distribution of votes is represented in the legislative.

Paper **Institutions, Heterogeneity, and Fragmentation in Executive Elections**
Mark P. Jones, *Rice University*
Greg Vonnahme, *Rice University*
 Overview: We evaluate the effect of ethnic/racial heterogeneity and two key political institutions on the extent of fragmentation in executive elections. We employ evidence from two distinct populations (presidential democracies and U.S. cities).

Paper **Stability Results from the Nature of Collective Decisions Themselves**
Melvin J. Hinich, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: An investigation of "division of the question" amendments reveals a problem with the assumption that institutions cause stability. An alternative argument is simply that the nature of collective decisions themselves lead groups to avoid cycles.

Paper	<u>Overwhelming Victory in Mass Elections</u> Alberto Simpson , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: Scholarship often assumes that the goal of election-related efforts is victory. I suggest that some institutional contexts provide incentives to invest resources, and even to break the law, not merely to win but to do so by ample vote or seat margins	Paper	<u>Dynamic Representation in an Institutional Context</u> Christopher J. Lewis , <i>Florida State University</i> Dona-Gene Mitchell , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: A democracy is ultimately evaluated by its ability to translate public opinion into policy. We provide a nuanced view of the public opinion-public policy linkage by focusing on the political mechanisms that influence government responsiveness.
Disc.	G. Bingham Powell , <i>University of Rochester</i>	Paper	<u>The Adoption of Gender Identity Inclusive Laws in the American States</u> Jami Kathleen Taylor , <i>North Carolina State University</i> Overview: This paper uses the public attitude-policy adoption linkage developed by McIver, Erikson and Wright to explore the passage of transgender inclusive employment and hate crimes legislation in the American states.
22-2	<u>PUBLIC OPINION, PUBLIC DISCOURSE, AND WELFARE POLICY</u> TBA, Fri 1:45 pm	Disc.	Gerald Wright , <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i>
Room	Leanne Doherty , <i>Simmons College</i>	23-9	<u>CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND LOCAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION</u> TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair	<u>Sex, Race, and Public Opinion about Welfare</u>	Room	Mary G. Kweit , <i>University of North Dakota</i>
Paper	Carly J. Hayden Foster , <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: Americans fail to support welfare because they think welfare serves morally suspect women. Race and gender specific assumptions about welfare mothers limit public support for welfare spending. Study includes analyses of public opinion survey data.	Chair	<u>Structural Access to Local News, Political Interest, and Civic Engagement</u>
Paper	<u>Constitutions and Public Support for Welfare Policies</u> Takeshi Iida , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Tetsuya Matsubayashi , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Using cross-national data from the 1996 International Social Survey Program (ISSP), we address a question: How does the political ideology reflected in national constitutions shape citizens' welfare policy preference and opinion certainty?	Paper	Jackie A. Filla , <i>University of California, Riverside</i> Martin Johnson , <i>University of California, Riverside</i> Overview: Many voters have little exposure to information about their local government because they are served by news outlets with no focus on their community. We examine how the availability of news media affects political interest and engagement.
Paper	<u>Principles, Goods, and Groups in Social Welfare Policy Opinions</u> Cindy D. Kam , <i>University of California, Davis</i> John T. Scott , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: Our paper argues that different social welfare programs activate different principles of distributive justice.	Disc.	<u>Online Debates: Using the "Blog" To Promote an Engaged Electorate</u> Miles Maguire , <i>University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh</i> Overview: In 2004 three local groups in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, embarked on an experiment in using the Internet to encourage public debate and civic engagement. This paper reports on candidate debates in successive campaign seasons using Web log, or blog, technology.
Paper	<u>Worlds of Welfare and Discourses on Welfare</u> Bedriye A. Kolemen , <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: This paper employs a cross-national Q-survey prepared and conducted by the author to identify the differences in public discourse on the welfare state in Sweden, Germany and the USA.	Paper	<u>Beyond Remittances: Home Town Associations as a Mechanism for Immigrant Political Incorporation in the United States</u> Denise Gonzalez , <i>University of Southern California</i> Adrian Felix , <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: In this paper, we test whether organizational activity enhances the prospects that participants in Mexican hometown associations (HTAs) will express interest and become engaged in American politics.
Disc.	Martin Gilens , <i>Princeton University</i>	Paper	<u>Toxic Targets and Racial Homogeneity in the Environmental Justice Movement</u> Dominique D. Apollon , <i>California State University, Bakersfield</i> Overview: This paper is an effort to understand what types of communities engage in political activity relating to almost universally abhorred toxic waste facilities, and which communities remain silent.
22-13	<u>REPRESENTATION AND POLICY RESPONSIVENESS</u> TBA, Fri 1:45 pm	Paper	<u>Homegrown Democracy: RCAs and Political Participation in Seattle</u> Daniel S. Scheller , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview:
Room	Jonathan Winburn , <i>Western Kentucky University</i>	Disc.	Tina Ebenger , <i>Calumet College of St. Joseph</i> Mary G. Kweit , <i>University of North Dakota</i>
Chair	<u>Representatives as Environmental Trustees for Their Constituents</u>	23-11	<u>RELIGION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE U.S.</u> TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Paper	Lauren E. Benson , <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: This study examines the principle/agent relationship regarding environmental issues in order to assess whether public opinion drives legislators' votes in office.	Room	Henry E. Brady , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i>
Paper	<u>Income and Political Liberalism: a Macro Approach</u> Christopher R. Ellis , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Joseph Ura , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: We explore the ways in which socioeconomic status affects dynamic citizen response to political or economic stimuli. We show that most socioeconomic groups respond similarly to the political context and, as a result, send similar cues to policymakers	Chair	<u>The Underrepresented Voice: Religious Organizations and Political Equality</u>
Paper	<u>Catholics and Congress: Measuring Ideological Congruence from 1948 to 2002</u> Patrick J. Flavin , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Michael J. Keane , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: Do Catholic politicians mirror the ideological preferences of Catholic citizens over time? Using NOMINATE scores and NES data, we examine opinion change and ideological congruence among Catholic legislators and Catholic citizens from 1948 to 2002.	Paper	Allison E. O'Brien , <i>Georgetown University</i> Jocelyn S. Weiner , <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: This paper argues for a closer look at the power of religious organizations in creating political skills and political efficacy in their members. Religious organizations may be

	poised to become the dominant force fostering political participation.				
Paper	<u>Tilting Conservative: Religion and Political Participation in America</u> Henry E. Brady , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Sidney Verba , <i>Harvard University</i> Kay Lehman Schlozman , <i>Boston College</i> Overview: Religious involvement affects politics by shaping people's fundamental beliefs about issues such as gay rights and by mobilizing people to political action. Using "tilt analysis" we show how these factors can work together or against one another.		25-10	<u>WOMEN ON THE BENCH: JUDGING AND BEING JUDGED (Co-sponsored with Judicial Politics, see 36-20)</u> TBA, Fri 1:45 pm	
			Room	Judith A. Baer , <i>Texas A&M University</i>	
			Chair	Judging Gender: Press Coverage of Male and Female Supreme Court Justices	
			Paper	Margaret M. Young , <i>Albion College</i> Overview: The author uses content and textual analysis of articles about Supreme Court Justices to identify differences in the coverage of male and female judges. These are detectable--although not always obvious and sometimes surprising.	
Paper	<u>Political Participation of Muslim Americans</u> Guliz Dinc , <i>University of Massachusetts, Amherst</i> Ozge Kemahlioglu , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: This paper aims to determine the factors that affect the type and level of political participation of Muslim Americans by applying the resource and mobilization models using survey data from 2001 and 2004 administered by Zogby International.		Paper	<u>Federal Appellate Courts, the FMLA, and Judicial Gender</u> Elaine Martin , <i>Eastern Michigan University</i> Barry Pyle , <i>Eastern Michigan University</i> Overview: We examine U.S. appellate cases on the FMLA to build an integrated decision-making model controlling for two sets of variables - personal attributes of judges, including gender, and political environment - utilizing logit analysis.	
Paper	<u>A Study of the Political Behavior and Attitudes of Black Urban Pastors</u> Alexis B. Sherman , <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: Few scholars have examined the political behavior and attitudes of Black urban pastors. This paper will examine how and why they participate politically, specifically focusing on informal modes that go beyond the realm of electoral politics.		Paper	<u>Revisiting Gender Effects in the U.S. Courts of Appeals</u> Susan Haire , <i>University of Georgia</i> Laura Moyer , <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: Using a dataset of 2880 cases decided with published opinion by the U.S. Courts of Appeals between 1997 and 2002, we test for direct effects of gender on judicial decision-making in criminal, civil rights/liberties, and economic/labor decisions.	
Disc.	Gregory A. Petrow , <i>University of Nebraska, Omaha</i>		Paper	<u>Descriptive Representation and the Supreme Court</u> Margaret S. Williams , <i>James Madison University</i> Mary Outwater , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: Using a survey of the American public conducted after the announcement of O'Connor's retirement, we explore the extent to which O'Connor raised a gender consciousness among women.	
24-14	<u>THE WEB OF THE MEDIA: INTERNET EFFECTS AND POLITICAL PROCESSES</u> TBA, Fri 1:45 pm		Paper	<u>Gender and the U.S. Supreme Court: The Emergence of a Feminine Perspective?</u> Katherine F. Scheurer , <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Overview: This paper empirically examines the influence of gender on the voting behavior of the U.S. Supreme Court. This research also explores whether or not a feminine perspective emerges in the behavior of the court of last resort.	
Room	Girish J. Gulati , <i>Bentley College</i>				
Chair	Understanding Society Through Online Communities: Posting Boards and Massive Multi-Player Online Role Playing Games (MMORPGs)				
Paper	Jessica L. Beyer , <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: In this paper I examine the IGN posting board system and World of Warcraft (a MMORPG with around two million players), and argue that over time posting boards and MMORPGs develop into intricate social systems that create and recreate themselves		Disc.	Jilda M. Aliotta , <i>University of Hartford</i> Judith A. Baer , <i>Texas A&M University</i>	
Paper	<u>Netting Information: New Media and Political Knowledge</u> William T. Horner , <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Overview: This study is an examination of the informational value of several different forms of media, including television, radio, newspapers, magazines, and the Internet across several presidential and off-year federal election cycles.		26-12	<u>RACE, ETHNICITY AND POLITICAL TRUST</u> TBA, Fri 1:45 pm	
			Room	Sarah Allen Gershon , <i>Arizona State University</i>	
			Chair	Government Trust and the African American Electorate	
Paper	<u>Did 2004 Online News Do a Better Job of Informing Young Voters than 2000?</u> Karon R. Speckman , <i>Truman State University</i> Overview: This study compares 2000 and 2004 online election coverage of Yahoo News and MSNBC to determine whether news focused on youth issues; youths as voting unit; or youths as sources.		Paper	Maurice Mangum , <i>Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville</i> Overview: Several scholars allude to the low levels of trust in government displayed by African Americans. Moreover, many accounts present evidence that suggests that African Americans are less trusting of government than white Americans.	
Paper	<u>The Effect of the Internet on Political Knowledge</u> Shinya Wakao , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: I investigate the relationship between political knowledge and the Internet usage with Simultaneous Equations Model. I find that those who have high political knowledge use the Internet as a political information resource.		Paper	<u>Rust Never Sleeps: Latino Political Trust - Evidence from the NES</u> James P. Wenzel , <i>University of Texas, Pan American</i> Robert D. Wrinkle , <i>University of Texas, Pan American</i> Jerry Polinard , <i>University of Texas, Pan American</i> Overview: Using pooled data from the 1990-2004 National Election Studies we test alternative models of the formation and maintenance of trust in government among Latino-Americans. Among the effects tested is the "corrosive effect" of acculturation on trust.	
Disc.	Girish J. Gulati , <i>Bentley College</i>		Paper	<u>What's Trust Got to Do with It? Examining Trust Levels of African-Americans</u> Michele Gilbert , <i>Kent State University</i> Ronald E. Mathews, Jr. , <i>Kent State University</i> Overview: As the debris of Hurricane Katrina is being swept away, social life continues to be characterized by racial discrimination and stratification. This paper examines how trust levels affect the public policy process.	

Paper	<u>The Discord of Participation and Trust in the African American Community</u> <i>Victoria Wilson, University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: This paper examines the role generalized trust plays in the political participation patterns of African Americans. It also looks at the applicability of traditional social capital theory to racial and ethnic minority groups living in the United States.	27-25	<u>LIBERAL/LIBERTARIAN JUSTICE?</u>
Disc.	Katherine Tate, University of California, Irvine	Room	TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
26-13	<u>DIVERSITY AND PUBLIC POLICY</u>	Chair	Richard E. Flathman, Johns Hopkins University
Room	TBA, Fri 1:45 pm	Paper	<u>Property and Self as the Coin of Locke's Realm</u> <i>Stewart W. Gardner, Boise State University</i> Overview: Were Locke's writings designed to allow diverse interpretations? Did he use a concept like "property" like coin that could be variously valued? If so, what would be the implications for our debates about reasoned limits on freedom?
Chair	Jesse P. Mendez, Oklahoma State University	Paper	<u>Towards a Theory of Commutative Justice</u> <i>Jason Ferrell, McGill University</i> Overview: In this paper I try to recast the idea of commutative justice by comparing it with distributive and communicative justice, and by arguing that it actually addresses the idea of moral pluralism, as found in the problems of reciprocity and recognition.
Paper	<u>TBA</u> Jose F. Marichal, California Lutheran University Overview: TBA	Paper	<u>The Self-defeat of Libertarian Justice</u> <i>Evan P. Riley, University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: Standard libertarianism as a normative account of justice is collectively self-defeating. This is a reason against it; the same is not true of its rivals and the problem cannot be fixed without departing from what is characteristic of the view.
Paper	<u>Competing Explanations for Minority Enrollments in Higher Education</u> <i>Daniel P. Hawes, Texas A&M University</i> <i>Alisa Hicklin, Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper will draw on theories of representation, economics, political control, bureaucratic politics, and political culture to test a number of competing explanations for varying levels of minority student enrollments in higher education.	Paper	<u>A Left-Libertarian Foundation for Political Philosophy</u> <i>Nicolaus Tideman, Virginia Tech University</i> Overview: This paper proposes and analyzes a political theory based on the axioms that people have rights to themselves and that all persons have equal rights to natural opportunities. One result is that constitutions based on actual consent become possible.
Paper	<u>The Effect of Early Experiences on Delayed Kindergarten Entry</u> <i>Stacey L. Buckshaw, University of Akron</i> Overview: This study examines child and family characteristics and early child care experiences that determine how early a child enters kindergarten. Policy implications related to early childhood education are discussed.	Disc.	G. Patrick Lynch, Liberty Fund Linda M. G. Zerilli, Northwestern University
Paper	<u>Race, Medicine and Social Justice: The Case of BiDiI</u> <i>Sara R. Jordan, Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Using the case study of BiDiI for the targeted treatment of heart-failure among African-Americans, we assess competing models of social justice to probe the benefits and problems of race-conscious medical practice.	28-7	<u>FAMILY AND FREEDOM</u>
Disc.	Terry S. Weiner, Union College	Room	TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
27-7	<u>RECONSIDERING ARENDT</u>	Chair	Joanna V. Scott, Eastern Michigan University
Room	TBA, Fri 1:45 pm	Paper	<u>A Black Feminist Account of the Equal Protection Clause</u> <i>Eleanor B. Fleming, Vanderbilt University</i> Overview: Faced with racial, gender, and class oppression, Black feminist theorist-activists challenge the principle of nondiscrimination and recast the Equal Protection Clause with a combined understanding of equal citizenship and equal political agency.
Chair	Charles J. Helm, Western Illinois University	Paper	<u>Conjugal Contracts: The Romance Between the Modern State and Marriage</u> <i>Claire E. Rasmussen, University of Delaware</i> Overview: This paper considers the relationship between the development of the public and private spheres within the modern state through an examination of theoretical understandings of marriage.
Paper	<u>The Structure of Public Space</u> <i>Jonas Brodin, California College of the Arts</i> Overview: This paper looks at the history of the term "public space" to see how the conception of both the metaphorical and literal use of the term has evolved.	Paper	<u>The City and the Soul-Mate: John Stuart Mill's Modern, Liberal Family</u> <i>Scott Yenor, Boise State University</i> Overview: Mill criticizes the family of his world as the locus of oppression and illiberalism, and he believes that liberalizing the family will introduce profound liberalizing effects in politics.
Paper	<u>Discoursing on Method in the Space of Appearances</u> <i>Laura D. Ephraim, Northwestern University</i> Overview: Arendt's critique of the political "event" of science holds promise for democratic theory beyond post-positivist critiques of method. This paper asks whether method itself could be viewed as a political event, by engaging Descartes' <i>Discourse</i> .	Disc.	Claire E. Rasmussen, University of Delaware Penny Weiss, Purdue University
Paper	<u>Sovereignty and Democracy: Critique and Reconstruction</u> <i>Ian R. Zuckerman, Columbia University</i> Overview: This paper traces the roots of democratic theory's disenchantment with sovereignty in the work of Hannah Arendt.	28-8	<u>FOUCAULT AND THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION</u>
Paper	<u>Virtue and Virtuosity: The Political Status of the Family in the Thought of Aristotle and Arendt</u> <i>Benjamin T. Lundgren, Michigan State University</i> Overview: Aristotle and Arendt understand the political role of the family as key to determining how citizens come to understand freedom, virtue, and justice. Each emphasizes different aspects of this dynamic, yet their final conclusions are not so far apart.	Room	TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Disc.	Charles J. Helm, Western Illinois University Emily C. Nacol, University of Chicago	Chair	Marcelo I. Hoffman, University of Denver
		Paper	<u>Iranians and Greeks: On Afary and Anderson on Foucault</u> <i>Richard A. Lynch, DePauw University</i> Overview: Foucault and the Iranian Revolution situates his journalism about Iran in a context of both earlier and later work, arguing that "Orientalism" motivates his interest in both Iran and ancient Greece. This paper raises questions about this view.
		Paper	<u>The Sexual Nature of this Festival of Death: Foucault's Exoticist Necropolitics</u> <i>Danny Postel, Open Democracy Magazine</i> Overview: In their book on Foucault's Iran writings, Janet Afary and Kevin Anderson have excavated a fascinating and troubling

chapter in Foucault's intellectual odyssey, one surrounded by controversy.

Paper **Reading Foucault and the Iranian Revolution**
Mahnaz Yousefzadeh, *New York University*
 Overview: This paper will look at various readings, misreading, connections and disconnections that run throughout Afary and Anderson's Foucault and the Iranian Revolution, which contains the correspondences, and the authors commentary on these texts.

Disc. **Saoud El Mawla**, *Earlham College*
Kevin B. Anderson, *Purdue University*
Janet Afary, *Purdue University*

29-3 **CONFLICT, WAR, AND DEMOCRACY**
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair **James R. Muir**, *University of Winnipeg*
Paper **Ruminations of War: Thinking About Through War Literature**
Wayne S. LeCheminant, *Loyola Marymount University*
 Overview: This paper presents a discussion about the ways in which war is thought about, discussed and framed in war literature.

Paper **Just War Theory and the International Community: A 21st Century Standard?**
Steven P. Millies, *University of South Carolina, Aiken*
 Overview: This paper explores the questions asked by historic just war theory and seeks to discern how international institutions such as the United Nations or the Organization of American States serve to answer them today.

Paper **Democracy and Disengagement: Israel's Debate over the Gaza Withdrawal**
Steven V. Mazie, *Bard High School Early College*
 Overview: I analyze an extraordinary public debate over the nature of democracy that erupted in the wake of Israel's decision to withdraw from the Gaza Strip in August 2005.

Paper **Not Out of Sight But Out of Mind: The Hidden Hazards of Open Secrets**
Thomas C. Ellington, *Wesleyan College*
 Overview: Official secrecy presents significant problems for accountability, legitimacy and trust. Even if information is publicly available, treating it as if it were secret tends for foreclose public debate and create an unjustifiable aura of mystery.

Paper **Individuals, Collective Agents, and Freedom from Poverty as a Human Right**
Jennifer C. Rubenstein, *Princeton University*
 Overview: Recent research suggests that it is more expensive to save lives in war-zones than in more peaceful contexts. Under what conditions are agents justified in sacrificing cost-effectiveness in order to aid victims of intentional, violent, harm?

Disc. **Troy A. Kozma**, *Wilfrid Laurier University*
Gerald Doppelt, *University of California, San Diego*

30-9 **FORMAL THEORIES OF ALTRUISM AND FAIRNESS**
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair **Scott E. Page**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Paper **Functional Unpleasantness: The Evolutionary Logic of a Righteous Resentment**
William B. Heller, *Binghamton University*
Katri K. Sieberg, *Binghamton University*
 Overview: Observed results of divide-the-dollar ultimatum games, where participants turn down profitable but "unfair" divisions, do not jibe with accepted assumptions of rationality.

Paper **Why We Care About Others: Deriving Social Utility Function**
Oleg Smirnov, *University of Miami*
 Overview: According to the concept of a social utility function, an individual receives positive utility from payoffs to others. I create a formal evolutionary model, in which a formula for social utility function is not assumed but found endogeneously.

Paper **Altruism and Voting**
Chris Dawes, *University of California, Davis*
 Overview: This paper tests the link between utilitarian preferences and voting. We find that utilitarian preferences do significantly explain voting. We fail to find evidence of a significant positive relationship between Rawlsian preferences and turnout.

Disc. **Scott E. Page**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

31-4 **ADVANCED MODELS OF VOTING (Co-sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 19-20)**
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair TBA
Paper **Detecting Attempted Election Theft**
Walter R. Mebane, *Cornell University*
 Overview: I consider statistical methods to detect election fraud using, alternately, precinct level data and ballot image data with information about the machine on which each ballot was cast. I illustrate the methods using data from recent America elections

Paper **Regression Discontinuity in the Context of Voter Mobilization**
David Nickerson, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: TBA

Paper **Explaining (in)Complete Preference Rankings versus Explaining Stated Party Choice: The Role of Expectations**
Susumu Shikano, *University of Mannheim*
Paul Thurner, *University of Mannheim*
Michael Herrmann, *University of Mannheim*
 Overview: We identify incongruities between stated party preference and stated vote choice and show that they are significantly induced by expectations. We apply so-called exploded logit models for the explanation of (in)complete preference rankings.

Paper **Analysis of Voteshares Across Party Systems**
James Honaker, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: Three problems complicate the analysis of voteshares; the same parties do not contest elections 1) across districts, 2) across time, or 3) across countries. Adding a model of the policy space to estimate substitution effects presents a solution.

Disc. **Jonathan Wand**, *Stanford University*

32-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PARTIES AND THE WELFARE STATE**
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Presenter **Globalization, Party Positions, and the Welfare State**
Chad Haddal, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: I outline the mechanism by which activists and party leaders will over time push party ideal points to reflect the interests of abundant factor coalitions or scarce factors of production in advanced industrial countries.

32-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: INTELLECTUALS, IDEAS, AND PARTIES IN AMERICAN POLITICS**
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Presenter **The Coalition Merchants: How Ideologues Shape Parties in American Politics**
Hans Noel, *Princeton University*
 Overview: This paper argues that ideologies are central in shaping party coalitions. I compare ideological measures of political thinkers and of legislators and show that intellectuals often organize issues into a political dimension before parties do.

33-5 **PRESIDENTIAL MANAGEMENT OF THE BUREAUCRACY**
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair **Karen M. Hult**, *Virginia Polytechnic Institute/State University*
Paper **Executive Politics and Smoking in Federal Buildings**
Daniel M. Cook, *University of California, San Francisco*
Lisa A. Bero, *University of California, San Francisco*
 Overview: The tobacco document archive provides unique insight into the development of an executive order, which in this case included interagency politics and considerable input from interest groups
Paper **Presidential Transitions: The Shaping and Reshaping of the Federal Regulatory Agenda**
Anne M. Joseph, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: This project examines how changes in presidential administrations shift regulatory agendas of agencies, engaging debates concerning which institutions hold the most power over administrative agencies.
Paper **Implementing EMS in the Bureaucracy: The Case of Executive Order 13148**
Justin A. Tucker, *University of Kansas*
 Overview: This paper investigates the adoption and implementation of environmental management systems in the bureaucracy as mandated by Executive Order 13148. Convergence on one EMS type is discussed in context of organizational and external pressure.
Disc. **Constantine J. Spiliotes**, *Saint Anselm College*

34-8 **EXAMINING PARTISANSHIP IN LEGISLATURES**
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair **Richard L. Hall**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Paper **Institutional and Environmental Influences on Legislative Outcomes**
Jennifer H. Clark, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: Using legislative bill histories from the U.S. Congress as well as state legislative chambers, this research investigates the institutional and environmental factors that shape who wins and who loses in legislatures.
Paper **Testing for the Effect of Party in the Senate: the Jeffords' Switch**
Cary R. Covington, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: I use Senator Jeffords' party switch in 2001 to construct a natural experiment that tests for the effects of party institutional control on the legislative process and outcomes.
Paper **Explaining Parliamentary Dimensionality through Institutions**
Martin Hansen, *Aarhus University, Denmark*
 Overview: The dimensionality of the parliaments of Denmark, Norway and Ireland from 1945-2005 are estimated using a Bayesian approach for ideal point estimation. The level of dimensionality is explained by the influences of the parliamentary institutions.
Paper **Predicting Individual Party Switchers in the US Congress**
Dylan Rickards, *Louisiana State University*
 Overview: I argue we should be able to predict when members of Congress are going to switch parties by looking at the potential motivations for the switch. Measures of electoral risk, ideology and advancement potential are all used to predict this behavior.
Paper **Agenda Setting, Clout and Logrolls in the U.S. House**
Henry A. Kim, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: Congressional parties primarily seek to facilitate bargaining among their members. Majority party advantage lies in greater opportunities for deal-making among its members relative to the minority provided by the institutions of the US House.
Disc. **Matthew N. Green**, *Catholic University of America*

34-17 **AGENDA CHANGE ACROSS TIME**
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair **Scott Ainsworth**, *University of Georgia*
Paper **Matters of Life and Death: The Durability of Discretionary Programs in the Post-War Era**
William G. Howell, *Harvard University*
Christopher Berry, *University of Chicago*
Barry Burden, *Harvard University*
 Overview: Using a comprehensive dataset of federal discretionary programs, this paper tests a simple theory that identifies the conditions under which a sitting Congress is most likely to kill a program that its members have inherited from prior Congresses.
Paper **Agenda Change and Party Polarization in the U.S. Senate, 1976-2003**
Frances E. Lee, *University of Maryland*
 Overview: Has a changing policy agenda contributed to the dramatic rise in partisanship in Congress? A new measure of substantive agenda content is used to model the effect of agenda change on congressional polarization.
Paper **Legislative Rhetoric and Policy Agendas**
Burt L. Monroe, *Michigan State University*
Kevin Quinn, *Harvard University*
Michael Colaresi, *Michigan State University*
Dragomir Radev, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Steven Abney, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Michael Crespín, *Michigan State University*
Jacob Balazer, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: We extend the analysis of American policy agendas (Baumgartner and Jones) through the development and application of a new method (dynamic latent Dirichlet allocation) and new (massive) data on Congressional rhetoric.
Disc. **Glen S. Krutz**, *University of Oklahoma*

35-1 **LEGISLATIVE RESPONSIVENESS IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE**
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair **Brad T. Gomez**, *University of South Carolina*
Paper **Competition, Representation and Subconstituencies**
Benjamin G. Bishin, *University of Miami*
 Overview: Research shows that increased competition does not enhance legislative responsiveness. This paper examines whether competition enhances responsiveness to subconstituencies within the district or state.
Paper **Read My Lips: Senatorial Promises and Performance**
Kristin L. Campbell, *McKendree College*
 Overview: This paper will examine the promises made by 27 successful Senate candidates across three elections (1998, 2000, and 2002) in an effort to understand the conditions under which candidates are likely to attempt to fulfill their campaign promises.
Paper **Read My Lips: Senatorial Promises and Performance**
Kristin L. Campbell, *McKendree College*
 Overview: TBA
Paper **Campaign Promises and Environmental Policy Choices in the US Senate**
Evan J. Ringquist, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
Milena Neshkova, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: This paper examines the relationship between the campaign promises of U.S. Senators and their post election policy choices, and whether campaign promises provide unique information to prospective voters in Senate elections.
Paper **Electoral Signals and Strategic Legislative Voting in Multi-Level System**
JeongHun Han, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: The paper presents a theoretical model of representatives strategic voting behavior under a multi-level party system in response to electoral signals.

Paper **Campaign Ad Images as Signals About Legislative Voting Behavior**
Tracy Sulkin, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
Nathaniel Swigger, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: We explore whether the images used in winning congressional candidates' campaign ads serve as a useful heuristic to citizens interested in how a legislator will vote on a particular set of issues in Congress.

Disc. **Jeffrey D. Grynawski**, *University of Chicago*

36-17 **CONGRESS, COURTS, AND THE SEPARATION OF POWERS**

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Chair **Shannon I. Smithey**, *Westminster College*

Paper **Separation of Powers Revisited: Congressional-Court Interaction**

Michael A. Bailey, *Georgetown University*

Forrest Maltzman, *George Washington University*

Overview: Using a newly developed measure of Court-Congressional preferences, we explore the question of whether Congress is able to constrain the behavior of the Court.

Paper **Jurisdiction Stripping: Structure and Congressional Control of the Courts**

Dawn M. Chutkow, *Cornell University*

Overview: In a challenge to positive political theory models, findings from this study reveal that common institutional concerns, particularly federal court caseloads, influence congressional removals of court jurisdiction, but ideology does not.

Paper **Supreme Court and Congress: Another Look**

Roman Ivanchenko, *The Ohio State University*

Overview: This paper argues that the interaction between Congress and the Supreme Court in constitutional cases can be better understood by considering non-ideological preferences and the impact of the Court on congressional choices.

Paper **Attacks on Judges and the Search for Judicial Legitimacy**

Amy Steigerwalt, *University of New Orleans*

Overview: This paper examines how public and congressional attacks on the judiciary affect interbranch relations and judicial independence.

Disc. **Kirk A. Randazzo**, *University of Kentucky*

36-18 **THE DIFFUSION OF PRECEDENT**

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Chair **William L. Gillespie**, *Kennesaw State University*

Paper **Spatial Dependence and the Diffusion of Precedent**

Scott Comparato, *Southern Illinois University*

Overview: Little is known about the diffusion of precedent throughout the judicial hierarchy. This is not to suggest that researchers have ignored the relationship between the various courts in the American judicial system.

Paper **Cites Unseen: The US Supreme Court and the Global Judicial Dialogue**

Daniel London, *University of Pittsburgh*

Overview: How can we explain the fact that the Supreme Court is largely sitting on the sidelines while courts in many other advanced democracies are increasingly engaged in a global dialogue in the course of their judicial decision-making?

Paper **Is there Consistency in Constitutional Comparativism?**

Kaitlyn L. Sill, *Louisiana State University*

Stephen Routh, *California State University, Stanislaus*

Overview: This paper evaluates the consistency with which the Supreme Court employs constitutional comparativism in its decisions by looking at which countries and international organizations the Court references, across what issues, and how from 1995 to 2003.

Paper **Policy in the Courts: Applying PET to Judicial Decisions**

Amanda L. Wilsker, *Georgia State University*

Tammy E. Wilsker, *Georgia State University*

Overview: Given the ability of the judicial branch to create and modify policy, this paper examines the possibility of merging hypotheses from a public policy making theory (PET) with the convergence theory, already extended to judicial decision making.

Disc. **Sara C. Benesh**, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*

John Szmer, *University of Missouri, Kansas City*

37-5 **JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS AND JUDICIAL SUPREMACY**

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Chair **Kevin M. Wagner**, *Florida Atlantic University*

Paper **The Filibuster, Median Senator and Countermajoritarian Difficulty**

John O. McGinnis, *Northwestern University*

Michael B. Rappaport, *University of San Diego*

Overview: This essay explores the effects of the judicial filibuster, arguing that it will result in more moderate judges and will mitigate the countermajoritarian difficulty. It also explores the implications of the filibuster for stealth nominees.

Paper **Legislating From the Bench: A Typology and Defense of A Maligned Concept**

Bruce G. Peabody, *Fairleigh Dickinson University*

Overview: This project challenges and refutes one of the unexamined precepts governing federal judicial appointments, the view that a preeminent selection criterion for nominees should be their abhorrence of the practice of "legislating from the bench."

Paper **Secrets, Lies, and Constitutional Politics**

Terri L. Peretti, *Santa Clara University*

Overview: Graber suggests that we examine how courts enhance or thwart democracy. Unfortunately, we find today considerable deceit in constitutional politics, particularly in the farcical selection process.

Paper **Judicial Supremacy**

Kenneth Ward, *Texas State University*

Overview: In considering judicial supremacy, we treat disagreement as an illness to be cured rather than managed. We do not consider how well political institutions minimize the impact that fights about the Constitution have on our broader political life.

Disc. **Scott E. Lemieux**, *Hunter College, CUNY*

39-7 **ELECTORAL IMPACT ON LAND USE AND DEVELOPMENT**

Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm

Chair **Roy McClendon, Jr.**, *Georgia Military College*

Paper **All Politics is Local: An Evaluation of Wal-Mart's Use of the Referendum**

Susan L. Shaler, *University of California, San Diego*

Overview: I survey current and former Wal-Mart executives and analyze case studies to evaluate corporate political strategies, including use of referenda. Political scientists gain new insights into the firm as a political actor in the democratic process.

Paper **Local Conservation: Downshifting the Growth Machine**

Tara Blanc, *Arizona State University*

Barbara C. McCabe, *Arizona State University*

Overview: Growth machine theories cannot explain conservation measures' success in local elections. We propose and test a theory of local conservation that considers local conditions, state constraints and the ballot measures' characteristics.

Disc. **Lana Stein**, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*

40-5	<u>FISCAL POLICY: REGULATING CORPORATE ACCOUNTING AND CURRENCY</u>	41-2	<u>GENDER AND SOCIAL POLICY</u>
Room	TBA, Fri 1:45 pm	Room	TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair	Paul E. Teske, <i>University of Colorado, Denver</i>	Chair	Susan Johnson, <i>University of Wisconsin, Whitewater</i>
Paper	<u>Capitalization on Fear and the Culture of Paranoia: The Aftermath of Sarbanes-Oxley in the Era of Corporate Accountability</u> Katherine E. Cartwright, <i>King Pharmaceuticals, Inc.</i> Overview: This paper investigates the connection between the public demand for increased corporate accountability and the effects that said demand and its resulting legislation, the Sarbanes-Oxley Act of 2002, have generated.	Paper	<u>Privatizing A Promise: Social Security Reform and African American Women</u> DeAunderia Bryant-Day, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: Although a race and gender-neutral program, due to certain demographic trends, African American women rely more heavily on Social Security for their retirement income than do whites of either sex or men of color.
Paper	<u>The Political Economy of Accounting Regulation</u> Renee J. Johnson, <i>University of Florida</i> Overview: My paper develops a political economic explanation of the creation and passage of the Sarbanes-Oxley Act of 2002 as well as its effects on the marketplace.	Paper	<u>Polygamy, Polyamory, and Policy</u> Deirdre Golash, <i>American University</i> Overview: This paper considers the arguments for and against polyamory (multiple committed sexual relationships) and the viability of state recognition of polyamorous marriages, arguing that moral objections fail but state recognition is infeasible.
Paper	<u>The End of Argentina's Currency Board and the Role of Fiscal Policy</u> Gabriel M. Leonardo, <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: The article analyzes the validity of two statements that have been offered as supporting evidence of the hypothesis of a fiscal cause in the economic crisis of 2001.	Paper	<u>Are Social Welfare Programs Pro-Life? A Study of Low-Income Mothers</u> Laura S. Hussey, <i>University of Maryland, College Park</i> Overview: Do social welfare programs decrease abortions among low-income women? Findings may have implications for social welfare politics and the pro-life but fiscally conservative Republican coalition.
Disc.	Paul E. Teske, <i>University of Colorado, Denver</i>	Disc.	Mary Ann E. Steger, <i>Northern Arizona University</i> Celeste M. Montoya Kirk, <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i>
40-20	<u>WHAT EVERY STATE WANTS: ECONOMIC GROWTH AND LOW LABOR COSTS</u>	42-11	<u>ELECTORAL INSTITUTIONS, ECONOMY AND POLICY, AND VOTING</u>
Room	TBA, Fri 1:45 pm	Room	TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair	Mark Cassell, <i>Kent State University</i>	Chair	Brian J. Gaines, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i>
Paper	<u>The Creative Class Meets Empirical Analysis</u> Michele M. Hoyman, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Chris G. Faricy, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: This paper is an empirical test of Richard Florida's thesis regarding the link of the creative class influx into an urban area and that area's economic growth. We test this using time-series data from the census and GSS to determine directionality.	Paper	<u>Competency Signals in a Crowded Political Context</u> Raymond M. Duch, <i>University of Houston</i> Randy Stevenson, <i>Rice University</i> Overview: Context matters for how voters respond politically to economic policy outcomes because it influences the number of elected versus non-elected decision makers associated with policy outcomes which in turn shapes beliefs about the competency signal.
Paper	<u>Testing the Social Consequences of Declining State Labor Costs, 1980-2000</u> Susan B. Hansen, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: Pooled time-series regression is used to analyze recent trends in American state labor costs, on poverty, crime, and voter turnout. Cuts in wages and benefits significantly increase the risk of adverse social and political outcomes.	Paper	<u>Issues and Voting: A Cross-Country Analysis</u> Ana L. De La O, <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Jonathan Rodden, <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Overview: Using survey data for nineteen European and Latin American countries, we test the assumption that vote choices are shaped by preferences over a single economic issue dimension that is highly correlated with income.
Paper	<u>Veto Points and Economic Performance in the American States</u> Matthew Beverlin, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: This manuscript examines the relationship between political veto points, credible commitments, and state economic performance. The results suggest that a higher number of credible political veto points do improve a state's economic performance.	Paper	<u>Term Limits and Selection Effects in US State Elections</u> James E. Alt, <i>Harvard University</i> Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Shanna S. Rose, <i>SUNY, Stony Brook</i> Overview: We compare retrospective voting models including adverse selection to those of pure moral hazard. We expect structural breaks in "ability" at the point where a state changes from one-term to two-term limits in gubernatorial elections.
Paper	<u>Effects of Electoral and Policy Uncertainties on Long-Term Economic Growth</u> Slava Mikhailov, <i>Trinity College, University of Dublin</i> Overview: The paper provides empirical tests for the effects of policy preferences of political parties on growth enhancing policies for OECD parliamentary democracies between 1970 and 2000.	Paper	<u>Preference Voting, Electoral Accountability, and Corruption</u> Daniel M. Kselman, <i>Duke University</i> Overview: This paper analyzes a game-theoretic model relating ELECTORAL RULES to POLITICAL CORRUPTION, demonstrating the seminal importance an INTRA-PARTY PREFERENCE VOTE. It then tests and confirms the model on a cross-section of 62 contemporary democracies.
Paper	<u>Policy Entrepreneurs and Economic Development in North Dakota Cities</u> Robert S. Wood, <i>University of North Dakota</i> Overview: A study of policy entrepreneurs and their impact on local economic development choices among rural cities and towns in North Dakota. Also an empirical test of Mintrom's characteristics of a policy entrepreneur.	Disc.	Christina Gathmann, <i>Stanford University</i> Brian J. Gaines, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i>
Disc.	Mark Cassell, <i>Kent State University</i>		

43-6
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair J. Kevin Corder, *Western Michigan University*
Paper **Outside Participation and OMB Review of Agency Regulations**
 Steven J. Balla, *George Washington University*
 Jennifer M. Deets, *George Washington University*
 Overview: We examine the influence of outside parties on the time it takes the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) to complete its reviews of executive branch regulations, as well as on the outcomes of these reviews.

Paper **The Nature of Bureaucratic Injustice and the Possibility of Implementing Institutional Remedies**
 Larry B. Hill, *University of Oklahoma*
 Overview: The paper argues that bureaucratic injustice is a prevalent political phenomenon, explores the nature of bureaucratic injustice, and examines such institutions as ombudsmen, inspectors general, and mediators that are proposed to remedy injustices.

Paper **Is Cost-Benefit Analysis Neutral?**
 David M. Driesen, *Syracuse University*
 Overview: This paper reviews the Office of Management and Budget's positions in rulemaking reviews to evaluate whether cost-benefit analysis leads to neutrality toward regulations. It asks whether OMB consistently sought to weaken regulation.

Paper **State Government Administrative Responsiveness to Federal Performance Evaluation**
 Lael R. Keiser, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
 Donald Gooch, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
 Peter Mueser, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
 Deanna Sharpe, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
 Overview: Using data from the Workforce Investment Act, we explore whether federal evaluation criteria causes street level workers to alter policy decisions in ways that are inconsistent with policy goals.

Disc. Ethan M. Bernick, *University of North Texas*

44-7
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair Ruth O'Brien, *CUNY Graduate Center*
Paper **Prelude to Populism: Third Party Voting Behavior in the Nineteenth Century**
 Samuel J. DeCanio, *The Ohio State University*
 Corwin D. Smidt, *The Ohio State University*
 Overview: Using individual-level data from the 1870's, we examine who voted for agrarian third parties. We find these voters lacked ethnic or religious identification with a major party, were employed in non-agrarian jobs, and owned considerable wealth.

Paper **The Agrarian Reform Faction and the Democratic Party, 1893-1914**
 Daniel DiSalvo, *University of Virginia*
 Overview: This paper offers a systematic analysis national intra-party "factions" within the Democratic Party from 1890 to 1914. It explains how factions shaped the Democratic Party's reputation, policymaking and presidential-congressional relations.

Paper **The Laboratories of Reform: American State Government and Fiscal Innovations in the Progressive Era**
 Ajay K. Mehrotra, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: Throughout American history, state governments have often led the way with innovative policy reforms. This paper examines the role that state governments played in establishing direct and graduated taxes during the Progressive Era.

Disc. Ruth O'Brien, *CUNY Graduate Center*

47-10
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair Mary Segers, *Rutgers University*
Paper **Catholic NGOs: Impact of the 1995 Referendum on Divorce in Ireland**
 Matthew T. Bradley, *Indiana University, Kokomo*
 Karl Besel, *Indiana University, Kokomo*
 Overview: Examines patterns of change in Ireland that led to the 1995 Referendum on Divorce, and how the referendum is indicative of the changing role of the Catholic Church. The article addresses some implications for public policy in Ireland.

Paper **The Jesuits and Politics Today: Religious Techniques for Social Change**
 Peter C. Bisson, *Campion College at the University of Regina*
 Overview: The Jesuits, a large Catholic religious order, have become systematically committed to justice and social transformation. This has made them in some sense political, by transposing traditional Christian religious practices into social forms.

Paper **Thomism and Liberalism in Twentieth-Century Catholic Ethics**
 Elizabeth Agnew Cochran, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: An assessment of twentieth-century Catholic attempts to draw together the Thomistic natural law tradition with the tradition of political liberalism. Particular focus on the work of Michael Novak, Paul Weithman, and John Rawls.

Disc. Ted G. Jelen, *DePauw University*

47-205
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Presenter **Are All Civic Engagement Groups Created Equally?**
 Caroline M. Nordlund, *Brown University*
 Overview: MThis paper examines the role that multi-racial churches play in influencing congregant political behavior.

47-206
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Presenter **Social Science Approaches to Buddhism in Sri Lanka and Their Alternatives**
 John F. Mensing, *University of Peradeniya*
 Overview: Indigenous conceptions of religion and politics in country-region.

Presenter **Neither Lokiva nor Lokutta: Notes Towards a Politics of Theravada Buddhist Monks**
 Thomas A. Borchert, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: This paper is an exploration of the political options open to Theravada Buddhist monks of Southeast Asia. Although these monks are constrained legally and religiously from overt political actions, in fact they are deeply political.

48-2
Room TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
Chair S. Suzan J. Harkness, *University of the District of Columbia*
Paper **Podcasting: Emerging Media and Its Utility for Teaching and Learning**
 S. Suzan J. Harkness, *University of the District of Columbia*
 Overview: This paper assesses podcasting and its utility in academia. The paper will discuss many of the current uses in higher education as well as briefly discuss the ease of utilizing emerging media to enhance teaching and students learning opportunities.

Paper **Moving the Political Science Curriculum Online: Impressions of a Case Study**
 Jeffrey Sadow, *Louisiana State University, Shreveport*
 Overview: Examines issues involved in offering a political science degree online; of instruction, course subject matter, and of characteristics of students involved.

- Paper** **Active Learning with Technology**
Lynn D. Nelson, *Virginia Commonwealth University*
 Overview: In this presentation I illustrate approaches for using technology to facilitate active learning, from live online message board interaction to online audio enhancement and technology enabled collaborative learning exercises.
- Disc.** **Scott R. Furlong**, *University of Wisconsin, Green Bay*
- 51-102** **ROUNDTABLE: LGBT AND RACIAL/ETHNIC POLITICS: WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM EACH OTHER?**
- Room** TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
- Panelist** **LGBT and Racial/Ethnic Politics: What Can We Learn From Each Other?**
Cathy J. Cohen, *University of Chicago*
Dorian T. Warren, *University of Chicago*
Dara Z. Strolovitch, *University of Minnesota*
Ruth N. Brown, *University of Illinois*
Jeff Edwards, *Roosevelt University*
 Overview: What can students of LGBT politics learn from students of Racial and Ethnic politics? What can students of Racial and Ethnic Politics learn from students of LGBT politics? This roundtable will discuss and offer insights into these questions.
- 57-2** **GENDER AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP: WOMEN'S ISSUE AGENDAS AND POLICY OUTCOMES (Co-sponsored with Gender and Politics, see 25-17)**
- Room** TBA, Fri 1:45 pm
- Chair** **Celeste Montoya Kirk**, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
- Paper** **Leaders or Followers? Regional Women's Policy Agencies in Spain and Poland**
Meg E. Rincker, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Candice Ortals, *Pepperdine University*
 Overview: This paper extends the literature on national-level women's agencies, examining whether women's agencies at the sub-national level promote women's representation, in Spain and Poland.
- Paper** **Work and Family: Women's Issue or Issue?**
Heidi M. Berggren, *University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth*
 Overview: This paper asks if women's efforts at the state level to expand on the popular Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 have begun to help redefine work-family as an issue directly relevant to both women's and men's lives.
- Paper** **Women's Movements Under Democratic Transitions**
Petra Hejnova, *Syracuse University*
 Overview: This paper comparatively examines when and under what conditions women mobilize in democratizing countries. Drawing on social movement theory, it considers the role of leadership, political opportunities, issue framing and available resources.
- Paper** **Defining the Women's Issue Agenda**
Kimberly B. Cowell-Meyers, *American University*
 Overview: What does the women's movement in America stand for today? This study examines the contemporary agenda of prominent women's organizations and tests the influence of women's organizations on public policy in the US states.
- Disc.** **Celeste Montoya Kirk**, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*

Friday, April 21 – 3:45 pm – 5:30 pm

1-103 ROUNDTABLE: PUBLISHING IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm

Chair Lee Sigelman, *American Political Science Review*

Panelist John G. Geer, *Journal of Politics*

Jim Johnson, *Perspectives on Politics*

Andrew Polsky, *Polity*

Marianne C. Stewart, *American Journal of Political Science*

Overview: Editors of the Discipline's major, general interest journals discuss editorial policies and practices, as well as strategies for successful submission.

2-8 TO VOTE OR NOT -- INSTITUTIONS, MOBILIZATION AND EDUCATION

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm

Chair Christopher H. Achen, *Princeton University*

Paper Comparing Multi-level Voter Participating Using Ecological Data

Soren R. Thomsen, *Aarhus University, Denmark*

Overview: The paper presents a comparative study of multi-level voter participation in several industrialized countries using ecological data on voter returns and census statistics.

Paper A Comparative Analysis of Variation in Turnout by Education

Jonathan Nagler, *New York University*

Melanie Goodrich, *New York University*

Overview: We use the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) to compare how educational attainment impacts the likelihood that an eligible individual will cast a ballot in an election across nations.

Paper Differential Turnout in Multi-level Electoral Contests--The Irish Case

Richard Sinnott, *University College, Dublin*

Overview: This paper outlines a facilitation-mobilization framework for the study of turnout and assesses its utility in the Irish case using data from marked electoral registers, pseudo panel data, and data from a large cross-section survey (N=24,556).

Paper Exploring the Turnout Gap in the UK: Evidence From Precinct-Level Data

Michael A. Thrasher, *University of Plymouth*

Colin S. Rallings, *University of Plymouth*

Scott Orford, *University of Cardiff*

Galina Borisjuk, *University of Plymouth*

Overview: The turnout gap for UK general, European and local elections is the largest of any industrialized country. Precinct-level social, political and spatial characteristics are used to explore varying levels of voter participation.

Paper Differential Turnout in Multi-level Electoral Contests--The American Case

Christopher H. Achen, *Princeton University*

Michael J. Hanmer, *Georgetown University*

Overview: This paper studies American midterm and presidential turnout. The standard quadratic-in-age specifications are shown to have poor forecasting properties. Successful theory-based methodological techniques are proposed in their place.

Disc. Jeffrey A. Karp, *Texas Tech University*

2-10 WELFARE, REPRESENTATION AND TURNOUT

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm

Chair Stephanie J. Rickard, *Pennsylvania State University*

Paper Income Skew and Loss, Transfers and Insurance, and Voting: Theory and Empirical Model

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

Overview: Income skew and risk of loss imply different relations of median demand to redistribution and insurance. Both may also affect participation, which affects those policies. The resulting system is explored formal-theoretically and estimated empirically.

Paper Median Voters, Welfare, and the Declining Significance of Left Parties

Steve B. Lem, *Binghamton University*

Overview: I present a model linking the median voter to partisanship and welfare policies in an attempt to address the debate over the relevance of left and right parties in the era of retrenchment.

Paper Tentative: Welfare Spending and Democracy

Eunju Kang, *Claremont Graduate University*

Overview: I will update this brief overview later when I have more specific empirical results .

Paper Welfare to Vote: The Effect of Government Spending on Turnout

Sara B. Hobolt, *University of Oxford*

Robert Klemmensen, *University of Southern Denmark*

Overview: This paper analyzes the effect of welfare spending on voter turnout. Employing multi-level analyses of CSES survey data from 60 elections, we examine how welfare spending affects individual-level patterns of electoral participation.

Disc. Stephanie J. Rickard, *Pennsylvania State University*

3-12 TOWARDS INCLUSIVE CITIZENSHIP IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm

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

Paper The Political Economy of Women's Support for Fundamentalist Islam

Lisa Blaydes, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Drew Linzer, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: Why do women in Muslim countries support Islamic political movements that promote gender-based inequalities? Cross-national survey analysis reveals economic motivations for the political preferences of Muslim women, an understudied group.

Paper Political Legitimacy in a Middle East Monarchical Context: A Comparative Study of Morocco and Jordan

Mohamed Daadaoui, *University of Oklahoma*

Overview: The paper suggests a larger framework for political legitimacy within the religious/symbolic realm. Morocco and Jordan have relied on their religious and tribal capital to build a symbolic space for political legitimacy.

Paper The Importance of Divergent Strategies in Turkish Labor History, 1960-1980

Brian Mello, *University of Washington*

Overview: Why did the two union confederations that dominated Turkish state-labor relations in the 1960s and 1970s pursued divergent political strategies. The importance of these differences for Turkish politics and recent events in the US is considered.

Paper State and Activation of the Religious Cleavage in Turkey and Indonesia

Yusuf Sarfati, *The Ohio State University*

Ambordi Kuskidridho, *The Ohio State University*

Overview: We examine how the religious cleavage has been activated in post-1980 Turkey and post-1990 Indonesia by tracing the cultural, educational, and legal policy changes implemented by secular state elites in Turkey (1983-1991) and in Indonesia (1990-1997).

Paper Battles Over Belonging: Citizenship in Egypt

Pamela Stumpo, *University of Washington*

Overview: Using Egypt as my main case, my paper focuses on the battles that have raged over whether children of mixed marriages and dual nationals should gain full citizenship rights.

Disc. Amaney A. Jamal, *Princeton University*

3-20 MICRO-FOUNDATIONS OF CIVIL WARS

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm

Chair Rachel M. Gisselquist, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Paper Perpetrators of Genocide: Theory and Evidence from Rwanda

Scott Straus, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Overview: The paper examines participation in genocide and specifically participation in the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. The

- principal evidence for the paper comes from an original survey of more than 200 Rwandan perpetrators.
- Paper** **The Determinants of Insurgent Appeals in Civil War**
Jeremy M. Weinstein, *Stanford University*
Macartan Humphreys, *Columbia University*
 Overview: Drawing on a dataset of randomly sampled ex-combatants and civilians from Sierra Leone, this paper tests hypotheses from the literature on collective action and explores the consequences of recruitment strategies for retention and effectiveness.
- Paper** **Civil-Military Relations and Vulnerability to Civil War**
Naunihal Singh, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: This paper develops and tests a theory linking the history of civil-military relations in a country to the likelihood and duration of a civil war in that country.
- Paper** **Governance Performance of Rebel Groups after Their Military Victory**
Kazuhiro Obayashi, *George Washington University*
 Overview: I conduct a quantitative analysis to test a hypothesis that unitary form (U-form) rebel groups govern a country more effectively than multidivisional form (M-form) rebel groups after their military victory in civil war.
- Paper** **Learning from Adversity: Ethnic Ties and Ethnic Domination**
Ravi Bhavnani, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: This paper specifies a novel framework to explore how rival ethnic groups in one country learn from threats to ethnic kin in a neighboring country and from threats made by nominal rivals at home.
- Disc.** **Scott E. Page**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
- 4-12** **LA BUSQUEDA DEMOCRATICA: ASSESSING PROGRESS IN THE AMERICAS**
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair TBA
Paper **External Actors and Democratic Transitions: The Case of Guyana**
David H. Carwell, *Eastern Illinois University*
 Overview: What strategies can facilitate democratic transitions when an external actor is in a position to exert a "veto" over political decisions made by internal political actors?
- Paper** **Alignment, Dealignment, Volatility and Authoritarian Legacy in South America**
Simone R. Bohn, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: Some aspects of the authoritarian regimes of the 1960s and 1970s survived their formal demise and still play an important role in contemporary party politics in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay. This paper analyzes the key elements of this heritage.
- Paper** **A Theory of Leadership Dynamics in Authoritarian Regimes**
Milan Svolik, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: We study the determinants of tenure of leaders in authoritarian regimes.
- Paper** **The New Role of Subnational Governments in the Federal Policy Process: The Case of Democratic Mexico**
Laura Flamand, *El Colegio de la Frontera Norte*
 Overview: We explore the institutional channels subnational governments have used to further their interests nationally and influence federal policies, thus, revealing the reasons underlying why some governments are more active in this respect than others.
- Paper** **Selective Oversight: Controlling the Bureaucracy in New Democracies**
Alejandra Rios-Cazares, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: Sustainable democracies need legislators able to enforce bureaucratic accountability. I propose a model of strategic interaction between legislators and bureaucrats that uses resource constraints and policy preferences. I test data from Mexico.
- Disc.** **Amy Lauren Lovcraft**, *University of Alaska, Fairbanks*

- 4-103** **ROUNDTABLE: THE ELUSIVE BALLOT BOX: "DEMOCRATIC FILTERS", 1776-2004 - A ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION**
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Carolina Curvale**, *New York University*
Panelist **Tamar Asadurian**, *New York University*
Sunny Kaniyathu, *New York University*
Anjali Thomas, *New York University*
 Overview: Democracies developed legal ways of controlling the outcome of elections other than through the extent of the franchise. We found creative legal exclusions entrenched in the regulation of suffrage for all countries of the world (1776-2004).
- 5-10** **IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION IN EUROPE**
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Gary Freeman**, *University of Texas, Austin*
Paper **Socialization Effects and Immigrants' Political Integration in Germany**
Peter Doerschler, *Loras College*
 Overview: This paper examines the role of socialization effects on the political integration of immigrants in Germany.
- Paper** **Social Ties and Attitudes Toward Immigration in France and Britain**
Jennifer Fitzgerald, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
 Overview: Exploring views on immigration in Britain and France, I argue that there is an explicitly social aspect to citizens' attitudes. I find that the shape and size of individuals' social networks influence their views on immigration.
- Paper** **Religion, Contention, and the State: A Comparative Look at Islamic Mobilization in Western Europe**
Kathryn Lawall, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: Under what conditions do Islamic movements in Western Europe emerge? A neglected research topic within the social movement literature is: under what conditions can we expect a given type of movement to emerge?
- Paper** **Muslim Minorities in France: Integration, Islam, and Secularism**
Eren Tatari, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: This paper analyzes the four theories to explain state accommodation of Muslim minorities in Europe, and proposes a fifth dimension to account for the Islamic variable.
- Disc.** **Claus Hofhansel**, *Rhode Island College*
- 5-21** **THE MAKING OF EUROPE'S CONSTITUTION**
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Martyn de Bruyn**, *St. John Fisher College*
Paper **Europe's Constitutional Treaty in Its Political Context**
Leone Niglia, *University of Aberdeen*
 Overview: This paper re-reads the vicissitudes of the making of Europe's Constitutional Treaty from the vantage point of the multi-regional political tradition that characterizes the making of constitutions in Europe.
- Paper** **Constitutional Bargaining in the European Union: Examining Power and Explaining Outcomes at Europe's Intergovernmental Conferences**
Jonathan B. Slapin, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: This paper uses data from the EU's Treaty of Amsterdam to test competing theories of constitutional bargaining. Sources of power related to spatial models better explain outcomes compared with sources of power related to intergovernmental models.
- Paper** **Self-Identity in Elite and Populist Perspectives on a European Constitution**
Josephine E. Squires, *Fort Hays State University*
 Overview: Limitations of Functionalist Theories of Integration.
- Disc.** **Martyn de Bruyn**, *St. John Fisher College*

6-2
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Mark Pickup**, *University of Oxford*
Paper **Infantilizing Parliament: Governing from the Centre Reconsidered**
Andrew C. Banfield, *University of Calgary*
Anthony M. Sayers, *University of Calgary*
 Overview: The problem of governance in Canada is not the concentration of power in the hands of the executive. Rather, the problem in legislative dialogue is undercut which leads to an 'infantilization' of the parliamentary system.

Paper **Determinants of Ministerial Appointment in Canada 1867-2005**
Matthew Kerby, *Trinity College, Dublin*
 Overview: An event history model is used to examine the causes of first time appointment to the Canadian federal cabinet.

Paper **Party Discipline and the Democratic Deficit**
Eric M. McGhee, *University of Oregon*
Vincent G. Moscardelli, *University of Massachusetts*
 Overview: We examine the 2002 rebellion against Chrétien from the perspective of the U.S. Congress, where party discipline is low. This exercise highlights some underappreciated similarities between the two institutions.

Paper **Uniquely Canadian? Canada's Parties and Party System in Comparative Perspective**
Renan Levine, *University of Toronto*
Jim Farney, *University of Toronto*
 Overview: Why are there so many parties in Canada? We suggest that Canada's party system can be explained by differing appeals to voters and varying motivations to run for federal office.

Disc. **Mark A. Pickup**, *University of Oxford*

7-6
LEGISLATIVE POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Frances E. Lee**, *University of Maryland*
Paper **Majority Dominance or Power-Sharing? Scheduling Rules in the Argentine Legislature**
Natalia Ferretti, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: We focus on the institutions and procedures that determine the scheduling of bills in a legislature and specifically consider control over the legislative agenda in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies.

Paper **Legislator Incentives to Join A Backbench Rebellion to Alter the Congressional Rules of Order: An Experimental Analysis**
Roseanna Michelle Heath, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: This paper, using an experimental methodology, presents and tests a spatial model for the process of altering the rules of order including the intuition behind the actions of party leadership, rebel backbenchers, and median legislators.

Paper **How Bicameral Politics Influence Lawmaking: Pension Reform in Brazil**
Taeko Hiroi, *University of Texas, El Paso*
 Overview: This paper analyzes the impact of bicameral politics on pension reform in Brazil.

Paper **Partisanship and Legislative Behavior in the Argentine Senate**
Hirokazu Kikuchi, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: When do legislators vote against their party lines under the closed-list PR system? To answer this question, I analyzed the legislative behavior of the senators in Argentina using data on roll-call votes between 1983 and 2005.

Paper **New Legislative Politics in Mexico?**
Sergio C. Wals Aparicio, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: After Mexico's transition to democracy, why have legislators not amended the constitution to pursue long-term careers in Congress? My paper examines legislators' preferences about consecutive-terms reelection.

Disc. **Felipe Botero**, *Universidad de los Andes*
Scott Desposato, *University of California, San Diego*

7-201
INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CIVIL MILITARY RELATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Presenter **Political Culture and Military Behavior in 20th Century Latin America**
Riccardo Forte, *Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana*
 Overview: Analysis of the military behavior in Latin America from the perspective of the history of political culture, stressing the importance of domestic factors over international influence in determining coups d'etat in the region during the 20th century.

7-202
INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: REPRESSION AND POLICY IN CUBA
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Presenter **Linking Political Violence and Repressive Policies in Cuba 1930-59**
Dominic M. Beggan, *Lamar University*
 Overview: Political violence results because repression by a state has conflicting effects; violence by the state has a deterrent effect, but also reduces the state's legitimacy and in so doing may ignite a grievance-based insurgency.

Presenter **Jose Marti, Castro and Cuba's Agrarian Policy**
Melissa J. Scheier, *Georgetown College*
 Overview: The purpose of this paper is two-fold. The first purpose is to briefly explain and chronicle the work of Marti. The second purpose is to trace the influence of Marti's thought in Castro's Agrarian policy.

8-8
TOPICS IN ASIAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Wenran Jiang**, *University of Alberta*
Paper **The Sino-Japanese Rivalry: Conflicting Identities and Interests**
Ronald G. Cirillo, *University of Hawaii, Manoa*
 Overview: The chief concern of this paper is to provide an analysis as to how the mutually-reinforcing phenomena of conflicting identities and conflicting interests have caused and are serving to exacerbate the current tensions between China and Japan.

Paper **Is China Actively Supporting the Creation of an Asian Security Community?**
Jin H. Pak, *United States Military Academy at West Point*
Christopher Ustler, *United States Military Academy at West Point*
 Overview: This paper will apply concepts found in scholarly literature regarding security communities and apply it to the changing security dynamics in Asia to determine if an Asian security community is actually developing.

Paper **Containing Nuclear Proliferation and Dilemmas of International Non-Proliferation Regimes. A Comparative Study of South Asia and the Middle East**
Anil Pillai, *University of Cincinnati*
 Overview: Why are non-proliferation agencies like the IAEA selective in their non-proliferation efforts? Why are some countries like Iran and Iraq subject to much international pressure, while other countries like India and Pakistan face fewer constraints.

Paper **Democratization of the PRC and Military Conflict in the Taiwan Strait**
Mario Esteban, *Autonomous University of Madrid*
 Overview: Paper argues that the eventual democratization of Mainland China would not resolve the conflict between Beijing and Taipei. Moreover, political liberalization in the PRC would increase the risk of a military conflict in the Taiwan Strait.

Paper **International Regimes and Perceptions of Equity: China After WTO Accession**
Cecily M. Hurst, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: This paper is a case study of WTO accession related reforms in China and their social impact, examining the conflict

of domestic and international paradigms that occurs when international legal structures are superimposed on the developing world.

Disc. Wenran Jiang, *University of Alberta*

9-1 CONFLICT AND POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm

Chair Adeolu A. Durotoye, *University of Ibadan*

Paper Groups Dynamics During the Rwandan Genocide

Lee Ann Fujii, *George Washington University*

Overview: The paper explains why participation of ordinary people in the Rwandan genocide took place in large groups and how group dynamics helped to sustain the violence over time.

Paper The Security Dilemma and Conflict in Cote d'Ivoire

Matthew Kirwin, *Michigan State University*

Overview: In October of 2002 Cote d'Ivoire fell into a state of near civil war and the situation remains tenuous. The study analyzes the conflict in Cote d'Ivoire through the theoretical framework of the security dilemma.

Paper Great Power Apathy and Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo

Mike Hampson, *University of California, Irvine*

Christopher Balding, *University of California, Irvine*

Overview: International relations theory often takes a very rigid view of the world. There is a tendency by some to explain the world with one theory, and to stick dogmatically to that theory.

Paper Linking Demilitarization and Democratization in Post-Conflict Congo

Osita G. Afoaku, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Overview: This paper examines the origins and motivations of armed groups stationed in the Democratic Republic of Congo with the primary aim of assessing their impact on democratic transition in the country. It concludes with suggestions for sustainable peace.

Disc. TBA

10-4 PARTY INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm

Chair Michael L. Ardivino, *St. Mary's College of Maryland*

Paper The Nature and Sources of Party Divisions in 13 Post-Communist Democracies

Robert Rohrschneider, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Stephen Whitefield, *Oxford University*

Overview: The literature on transitions does not provide a model to evaluate how closely party systems approximate the ideal of democratic consolidation. We develop such a model and examine party divisions among 87 parties in 13 post-communist countries.

Paper Of Time and Partisan Stability Revisited: The Post-Communist Puzzle

Ted Brader, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Joshua Tucker, *Princeton University*

Overview: We find broad support for the contemporary relevance of classic hypotheses about party identification using CSES data from 40 countries, yet not all receive unequivocal support. We explore why patterns in post-communist countries don't always fit.

Paper Party Discipline and Legislative Party Institutionalization in Poland

Natalie A. Kistner, *Denison University*

Overview: Using a combination of surveys of parliamentarians and roll call vote data, I examine the extent to which legislative parties in Poland exhibit attitudes and patterns of behavior indicative of legislative party institutionalization.

Paper Transitioning by Vote: Volatility, Coalitions, and Party Formation

Anthony S. Marcum, *University of Maryland*

Melissa J. Buehler, *Purdue University*

Overview: We demonstrate that coalition parties lose electoral support as fast as or faster than non-coalition parties do. We

explain this by adapting the pre-election coalition literature to include voting behavior theories of post-communist Europe.

Disc. Geoffrey A. Evans, *Oxford University*

11-20 THE PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm

Chair Christopher R. Way, *Cornell University*

Paper Germ Proliferation: A Quantitative Analysis of the Spread of Biological Weapons

Christopher R. Way, *Cornell University*

Maria N. Zaitseva, *Cornell University*

Overview: This paper uses quantitative analysis to test hypotheses about the proliferation of biological weapons programs.

Paper Between Iraq and a Hard Place: UN Arms Inspections and the Politics of Security Council Resolution 1441

Michael Lipson, *Concordia University*

Overview: This paper develops a theoretical account of how the UN Monitoring, Verification, and Inspections Commission (UNMOVIC), and its Executive Chairman Hans Blix, managed the conflicting external pressures on the organization

Paper The Strategic Effects of Ballistic Missile Defense in South Asia

Paul Kapur, *Stanford University*

Overview: This paper examines the impact that the acquisition of ballistic missile defense capabilities by India and Pakistan would have on the international security environment in South Asia.

Paper Rehearsing Armageddon: Multilateral CBNRE Preparedness TOPOFFs 2 and 3, and Black Dawn

Christian W. Erickson, *Roosevelt University*

Bethany A. Barratt, *Roosevelt University*

Overview: This paper examines CBNRE (chemical, biological, nuclear, radiological, and explosive) preparedness exercises involving the United States and allied states (especially Canada, UK, NATO and EU).

Paper Prestige or Isolation? A Social Network Analysis of Nuclear Proliferation

Alexander H. Montgomery, *Stanford University*

Overview: This paper uses social network analysis to generate and test hypotheses on the effects of a state's social environment on its propensity to seek and acquire nuclear weapons.

Disc. Neerada Jacob, *American University*

12-6 FINANCIAL CRISES

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm

Chair Michelle S. Lorenzini, *Saint Louis University*

Paper The Political Economy of Globalized Capital: International Banks, Emerging Markets, and The IMF

Jamus J. Lim, *University of California, Santa Cruz*

Overview: This paper seeks to address the channels and factors that underlie post-financial crisis redistributive policy by developing a theoretical model of special interest lobbying and bilateral bargaining that is subsequently tested against the data.

Paper International and Domestic Sources of Financial Reforms

Sawa Omori, *University of Tokyo*

Overview: This paper explores how the IMF's impact on financial reforms in developing countries is conditioned by political institutions employing duration analysis. Results show the IMF's impact depends upon the number of veto players.

Paper Lending a Hand: Politics of Bailouts Under Market and Domestic Pressure

Ivan Savic, *Columbia University*

Overview: Current discussion of Financial Crises ignores a crucial aspect of the politics of intervention. This paper tries to correct this gap by examining the bailout negotiation process in the context of speculative and domestic political pressure.

Paper Examining the Impact of Conflict on International Energy Markets

Sean M. Bolks, *Rice University*

Overview: Tightening of the supply-demand energy balance has increased price volatility on commodity exchanges. This study

	assesses the impact of conflict on pricing associated with crude oil markets using a GARCH model during the period between 1975-2005.				
Paper	<u>Political Institutions and Foreign Direct Investment in Developing Countries: Does Policy Stability Mean More to Investors than Democracy or Property Rights?</u> Tyson Roberts , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: Democracy, property rights, and credible commitment (via veto players) to stable, FDI-friendly policies all have a positive effect on foreign direct investment (FDI). The policy stability finding has the largest magnitude and is most robust.			Paper	<u>The International Court of Justice, Legal Systems, and the Rule of Law</u> Emilia J. Powell , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: Why do some states recognize the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice while others do not? I develop an institutionalist theory linking a state's domestic legal institutions to its preference for membership in the ICJ.
Disc.	Michael G. Hall , <i>University of Northern Iowa</i>			Paper	<u>International Organizations and Domestic Politics: Examining the Decision to Consult Security Institutions</u> Terrence L. Chapman , <i>Emory University</i> Overview: This paper tests a formal model that examines how IOs may facilitate coalition-building by providing information to the domestic audiences of potential allies.
12-201	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ECONOMIC OPENNESS AND ADMINISTRATIVE ADJUSTMENT</u>			Disc.	J. Michael Greig , <i>University of North Texas</i>
Room	TBA, Fri 3:45 pm			14-7	<u>DEMOCRACY AND TERRORISM</u>
Presenter	<u>Subjecting Government Procurement to International Competition: U.S. States</u> Dong-hun Kim , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: This paper investigates discriminatory government procurement as an NTB. I explore, in particular, the sources that would affect the propensity of a U.S. state government to join the GPA that prohibits discriminatory practices.			Room	TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
				Chair	Jarold Duquette , <i>Central Connecticut State University</i>
				Paper	<u>Is Democracy a Magnet for Terrorism? Understanding a Complex Relationship</u> Sara E. Jackson , <i>Emory University</i> Dan Reiter , <i>Emory University</i> Overview: Building on recent scholarship, this paper addresses a number of conceptual and methodological issues that have hindered our ability to clearly identify the link between democracy and terrorism.
12-202	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: TRADE AND PROTECTIONISM</u>			Paper	<u>The Inadvertent Effects of Democracy on Terrorist Group Emergence</u> Erica Chenoweth , <i>University Of Colorado</i> Overview: Using a time-series method, I argue that the proliferation of terrorist groups in democracies can be explained by inter-group dynamics, with terrorist groups of various ideologies competing with one another for limited agenda space.
Room	TBA, Fri 3:45 pm			Disc.	Amanda M. Rosen , <i>The Ohio State University</i> Mariya Y. Omelicheva , <i>Purdue University</i>
Presenter	<u>Inter-Sectoral Goods Market Relations, Inward FDI and US Trade Politics (i.e. Relations -> Relationships)</u> Hak-Seon Lee , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: This research introduces inter-sectoral goods market relationships as a main explanatory variable to investigate how cross-border capital mobility in other sectors would affect a given sector's trade policy preference in US trade politics.				
Presenter	<u>Electoral Equilibrium and Industrial Protection</u> Jong Hee Park , <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: Candidates' equilibrium policy positions in elections vary depending on the number of competitors and electoral rules. This prediction is employed to explain cross-national variations in trade policy outcomes in this paper.			15-8	<u>SEPARATISM AND CONFLICT</u>
				Room	TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
				Chair	Krista Weigand , <i>Georgia Southern University</i>
				Paper	<u>Democratic Institution Building and Sub-National Separatism in Former Communist Countries: Chechnya and Crimea</u> Irina S. Khmelko , <i>Georgia Southern University</i> Overview: The fall of the Communist regime was followed by a number of conflicts between national states and their sub-national territories that provided major challenges for new governments and the process of democratic institution building in the region.
13-7	<u>INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND DOMESTIC POLITICS</u>			Paper	<u>State Design and Secessionist Mobilization: Resolving the Paradox of Federalism</u> Lawrence M. Anderson , <i>University of Wisconsin, Whitewater</i> Overview: Federalism has been shown to both calm and facilitate secessionism. This paper resolves the paradox of federalism by demonstrating the federations have diverse forms, origins, and group structures.
Room	TBA, Fri 3:45 pm			Paper	<u>Economic Indicators and Ethnonational Violence: The Case for Secessionist and Non-Secessionist Groups</u> Tova C. Norlen , <i>Johns Hopkins University</i> Krister Sandberg , <i>International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis</i> Overview: Do secessionist/non-secessionist groups turn to violence for different reasons? Ethno-territorial conflicts are said to be more conflictual than non-territorial ethnic conflicts and to last longer.
Chair	J. Michael Greig , <i>University of North Texas</i>			Disc.	Krista Weigand , <i>Georgia Southern University</i>
Paper	<u>International Organizations and the Quality of Domestic Governance</u> Peter M. Holm , <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: Increased participation in international organizations has an independent positive effect on future domestic governance quality. Both sociological and rational institutionalist mechanisms underpin the finding.				
Paper	<u>Committed to Peace? Credible Commitment and UN/NATO Peace Operations</u> Patrick Johnston , <i>Northwestern University</i> Chris Swarat , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: In the aftermath of conflict, why in some cases do the United Nations and NATO launch large peace building missions in which the interveners exert a high degree of administrative control while in others they choose smaller monitoring missions?				
Paper	<u>Global Social Movement in Tobacco Control and the Negotiation of the FCTC</u> Hadii Mamudu , <i>University of California, San Francisco</i> Overview: Member states of the World Health Organization negotiated the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) between 1999 and 2003. This paper analyzes non-state actors' involvement in the FCTC negotiation process using social movements' theory.				

16-4
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Bryan E. Brophy-Baermann, *Lawrence University*
Paper **Rhetorical Evil and American Foreign Policy**
David Brumbaugh, *University of Texas, Austin*
Overview: Rhetorical evil has proven to be a powerful and effective means for leaders to justify foreign projects to their citizens and neighbors. Still, evil has troubling theoretical and practical implications at home and abroad--especially for the US.

Paper **Does Identity Matter? Turkey and Europe in the 21st Century**
Yucel Bozdaglioglu, *Adnan Menderes University*
Overview: This paper analyzes the relationship between Turkey and the European Union in terms of identity using the core assumptions of the constructivist approach in international relations.

Paper **Japanese Antimilitarism: Effective, Irrelevant, or Counterproductive?**
Takayuki Nishi, *University of Chicago*
Overview: The debate on antimilitarist norms in Japanese security policy has focused on whether they have prevented Japan from acquiring military capabilities. In fact, the norms have been counterproductive when their advocates overreached.

Disc. William D. Anderson, *Western Illinois University*

17-6
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Jana von Stein, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Paper **Proposal Making During International Multilateral Agreement Negotiations**
Nicole M. Simonelli, *New York University*
Overview: This paper examines who makes the first proposal in the bargaining process and the effect that this has on the extent of cooperation obtained from the final agreement.

Paper **Sign Then Ratify: Negotiating under Threshold Constraints**
Sylvie N. Thoron, *Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton*
Overview: In an international agreement the different parties take into account the rule of the ratification phase while they are negotiating. We show how the existence of a given threshold can modify the result of the negotiation (i.e. Kyoto protocol).

Paper **Two-level Games and Two-level Bargaining: Negotiating the Uruguay Round Agreement on Agriculture**
Carsten Daugbjerg, *University of Aarhus, Denmark*
Overview: The Uruguay Round Agreement on Agriculture consisted of an operational and an ideational level. It is analyzed why the European Community successfully influenced the former level and why US interests prevailed at the latter.

Paper **Design Purpose: Institutional Creation and Design as Bargained Outcomes**
Katharine M. Floros, *University of Pittsburgh*
Overview: Institutional creation and design; international bargaining; two-stage process; European Development Fund

Disc. Jana von Stein, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

18-3
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Thomas J. Scotto, *West Virginia University*
Paper **A Vicious Cycle? Threat and Information Search**
Shana K. Gadarian, *Princeton University*
Overview: I designed an experiment where subjects will watch TV news about terrorism. After the treatment, subjects can learn more about the treatment stories.

Paper **Semantic versus Somatic Responses to Emotion Items in Political Surveys**
Mary-Kate Lizotte, *SUNY, Stony Brook*
Charles S. Taber, *SUNY, Stony Brook*
Overview: Political scientists often ask people to report emotional reactions to past events, using semantic prompts. In line with social psychology research, we believe that semantic recall items may be misleading as measures of the emotions experienced.

Paper **The Primacy of Political Affect: The Influence of Affective Priming on Candidate and Issue Evaluations**
Charles S. Taber, *SUNY, Stony Brook*
Christopher Weber, *Stony Brook University*
Overview: To disentangle the effects of emotion from cognition, we use an affective priming procedure to determine whether one's immediate affective response influences candidate evaluations.

Paper **Voters, Emotions, and Memory**
David Redlawsk, *University of Iowa*
Andrew Civettini, *University of Iowa*
Karen Emmerson, *University of Iowa*
Overview: We employ dynamic process-tracing to assess the impact of emotion on memory about candidates and the role memory plays in candidate evaluation. This research has implications for the study of campaigns, political communication, and voting.

Paper **Neuropolitics: Neuroscience, Emotion and Rational Choice**
John W. Schieman, *Fairleigh Dickinson University*
Overview: I review neuroscience research on fear and memory with implications for formal models of rational choice. I provide an example of a multilevel, integrative approach incorporating neuroscience, empirical research, and formal modeling.

Disc. George E. Marcus, *Williams College*
Elizabeth Suhay, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

18-9
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Christopher P. Muste, *University of Montana*
Paper **Testing the Effect of Social Identity Appeals in Election Campaigns: An fMRI Study**
Eric S. Dickson, *New York University*
Ken Scheve, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Overview: We expose experimental subjects to political speech stimuli from scripted (hypothetical) and from actual campaigns; measure their responses using functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI); and interpret results in the context of ongoing debates.

Paper **Multicultural Social Studies and Political Identity**
Rebecca E. Blanton, *CUNY, Graduate Center*
Overview: This paper presents findings of a survey that examines the connections between experiences in multicultural high school social studies programs and the development of a civic identity.

Paper **The Obligations of National Identity: Charity, Welfare, and the Boundaries of the National Group**
Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*
Overview: This paper examines Americans' sense of obligation to fellow Americans and who should receive their help. I argue that a strong national identity is related to a greater sense of obligation but also a more exclusive definition of who is an American.

Paper **Threat and Group Affect in the Aftermath of 9/11**
Darren W. Davis, *Michigan State University*
Overview: This paper examines the relationship between threat of terrorism and the tolerance for different groups (e.g., Arabs, Islamic Fundamentalists, Jews, African Americans, Latinos, and Christian Fundamentalists) in American society after the September 11.

Paper **Civic Education and Democracy from a Cross-National Perspective**
Rodolfo Espino, *Arizona State University*
Michael Jensen, *Arizona State University*
Overview: We use surveys on civic education and democracy across 28 industrialized countries to identify those aspects of context and curriculum that can explain differing levels of political participation.

Disc. Deborah J. Schildkraut, *Tufts University*

19-301 POSTER SESSION: VOTING BEHAVIOR

Presenter Vote Fragmentation in Presidential Primaries and 3rd Party Support

Room TBA, Board 1, Fri 3:45 pm
Eser Sekercioglu, *Stony Brook University*
Overview: TBA

Presenter When Function Follows Form: How Ballot Design Affects Voting Choice

Room TBA, Board 2, Fri 3:45 pm
Michael P. Bobic, *Emmanuel College*
Overview: This paper presents findings from an experiment in which two different ballots were used in a mock election. Results showed even small differences produced large effects.

Presenter Vote Choice Change and the Durability of Changed Vote Choice

Room TBA, Board 3, Fri 3:45 pm
Seoyoon H. Choi, *University of Texas, Austin*
Overview: This article examines the cause of the voters' vote choice change which leads to realignment in American presidential election and its durability in terms of party policy and its attitude toward issues.

Presenter Negative Campaign Advertising Revisited: The Effects on Voting Behavior

Room TBA, Board 4, Fri 3:45 pm
Matthew L. Bergbower, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
Overview: Negative campaign advertising effects on political behavior is an underdeveloped phenomenon. Using data on campaign strategies and NES data, my research seeks to understand the individual effects of negative campaign advertising.

Presenter Are Native Americans Democrats? Analyzing Native American Democratic Party Loyalty

Room TBA, Board 5, Fri 3:45 pm
Rachel E. Becker, *Bemidji State University*
Overview: While nearly two-thirds of Native Americans call themselves Democrats, 28% of those Democratic identifiers consider themselves conservative. I analyzed this apparent paradox behind the party identification of some Native Americans.

20-4 MONEY AND ELECTIONS

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Peter L. Francia**, *East Carolina University*
Paper Prospecting for Political Gold: Predicting the Spatial Distribution of Campaign Contributions
James G. Gimpel, *University of Maryland*
Wendy K. Tam Cho, *Northwestern University*
Overview: This paper examines the geographic distribution of campaign contributions, and estimates the spatial distribution of future contribution amounts from the distribution of past contribution amounts.

Paper Creating a Culture of Political Giving
Dave Wiltse, *Shippensburg University*
Overview: Using pooled NES data, the individual contribution decision will be modeled to examine the effects of state campaign finance laws since the early 1980's. Specifically, the effects of contribution limits and public financing regimes will be gauged.

Paper Does Campaign Money Signal Candidate Quality?
Riccardo Puglisi, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
Andrea Prat, *London School of Economics*
James M. Snyder, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
Overview: We match an effectiveness measure for legislators in North Carolina Legislature with data on campaign contributions. Can voters learn about the effectiveness of a candidate as a legislator by looking at amount and pattern of contributions received?

Paper Money, Elections and Legislative Activity: The Iowa State Legislative Elections of 2004 and Assembly Session of 2005
Arthur Sanders, *Drake University*

Overview: This paper examines the role of money in the political process at the state level by examining the influence of money in the 2004 elections to the Iowa State House and State Senate and the impact this had on the spring 2005 legislative session.

Paper Is Paying for Political Consultants an Efficient Use of Campaign Funds in U.S. House Elections?

Sean A. Cain, *University of California, San Diego*
Overview: Reliance on political consultants is an efficient use of scarce resources.

Disc. **Clifford W. Brown**, *Union College*

21-301 POSTER SESSION: REPRESENTATION AND ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

Presenter Wedge Issue Politics: The Effects of Divisive Issues on Representation

Room TBA, Board 6, Fri 3:45 pm
Kathryn E. Bowman, *The Ohio State University*
Overview: This project examines whether wedge issues such as stem cell research and gay marriage influence the manner in which a member of Congress represents his or her district.

Presenter Counter-Initiatives: Spatial Theory and Evidence

Room TBA, Board 7, Fri 3:45 pm
David A. S. Hugh-Jones, *Essex University*
Overview: In some initiative elections, a counter-initiative overrules the original initiative if it gets more votes. My model shows that with sophisticated voters, counter-initiatives bring outcomes toward the median voter. I test against a cues-based theory.

22-3 RACE, GENDER, RELIGION AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY (Co-sponsored with Foreign Policy, see 16-8)

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Benjamin I. Page**, *Northwestern University*
Paper Christian Fundamentalism and Foreign Policy Attitudes in the United States
David C. Barker, *University of Pittsburgh*
Jon Hurwitz, *University of Pittsburgh*
Traci L. Nelson, *University of Pittsburgh*
Overview: This paper examines how religious doctrine and behavior may influence attitudes toward U.S. foreign policy -- attitudes that have become increasingly important predictors of partisanship and voting behavior.

Paper The Effect of Sexuality on Foreign Policy Attitudes

Jamie P. Chandler, *CUNY Graduate Center*
Overview: Using pooled data from the 1988 to 2002 General Social Survey, this research finds, when controlling for background factors and value orientations, sexuality influences foreign policy attitudes.

Paper Micro-Level Foreign Aid Attitudes of the U.S. Mass Public: A Role for Race

Amanda L. Cooper, *University of Kentucky*
Overview: I compare the ability of typical indicators of general foreign policy attitudes and the ability of commonly held domestic welfare attitudes to explain variation in micro-level public opinion regarding government spending on foreign assistance.

Paper Religious Influences on Foreign Policy Attitudes

James L. Guth, *Furman University*
Overview: This paper examines the influence of religious affiliations, beliefs and behaviors on public attitudes toward American foreign policy.

Paper	<u>Ethnic Minority Interest Group Attributes and Foreign Policy Influence</u> Trevor P. Rubenzer, <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Overview: To what extent are ethnic minority interests groups able to influence U.S. foreign policy? The current study uses Qualitative Comparative Analysis to isolate necessary and sufficient conditions for ethnic minority influence.	Paper	<u>An Essay on Political Participation: Measuring Voters and Non-Voters Policy Preferences</u> Jean-Francois Godbout, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: The following paper is a study of political representation. The analysis focuses on the differences of opinion expressed by voters and nonvoters in a series of public opinion surveys. We also adopt a novel approach in measuring state level opinion.
Disc.	Richard Sobel, <i>Harvard University</i>		
22-5	<u>OPINIONS ABOUT TERRORISM AND THE WAR ON TERROR</u>	Paper	<u>The Representational Costs of Nonvoting: The Influence of District Participation on Policy Responsiveness</u> Paul S. Martin, <i>University of Virginia</i> Overview: This paper examines the influence of voter turnout and voter support for incumbent members of Congress on policy responsiveness.
Room	TBA, Fri 3:45 pm		
Chair	Michael Wolf, <i>Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne</i>	Paper	<u>Participation for What? Links Between Participation and Agenda Setting</u> Matthew B. Platt, <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: This paper attempts to link political participation to policy responsiveness using the case of black participation. The arguments borrow from diverse literatures to test the most basic assumption in the subfield: political participation matters.
Paper	<u>The Politics of Fear: Personal Concern and Perception of Public Concern about Terrorist Attacks</u> Donald P. Haider-Markel, <i>University of Kansas</i> Mark R. Joslyn, <i>University of Kansas</i> Allan Cigler, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: We explore the partisan dimensions of anxiety about terrorism. Using several national surveys, our findings indicate a strong partisan dimension, especially in the immediate aftermath of 9-11 and in the weeks prior to Iraq War.	Disc.	James W. Endersby, <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i>
Paper	<u>The War on Terror in the Context of US Foreign Policy Moods and Interests</u> Jack Holmes, <i>Hope College</i> Kurt Pyle, <i>Hope College</i> Overview: The Mood/Interest Theory of U.S. Foreign Policy provides a useful framework for the analysis of the War on Terror in historical context. The Eisenhower administration seems a more relevant comparison than the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.	24-8	<u>THE POLITICS OF ENTERTAINMENT AND ENTERTAINMENT AS POLITICS</u>
		Room	TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Paper	<u>Fear Factor: The Impact of Terrorism on Public Opinion in the U.S, UK and Israel</u> William J. Josiger, <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: Impact of terrorism in the U.S., UK and Israel on public opinions from 1979–2004. Does terrorism have a debilitating impact on a country's morale or do attacks rally the public? Do the characteristics of an attack lead to differential impacts?	Chair	Kimberly Gross, <i>George Washington University</i>
		Paper	<u>Late Night Comedy's Influence on Perceptions of Presidential Candidates</u> Carrie A. Cihasky, <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Overview: Presidential candidates often appear on late-night shows and are the main targets of shows' jokes. This paper uses data from the 2000 NAES to examine how viewers' perceptions of the candidates are influenced by late-night comedy during campaigns.
Paper	<u>Media 'Framing' in the 'War on Terror' and Support for Civil Liberties</u> Linda M. Merola, <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: This project examines media framing of the 'War on Terror,' identifying frames frequently employed and investigating the effects of exposure to such frames upon Americans' support for civil liberties through the use of survey-experimentation.	Paper	<u>Late Night Comic Characterization of the Vice President's Aneurysm Surgery</u> Josh Compton, <i>Southwest Baptist University</i> Overview: This textual analysis project builds on late night comedy political research and expands the scope to the domain of health by examining late night comic characterization of Vice President Cheney's aneurysm surgery in September 2005.
Paper	<u>Modeling Responses to Terrorism: British Public Opinion and 7/7</u> Paul J. Tran, <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i> Harold D. Clarke, <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i> Overview: British public opinion data are used to investigate models of public opinion about responses to terrorist attacks. Model selection and encompassing tests are used to compare rival morality, benefits-costs, and general heuristic models.	Paper	<u>Where Have All The Protest Songs Gone? Social Movements Message and Their Voice in Politics</u> Shelley M. Deane, <i>Bowdoin College</i> Elizabeth Bloodgood, <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> Overview: Where Have All the Protest Songs Gone? In 2003-5 a plethora of articles asserted a surprising lack of protest music in response to issues of the new millennium, including globalization, war, peace, civil rights, and the environment.
Disc.	Gary C. Jacobson, <i>University of California, San Diego</i>	Paper	<u>Public Opinion and Legal Closure: The Politics of Law and Order</u> Geoff Peterson, <i>University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire</i> Sally Trnka, <i>University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire</i> Overview: This paper examines the connection between public opinion on high profile legal cases and how those cases are "re-created" on television.
23-1	<u>VOTER TURNOUT, POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, AND REPRESENTATION</u>	Paper	<u>What's Law Got To Do With It? Media Coverage of the Michael Jackson Trial</u> Robert W. Van Sickle, <i>Indiana State University</i> Overview: This paper explores mass media coverage of pop star Michael Jackson's recent criminal trial, in an attempt to assess the intersection of law, entertainment, and public education regarding legal issues and processes.
Room	TBA, Fri 3:45 pm	Disc.	Kimberly Gross, <i>George Washington University</i>
Chair	Paul S. Martin, <i>University of Virginia</i>		
Paper	<u>Exclusion Through Abstention? Voter Turnout and Democratic Representation</u> Rachel K. Cremona, <i>Flagler College</i> Overview: This paper examines the implications of voter turnout for democratic representation through a comparative analysis of the impact of turnout on the position of the median voter.		

24-9	<u>WHO LEADS: UNTANGLING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PUBLIC OPINION AND ELITE CUES</u>	
Room	TBA, Fri 3:45 pm	
Chair	Jan P. Vermeer, <i>Nebraska Wesleyan University</i>	
Paper	<u>Exploiting a Rare Shift in Communication Flows: Media Effects in the 1997 British Election</u> Gabriel Lenz, <i>Princeton University</i> Jonathan Ladd, <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: Using panel data and matching techniques, we exploit the switch by several prominent UK newspapers to the Labour Party before the 1997 election to test and find evidence of otherwise elusive media effects.	
Paper	<u>Polling in the Press: The Impact of Elites</u> Jennifer Oats-Sargent, <i>University of Illinois</i> Overview: Polls are more likely to be used in media coverage when elites dissenting and there is increased mobilization. As the levels of dissent or mobilization rise, polls are also more likely to play a stronger role in shaping the deliberation on the issue.	
Paper	<u>Wrestling the Microphone: Authority and Rhetoric in the Process of Political Change</u> Deva R. Woodly, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: Acceptance of new political discourses changes the policy environment in which elites act and publics form opinions. This paper investigates the process of issue acceptance in mainstream political discourses	
Disc.	Jan P. Vermeer, <i>Nebraska Wesleyan University</i>	
25-7	<u>STRUCTURAL DETERMINANTS OF WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION (Co-sponsored Legislative Politics: Campaigns and Elections, see 35-10)</u>	
Room	TBA, Fri 3:45 pm	
Chair	Rosalyn Cooperman, <i>University of Mary Washington</i>	
Paper	<u>The Primary Reason for Women's Under-Representation: Challenging the Conventional Wisdom</u> Jennifer L. Lawless, <i>Brown University</i> Kathryn Pearson, <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: Based on a new, original data set of congressional primary elections spanning six decades, our analysis sheds light on the manner in which gender remains relevant at the polls, as well as the circumstances under which women are most likely to win.	
Paper	<u>Stereotypes at the Gate? Institutional Rules, Stereotypes, and Candidate Nominations</u> Angela L. Bos, <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: I test whether legal and institutional rules that determine the role of political parties in candidate nomination (e.g., primaries or nominating conventions).	
Paper	<u>Campaign Finance and Gender: Male and Female Fundraising in the House Elections of 2000</u> Leesa Althen, <i>University of Missouri, St. Louis</i> Overview: This paper uses multivariate regression to test whether there are differences in campaign fundraising between male and female candidates.	
Paper	<u>Comparative Socialization and Participation of American and Swedish Women</u> Margaret E. Gilkison, <i>University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire</i> Hannah Lott, <i>University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire</i> Overview: This paper focuses on why the USA has a sizable gender gap between candidates and winners at election time. This paper will compare the USA to Sweden, where gender equity is the dominant pattern.	
Disc.	Louise K. Davidson-Schmich, <i>University of Miami</i> Rosalyn Cooperman, <i>University of Mary Washington</i>	
26-5	<u>RACE, ETHNICITY AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT</u>	
Room	TBA, Fri 3:45 pm	
Chair	Niambi M. Carter, <i>Duke University</i>	
Paper	<u>U.S. National State Making and Asian Immigration Exclusion</u> Victor Jew, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: This paper explores the U.S. immigration regime of Chinese Exclusion, 1882 to 1943, to understand the refining of state administrative capabilities. Theoretically and empirically, it contributes to American Political Development historiography.	
Paper	<u>Imagining Civil Rights in a Segregationist Era</u> Dianne M. Pinderhughes, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: This paper explores the formation during the 1930s and 1940s of legislative coalitions that created the Civil and Voting Rights legislation of the 1950s and 1960s.	
Paper	<u>Mexican Americans, Electoral Politics and Race in Texas, 1950-1970</u> Benjamin Marquez, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: Political identity helped break the color line during the Mexican American civil rights movement. Negotiations over inclusion revealed Mexican American political power, the state of race relations, and a commitment to political inclusion.	
Paper	<u>The Deep North and the Deep South: A Comparative Analysis of the Effect of the Great Migration on Blacks and Whites from Mississippi to Michigan</u> TeResa C. Green, <i>Eastern Michigan University</i> Overview: The discussion of White migration during the Great Black Migration is limited. It is important to find out if White southerners brought their virulent racism which augmented the Deep North's own history of racism and repression.	
Disc.	Paula D. McClain, <i>Duke University</i>	
26-18	<u>RACIAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITIES IN POLITICS</u>	
Room	TBA, Fri 3:45 pm	
Chair	Amber C. Concepcion, <i>Georgetown University</i>	
Paper	<u>Conceptualizations of Racial Change in Survey Panel Studies</u> Thomas C. Craemer, <i>University of Connecticut</i> Overview: The reliance of panel studies on a single measure of race, rather than repeated measures, conflicts with the view that race is a social construct and with the purpose of a panel study. Racial change is observed in panel and experimental studies.	
Paper	<u>Does Identity Choice Affect the Political Participation of Latinos?: Understanding the Role of Reactive, Symbolic and Selective Identity on Latino Political Incorporation</u> Gia E. Barboza, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: Scholarly focus on the role that ethnic identity plays in promoting Latino political behaviors is necessary to understanding their subsequent incorporation into the American polity.	
Paper	<u>Interracial Contact, Social Isolation and Black Group Identification</u> Ronald E. Brown, <i>Wayne State University</i> James S. Jackson, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Wassim Tarraf, <i>Wayne State University</i> Overview: This paper describes the influence that social isolation, organizational involvement, interracial contact, perceptions of individual discriminatory treatment, and social class has on perceptions of group solidarity.	
Paper	<u>The Delta Chinese and the Reproduction of American Racial Hierarchy</u> Christopher B. Lee, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper will examine the reproduction of America's racial hierarchical system by critically assessing black, Chinese, and white relations in the Mississippi Delta from the post-Reconstruction era to the closing of the 1960's Civil Rights period.	
Disc.	Janelle Wong, <i>University of Southern California</i>	

27-9 **NATURAL, POLITICAL, AND UNIVERSAL RIGHTS**
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Leonard R. Sorenson, *Assumption College*
Paper **Rejecting Rights: Looking to the Democratic State's Reason for Acting**
Sonu Bedi, *Yale University*
Overview: In this essay, I seek to purge political theory of the traditional locution of rights.
Paper **Universal Human Rights: The Philosophical and Historical Roots**
Charles J. Helm, *Western Illinois University*
Overview: Can claims of entitlement to a universal human right be legitimized in terms of reason and nature and not just at the level of an historical tale of the development of institutions and the public acceptance of covenants since WWII?
Paper **The Independence of the Declaration and the Constitution?**
James R. Zink, *University of California, Davis*
Overview: I trace the conflicting interpretations and corresponding uses of the Declaration and Constitution through several key political debates leading up to the Civil War.
Paper **Natural Rights and the Constitution**
Paul R. DeHart, *Lee University*
Overview: The Constitution may presuppose any of the following about natural rights: (1) There are no natural rights; (2) there are natural rights, and these are rights enjoyed in the Hobbesian state of nature that are prior to natural law; (3) there are natural rights, and these are derived from natural duties prescribed by the natural law.
Disc. Leonard R. Sorenson, *Assumption College*
David L. Williams, *University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point*

27-12 **NEW PROBLEMS, NEW PARADIGMS?**
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Peter Stone, *Stanford University*
Paper **Area Studies, Case Studies, and History Versus Theoretical Social Science**
Fred Eidlir, *University of Guelph*
Overview: Develops a framework for integration of the generalizing spirit of science with the concern for the uniqueness of case studies, history and area studies.
Paper **Strategy, Structure and Subversion**
Richard W. Goldin, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Overview: I argue that constructivist thought inadequately analyzes the processes through which identity is constructed. I develop an alternative model I call "empirical constructivism" in which identity functions as a dialectic of strategy and structure.
Paper **Conceptual Analysis in Political Science: A Hermeneutic Critique of Qualitative Methodology**
Asaf Kedar, *University of California, Berkeley*
Mark Bevir, *University of California, Berkeley*
Overview: The paper launches a hermeneutic critique of qualitative conceptual analysis in view of its naturalist ontological and epistemological assumptions. The critique will be followed by the adumbration of a hermeneutic model for conceptual inquiry.
Paper **A Public Philosophy for Skeptics**
Steven J. Wulf, *Lawrence University*
Overview: America's debates about slavery and gay marriage demonstrate that a philosophically skeptical form of political discourse derived from British conservatism is more compelling than Rawls and Walzer's conceptions of social criticism.
Disc. Peter Stone, *Stanford University*
Leonard Williams, *Manchester College*

28-9 **LAW, SOVEREIGNTY, AND NATIONALITY**
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair James Glass, *University of Maryland*
Paper **A Play in an Act in Search of an Identity: A Hermeneutic Inquiry of the USA PATRIOT Act of 2001**
Rupa G. Thadhani, *Virginia Commonwealth University*
Overview: A hermeneutic study of the USA PATRIOT Act of 2001.
Paper **Ideology in Foucault's Critique of Sovereignty**
Marcelo I. Hoffman, *University of Denver*
Overview: Throughout the 1970s, Michel Foucault developed a critique of the theory of sovereignty. We explore the various underpinnings of this critique, especially its curious reliance on the notion of ideology.
Paper **Knowing Nationalism: The Epistemology of National Identity**
John M. French, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
Overview: Most studies of nationalism explain it at the level of populations. I provide an epistemological explanation of nationalism focused on individuals.
Disc. Jeremiah John, *University of Notre Dame*

28-19 **THE MORAL FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN POLITICS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY**
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Brad J. Reno, *College of the Holy Cross*
Paper **Classical and Christian Ideals: John Adams and the Virtue of Magnanimity**
John C. Evans, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Overview: In this paper, I analyse how John Adams' political thought synthesizes classical and Judeo-Christian ideals of virtue through his conception of the virtue of magnanimity understood as emulation.
Paper **Locke and the Protection of Property: A Moral Perspective**
Brad J. Reno, *College of the Holy Cross*
Overview: Private property has a direct relationship to self-interest. Properly understood, it can serve as a useful tool in bringing about broad, long term, and mutual self-interest. However, when poorly managed, it can have the opposite effect.
Paper **Liberalism and the Color Line: Hume's Concern, Madison's Frivolity**
Daniel P. Klinghard, *College of the Holy Cross*
Overview: This essay considers the implications of Madison's omission of color in light of Hume's concern with it.
Paper **Locke's Appeal to Heaven and Jefferson's Impeachment Power**
Jeremy D. Bailey, *Duquesne University*
Overview: A reconsideration of the contemporary impeachment debate in light of Jefferson's interpretation of Locke's philosophy.
Disc. Jeffrey H. Anderson, *U.S. Air Force Academy*

29-4 **ANCIENT THOUGHT AND CONTEMPORARY ISSUES**
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair Nicholas Dungey, *California State University, Northridge*
Paper **The Relation Between Education and Political Justice in Isocrates**
James R. Muir, *University of Winnipeg*
Overview: Isocrates is classified as a democrat, conservative, and aristocrat. If we treat Isocrates' educational and political thought as a unified whole, then it seems that Isocrates valued competitive political discourse and debate between various ideologic
Paper **Against Imagined and Reimagined Republics: Machiavelli's Reversal of Cicero**
Alexander S. Duff, *University of Notre Dame*
Overview: Machiavelli and Cicero have justly been regarded as members of a long tradition of republican political thought. This paper seeks to reevaluate this understanding and to distinguish Machiavelli's use of Cicero from that of the civic humanists.

Paper	<u>Understanding the Political in Ancient Comedy</u> Keith Mataya , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper addresses problems that arise from understanding Aristophanes and the role of laughter as a part of Athenian democratic culture.	31-1 Room Chair Paper	<u>A CORNUCOPIA OF METHODS</u> TBA, Fri 3:45 pm Lee Walker , <i>Harvard University</i> <u>The Emergence of Political Hierarchy</u> Britt A. Cartrite , <i>Alma College</i> Overview: This study utilizes agent-based modeling to evaluate the dynamics underlying the endogenous emergence of political hierarchy, demonstrating the powerful role the spatial distribution of hierarchy plays in the emergence of higher levels of authority.
Paper	<u>Plato's Phaedo and the Limits of Philosophy</u> Lucas B. Allen , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: This paper examines Plato's presentation of the limits of rationality and philosophy as presented in the Phaedo in light of the dramatic portrayal of Socrates' last day and death.		Paper <u>Publication Bias: An Analysis of Two Leading Journals and Two Important Literatures</u> Neil Malhotra , <i>Stanford University</i> Alan Gerber , <i>Yale University</i> Overview: An audit of empirical research over the past ten years shows evidence of publication bias in two major journals (APSR and AJPS) and two prominent literatures in political behavior (economic voting and the effect of negative advertisements).
Paper	<u>What Makes Democracy So Special?</u> Brian A. Rockwood , <i>University of Connecticut</i> Overview: This presentation asks the question "What makes Democracy so Special?" and analyses the responses that various modern interpretations of the doctrine would give. Ultimately, all of these responses are found to be lacking.		
Disc.	Elizabeth Markovits , <i>Saint Louis University</i>		Disc. James H. Fowler , <i>University of California, Davis</i>
30-10	<u>FORMAL THEORIES OF FEDERALISM</u>		
Room	TBA, Fri 3:45 pm		
Chair	John B. Londregan , <i>Princeton University</i>		
Paper	<u>Valuing Exit Options</u> Jenna Bednar , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: This paper explores the contribution of a state's potential to secede on the overall robustness of the union.		Paper <u>Leader Survival and Interstate War</u> Alejandro Flores , <i>New York University</i> Leslie Johns , <i>New York University</i> Overview: We empirically examine the role of interstate war on the tenure of the political leaders.
Paper	<u>Partisan Politics and the Structure and Stability of Federalism, Indian Style</u> Sunita A. Parikh , <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Barry R. Weingast , <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: We develop a formal model of the party system and federal structure in India to explain the structure and stability of centralized federalism in the era of Congress dominance from independence to the late 1980s.		Disc. James H. Fowler , <i>University of California, Davis</i>
Paper	<u>Provincial Protectionism</u> Konstantin Sonin , <i>New Economic School/CEFIR</i> Overview: In a federal state with weak political institutions, constituent units might protect their enterprises from enforcement of federal taxes. Effectiveness of such protection depends on the ability of local politicians to extract rents from enterprises.		33-101 <u>ROUNDTABLE: THE 2008 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: A LOOK AHEAD</u>
Paper	<u>Feasibility of the Popular Legitimacy of a Federal Constitution in a Representative Democracy</u> Olga Shvetsova , <i>Binghamton University</i> Kevin Roust , <i>Duke University</i> Overview: Starting with the premise that institutions have biased distributive consequences and that distributive coalitions of federation members can successfully challenge the constitutional status-quo.	Room Chair Panelist	TBA, Fri 3:45 pm Randall E. Adkins , <i>University of Nebraska, Omaha</i> William Mayer , <i>Northeastern University</i> Barbara Norrander , <i>University of Arizona</i> Wayne Steger , <i>DePaul University</i> Clyde Wilcox , <i>Georgetown University</i> Hans Noel , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: The 2008 Presidential Election: A Look Ahead
Disc.	John B. Londregan , <i>Princeton University</i> Hartmut Lenz , <i>University of Essex</i>		
30-21	<u>STRATEGIC VOTING</u>		
Room	TBA, Fri 3:45 pm		
Chair	Ken Shotts , <i>Stanford University</i>		
Paper	<u>Strategic Voting in Multi-Office Elections: Policy Balancing, Directional Voting, and Other Varieties</u> Michael Peress , <i>Carnegie Mellon University</i> Overview: I analyze strategic voting incentives in a 'Checks and Balances' system of government. In particular, I consider policy-balancing and directional voting. I find little support for policy-balancing and solid support for directional voting.		34-9 <u>DO PARTIES IN MATTER IN LEGISLATURES?</u>
Paper	<u>Strategic Challengers and the Incumbency Advantage</u> Insun Kang , <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: I develop a dynamic model of infinitely repeated elections that incorporates asymmetric information and strategic campaigning by challengers and find "simple" equilibrium.	Room Chair Paper	TBA, Fri 3:45 pm Barbara Sinclair , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> <u>Minority Party Influence in the U.S. House</u> C. Lawrence Evans , <i>College of William and Mary</i> Edward P. Blue , <i>College of William and Mary</i> Logan H. Ferree , <i>College of William and Mary</i> Angela S. Petry , <i>College of William and Mary</i> Overview: Although the influence of political parties within Congress has been a major source of conceptual and empirical dispute, little attention has been paid to the role of the partisan minority.
Paper	<u>Analysis of a Formal Model of Strategic Voting</u> Allen B. Brierly , <i>University of Northern Iowa</i> Overview: A strategic vote is generally considered a vote for a second-best alternative that has a greater chance of winning than a preferred alternative. In this study, rates of strategic voting and misrepresentation of preferences are estimated.		Paper <u>Partisan Differences and Restrictive Rules in the U.S. House</u> Ken Moffett , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: I examine whether differences exist between Republican and Democratic House majorities from 1974-2004. I find that Republican majorities are more likely to direct the Rules Committee to place restrictive rules on bills than Democratic majorities.
Disc.	Ken Shotts , <i>Stanford University</i>		Paper <u>Assessing the Influence of Party Activists on Conferee Selection</u> Alan D. Rozzi , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This study analyzes the influence of political party activists over the choice of House delegates to conferences with the Senate. It uses data from the 96th through the 108th Congresses and tests several related theories on legislative organization.
		Paper	<u>Agenda Positions and the Moderation of Legislative Proposals</u> Jonathan Woon , <i>Carnegie Mellon University</i> Overview: I test the hypothesis that legislators with greater influence over the legislative agenda have incentives to compromise, thereby moderating their proposals, than other legislators, who are more likely to propose for position-taking purposes.

Paper **Congressional Conference Committees and Policy Outcomes**
Ryan J. Vander Wielen, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: I explore the possibility that the ideological composition of conference delegations may contribute to policy outcomes that diverge from the preferences of chambers. I derive a series of propositions from a formal model and empirically test them.

Disc. **James S. Battista**, *University of North Texas*

35-6 **MONEY AND ELECTIONS**
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Tracy Sulkin**, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
Paper **Campaign Finance Reform: What Does it Take to Motivate Congress?**

Jon K. Dalager, *Georgetown College*
 Overview: An analysis of the Congress' motivations in enacting the Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act of 2000. Was it simply a response to uncomfortable public pressure as a means to quell dissatisfaction, or was it the consequence of a real reform movement.

Paper **Paying for the New Party Fundraising Expectations in the U.S. House**
Bruce A. Larson, *Gettysburg College*
Eric S. Heberlig, *University of North Carolina, Charlotte*
 Overview: This paper examines how U.S. House members pay for the new congressional party fundraising expectations and the effect of these new expectations on members' fundraising from "outside" sources—e.g., political action committees.

Paper **Corporate Sponsorship: Senate Bill Sponsorship Activity and Corporate PAC Contributions**
Brian Sala, *University of California, Davis*
 Overview: TBA

Paper **Public Financing, Legislative Professionalism, and Competition in Wisconsin, Arizona, and Maine State Legislative Races**
Michael G. Bath, *Concordia College*
Michael Miller, *Minnesota State University, Mankato*
 Overview: We hypothesize that levels of professionalism in state legislatures influence the efficacy of public finance reforms. While public financing does increase electoral competitiveness, evidence for a connection to legislative professionalism is mixed.

Paper **Kid Gloves: An Analysis of Recent F.E.C. Enforcement Actions**
Todd R. Lochner, *Lewis & Clark College*
Rhett Tatum, *Lewis & Clark College*
 Overview: This paper provides an empirical examination of recent Federal Election Commission enforcement actions. We study the F.E.C.'s new enforcement strategy, the Administrative Fines Program, to determine whether it reduces the problem of overdeterrence.

Disc. **Sean M. Theriault**, *University of Texas, Austin*

36-11 **MODELING AND MEASUREMENT ISSUES IN JUDICIAL POLITICS**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Christopher Zorn**, *University of South Carolina*
Paper **Reconsidering Debates over Plea Bargaining, Court Delay, and Prison Populations with Agent-Based and System Dynamics Simulations**
Michael C. Gizzi, *Mesa State College*
William R. Wilkerson, *College at Oneonta, SUNY*
Richard L. Vail, *Mesa State College*
 Overview: Research on plea bargaining in trial courts is re-evaluated through creation of agent-based and system-dynamics models. Using simulations, it is possible to examine plea bargaining from different perspectives.

Paper **Measuring the Ideological Placement of Supreme Court Policy Outputs**
Tonja Jacobi, *Northwestern University*
Vanessa A. Baird, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
 Overview: This paper develops a methodology for assessing the ideological placement of Supreme Court cases that uses Martin

and Quinn's scores for justices' ideological preferences to dictate each case's placement in the ideological spectrum.

Paper **Ideal Point Estimation of the Brazilian Supreme Court Justices**
Eduardo L. Leoni, *Columbia University*
Antonio P. Ramos, *IUPERJ*

Overview: In this article we apply ideal point estimation methods developed to study the U. S. Supreme Court decision-making to a novel dataset we collected from the Brazilian Supreme Court (Supremo Tribunal Federal, or STF) decisions.

Paper **Modeling Justice Ideology Without Ecological Inference**
Sean Wilson, *Pennsylvania State University*
 Overview: This paper explores the adequacy of several measures of goodness-of-fit that can be used with logit models of ideological decision making by small workgroups. It also discusses the pitfalls of the measures and how to avoid them.

Disc. **Brandon L. Bartels**, *The Ohio State University*

36-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: DECISION MAKING ON SPECIALIZED COURTS**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Presenter **Modelling Decision Making on the United States Tax Court**
Chad M. King, *University of Texas, Dallas*
 Overview: This research addresses decision-making on the United States Tax Court in tax deficiency cases. Using "Rare Events" logit analysis, I demonstrate that both judge characteristics and case factors affect decision-making in these cases.

Presenter **The Rule of Law: What Is It? Can We Measure It? Do We Have It?**
Lydia B. Tiede, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: An underlying assumption of the rule of law is the fair and non-arbitrary application of the law by impartial judges. I will examine whether American bankruptcy judges apply bankruptcy laws similarly to individuals facing similar circumstances.

36-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: IMPACT OF COURT DECISIONS**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Presenter **An Even Hollower Hope?: Mature v. Emergent Judicial Policy-Making**
Joshua M. Dunn, *University of Colorado, Colorado Springs*
 Overview: In the HOLLOW HOPE, Gerald Rosenberg argues that courts can make successful public policy if a parsimonious set of conditions is met. This paper argues that several important desegregation cases following *Milliken v. Bradley* met these conditions

Presenter **The Supreme Court as Political Economist: Antitrust and the Economy**
Scott E. Graves, *Georgia State University*
 Overview: I analyze the impact of US Supreme Court antitrust decisions on the conduct and makeup of the aggregate domestic economy over the latter half of the 20th century. I find that the goals of the Court for antitrust policy appear to have shifted.

37-6 **PERSPECTIVES ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COURTS AND OTHER BRANCHES**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Vincent J. Strickler**, *DePauw University*
Paper **Legal Constitutionalism Defended**
Ian G. Cram, *Leeds University*
 Overview: Some comparative thoughts about the judicialization of human rights after the United Kingdom's Human Rights Act.
Paper **The Origins of an Independent Judiciary: A Study in Early American Constitutional Development, 1606-1787**
Scott D. Gerber, *Ohio Northern University*
 Overview: My paper examines when and why the judiciaries in the original thirteen states became independent. The goal of my project is to shed light on the federal model by exploring the experiences of the original states.

Paper **The Rehnquist Court and the New Right Regime:**
Mitchell Pickerill, Washington State University
Cornell W. Clayton, Washington State University
 Overview: This paper explores the connections between the Supreme Court and the emergence of a "conservative political regime." Our focus in this paper is on how certain conceptions of judicial power became entrenched in the Court as a result of the "judicial"

Paper **Judicial Review of Acts of Congress, 1880-1929**
Keith E. Whittington, University of Texas, Austin
Tom Clark, Princeton University
 Overview: Making use of an original database of the judicial review of federal statutes, this paper examines the political determinants of the Supreme Court's decision to strike down or uphold the acts of Congress during a period of historic judicial activism.

Disc. **George I. Lovell, University of Washington**

38-8 **HUMAN SERVICES POLICY IN THE STATES**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Carol S. Weissert, Florida State University**
Paper **Agenda Setting and Denial in the States: Nonprofit Hospital Tax Exemption**
Linda S. Millsaps, North Carolina General Assembly
 Overview: Examines state agenda setting in tax policy, comparing it to prevailing federal theories of agenda setting and denial. Considers the costs, benefits, and policies associated with property tax exemption for nonprofit hospitals and charity care.

Paper **Liberal or Conservative? State Choices to Expand Health Insurance Coverage**
Ethan M. Bernick, University of North Texas
Nathan Myers, University of Nevada, Las Vegas
 Overview: This research focuses on the state efforts aimed at decreasing the number uninsured individuals. Specifically, are the politics that lead a state to adopt a tax incentive different from the politics that lead a state to adopt a coverage program?

Paper **American Federalism and Civil Rights Enforcement: The Fair Housing Act from 1973 to 2004**
Charles Lamb, University at Buffalo, SUNY
Eric Wilk, University at Buffalo
 Overview: Using a thirty-one year dataset obtained from HUD, we examine the effectiveness and efficiency of federal versus state and local enforcement of the Fair Housing Act between the Carter and Bush II administrations.

Disc. **Mark C. Rom, Georgetown University**

39-301 **POSTER SESSION: URBAN AND LOCAL POLITICS**

Presenter **Interstates and Cities: Assessing the Impact of the Interstate on Modern Urban Environments**

Room TBA, Board 8, Fri 3:45 pm
Zachary A. Callen, University of Chicago
 Overview: Despite its size, little analytic attention focuses directly on the Interstate. This analysis aims to use geographic analysis to better understand the impact of the interstate on urban spaces.

Presenter **The Price on Local Governance-Do the Municipal Reforms Lead to Better Efficiency?**

Room TBA, Board 9, Fri 3:45 pm
Kaifeng Yang, Florida State University
Junyi Hsieh, Florida State University
 Overview: Various municipal reforms as being efficient drives have swept through many American local governments from past to nowadays, but practitioners and researchers have not reflected reliably on how these reforms contribute to municipal performance.

Presenter **A Re-examination of the Distributive Politics Model**

Room TBA, Board 10, Fri 3:45 pm
Howard A. Stern, West Virginia University
 Overview: This study offers an expanded distributed politics model that utilizes a more comprehensive approach that

considers a variety of contextual factors ignored by traditional models. The federal CDBG program will serve as a case study.

Presenter **A Theory of Urban Scenes**
Room TBA, Board 11, Fri 3:45 pm
Daniel A. Silver, University of Chicago
Terry N. Clark, University of Chicago
 Overview: This paper argues that analyzing the nature and power of scenes as distinct social formations can help to understand recent changes in political agendas that emphasize the importance of culture, consumption, and value commitments.

40-3 **CRIMINAL JUSTICE POLICIES IN THE STATES**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Richard C. Fording, University of Kentucky**
Paper **State Prison Gang Policies: A Comparative Analysis**
Erin L. Bumgarner, Randolph Macon College
 Overview: An increasing number of states are facing the growing problem of gang violence and gang recruitment in their prisons. This analysis looks at various policies and evaluates their effectiveness in controlling gangs in prison.

Paper **Going Soft on Crime? The Politics of Criminal Reentry Policies in the States**

Garrick I. Percival, University of Minnesota, Duluth
 Overview: This paper examines whether the get tough approach to crime at the federal level of government, in fact masks significant variation in how state governments approach the crime problem. An examination of states' criminal reentry policies is examined.

Paper **Restoring Voter Rights in the States: The Beginning of Policy Change?**

Kathleen Hale, Kent State University
Ramona McNeal, University of Illinois, Springfield
Mary Schmeida, The Cleveland Clinic Foundation
 Overview: This paper uses policy adoption and implementation theory to explain variation in felony disenfranchisement laws across the states.

Paper **Problem Definition and Punitive Correctional Policy: The Role of the Media**

Fred A. Meyer, Ball State University
Ralph E. Baker, Ball State University
 Overview: This paper examines the role of the media in maintaining punitive correctional policy at a time when the crime rate has been declining. Q-methodology is used to study print, audio and video news personnel in a medium-sized midwestern city.

Paper **Deterrence Reconsidered: A Theoretical and Empirical Case Against the Death Penalty**

Ari Kohen, James Madison University
Seth K. Jolly, Duke University
 Overview: The debate about whether or not the death penalty deters potential murderers has a long and contentious past.
Disc. **Kenneth E. Fernandez, University of Nevada, Las Vegas**
Richard C. Fording, University of Kentucky

40-17 **THE POLITICS OF MONEY: TAXATION AND EXPENDITURE POLICY**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Justin H. Phillips, Columbia University**
Paper **The Evolution of Tax Burdens and the Political Conflict Over Taxes**

Jeffrey M. Stonecash, Syracuse University
 Overview: Analysis of the origins of current conflicts over tax policy. Review of growing inequality, shift of burden to the affluent, and growing class political divisions and the resulting focus of Republicans on cutting taxes.

Paper **State Rainy Day Funds: Responses to Fiscal Shocks under Rules vs. Discretion**

Shanna Rose, SUNY, Stony Brook
 Overview: This paper addresses the puzzle of why tax and expenditure limits, balanced budget rules, and other restraints are not more effective in promoting fiscal responsibility.

- Paper** **A County Level Analysis of the Political Geography of Federal Spending**
Barry S. Rundquist, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
Greg Holyk, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Overview: This paper addresses the effects of political party and economic status on the distribution of federal programmatic expenditures among U.S. counties from 1983 to 2002.
- Paper** **A Shift in Taxation to Income From Labor: Time for a Comprehensive Paradigm**
Mark D. Kimball, *University of Washington*
 Overview: The income tax burden has shifted surreptitiously to those who provide labor for income as legal, political and economic paradigms compete. A need exists for multidisciplinary study and analysis of competing paradigms and inequitable consequences.
- Paper** **Budgetary Legislation in Unified and Divided Government**
Carletta F. Taylor, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: This paper presents an empirical study of the impacts of unified and divided government in the budgetary environment at the national level.
- Disc.** **Michael J. New**, *University of Alabama*
Justin H. Phillips, *Columbia University*
- 42-4** **CREDIBILITY, CONSTRAINT, CHANGE, AND DEVELOPMENT**
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **William R. Clark**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Paper **Judicial Independence and Economic Outcomes**
Thomson W. McFarland, *University of Colorado*
 Overview: Recent work on the role of formal judicial independence in shaping economic outcomes neglects to consider effects of an actively independent judiciary. I present a formal model of how actors react to an active judiciary and test this model.
- Paper** **How Size Matters for Growth: Government Size, Country Size, and GDP Growth**
Rob Salmond, *University of California, Los Angeles/University of Michigan*
 Overview: This paper shows, theoretically and empirically, that the size of a country's economy conditions the extent to which government spending affects growth. The negative effect of increased government size on growth is stronger as country size rises.
- Paper** **The Politics of Technological Change: Politics and the Sources of Growth**
Joel W. Simmons, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: I explore the politics of technological change, an issue that gets to the heart of economic growth but receives little attention from political scientists. I address the issue here and provide further insight into the politics of development.
- Paper** **Political Institutions and Incentives Toward Economic Policy Efficiency**
Jonathan K. Hanson, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: In this paper, the nature of the economic policymaking incentives generated by governmental forms and electoral systems are described using two dimensions: scope and efficiency. Predictions are tested with a dataset covering 80 countries.
- Disc.** **William R. Clark**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
- 43-205** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LOCAL GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE**
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Presenter **Does Voluntary Turnover Matter in the Public Sector?**
Yongbeom Hur, *University of Kentucky*
 Overview: With the ICMA Comparative Performance Project data, the relationship between turnover and police performance will be explored by using regression and cluster analysis. The results might help us set up proper human resource management policy.
- Presenter** **Local Budget Stress: Financing Homeland Security AND Natural Disaster Needs**
Susan A. MacManus, *University of South Florida*
Kiki Caruson, *University of South Florida*
Thomas A. Watson, *University of South Florida*
 Overview: Survey of Florida city/county finance officers measures the relative impact of homeland security and natural disaster needs on local operating and capital budgets, identifies under-funded elements and gauges adequacy of federal/state grant programs.
- 43-206** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN OF AGENCIES**
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Presenter **Independent Commissions as Instruments of Public Policy**
Jennifer A. Steen, *Boston College*
 Overview: A preliminary survey of independent commissions organized at the federal level in the United States, this paper offers a typology of commissions, hypotheses about their causes and consequences, and preliminary findings from notable cases.
- 44-102** **ROUNDTABLE: HARTZ LIBERAL TRADITION AT 50**
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Paul Frymer**, *University of California, Santa Cruz*
Panelist **Hawley Fogg-Davis**, *Temple University*
Carol Horton, *Erikson Institute*
Ira Katznelson, *Columbia University*
Robert Meister, *University of California, Santa Cruz*
Mark Sawyer, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Charles Williams, *The Ohio State University*
 Overview: This roundtable will reflect on the importance and continuing influence of this book
- 46-5** **POLITICAL CULTURE AND STATE BUILDING**
Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Jeremy B. Straughn**, *Purdue University*
Paper **State Coercion and the Rise of US Business Unionism: The Counterfactual Case of Minneapolis Teamsters 1934-1941**
Barry Eidlin, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: This case study of a key Teamsters local examines a major transformation of the U.S. working class in the 20th century, whereby the worker upsurge of the 1930s led to the consolidation of conservative "business unionism" in the postwar period.
- Paper** **How Static is Political Culture: A Comparative Study of Political Culture**
Magen Knuth, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: This paper will investigate the stability of political culture during and following a crisis in three post-Soviet States and the United States. The expected pattern is one of flexibility of political culture during the initial period after a crisis
- Paper** **Labor in the Neoliberal Era: A Historical Perspective on Turkey**
Peride Blind, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Labor unions all around the world are changing their strategies to adapt to the new requirements of the global economy. In the face of increasing unemployment and decreasing rates of unionization, unions offer a variety of services to their members
- Paper** **A Unidirectional Theory of Culture and Institutions**
Andrea E. Jones-Rooy, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: I explain dissimilar behavior under identical institutional constraints as a unidirectional theory of cultural-to-institutional evolution. I apply this theory to the divergent development trajectories of China and post-Socialist Europe.

Paper **Revenge of Socialist Superstructure: Ideology and Middle Class in the USSR**
Anna Paretskaya, *New School for Social Research*
 Overview: Part of a larger project looking at relationship of communist ideology, class and demise of state-socialism in the USSR, the paper explores the role of ideology in making social classes in the country claiming to be eradicating class differences.

Disc. **Chi-Chen Chiang**, *University of Chicago*

47-1 **RELIGION AND AMERICAN ELECTORAL POLITICS**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Katherine E. Stenger**, *Gustavus Adolphus College*
Paper **Exercising the Right Not to Vote: Religious Groups Abstaining from Voting**
Nathan N. Zook, *University of Wisconsin, Rock County*
 Overview: This paper contrasts religious groups that have chosen on principle to abstain from voting. The Hassidic, Mennonite, Jehovah's Witness, and Nation of Islam faiths choose to erect a wall of separation between religion and the state.

Paper **Impacts of the Church: Does Gender Matter?**
Carly A. Schmitt, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
 Overview: Research suggests that religion plays a role in influencing political behavior. My research explores the extent to which the church differs in its impact on policy preferences and vote choice of women and men.

Paper **Deliberation on Gay Rights and Homosexuality in Churches**
Paul A. Djupe, *Denison University*
Jacob R. Neihsel, *Denison University*
 Overview: We present clergy's public expression of a full range of arguments concerning Issue 1 – Ohio's proposed constitutional amendment. We explore the patterns of their presentation according to religious tradition, personal agreement, and group salience.

Paper **Whatever Happened to Tammany Hall? The Evolution of Jewish and Roman Catholic Voting Loyalties Since Before the New Deal 1928-2004**
Adam Paul Kradel, *University of Wisconsin*
 Overview: This paper examines religious voting loyalties for the time period from 1928 to 2004 to shed light on the various explanations for why Jewish voters maintained a loyalty to the New Deal coalition and Roman Catholic voters did not.

Paper **The Changing Catholic Electorate: Comparing Responses to Kennedy and Kerry**
J. Matthew Wilson, *Southern Methodist University*
 Overview: This paper argues that the nature of Catholic voter decision making has changed dramatically since 1960, with issue stances replacing group identity as the primary focus, especially for the more observant.

Disc. **Amy Black**, *Wheaton College*
Nancy L. Bednar, *Del Mar College*

47-3 **RELIGION, RACE, AND ETHNICITY IN AMERICAN POLITICS**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Eric L. McDaniel**, *University of Texas, Austin*
Paper **Getting a Piece of the Faith Based Pie**
Christine D. Chapman, *Georgia State University*
 Overview: This article examines cultural, financial and structural capacities of black congregations to address issues of social and public policy. The most significant determinants of social delivery ability for a given church were determined.

Paper **Black Pastors and the Black Agenda: Policy Images of the Faith-Based Initiative**
Larycia A. Hawkins, *University of Oklahoma*
 Overview: The black pastor conveys messages that shape the black policy agenda. The Faith-Based and Community Initiative provides an opportunity to explain the nuances of black agenda setting vis-à-vis the black church.

Paper **Scrap Diversity Workshops: Try Some Hell-Fire Religion?**
Joseph E. Yi, *Oberlin College*
 Overview: Scrap diversity workshops; try some hell-fire religion?

Disc. **Eric L. McDaniel**, *University of Texas, Austin*
Caroline M. Nordlund, *Brown University*

49-106 **ROUNDTABLE: HONORING SUSAN J. CARROLL, WINNER OF THE WOMEN'S CAUCUS OUTSTANDING PROFESSIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AWARD**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Karen Kaufmann**, *University of Maryland, College Park*
Panelist **Susan J. Carroll**, *Rutgers University*
Roberta S. Sigel, *Rutgers University*
Kira Sanbonmatsu, *The Ohio State University*
Georgia Duerst-Lahti, *Beloit College*
Ronnee Schreiber, *San Diego State University*
Pippa Norris, *Harvard University*
 Overview: This panel is organized in honor of the recipient of the Outstanding Professional Achievement Award from the Midwest Women's Caucus.

52-1 **EDUCATION POLICY OVER SPACE AND TIME: STATE AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **Christopher Berry**, *University of Chicago*
Paper **Transformation of American Educational Policy, 1980-2001**
Jal D. Mehta, *Harvard University*
 Overview: The rise of standards and accountability has transformed American educational policy since 1980. This paper draws on extensive federal case study evidence and the literature on ideas and politics to explain this transformation.

Paper **Smart Start or False Start? The Politics of American Preschool Education**
Andrew Karch, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: Many countries operate centralized, universal preschool programs. In the United States, however, the national government plays only a limited role in this policy domain. What explains the shape of American preschool policy?

Paper **Governors as Policy Entrepreneurs? The Case of Early Education Policymaking**
Elizabeth Rigby, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: Governors are often awarded credit for popular policies. Yet, we know little about whether their public position taking is systematically related to policy change. This paper tests these associations using data on the politics of early education.

Disc. **Kenneth K. Wong**, *Brown University*
James Guthrie, *Vanderbilt University*
Marty West, *Harvard University*

56-1 **INFORMAL NETWORKS AND FORMAL AUTHORITY (Co-sponsored with Public Administration, see 43-14)**

Room TBA, Fri 3:45 pm
Chair **John T. Scholz**, *Florida State University*
Paper **Security, Hierarchy, and Information Networks in the Intelligence Community**
Thomas H. Hammond, *Michigan State University*
Jonathan Bendor, *Stanford University*
 Overview: To what extent do the needs of security and hierarchy in the intelligence community conflict with the need to share information widely in the network of intelligence agencies?

- Paper** **Policy Networks and Diffusion: How Small Worlds Reduce Systemic Performance**
David M. Lazer, *Harvard University*
Allan Friedman, *Harvard University*
 Overview: This paper presents a simulation model of policy diffusion. It finds that the more effective the network is at diffusing information, the more rapidly is diversity squeezed out of the system, and the lower the long run performance of the system.
- Paper** **The Evolution of Policy Networks for Delivering Local Services**
Manoj Shrestha, *Florida State University*
Richard C. Feiock, *Florida State University*
 Overview: We test network based explanations for the emergence and evolution of intelocal service agreements to explain how local actors pursuit of individual interests constrained by transaction costs produces a macro-level regional governance structure.
- Paper** **Organizational Behavior and Links Creation: Understanding the Dynamics of Policy Networks**
Alfredo R. Berardo, *Florida State University*
John T. Scholz, *Florida State University*
 Overview: The paper seeks to understand how network links are formed by organizations in 22 estuaries of the U.S.
- Disc.** **Gary J. Miller**, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Andrew B. Whitford, *University of Georgia*

Saturday, April 22 – 8:30 am – 10:15 am

3-10 ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND PARTY CHANGE IN TURKEY

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair Ali Carkoglu, *Sabanci University*

Paper Tracing the Contours of the Turkish Ideological Space

Ali Carkoglu, *Sabanci University*

Melvin J. Hinich, *University of Texas, Austin*

Overview: This paper aims at diagnosing the contours of spatial ideological map in Turkey with the help of two surveys conducted prior to the November 2002 election.

Paper The Expansion of Islamic Capital and the Moderation of the Islamist Movement In Turkey

Seda Demiralp, *American University*

Overview: Islamic business networks rapidly developed after Turkey's transition to open economy in the 1980s and constituted a threat to the secularist elites. Yet, ironically, the rise of the Islamic bourgeoisie led to the moderation of the Islamist movement.

Paper The Eclipse of the Left and the Rise of the Right

Ersin Kalaycioglu, *Isik University*

Overview: This paper aims at diagnosing change in ideological space and its impact on parties' electoral fortunes in the context of Turkish politics.

Paper Non-Electoral Sources of Party System Change: Perspectives on The Turkish Case

Sabri Sayari, *Sabanci University*

Overview: The analysis of change in party systems has traditionally focused heavily on the role of electoral outcomes in shaping important features of party systems such as the number of relevant parties, ideological polarization and distance between parties

Disc. Sultan Tepe, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

3-11 THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL PARTY SYSTEMS

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair Markus Kreuzer, *Villanova University*

Paper Nationalization of Post-War German Party Politics

Markus Kreuzer, *Villanova University*

Konstantin Gunchev, *Villanova University*

Overview: The paper analyzes various elite strategies (e.g. institutional engineering, party licensing, party switching, electoral alliances) that contributed to the rapid coordination of state and federal level party systems in postwar Germany.

Paper Volatility and Party Nationalization

Scott Morgenstern, *Duke University*

Stephen M. Swindle, *Lee University*

Overview: This paper analyzes the interaction between volatility at sub-national elections (e.g. state or districts of national elections) and national patterns to explore the link between voter alignment and the nationalization of party systems.

Paper Institutions and Party Development in Developing Democracies

Allen Hicken, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Heather Stoll, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

Overview: This paper focuses on party systems nationalization, especially in developing democracies.

Disc. Eric Magar, *ITAM, Mexico City*

4-13 CHINA'S PATH TO DEMOCRACY: A LONG MARCH OR A DEAD END?

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair Eric Zusman, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Paper Classing Ethnicity: Strategies of Mass Mobilization in the Transition to Democracy

David D. Yang, *Princeton University*

Overview: This paper seeks to bring attention to the "class" component of many types of political transitions conventionally understood as driven by ethnic, nationalist mobilization.

Paper Law of Assembly in China

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

Overview: This paper is a comparative study of laws of assembly between the People's Republic of China (PRC) vs. the Republic of China (Taiwan) (ROC).

Disc. Fiona Yap, *University of Kansas*

4-19 WHEN SUNSHINE IS THE BEST DISINFECTANT: CORRUPTION, TRANSPARENCY, AND DEMOCRATIZATION

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair Gretchen G. Casper, *Pennsylvania State University*

Paper Analyzing the Dark Side of Social Capital: Organized Crime in Russia

Leah E. Gilbert, *Georgetown University*

Overview: This paper aims to conduct a comprehensive empirical study of the ways in which social capital is present and facilitates the undemocratic ends of organized crime groups in Russia.

Paper Institutions and Democratization: Corruption and The Rule of Law

Mihaela Ristei, *Western Michigan University*

Overview: The paper examines the relationship between formal institutions (i.e. courts) and informal institutions (i.e. corruption) during the democratization process. It argues that corruption shapes the ways courts work and undermines the rule of law.

Paper Corruption, Institutions, and Health Care in Central and Eastern Europe

Dagmar Radin, *University of North Texas*

Overview: In this study I analyze how corruption and institutions have been determining factors in the performance of the health care sector in the Central and Eastern Europe pre- and post-transition period.

Paper (Dis)Respect for Civil Liberties in Post-Communist Countries

Svend-Erik Skaaning, *University of Aarhus, Denmark*

Overview: The paper uncovers structural factors explaining the respect for civil liberties in 28 postcommunist countries.

Paper Reflections on Meritocracy

Wei Wang, *University of Alberta*

Overview: The model that one deserves what one gets on the basis of one's own merit has often been criticized. The research here is to explore its plausibility and scope by examining Norman Daniels' criterion of merit in terms of justice.

Disc. Andrea E. Jones-Rooy, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

4-25 CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRATIZATION: EXAMINING THE (POTENTIAL) OBSTACLES AT HOME AND ABROAD

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair Jennifer M. Cyr, *Florida International University*

Paper Does Culture Matter? Examining the Impact of Cultural and Rationalist Variables on Support for Democracy in Latin American Countries

Rezwana Hussain Hussain, *Florida International University*

Overview: The study analyses the impact of various cultural and rationalist variables on support for different aspects of democracy in selected Latin American countries, using data from the World Values Survey.

Paper Foreign Policy Influences in the Southern Cone Democratic Transitions

Charles Gleek, *Florida International University*

Overview: Investigate the role that the foreign policies of the United States, the Soviet Union, and other countries played in the process of democratic transitions in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay.

Paper	<p><u>Culture and Democracy: State, Nationalism, and Democratization in Japan</u> Takehiko Kojima, <i>Florida International University</i> Overview: The paper addresses the question why democracy put down roots in Japan by examining a process through which culturally heterogeneous communities are integrated into a political community through state making, nation-building, and democratization.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Inexistent Party System in Guatemala: Implications for Democracy</u> Omar Sanchez, <i>Iowa State University</i> Overview: This essay will gauge the degree of institutionalization of the Guatemalan party system.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The European Union and Democratization in Turkey, Poland, and Spain</u> Engin I. Erdem, <i>Florida International University</i> Overview: This paper examines the question that whether, how, and under what conditions prospective European Community/Union membership has played role, if any, for the democratization processes of Turkey, Poland, and Spain?</p>	Disc.	<p>Erika Moreno, <i>University of Iowa</i> Carlos Pereira, <i>Michigan State University</i></p>
Disc.	Jennifer M. Cyr, <i>Florida International University</i>	7-203	<p><u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PARTICIPATION AND PUBLIC OPINION IN LATIN AMERICA</u></p>
5-11	<p><u>INSTITUTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES IN EUROPE</u></p>	Room	TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Room	Leone Niglia, <i>University of Aberdeen</i>	Presenter	<p><u>Socio-Political Participation of Mexican Citizens</u> Taeeun Min, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: This paper examines how Mexican citizens' socio-political participation relates to socioeconomic factors and democratic attitudes. This paper also explores how much their participation behavior has been changed as the country has been democratized.</p>
Chair	Old Europe's New Constitutionalism	Presenter	<p><u>Media Effects on Public Opinion and Political Action in Military-Ruled Brazil</u> Elizabeth A. Stein, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: In this paper I test traditional U.S.-based models of media effects on public opinion in the context of military-ruled Brazil.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Kirk Buckman, Catholic University of America</u> Overview: This paper considers current parliamentary proposals on constitutional reform in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy and Belgium from historical institutional and social choice perspectives.</p>	7-204	<p><u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: AN ETHICAL U.S. - LATIN AMERICAN POLICY</u></p>
Paper	<p><u>Citizenship in Federal Politics: Comparing Austria, Germany and Switzerland</u> Claus Hofhansel, <i>Rhode Island College</i> Overview: In Austria, Germany, and Switzerland subnational authorities have the responsibility to implement national citizenship laws. This paper analyzes the extent to which efforts to harmonize naturalization criteria and procedures have succeeded.</p>	Room	TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Paper	<p><u>Ally or Adversary? Ideological and Institutional Determinants of Oversight</u> Christine S. Lipsmeyer, <i>University of Missouri</i> Heather N. Pierce, <i>University of Missouri</i> Overview: This paper examines the institutional constraints that determine whether coalition governments use legislative or executive level oversight mechanisms to monitor ideologically divergent ministers in policy-making activities.</p>	Presenter	<p><u>Toward an Ethical US-Latin American Policy in the Third Millennium</u> Peter M. Sanchez, <i>Loyola University, Chicago</i> Megan A. Sholar, <i>Loyola University, Chicago</i> Overview: In this article we examine US-Latin American relations, concluding that now is the time for the United States to formulate an ethical foreign policy toward the region.</p>
Disc.	Galya B. Ruffer, <i>DePaul University</i>	8-9	<p><u>NORTHEAST ASIAN FOREIGN POLICY</u></p>
7-7	<p><u>PARTY SYSTEMS: INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND CHANGE</u></p>	Room	TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Room	Marisa A. Kellam, <i>Institute for Quantitative Social Science</i>	Chair	Won K. Paik, <i>Central Michigan University</i>
Chair	Party System Transformation: Conceptualizing the Venezuelan Case	Paper	<p><u>Democratization and Reconciliation: A Case of South Korea and Japan</u> Yangmo Ku, <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: The deeper institutionalization of democratic values in South Korea has accelerated South Korea's communication with Japan at governmental and nongovernmental levels, thereby contributing to their efforts at bilateral reconciliation with Japan.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Jana Morgan Kelly, University of Tennessee</u> Overview: This paper develops a conceptualization party system transformation and then employs the concept in an analysis of the radical change in the Venezuelan party system from the consolidation of the country's 2.5-party system in 1973 through the present.</p>	Paper	<p><u>South Korea's Balancing Act: How to keep the U.S. and North Korea Happy</u> Susan Suh, <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: Since the last nuclear crisis, Seoul's perception of the North Korean threat has changed. No longer seen as a traditional military threat, ROK fear that DPRK will be most destabilizing if it has nothing to lose.</p>
Paper	<p><u>After the Conflicts Emergence of Party Systems in El Salvador and Guatemala</u> Annabella España Nájera, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: To explain the party systems of new democracies, we must include in our explanation of party systems "regime transitions", including an understanding of the actors involved, their balance of power and the strategies pursued.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Political-Bureaucratic Struggles Over Japanese Aid Policy</u> Mary M. McCarthy, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: This research examines Japanese foreign aid policy towards China as the product of Japanese political-bureaucratic relations and electoral politics.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Living Without Daddy: The Transformation of the PRI's Party Structure</u> Frederic K. Cady, <i>University of Miami</i> Overview: I examine how the PRI in Mexico has reformed its party structure after losing national power. My argument is that those who obtained leadership positions within the party have used the party structure as a vehicle to advance their career interests.</p>	Paper	<p><u>When the Cold War Broke on the Korean Peninsula: Sunshine on US Policy</u> Colin A. Moore, <i>University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: South Korean President Kim Dae Jung's Sunshine Policy finally supplanted the Cold War structure as the primary influence upon U.S. North Korean policy following the realization of the June 2000 inter-Korean summit.</p>

Paper	<p><u>South Korean Public Opinion on Foreign Policy</u> David G. Tully, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: This paper examines how South Koreans think and feel about three major themes using multivariate analysis of new data: cooperation and trust of allies, economic fairness and trade, and security and regional stability.</p>	Paper	<p><u>One Year On: The Kyrgyz Revolution Revisited</u> Thomas J. Wood, <i>IFES, Washington D.C.</i> Overview: This paper argues that the "Revolution" of March 2005 was symptomatic of the arrival of a new populism in Kyrgyz politics. Perhaps not democratization, it does mark the end of the monopoly of Soviet-derived ideologies on power.</p>
Disc.	<p>Won K. Paik, <i>Central Michigan University</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Legitimacy in Post-Socialist Asia: The Importance of Social Welfare</u> Jeffrey S. Payne, <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i> Overview: Post-socialist states may become more democratic because of liberalization's failures. In Asia, states reinventing their authority to match a privatizing economy hold onto power better than those incapable or unwilling to do so.</p>
10-7	<p><u>THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT CHANGE IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA</u></p>	Paper	<p><u>Defining Corruption in Kyrgyzstan: the Role of Public Perceptions</u> Victoria N. Lavrova, <i>American University (Central Asia)</i> Overview: This research examines political corruption in contemporary Kyrgyz politics. The role of public perceptions will demonstrate to what extent corruption in Kyrgyzstan is publicly accepted, and can be regarded as a cultural issue.</p>
Room	<p>TBA, Sat 8:30 am</p>	Paper	<p><u>Islam in Central Asia: Authoritarian Rule and Religious Extremist Groups</u> Dilshod Achilov, <i>University of Arizona</i> Overview: This project evaluates the causal complexity of religious extremist groups emerging as a strong opposition against authoritarian rule in Central Asia.</p>
Chair	<p>Matthew Hoddie, <i>Texas A&M University</i></p>	Disc.	<p>Askat Dukenbaev, <i>Kent State University</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>China's Local State Diversity and Its Effect on Private Sector Development</u> Yayoi Kato, <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: The paper examined the regional diversity of local governments' roles and influences on China's private sector development through the document analysis of provincial party publications and the survey data analysis of private enterprises.</p>		
Paper	<p><u>Fiscal Crisis, Political Crisis?-- Financing Local Government in China</u> Wu Zhang, <i>Cornell University</i> Overview: Based on more than 2 years of fieldwork in Hunan, this paper explains why townships and villages in central China have been facing a fiscal crisis since 1994 and why the tax-for-fee reform has deepened this crisis.</p>		
Paper	<p><u>From Symbiotic Clientelism to Principled Clientelism</u> Xiaoli Tian, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This research revisits the political patronage and clientelist networks in the development of Chinese private enterprises. New game rules represented by principled clientelism has been developed between local officials and some entrepreneurs.</p>	11-8	<p><u>NEW DIRECTIONS IN THE STUDY OF POWER AND FORCE</u></p>
Paper	<p><u>Central Signaling and Local Reform in China</u> Haifeng Huang, <i>Duke University</i> Overview: Why could China's local governments from time to time break through Beijing's policy restrictions, when the country's political system is highly centralized? Put simply, there is a signaling game going on, in which social expectations matter.</p>	Room	<p>TBA, Sat 8:30 am</p>
Paper	<p><u>Experimenting with Democracy in the Chinese Nomenklatura System</u> Gang Guo, <i>University of Mississippi</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the recent central and local experiments of reforming the personnel control of local government leaders in China, which are extremely limited and tightly controlled yet introduce some elements of downward accountability.</p>	Chair	<p>Neda A. Zawahri, <i>Cleveland State University</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Re-evaluating Market-Preserving Federalism: Soft Budget Constraints of Local Governments in China</u> Lynette Ong, <i>Australian National University</i> Overview: Soft budget constraints of China's local governments offer a lesson that without the effective mechanisms that exist in functioning democracies to act as checks-and-balances, fiscal decentralization could create unbridled power detrimental to growth.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Divided Cores, Multiple Peripheries: Governance Nodes and State Territory</u> Frank E. Williams, <i>University of South Carolina</i> Overview: This paper suggests a map of the world based not on political lines, but on the authority radiating from "nodes" of governance.</p>
Disc.	<p>Matthew Hoddie, <i>Texas A&M University</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Conflict and Cooperation over International Rivers</u> Neda A. Zawahri, <i>Cleveland State University</i> Overview: As states look to their international rivers to meeting increasing demand for water, the likelihood for conflict increases. Our understanding of these conflicts remains nascent. This paper analyzes and suggests ways of improving existing arguments.</p>
10-14	<p><u>FORMER SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA IN THE SPOTLIGHT</u></p>	Paper	<p><u>Fighting Fourth Generation Warfare With A Reserve Dependent Military</u> Emilio A. Rodriguez, <i>Mount St. Mary's University</i> John P. Rodriguez, <i>Mount St. Mary's University</i> Overview: The US is fighting the war on terror using a professional military that relies on reserves. Decision-makers must adapt to the political and military requirements of protracted conflict in order to develop a capacity for dealing effectively with 4GW.</p>
Room	<p>TBA, Sat 8:30 am</p>	Paper	<p><u>Private Soldiers, Private Wars: Private Military Companies and Mobilization</u> James A. Rydberg, <i>University of Iowa</i> Gail J. Buttorff, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: Drawing upon past work on audience costs and mobilization, this paper evaluates the role of PMCs as an alternative to traditional military mobilization.</p>
Chair	<p>Thomas J. Wood, <i>IFES, Washington, D.C.</i></p>	Disc.	<p>Olga Bogatyrenko, <i>University of California, Davis</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Central Asia: Geopolitical Prisoners?</u> Larisa Yun, <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: The present paper examines the foreign policy of Central Asia from the perspective of political geography. It argues that the direction of Central Asian foreign policy is largely determined by its landlockedness and the nature of its neighborhood.</p>	12-8	<p><u>INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS</u></p>
		Room	<p>TBA, Sat 8:30 am</p>
		Chair	<p>David S. Yamanishi, <i>Michigan State University</i></p>
		Paper	<p><u>Corruption, Illegal Trade and Compliance with the Montreal Protocol</u> Kate Ivanova, <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: This paper develops a theory of illegal trade in ozone-depleting substances, taking into account the level of corruption, law enforcement and environmental tariffs, and tests</p>

predictions concerning legal trade to make inferences about smuggling

Paper **When and Why Change the Rules? Global Telecom Reforms in Recent Years**
Kirsten Rodine Hardy, *Brown University*
 Overview: This paper asks when and why over 129 countries enacted liberal telecom reform in recent years. Using a Weibull multivariate hazard model, this chapter analyzes the timing of reform in 184 countries from 1975-2001.

Paper **The Global Battle Over the MultiFiber Agreement**
Anastasia Xenias, *Columbia University*
 Overview: The end of the Multi-Fiber Agreement in January 2005 which regulated the world textile and apparel trade through a multilateral system of quotas, produced one of the toughest and broadest trade policy battles in recent history, which still rages on.

Disc. **Alexandra G. Guisinger**, *University of Notre Dame*

12-203 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: GLOBAL TRADE**

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Presenter **Preferential Trade Agreements: Legalism and Trade**
Candace Miller, *University of Arizona*
 Overview: The use of preferential trade agreements often fails to account for institutional differences between agreements, instead treating them as dichotomous variables. This paper attempts to explain one of the aspects of institutional difference, legalism

Presenter **The U.S. as a Global Consumer: Providing a Global Public Good?**
Tina F. Mueller, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*
Dan B. Braaten, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*
 Overview: This paper offers an alternative approach to the balance of payments debate by analyzing the US trade deficit within a global public goods framework. This broadens the debate and begs for a more international approach on behalf of US policymakers.

13-8 **THE MIDDLE EAST AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS**

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair **Nehemia Geva**, *Texas A&M University*

Paper **Pakistan's Conflict Behavior and Implications for Democratic Peace Theory**
Hassan Bashir, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: Kargil conflict between Pakistan and India is perhaps the only known anomaly to the Democratic Peace theory. This paper analyzes Pakistan's Conflict behavior since independence and its implications for the Democratic Peace argument.

Paper **Satellite TV and Radio Transmission in Democracy Promotion: The Case of Iran**
Soleiman Kiasatpour, *Western Kentucky University*
Ian C. Nash, *Western Kentucky University*
 Overview: This paper surveys the role and effects of satellite TV and radio programming in democracy promotion in the case of Iran. Both US and private party broadcasts are analyzed to evaluate these effects on democracy promotion in general.

Paper **Identity and Arab Public Opinion on Foreign Relations**
Russell E. Lucas, *University of Oklahoma*
Peter A. Furia, *Wake Forest University*
 Overview: Using survey data from seven different Arab societies we test the relationships between attitudes towards non-Arab countries and attitudes on Palestine and Iraq, various competing identity frames, and demographic characteristics.

Paper **The Role of Islam in International Politics: New Potentials**
Mohammad A. Tabaar, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Many IR scholars believe that Islamic fundamentalism is on the rise. While this has been true in the past it may not necessarily be the case in the future. There are new trends in the Islamic world that support a limited role for religion in politics.

Disc. **Nehemia Geva**, *Texas A&M University*
Ribhi I. Salhi, *Roosevelt University*

14-8 **SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE POST 9/11 ERA**

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair **Jacob English**, *Marquette University*

Paper **From Acquisition to Use: Why Terrorists Will Not Attack with Nuclear Weapons**
Christopher B. McIntosh, *University of Chicago*
Ian Storey, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: Conventional wisdom and US foreign policy are animated by the fear of a nuclear terrorist attack on the US homeland.

Paper **Global Terrorism and Western Agendas: the Convergences-the Divergences**
Visne Korkmaz, *Yildiz Technical University*
 Overview: This paper is focusing on the question; where does the West stand in the fight against terrorism?

Paper **The Threat of Terrorism and the Challenge of Non-Compliance**
Rabia Akhtar, *Fatima Jinnah Women University*
 Overview: The multilateral nonproliferation regimes have come under direct threat posed by terrorism after 9/11. This research seeks to identify the causes of non-compliance by the signatory states and the challenge posed on the credibility of these regimes.

Paper **The Utility of Nuclear Deterrence Against Terrorists and Rogue States**
Lisa Saum, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: The study readjusts classic nuclear deterrence to combat rogue states and terrorist organizations. It recommends using a graduated threat spectrum chart, allowing policymakers to visualize and determine the degree of threat posed by such actors.

Paper **Jordan's Security Dilemma and the Use of Military Tools**
Anouar Boukhars, *Wilberforce University*
 Overview: Jordan's security dilemma won't be alleviated through the use of military tools. To prevail it must adopt a multi-dimensional security policy that promotes the values of prevention, accountability, political participation and rule of law.

Disc. **Andrada Irina S. Costoiu**, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

15-4 **CIVIL WARS AND STATE REPRESSION**

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair **Ravi Bhavnani**, *Michigan State University*

Paper **Interstate Signals, Intervention and Civil War Duration**
Clayton L. Thyne, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: This paper examines how 3rd party interventions affect the duration of civil war. I argue that interventions that take place during a civil war can only be understood in the context of pre-war signals sent by the potential interveners.

Paper **Why the Heavens Did Not Darken: or Why Vietnam Did Not Become Another Asian Killing Field**
Maureen S. Hiebert, *University of Toronto*
 Overview: An exploration of why Vietnam did not experience genocide and Cambodia did following the end of the Indochina wars in 1975 emphasizing the importance of political culture, elite interpretations of crisis, and the construction of victim group.

Paper **Democratic Attitudes and Civil War: Testing the Micro-Foundations of the Democratic Peace in Sri Lanka**
William Mishler, *University of Arizona*
Steven Finkel, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: This paper uses survey data to examine the impact of democratic values on public attitudes about war and peace in Sri Lanka's Civil War. It contributes both to our understanding of civil war and the domestic limits of the democratic peace.

Paper **Bullets Before Ballots: Understanding the Coercive Foundations of Political Democracy**
Christian Davenport, *University of Maryland, College Park*
Claudia Dahlerus, *Albion College*
 Overview: We consider the impact of state repression on regime change and examine its influence using a vector autoregression model. This allows us to assess the importance of repression and

several other variables believed to be relevant to democratization.

Paper **Cheaters Never Win? Assessing the Connection Between Election Quality and Political Protest**
Ronald A. Francisco, *University of Kansas*
Erik S. Herron, *University of Kansas*
 Overview: We assess the connection between elections and protest using data from the European Protest and Coercion Data, additional data from Latin America, Burma and Korea as well as election data.

Disc. **Denese A. McArthur**, *Binghamton University*
Ravi Bhavnani, *Michigan State University*

15-16 **VIOLENCE AND POLITICAL STABILITY**
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair **Susan Hannah Allen**, *Texas Tech University*
Paper **Timing is Everything**
Susan Hannah Allen, *Texas Tech University*
 Overview: What factors influence the timing of intervention? Following Gilligan and Stedman (2003), I explore how casualties, alliances, economic and political conditions, and ethnic makeup affect intervention decisions by IOs, regional actors, and states.

Paper **Political Conflicts in the Shadow of Violence**
G. Jiyun Kim, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: I develop a theory of political conflict in the shadow of violence in light of various domestic and international crisis situations. This theory is concerned with the nature (violent/non-violent) and the timing of political stabilization processes.

Paper **Tale of Two Terrors: Terrorism, Repression and Democratic Stability**
Masaki Nakamoto, *University of Texas, Dallas*
 Overview: This research paper seeks to illuminate on the decline in democratic stability due to terrorism and state repression.

Paper **Political Instability and Natural Disaster Vulnerability**
Dursun Peksen, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
 Overview: This paper empirically analyzes the nexus between political instability and natural disasters. My findings suggest that presence of political instability in a country affects the level of effective responsiveness by the governments to disasters.

Paper **Terrorism and the Opportunity Costs of State Response**
Susan M. Jellissen, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: An analysis of what determines the nature of state response to terrorism based on four separate case studies, drawn from Western Europe, 1968-2001.

Disc. **Susan Hannah Allen**, *Texas Tech University*

16-5 **PUBLIC OPINION, THE MEDIA, AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY**
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair **Kevin R. Watkins**, *William Paterson University*
Paper **Following The Leader: The Impact of the Mass Media on American Foreign Policy in Somalia, Rwanda, and**
Daniel P. Fitzsimmons, *University of Calgary*
 Overview: American policy makers have more autonomy in foreign policy decision-making than is frequently perceived by scholars supporting the notion that mass media organizations possess extensive agenda-setting power, commonly known as the "CNN effect."

Paper **Public Opinion, Domestic Institutions, and Evolving Norms of Democratic Intervention**
Andrew Z. Katz, *Denison University*
 Overview: I propose a paper that contributes to democratic peace theory by incorporating insights from the study of public opinion and foreign policy to case studies of democratic wars of choice.

Paper **The Power of Public Opinion? U.S. Intervention in Ethnic Conflicts**
Jana Chapman, *Columbia University*
 Overview: This paper analyzes the linkages between foreign policy decision making and public opinion by examining two case studies of ethnic conflict: Rwanda and Sudan.

Paper **Humanitarianism, Democracy, and Americans' Support for Militant Anti-Terrorism Measures**
Dukhong Kim, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: What drives Americans to support militant anti-terrorism measures? This paper attempts to draw attention to a potential problem of the proposition that the public is rational by looking at the sources of citizens' support for anti-terrorism measures.

Disc. **Nathalie J. Frensey**, *University of Texas, Austin*

18-5 **THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CAMPAIGN EFFECTS**
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair **Chris Karpowitz**, *Princeton University*
Paper **Uncovering the Causal Mechanism: How Campaigns Matter and Why**
David A. Peterson, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: This paper determines the psychological mechanism behind campaign effects. I compare the changes in the content and strength of attitudes to determine which is responsible for the observed dynamics in support for presidential candidates.

Paper **Experience You Can Count On: Candidate Record and Source Credibility**
Brian K. Arbour, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: I hypothesize that record develops source credibility for candidates, reducing voters' uncertainty over the candidate's true positions and intentions. I conduct an experiment, holding the message constant, but varying the record of the candidate.

Paper **Balancing Ambition Among Decision Makers**
Christopher W. Larimer, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*
Kevin B. Smith, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*
 Overview: We use laboratory experiments to test how people react to ambitious decision-makers. We test the hypothesis that people will support decision-makers perceived to be less ambitious to balance decision-makers perceived to be more ambitious.

Paper **Partisan Incongruities in Presidential Voting**
Sunshine Hillygus, *Harvard University*
Todd Shields, *University of Arkansas*
 Overview: Using unique survey data from the 2004 presidential election, we examine the prevalence and influence of incongruities between policy preferences and party identification on presidential vote choice.

Paper **Political Posters: (How) Do They Affect Individual Electoral Behavior?**
Delia Dumitrescu, *The Ohio State University*
 Overview: This paper focuses on the effects of political posters on individual electoral behavior. I hypothesize that these effects are underpinned by mechanisms of attitude accessibility and mere exposure and test this model in a laboratory setting.

Disc. **Jennifer Wolak**, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
John M. Sides, *George Washington University*

18-6 **HOW CITIZENS MAKE SENSE OF THE POLITICAL WORLD**
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair **Doris A. Graber**, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
Paper **The Price of Constraint? Comparing Verification Threat and Counter-Framing**
Brendan Nyhan, *Duke University*
 Overview: Using data from a national survey experiment, I test the power of verification threat and counter-framing in shaping citizen issue preferences about four controversial policy proposals.

- Paper** **Were Bush Tax Cut Supporters Simply Ignorant? A Second Look at Conservatives and Liberals in "Homer Gets a Tax Cut"**
Arthur Lupia, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Gisela Sin, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Adam S. Levine, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Jesse O. Menning, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: "Homer Gets a Tax Cut" concludes that support for Bush's tax is entirely attributable to simple ignorance. Our analysis reveals different results.
- Paper** **Motivated Political Reasoning in a Functional Perspective**
Sanser Yener, *Stony Brook University*
Charles S. Taber, *Stony Brook University*
 Overview: In this study, we examine whether self-interest-based or value-based arguments are more likely to lead to disconfirmation bias and attitude polarization, and specify the processes by which attitude functions affect motivated political reasoning.
- Paper** **Toward an Improved Theory of Preference Reversal Under Diverse Scenarios**
Greg M. Shaw, *Illinois Wesleyan University*
Mike Dancs, *Illinois Wesleyan University*
 Overview: This research examines contexts that widely elicit intransitive individual preference rankings. This paper presents the problem, elaborates contexts in which it occurs, critiques the dominant explanation, and offers an alternative explanation.
- Paper** **Evaluating Dramatic Political Events in the Formative Years**
M. Kent Jennings, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
Laura Stoker, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: This paper utilizes long-term panel data to assess how people evaluate and react to two critical events-the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal-that occurred during their formative years.
- Disc.** **Eileen Braman**, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
Lynn M. Sanders, *University of Virginia*

18-301 **POSTER SESSION: POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY**

- Presenter** **Politicians as Primes**
Room TBA, Board 1, Sat 8:30 am
Sara H. Konrath, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Norbert Schwarz, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: Does exposure to politicians influence how ambiguous descriptions of people are later evaluated? Our research confirms that it does: sometimes positively, sometimes negatively, and sometimes depending on raters' political affiliations
- Presenter** **Does More Information Lead to a Different Vote Choice**
Room TBA, Board 2, Sat 8:30 am
Drew Seib, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
 Overview: An important question in American politics is how does information affect the way a person votes. This paper seeks to answer the question will a person change his/her vote choice given an increase level of information.
- Presenter** **The FAE and Tort Awards: Do Greedy Lawyers Outshine Procedural Justice?**
Room TBA, Board 3, Sat 8:30 am
David Doherty, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
 Overview: The research explores the causes of the perception that tort litigation is "out of control" from a psychological perspective. It also speaks to the broader question of how people form impressions of institutions and institutional outcomes.
- Presenter** **Economic Individualism, Social Individualism, and Political Participation**
Room TBA, Board 4, Sat 8:30 am
Shih-Yi Chou, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*
 Overview: This proposal paper shows economic individualists are likely to participate in politics whereas social individualists are unlikely to do the same thing. The relationship between individualism and participation is explored in this proposal paper.

19-4 **COMPETITION AND TURNOUT**

- Room** TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair **Michael P. McDonald**, *George Mason University*
Paper **Re-examining the System of 1896**
David Darmofal, *University of South Carolina*
 Overview: Employing spatial econometrics, this paper challenges Schattschneider's privatization of conflict account of the 1896 realignment.
- Paper** **None of the Above? Casting Blank Ballots in Canadian Provincial Elections**
Steven E. Galatas, *Stephen F. Austin State University*
 Overview: Using data from recent provincial elections in Canada, this paper investigates various factors associated with the casting of blank ballots. The paper also examines the relationship between blank ballots and rational choice theory of voting.
- Paper** **The Effect of Information on Turnout Decisions**
Esteban Klor, *Hebrew University*
Eyal Winter, *Hebrew University*
 Overview: This paper examines experimentally and empirically the effect that information on the distribution of preferences has on voters' turnout decisions. We explain the discovered anomalies in voters' behavior by means of a bounded rationality approach.
- Paper** **Turnout and the Probability of Being Pivotal**
Margit Tavits, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
 Overview: We find that while objective probability of being pivotal is not related to one's decision to vote, subjective probability is a strong predictor of turnout. These results propose a novel solution to the paradox of voter turnout.
- Disc.** **Jonathan Williamson**, *Lycoming College*

21-5 **MIXED ELECTORAL SYSTEMS**

- Room** TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair **Thomas Gschwend**, *University of Mannheim*
Paper **Mixed Electoral Systems and Electoral Change: Dynamic Consequences of Electoral Rules**
Michael F. Thies, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Kathleen Bawn, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: We examine the dynamic properties of electoral systems, in terms of their propensity for changes in party size, and for parties' roles - from niche to national, or from being a potential junior partner in a coalition to competing for the premiership.
- Paper** **Simulating Concentration Processes in Ideological Party Competitions Under Mixed Electoral Systems with Two Ballots**
Susumu Shikano, *University of Mannheim*
 Overview: This paper aims to reconstruct concentration effect of mixed member systems on party systems using agent-based simulations. Simulations rest on the spatial model of ideology and studies about interaction effects between two ballots.
- Paper** **Candidate Effects and Spillover in Mixed Systems: Evidence from New Zealand**
Jeffrey A. Karp, *Texas Tech University*
 Overview: TBA
- Paper** **Germany's Mixed-Member System in a Changing Electoral Environment**
Bryon Moraski, *University of Florida*
Thomas Biebricher, *University of Florida*
 Overview: This paper draws on the results of Germany's 2005 parliamentary elections to reconsider the contention that mixed-member electoral systems encourage the rise of two-bloc party systems.
- Paper** **Re-examining the Contamination Effect in the Japanese Mixed Electoral System**
Ko Maeda, *University of North Texas*
 Overview: This paper seeks to solve an endogeneity problem in the study of the so-called "contamination" effects in mixed electoral systems and evaluate the real amount (if any) of the impact of the district component on the PR component in the Japanese system.
- Disc.** **Thomas Gschwend**, *University of Mannheim*

22-15 **PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL (Co-sponsored with Presidency and Executive Politics, see 33-14)**

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair Gregory E. McAvoy, *University of North Carolina, Greensboro*

Paper **The Role of the Media on Early Assessments of Presidential Performance: An Informational Approach to Presidential Honeymoons**
 Laura K. Frey, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
 Overview: This project specifies a model that reflects micro level processes to explain the surge and decline in approval. This project relies on nightly news coverage to test the effect of the media and its impact on presidential approval ratings.

Paper **Polarized Opinion in the States: Partisan Differences in Approval Ratings of Governors, Senators, and George W. Bush**
 Gary C. Jacobson, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: A new set of multiple, state-level surveys is used to examine the sources of variation across states and offices in the magnitude of partisan differences in the job approval ratings of the president, each of the senators, and the governor.

Paper **Presidential Approval: Comparing Rivals and Testing Heterogeneity, 1978-2005**
 R. Christopher Rodgers, *University of Texas, Dallas*
 Overview: The paper assesses rival presidential approval specifications and compares political economic models using monthly data for 1978-2005. Time series analyses emphasize heterogeneity across gender, class, education, and age while highlighting Bush II.

Paper **Presidential Persona and Presidential Approval: The "Untold" Story**
 Mark A. Roeder, *University of Cincinnati*
 Overview: This study examines how perception of presidential persona, including affective and cognitive components, explains presidential approval. I link micro and macro-level findings by comparing change in approval with change in perception of persona.

Paper **Policy-Related Sources of Presidential Approval: Why Do Voters Disagree?**
 Merrill Shanks, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Douglas Strand, *Public Policy Institute of California*
 Edward Carmines, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Henry Brady, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: This paper extends the authors' previous research on the role of policy-related conflicts and other factors in voters' choices for President by carrying out the same types of analyses for voters' evaluations of the President's "performance" in office.

Disc. Robert S. Erikson, *Columbia University*

22-16 **INFLUENCES ON PARTISANSHIP AND IDEOLOGY (Co-sponsored with Political Psychology, see 18-15)**

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair John M. Bruce, *University of Mississippi*

Paper **Expertise, Motivation, and the Dimensional Structure of Ideology**
 Christopher M. Federico, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: Using the 2000 NES and 2004 NES, I demonstrate that ideology is more likely to be structured in bipolar left-right terms among citizens who possess both political expertise and a motivation to use it for evaluative purposes.

Paper **The Elements of Public Opinion**
 Paul Goren, *Arizona State University*
 Overview: I use data from the 1990-1996 NES surveys to analyze how partisan and ideological identities shape the core political values of equal opportunity, limited government, traditional family values, and moral tolerance.

Paper **The Nature of Mass and Elite Belief Systems, 1992-1996: A Panel Study**
 Shannon Jenkins, *University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth*
 Doug Roscoe, *University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth*
 John P. Frendreis, *Loyola University, Chicago*
 Alan R. Gitelson, *Loyola University, Chicago*
 Overview: Compares panel data (1992-1996) on the nature of mass and elite belief systems, including the constraint and stability of issue opinions, ideology and partisan identification.

Paper **Party Switchers: The Effect of Abortion Attitudes and Economic Evaluations**
 Mitchell F. Killian, *George Washington University*
 Clyde Wilcox, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Our paper examines whether individuals whose party identification conflicts with their abortion attitudes and economic evaluations are more likely to switch parties than individuals who are not experiencing these conflicting political attitudes.

Disc. John M. Bruce, *University of Mississippi*
 William G. Jacoby, *Michigan State University*

23-6 **GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS AND VOTER TURNOUT**

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair Suzanne Mettler, *Syracuse University*

Paper **Political Participation Among American Military Veterans**
 Mark Nicol, *Saginaw Valley State University*
 Overview: This examination of veterans' political participation demonstrates a relationship between veteran status and voting. Further examination suggests the difference is not attributable to military service, but to other demographic characteristics.

Paper **Does Welfare Policy Affect Aggregate Voter Turnout Rate?**
 Han Soo Lee, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: This study examines whether and how welfare policy affects aggregate voter turnout rate in the United States. The test results of this study show that level of welfare policy positively affects aggregate voter turnout.

Paper **How Policy Receipt Affects Voter Turnout: Results of the Maxwell Poll**
 Suzanne Mettler, *Syracuse University*
 Jeffrey M. Stonecash, *Syracuse University*
 Overview: Little is known about how government social programs influence beneficiaries' political participation. We use the Maxwell Poll of 2004 and 2005 to assess such relationships, examining the influence of several programs on voter turnout.

Disc. Melissa K. Comber, *Allegheny College*

24-10 **MEDIA EFFECTS AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair Danny Hayes, *University of Texas, Austin*

Paper **Post-Debate Coverage: The Influence of the Media on Candidate Evaluations**
 Kim Fridkin, *Arizona State University*
 Patrick J. Kenney, *Arizona State University*
 Sara Allen Gershon, *Arizona State University*
 Gina Serignese-Woodall, *Arizona State University*
 Overview: We examined the impact of media coverage of the 3rd presidential debate on candidate evaluations, and found that the debate led viewers to become more favorable towards John Kerry, while media coverage increased favorability towards President Bush.

Paper **The Media and the Discovery of the Battleground State**
 Darshan J. Goux, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: Presidential campaigns have long prioritized a handful of states in their electoral strategies. So what explains the emergence of the "battleground state" in contemporary political discourse and what effect has that new political category carried?

Paper **One Size Does Not Fit All-Political Sophistication and Campaign Advertising**
David M. Greenwald, *University of California, Davis*
 Overview: I examine the mediating effects of political sophistication on campaign advertising. In moderate information campaigns such as Senate races, highly sophisticated voters are more responsive to campaign effects than less sophisticated voters.

Paper **Soft News Coverage of Presidential Debates**
Jason Reifler, *Loyola University, Chicago*
Christina DeVoe, *Loyola University, Chicago*
 Overview: We examine the quantity and content of soft news programs' coverage of the 2004 Presidential debates.

Disc. **Lara M. Brown**, *California State University, Channel Island*
Staci L. Rhine, *Wittenberg University*

25-8 **INSTITUTIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN CANDIDATES IN THE STATES**

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair **Kira Sanbonmatsu**, *The Ohio State University*

Paper **Gender and Electability in Professionalized Institutions**
Sarah A. Fulton, *University of California, Davis*
 Overview: Using time-series data, I evaluate why women are now more successful at getting elected to professionalized institutions.

Paper **The Gendered Effects of State Legislative Redistricting**
Helen A. Erler, *Kenyon College*
 Overview: This paper examines the impact of state legislative redistricting on the electoral fortunes of female incumbents.

Paper **State Primary Elections and Institutional Incentives for Women Candidates to Run for Office**
Nathan Mitchell, *Texas Tech University*
 Overview: By examining newly collected state legislative primary elections data from 1990-2004 this paper explores the effects of institutional variation on the recruitment of women candidates.

Paper **The Effect of Gender on Legislative Campaign Committee Expenditures**
Lyndsey R. Young, *The Ohio State University*
 Overview: This paper analyzes the impact of gender on Legislative Campaign Committees (LCC) expenditures, using data from the 2000 New York and Illinois state legislative elections.

Disc. **Brigid Harrison**, *Montclair State University*
Kira Sanbonmatsu, *The Ohio State University*

26-301 **POSTER SESSION: RACE, CLASS AND ETHNICITY**

Presenter **Rethinking the Problem of Race: Kenneth Clark and the Dilemma of Power**

Room TBA, Board 5, Sat 8:30 am
Damon Freeman, *University of Pennsylvania*
 Overview: Kenneth Clark's "dilemma of power" concept shaped his approach to the problem of race during the 20th century, not a sole concern with racial integration or black nationalism as his supporters and detractors have argued.

Presenter **Whitewashing America: Ideological Domination and the Question of Race**

Room TBA, Board 6, Sat 8:30 am
Sean Parson, *University of Oregon*
 Overview: The development of liberalism during the 20th century in the United States posited economic solutions to the problem of racism, resulting in cultural homogeneity.

Presenter **Black Political Reformers in the Pre-Civil War North**

Room TBA, Board 7, Sat 8:30 am
Germaine Etienne, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
 Overview: This paper departs from current literature that treats moral reform as a conservative force in American history by focusing on the political nature of African American reform activity.

Presenter **Gender, Negotiation, and the El Salvador Conflict: Claims and Outcomes**

Room TBA, Board 8, Sat 8:30 am
Sarah Taylor, *New School for Social Research*
 Overview: A comparative study of the United States, Mexico, and New Zealand in their quests to wrestle with the issues of race and ethnicity in their respective national censuses.

Presenter **The Threat of Racial Considerations: Gender, Race, and Affirmative Action**

Room TBA, Board 9, Sat 8:30 am
David C. Wilson, *The Gallup Organization*
 Overview: An analysis of experimental data from a national survey shows that the public favors affirmative action for women over racial minorities because of racial considerations rather than self-interests, racial conservatism or principled objections.

27-10 **THE USE AND ABUSE OF RELIGION FOR POLITICAL LIFE**

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair **Lee Ward**, *Campion College at the University of Regina*

Paper **The Theological-Political Problem in Rousseau's Emile**
Lorna M. Dawson, *Lynchburg College*
 Overview: This paper seeks to articulate the theological-political teaching presented by the Savoyard Vicar in Rousseau's Emile, and to assess the role of that teaching in Emile's own education.

Paper **David Hume, Adam Smith, and the Politics of Natural Religion**
Ryan P. Hanley, *Marquette University*
 Overview: The political and economic systems of Hume and Smith are often assumed to rest on the same foundation. But attention to their opposing treatments of natural religion and the argument from design reveal the distance that separates their systems.

Paper **How to Talk About Religion: Lessons From Franklin's Autobiography**
Peter McNamara, *Utah State University*
 Overview: Benjamin Franklin wrote his Autobiography to provide a model for American citizens and statesmen. Religion is one aspect of life that the Autobiography deals with extensively.

Paper **Theology Preceding Theory: Roger Williams as American Political Theorist**
Kurt A. Richardson, *McMaster University*
 Overview: Roger Williams' arguments for liberty of conscience were grounded in theology. The continuing role of religion in American political thought warrants consideration of the vital connection between theology and theory.

Disc. **Lee Ward**, *Campion College at the University of Regina*
Benjamin T. Lundgren, *Michigan State University*

27-21 **LIBERATION AND DOMINATION**

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair **James Chalmers**, *Wayne State University*

Paper **Freedom and Power**
Eric MacGilvray, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: This paper outlines a typology of theories of freedom and power, identifies the conceptual and normative issues around which the typology is organized, and argues that theories of freedom always serve to expose and to disguise certain kinds of power.

Paper **Rousseau, Mill, and the Problem of Voluntary Slavery**
Frank Lovett, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: Discusses the historical debate on voluntary slavery, so as to clarify the problem of how much we should respect the choices of those who would consensually submit to domination.

Paper **Tocqueville on Liberty and Human Dignity**
Melvin L. Schut, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: My aim is to explore the understanding of human freedom that can be found in the writings of Tocqueville. Although he professed attachment to freedom, Tocqueville

never seems to provide us with his own systematic treatment or concise definition.

Paper **The Liberated Beast: An Evolutionary Justification of Political Liberty**
Lauren K. Hall, *Northern Illinois University*
 Overview: TBA

Disc. **James Chalmers**, *Wayne State University*
James H. Read, *College of St. Benedict*

28-6 **PRODUCING PLURALISM**
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair **Roudy W. Hildreth**, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
Paper **Constitutional Democracy as Machiavellian Pluralism**
Eric S. Petrie, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: Constitutional democracy, with its pluralist politics--its multiple competing political actors--will be analyzed as in light of Machiavelli's teaching about republics. Dahl, Shklar, Rorty and Harvey Mansfield will be the theorists examined.

Paper **Hume, Liberal Personality and Contemporary Democracy**
Tom J. Hoffman, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: This paper situates David Hume's conception of a good person within the broader intellectual tradition of liberal theory. The civic adequacy of his conception of the person is defend in light of the demands of large-scale representative democracy.

Paper **Liberal Norms and Social Movement Alliances: Jaurès on the Dreyfus Affair**
Geoffrey Kurtz, *Rutgers University*
 Overview: Social movements represent distinct interests and, often, distinct cultural frameworks. This paper asks: How can social movements ally with one another?

Paper **Hume's Historical Liberalism**
Philip Bretton, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: Hume makes a case for liberalism without having recourse to metaphysical arguments. In his *History of England* he reaches liberal conclusions by way of an experimental or historical method.

Disc. **Louis Hunt**, *Michigan State University*
Peter Breiner, *SUNY, Albany*

28-11 **LIBERTY AND EQUALITY IN TOCQUEVILLE**
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair **Will R. Jordan**, *Mercer University*
Paper **Tocqueville, Pascal and the Psychology of Freedom**
Michael L. McLendon, *California State University, Los Angeles*
 Overview: Tocqueville's portrait of the American psyche can be broken down into two parts, Cartesian rationality and Pascalian anxiety. The tensions created by the interplay of the two motivate Americans to maintain political freedom.

Paper **Tocqueville on Personal and Political Liberty**
Louie J. Hebert, *Saint Ambrose University*
 Overview: An exploration of the ways free political institutions work for or against the liberty of citizens, exploring the tension Tocqueville perceives between freedom from being ruled and the liberty available to citizens through self-government.

Paper **Tocqueville, Weber, and Democracy: The Condition of Equality and the Possibility of Charisma in America**
Lee Trepanier, *Saginaw Valley State University*
 Overview: This paper will examine the specific problems that modern democracy posed to both Tocqueville and Weber and how each thinker surmounted these difficulties to provide a justification for mass democracy.

Paper **Tocqueville and French Liberty**
Annelien Dijn, *Columbia University*
 Overview: This paper aims to reconsider Tocqueville's position in the political culture of his time. It argues that Tocqueville must be seen as an exponent of a typically French way of thinking about liberty, rather than as an isolated thinker.

Disc. **Fiona Miller**, *Colgate University*

29-1 **RETHINKING REPRESENTATION**
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair **Nadia Urbinati**, *Columbia University*
Paper **Re-Thinking Re-Presentation**
Lisa Disch, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: Agents such as citizen representatives and opinion polls confound Pitkin's regulative ideal of responsiveness. If "the represented" is not "somehow logically prior" to its representation, must mass democracy shade into "fascist" manipulation?

Paper **Citizen Representatives**
Mark E. Warren, *University of British Columbia*
 Overview: Citizen representative bodies are increasingly common in practice but almost untheorized within democratic theory.

Paper **Citizen Representation and the American Jury**
Ethan J. Leib, *University of California, San Francisco*
David L. Ponet, *Columbia University*
 Overview: This paper explores a framework for assessing American citizen representation by looking at the implicit theory of citizen representation that can be isolated by analyzing the American jury system.

Paper **Citizen Panels and the Elements of Democratic Representation**
Mark B. Brown, *California State University, Sacramento*
 Overview: This paper explores the implications of certain types of citizen advisory panels for theories of representative democracy.

Disc. **Nadia Urbinati**, *Columbia University*

30-11 **FORMAL THEORIES OF FEDERALISM II**
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair **Haldun Evrenk**, *Suffolk University*
Paper **Federal Theory and the Problem of Credible Commitment**
Mikhail Filippov, *Binghamton University*
 Overview: In this paper we formalize the arguments of a number of theorists of federalism, to show that they have a common conception of the difficulty in establishing/maintaining the federal constitutional form. Modeling the agents who take part in the federa

Paper **A Formal Model of Learning and Policy Diffusion**
Michael M. Ting, *Columbia University*
Craig Volden, *The Ohio State University*
Daniel P. Carpenter, *Harvard University*
 Overview: We present a model of learning and policy choice across governments and over time. A key feature of our model is the presence of informational externalities that affect each policy-maker's choices.

Paper **Fiscal Federalism, Public Goods, and Redistributive Politics**
Brian Roberson, *Miami University*
 Overview: This paper examines centralized and decentralized electoral competition in a model of redistributive politics with local public goods. In equilibrium, decentralization is more efficient due, not to spillovers, but the targetability of resources.

Disc. **Haldun Evrenk**, *Suffolk University*

30-19 **FORMAL THEORIES OF PRIVATE POLITICS**
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair **Krishna Ladha**, *University of Mississippi*
Paper **Strategic Activism**
Daniel Diermeier, *Northwestern University*
David P. Baron, *Stanford University*
 Overview: TBA

Paper **When Do Mafias Become Governments?**
Catherine Hafer, *New York University*
Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: Two mafias prey on productive firms in a repeated game.

Paper	<u>Negative-Sum Games, Anonymity and Interaction</u> Daniel Rubenson , <i>University of Montreal</i> Richard Walker , <i>London School of Economics</i> Overview: Social capital theory holds that the topology of interpersonal relationships---as distinct from anonymous, market-based transactions---can affect societal productivity, broadly defined.	Paper	<u>Wither the Soft Money? The Effect of BCRA on Contribution Patterns</u> Stacy B. Gordon , <i>University of Nevada, Reno</i> Christopher McGill , <i>University of Nevada, Reno</i> Overview: We compare soft money contributions to political parties prior to the passage of the BCRA to contributions given to 527s, post-BCRA.
Disc.	Skylar J. Cranmer , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Krishna Ladha , <i>University of Mississippi</i>	Paper	<u>Voter's Information, Electoral Competition and the Power of Interest Groups in the US</u> Tim C. Wegenast , <i>University Pompeu Fabra</i> Overview: The paper analyzes the effect of electoral competition and voters' level of information on the influence of interest groups within the political arena of the United States.
31-6	<u>THE STATE OF SURVEY METHODOLOGY</u>	Disc.	Allan J. Cigler , <i>University of Kansas</i>
Room	TBA, Sat 8:30 am	33-6	<u>PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSIVENESS TO NATURAL DISASTERS</u>
Chair	Jon A. Krosnick , <i>Stanford University</i>	Room	TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Paper	<u>The Distinguishing Characteristics Of Frequent Survey Participants</u> Jon A. Krosnick , <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: Using data from a national survey of 9,000 respondents, we find that many personality and lifestyle factors predict frequent participation in surveys, but each one only weakly. This is reassuring about political survey sample composition.	Chair	Daniel M. Cook , <i>University of California, San Francisco</i>
Paper	<u>vb: Analyze Vote Behavior</u> Joan Serra , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This paper introduces vb, a package to analyze vote behavior. This package, designed for the R computing environment, computes the impact of the different factors that affect the choice of voters from among two or more parties and abstention.	Paper	<u>R. Steven Daniels</u> , <i>California State University, Bakersfield</i> Overview: Executive decision-making on disaster policy reflects comprehensive vulnerability management, political responsiveness, political negotiation, and intergovernmental conflict. This paper examines 2,400 presidential decisions between 1953 and 2005.
Paper	<u>Alternatives to Conventional Practices for Ordinal, Categorical Response Variables</u> Bradford Jones , <i>University of Arizona</i> Chad Westerland , <i>University of Arizona</i> Overview: This paper notes that conventional modeling strategies for ordinal categorical response variables in social sciences frequently belie properties and assumptions of standard cumulative link models like the proportional odds model.	Disc.	<u>Hurricane Katrina as a Focusing Event: Public Policy Observations</u> Frank T. Manheim , <i>George Mason University</i> Overview: The results from Hurricane Katrina offer a window into an array of issues. These range from Executive Branch appointments, to social questions such as the linkage between New Orleans' special character and poverty.
Paper	<u>Dynamic Conditional Correlations in Political Science</u> Matthew J. Lebo , <i>Stony Brook University</i> Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier , <i>The Ohio State University</i> Overview: DCC models estimate dynamic relationships over time. We explain the method and show that the impact of ICS components vary considerably over time as predictors of presidential approval. An example using IR data is also presented.	34-10	<u>POLICY MAKING IN CONGRESS</u>
Disc.	John W. Patty , <i>Harvard University</i>	Room	TBA, Sat 8:30 am
32-8	<u>INTEREST GROUPS, MONEY, AND ELECTIONS</u>	Chair	George Serra , <i>Bridgewater State College</i>
Room	TBA, Sat 8:30 am	Paper	<u>The Timing and Structuring of Abortion-Related Proposals in the U.S. House</u> Scott Ainsworth , <i>University of Georgia</i> Thad Hall , <i>University of Utah</i> Overview: We examine how abortion politics has evolved over time within the U.S. Congress, evaluating sponsorship, entrepreneurial efforts, and committee turf concerns.
Chair	Amy M. McKay , <i>Duke University/Loyola University</i>	Paper	<u>Welfare Politics in Congress</u> Lawrence M. Mead , <i>New York University</i> Overview: We code witnesses in Congressional hearings during six episodes of welfare reform between 1962 and 1996. We find that over time positions shift to become more conservative, but also that disputes become less ideological and more practical.
Paper	<u>Non-Connected vs Ideological PACs: Candidate Choice and Contribution Timing</u> Dorie Apollonio , <i>University of California, San Francisco</i> Raymond J. La Raja , <i>University of Massachusetts, Amherst</i> Overview: Using a new method to distinguish business interests from ideological groups, we find that although ideological groups prefer outside candidates, they make late contributions. These findings have important implications for electoral competitiveness.	Disc.	<u>Deceived by Emotion?: House Members' Votes on the USA Patriot Act</u> Daniel R. Bowles , <i>Randolph Macon College</i> Overview: This paper reveals some of the key relationships that affected member voting on the USA Patriot Act in the House of Representatives in 2001 by examining general influences on members' voting behaviors.
Paper	<u>Broadcast Industry PACs' Influence on Congressional Behavior: A Quantitative Study of the Relationship Between Campaign Contributions and Roll Call Votes</u> Jason Barlow , <i>Randolph Macon College</i> Overview: This study examines the relationship between members of Congress' voting behaviors on legislation concerning broadcasting and broadcast industry political action committees' (PAC) contributions to congressional campaigns.	34-19	<u>THE EFFECTS OF PARTY POLARIZATION</u>
Paper	<u>An Examination of Ethnic Political Action Committee Strategies, 1998-2004</u> David M. Paul , <i>The Ohio State University, Newark</i> Overview: Using FEC data from 1998 to 2004, this project analyzes the contribution strategies used by ethnic political action committees (PACs).	Room	TBA, Sat 8:30 am
		Chair	Jon R. Bond , <i>Texas A&M University</i>
		Paper	<u>The Sources of Bipartisan Politics in Parliamentary Democracies</u> Thomas Braeuninger , <i>University of Konstanz</i> Marc Debus , <i>University of Konstanz</i> Overview: We develop a saliency-based spatial model that relates electoral, institutional and policy sources to the likelihood that a bill is sponsored by government and opposition actors in parliamentary democracies.

- Paper** **Polarization and Congressional Policy: Gridlock or Extremism?**
Laurel M. Harbridge, *Stanford University*
David W. Brady, *Stanford University*
 Overview: Our paper examines the relationship between polarization of elites in Congress and public policy. Using budget data for the period 1955 to 2003, we test this relationship to see whether polarization makes any systematic difference in the production
- Paper** **Party Polarization in the U.S. Congress**
Sean M. Theriault, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: This article examines party polarization in Congress. Although both redistricting and the political segregation of voters have polarized the parties, the biggest cause has its roots within the institutions and procedures of Congress.
- Paper** **Comity and Productivity: An Alternative Analysis of Gridlock**
Scot D. Schraufnagel, *University of Central Florida*
Lawrence C. Dodd, *University of Florida*
 Overview: The research tests a broader definition of "conflict" in traditional models of legislative gridlock. Moreover, the research focuses on the opposite side of the gridlock coin or instances of legislation passed that are not "significant."
- Disc.** **Patrick Fisher**, *Seton Hall University*

35-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CHALLENGERS AND PRIMARIES**

- Room** TBA, Sat 8:30 am
- Presenter** **The Ideological Dynamics of Primary Elections in One-Party Districts**
Hahrie Han, *Wellesley College*
Jeremy Pope, *Brigham Young University*
 Overview: How do primary elections affect candidate ideology in one-party districts? This paper draws on a newly assembled dataset of primary election data to empirically examine the ideological dynamics of congressional primaries in the South from 1954-70.
- Presenter** **Reinforcing Partisan Representation: The Prospect of Primary Challenges**
Tyler C. Johnson, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: Ideological congruence between the votes of members of Congress and the opinions of district co-partisans is strong but not perfect. Primary challenges might send a signal to members of Congress that future ideological drift will not be tolerated.

35-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: INTEREST GROUPS AND ELECTIONS**

- Room** TBA, Sat 8:30 am
- Presenter** **Influence of the Christian Coalition in Congress**
Shirley Anne Warshaw, *Gettysburg College*
Kathryn H. Bruns, *Gettysburg College*
 Overview: This paper examines the influence of the Christian Coalition on legislative politics. In particular, I look at the legislative goals of the organization and the means by which they achieve them.
- Presenter** **Factors Affecting Interest Group Contributions in State Legislative Elections**
Robert E. Hogan, *Louisiana State University*
Keith E. Hamm, *Rice University*
Rhonda L. Wrzenski, *Louisiana State University*
 Overview: A number of studies over the years have examined the contribution strategies of interest groups active in congressional elections (e.g., Grenzke 1989, Grier and Munger 1993, Hall and Wayman 1990).

36-5 **ASSESSING THE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN COURTS AND PUBLIC OPINION**

- Room** TBA, Sat 8:30 am
- Chair** **Eric N. Waltenburg**, *Purdue University*
- Paper** **From the Rehnquist to the Roberts Court: Representing Public Opinion**
Thomas R. Marshall, *University of Texas, Arlington*
 Overview: Whether U.S. Supreme Court decisions represent American public opinion depends on which justices sit on the Court, what issues the Court hears, and what decision-making norms the Court applies.
- Paper** **Courtting Public Opinion: Supreme Court Impact on Public Opinion Reconsidered**
Kevin Scott, *Texas Tech University*
Kyle Saunders, *Colorado State University*
 Overview: Using survey data collected before and after the Supreme Court's Ten Commandments decisions, we reevaluate models of Supreme Court impact on public opinion.
- Paper** **After the Supreme Word: The Impact of Van Orden v. Perry and McCreary v. ACLU on Public Opinion**
Michael A. Unger, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: This paper explores the impact of Van Orden v. Perry and McCreary v. ACLU on attitudes toward public displays of the Ten Commandments. I analyze original panel survey data and find understanding the cases increases the probability of attitude change.
- Paper** **Courts and Media Coverage of Homosexuality**
Joseph D. Ura, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
 Overview: I assess the impact of relevant Supreme Court and state court actions, as well as other events and policy changes, on media coverage of homosexual content using Box-Tiao (1975) intervention analysis.
- Disc.** **Jeff A. Yates**, *University of Georgia*

36-15 **DETERMINANTS AND IMPLICATIONS OF APPELLATE REVIEW**

- Room** TBA, Sat 8:30 am
- Chair** **Steve Van Winkle**, *University of Wyoming*
- Paper** **Decision Making on the Courts of Appeals: Do Judges Have the Knowledge Assumed by Advocates of Strategic Models?**
Jennifer L. Barnes, *University of South Carolina*
Donald R. Songer, *University of South Carolina*
 Overview: An analysis of US Courts of Appeals decision making explores whether US Courts of Appeals judges can predict the likelihood of review by the US Supreme Court.
- Paper** **Regime Change and Decision-Making in the U.S. Courts of Appeals**
Bethany Blackstone, *Emory University*
Susan Navarro, *Emory University*
 Overview: This study examines shifts in partisan control of judicial circuits in the U.S. Courts of Appeals. We employ a measure of regime change to capture these partisan transitions, providing a test of the strategic model in a "most likely" case.
- Paper** **A Principal-Agent Model of En Banc Review**
Tom S. Clark, *Princeton University*
 Overview: The paper demonstrates that the ideological of panel judges affects the probability of en banc review and that panels are less likely to trigger en banc review if they make decisions that run against their perceived ideological biases.
- Paper** **The Supreme Court and DIGs: Agenda Setting and Strategic Behavior**
Michael E. Solimine, *University of Cincinnati*
Rafael Gely, *University of Cincinnati*
 Overview: The paper documents the Supreme Court's dismissals of writs of certiorari as improvidently granted from 1954 to 2005, and examines how often the DIGged issue returns to the Court, and the impact of DIGs on the Rule of Four.

Paper	<u>Ideological and Legal Preferences in the Certiorari Process</u> Sean Williams, <i>The Ohio State University</i> Roman Ivanchenko, <i>The Ohio State University</i> Overview: We offer a formal model of the Supreme Court's certiorari process that includes preferences both for ideology and good law, and test the game's predictions with a selection model to control for lower court strategy and litigant certiorari decisions.	Paper	<u>Do Policies Make Citizens?: Voter Initiatives and Political Engagement</u> Daniel Schlozman, <i>Harvard University</i> Ian Yohai, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This paper replicates and extends existing analyses of the impact of voter initiatives on political engagement, examining elections from 1988 to 2004 to show not just whether but how and when initiatives affect efficacy, knowledge, and turnout.
Disc.	Wendy Martinek, <i>Binghamton University</i>	Paper	<u>Target Groups and Voting on Direct Legislation</u> Stephen P. Nicholson, <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: I examine the role of target groups in shaping electoral support for direct legislation. I hypothesize that ballot measures proposing to harm groups with negative stereotypes and to help groups with positive stereotypes increase electoral support.
37-4	<u>IMPACT OF LAW AND JUDGES ON POLITICAL STRATEGIES</u>	Disc.	Willard Stouffer, <i>Texas State University</i> Zoltan Hajnal, <i>Princeton University</i>
Room	TBA, Sat 8:30 am	38-9	<u>STATE-LEVEL FISCAL POLICY</u>
Chair	Susan G. Mezey, <i>Loyola University, Chicago</i>	Room	TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Paper	<u>Gay Marriage, The Courts, and Public Opinion</u> Patrick J. Egan, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Nathaniel Persily, <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> Overview: We dispute the idea that court opinions regarding gay marriage have produced a backlash in public opinion. Rather, a change in the structure of public opinion has taken place—a change that appears to be only indirectly related to the court decisions.	Chair	Michael E. Greenberg, <i>Shippensburg University</i>
Paper	<u>A Comparative Study of Counter-Mobilization: The Responses to Judicial Action Over Same-Sex Marriage in Canada and the United States</u> Scott E. Lemieux, <i>Hunter College, CUNY</i> Shauna Fisher, <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: This paper examines the question of whether judicial policy-making that effects policy changes with respect to divisive social issues is likely to generate a particularly hostile response.	Paper	<u>Economic Development in the States: Political and Structural Explanations of Spending Patterns</u> Adam J. Newmark, <i>Appalachian State University</i> Christopher Witko, <i>California State University, Sacramento</i> Overview: We consider how the states' desire for economic growth is conditioned by internal and external factors within and outside the states. To do this, we examine spending patterns from 1964-1999 in the 50 states.
Paper	<u>The Trapping(s) of Welfare: Intersections of Race, Gender, Work and Welfare Rights</u> Rose Ernst, <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: This paper examines the relationship between two allied movements, the women's movement and welfare rights movement in defining and limiting conceptions of "work" in ways specific to marginalized race, gender and class identities.	Paper	<u>The Vertical Dimension of Fiscal Decentralization</u> Stan Hok-wui Wong, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: I examine the effect of political decentralization on macroeconomic stability. My regression analysis shows that political decentralization would not compromise macroeconomic stability if party discipline is strong.
Paper	<u>Language as Politics: Abortion and Elite Discourse, 1960-1980</u> Loren C. Goldman, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This paper uses systematic content analysis of editorials from major American newspapers from 1960-1980 to show that elite discourse about abortion changed in response to abortion's changing legal status over the period.	Paper	<u>Governors, Legislators, Partisanship, and the Composition of State Budgets</u> Christian Breunig, <i>University of Washington</i> Chris Koski, <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: We use American state-level data to test to what extent institutional structures endow political actors with abilities to determine which budget items are altered. Our inquiry focuses on the impact of governors, legislators and partisanship.
Disc.	Doris M. Provine, <i>Arizona State University</i>	Disc.	Gary M. Halter, <i>Texas A&M University</i>
38-7	<u>DIRECT DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR (Co-sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 19-21)</u>	39-9	<u>COOPERATION AND COMPETITION AMONG LOCAL GOVERNMENTS</u>
Room	TBA, Sat 8:30 am	Room	TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair	Ronald E. Weber, <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i>	Chair	Annette Steinacker, <i>Claremont Graduate University</i>
Paper	<u>Ballot Propositions and Political Interest: Information, Engagement and Participation</u> Caroline Tolbert, <i>Kent State University</i> Mark Smith, <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: Ballot Propositions and Political Interest: Information, Engagement and Participation	Paper	<u>Making a Difference: Strategies of Municipal Competition</u> Michael C. Craw, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: Suburbs limit their exposure to competition by differentiating from their neighbors. Differentiation strategies are stratified by income: low income suburbs focus on quality of basic services and high income suburbs focus on amenities.
Paper	<u>Voting on Direct Legislation Measures Focused on Higher Education Funding: Constitution of a Favorable Vote</u> Jess M. Koldoff, <i>Arizona State University</i> Overview: According to the December 17, 2004 issue of <i>The Chronicle of Higher Education</i> , state spending on higher education in the United States rose approximately 3.8 percent in the 2004-2005 fiscal year compared to the year before.	Paper	<u>Heterogeneity and Cooperation Among Governments in Metropolitan Regions</u> Skip Krueger, <i>University of North Texas</i> Overview: A model is proposed to test the impact of heterogeneity on cooperation in the provision of local public goods. Unlike local common pool resources, regional cooperation is hypothesized to be fostered by heterogeneity of cooperating local governments.
Paper	<u>Direct Democracy and Political Trust</u> Joshua Dyck, <i>Public Policy Institute of California</i> Overview: This paper examines the link between exposure to direct democracy and political trust.	Paper	<u>Interlocal Services Cooperation: Bridging Public Management and Metropolitan Governance?</u> Jered B. Carr, <i>Wayne State University</i> Overview: This paper integrate recent works on services cooperation into a framework linking what we know about the nature of cooperation, the requisites of effective public management, and the role of interlocal contracting in metropolitan governance.

Paper **Networks of Local Governments: Examining Community Conferences as Mechanisms for Achieving Interlocal Cooperation**
Kelly M. LeRoux, *Wayne State University*
 Overview: This study examines community conferences, a type of voluntary association of local governments, to determine the effectiveness of these organizations in brokering service sharing arrangements among cities. Network analysis is used to model patterns

Disc. **Annette Steinacker**, *Claremont Graduate University*

39-10 **ROLE OF CULTURE AND BELIEFS IN LOCAL POLICY**

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair **Elaine B. Sharp**, *University of Kansas*
Paper **Local Civic Culture: A Comparison of Elite and Citizen Attitudes**
Laura A. Reese, *Michigan State University*
Davia Cox, *Michigan State University*
Raymond A. Rosenfeld, *Eastern Michigan University*
 Overview: The paper explores local civic culture: Is there one culture across policy arenas? Is there a unified perspective on civic culture? Do cities with demographic and ethnic diversity have a single culture?

Paper **Testing Cultural and Economic Explanations for Local Development Policies**
Donald Rosdil, *Northern Virginia Community College*
 Overview: This paper investigates the impact of traditional religion, unconventional subcultures, two kinds of economic security, and economic and environmental distress on local development choices in a sample of 84= large US cities.

Paper **Policy Congruence Between Citizens and City Councilors**
Tom W. Rice, *University of Iowa*
Matthew Potoski, *Iowa State University*
Evan Herrnstadt, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: We use a new data set to examine concurrently the policy priorities of citizens and city councilors across five service areas in 40 Iowa communities.

Disc. **Elaine B. Sharp**, *University of Kansas*

40-7 **HEALTH CARE POLICY FOR THE GRAYING**

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair **Gerard W. Boychuk**, *University of Waterloo*
Paper **Intergenerational Competition: Do the Elderly Crowd-out Children?**
Colleen M. Grogan, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: Intergenerational equity in US social welfare policy is examined by studying whether the elderly consume a disproportionate amount of political attention, and whether political discourse tends to be more responsive to the demands of elderly.

Paper **Medicare Drug Laws: States Advancing Prescription Care**
Mary Schmeida, *The Cleveland Clinic Foundation*
Kathleen Hale, *Kent State University*
Ramona McNeal, *University of Illinois, Springfield*
 Overview: State prescription drug legislation has been motivated by changes in federal Medicare requirements, and a patchwork of state laws exist. We explore why some states enact the requirements, whereas others advance a host of other measures.

Paper **The Challenges and Opportunities of Assisted Living in America: State Policy Responses**
Julie Walters, *Oakland University*
 Overview: This research examines state responses to the challenges/opportunities of assisted living by mapping and assessing patterns of adoption of a number of regulatory provisions that reflect categories integral to quality care.

Paper **Understanding the Recent Growth in Medicare Hospice Spending, 1991-2001**
Chester A. Robinson, *Tennessee State University*
Thomas Hoyer, *Health Policy Consultant*
 Overview: Hospice emphasizes palliative versus curative care. Medicare policies have shaped the delivery of hospice care. Medicare spending increased 88% from 1991 to 2001. This explosive growth is examined and its future policy implications.

Disc. **Gerard W. Boychuk**, *University of Waterloo*

40-8 **INFORMATION, COMPETITION AND PARENTS IN EDUCATION POLICY EVALUATION**

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair **Kevin B. Smith**, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*
Paper **The Role of Geography in Charter School Competition**
Nevbahar Ertas, *Georgia State University*
 Overview: I use difference-in-differences estimation using school level two-period panel data to experiment with various competition measures to analyze charter school competition. The results suggest geography plays a key role in explaining the differences.

Paper **Low Income Parent Information and School Choices**
Paul E. Teske, *University of Colorado, Denver*
 Overview: One unanswered question about school choice relates to the ability of low income parents to become well informed. This paper presents findings from new data from a survey of several hundred parents in 3 cities.

Paper **The Effect of New Public Management in Education**
Simon Calmar Andersen, *Aarhus University, Denmark*
 Overview: This paper assesses the effect of NPM on educational achievement. Existing evidence is weak and shows no effect, but a new survey coupled to detailed data on more than 40,000 students indicates that NPM increases the effect of social background.

Paper **The Influence of Evaluations of Personal and Collective Experiences: Considering Parents' Evaluations of their Children's Schools**
Christine H. Roch, *Georgia State University*
Amanda Wilsker, *Georgia State University*
 Overview: We explore the relationship between parents' perceptions of their children's schools and their perceptions of the quality of schools in general. We also consider the influence of these two types of perceptions on parents' behavior.

Disc. **Paul Manna**, *College of William and Mary*
Kevin B. Smith, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*

42-301 **POSTER SESSION: ECONOMIC POLICY**

Presenter **Politics of Policy**
Room TBA, Board 10, Sat 8:30 am
John D. Culver, *Texas State University*
 Overview: I will explain the influence party ideology, economic policy, and electoral politics have on President Bush's public policy formulation process by studying his tax-cut policy.

Presenter **Economic Impacts of Defense Spending: Why There Are Winners and Losers in the Gunbelt**
Room TBA, Board 11, Sat 8:30 am
Brent M. Eastwood, *West Virginia University*
 Overview: Some researchers claim the impact of the "Creative Class" can make or break economic development (Florida 2002). To what extent do population migrations to the Gunbelt (defense industrial capacity) mirror that of the Creative Class?

Presenter **The Protestant Ethic's Newest Frontier: Expanding Microcredit Worldwide**
Room TBA, Board 12, Sat 8:30 am
Ole D. Rasmussen, *University of Copenhagen*
 Overview: Against the view that microfinance is mostly a financial instrument, it is argued that microfinance's quick expansion is due to it's success in exporting and implementing specific protestant-capitalist norms with clear financial benefits.

43-7 **DECISION MAKING IN BUREAUCRACIES**
(Co-sponsored with Midwest Public Administration Caucus, see 56-3)
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Lawrence S. Rothenberg, *University of Rochester*
Paper **A Dynamic Model of NLRB Commissioner Preferences**
Eric D. Hurst, *Georgia State University*
David C. Nixon, *Georgia State University*
Cole Taratoot, *Georgia State University*
Overview: I model the stability of NLRB Commissioners' ideal points over time, using Markov Chain Monte Carlo methods and a Bayesian model of ideal point estimation.

Paper **The Role of Information Among Policy Elites**
Mark Perry, *University of Pittsburgh*
Overview: Questions exist regarding the use of information in the policy process. This study utilizes network text analysis to determine what kinds of cognitive maps are evident in the written rationale of the FCC commissioners in broadcast ownership policy.

Paper **Assessing Specialization: The Role of Policy Domain and Decision-Making**
Stephen A. Sargent, *Texas A&M University*
Overview: This study will research whether there are observable differences between decision-makers with multi and single-policy domains. The results will contribute information to the bureaucracy literature on how specialization affects decision-making.

Paper **Constructing Dynamic Measures of Bureaucratic Discretion in the States**
Junseok Kim, *Gyeonggi Research Institute*
Overview: 1. Introduction; 2. Literature review on bureaucratic discretion; 3. Examining empirical measures of bureaucratic discretion in previous studies; 4. Constructing the measures of bureaucratic discretion; 5. Empirical Testings; 6. Conclusion

Disc. Anthony Bertelli, *University of Georgia*

44-8 **RACE, LABOR, AND CITIZENSHIP**
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Dorian T. Warren, *University of Chicago*
Paper **The Construction of an Extra-Constitutional U.S. Citizen in Puerto Rico: A Reconsideration of the Jones Act of 1917**
Carlos Figueroa, *New School for Social Research*
Overview: Paper reconsiders the extra-constitutional US citizenship that took shape with the passage of the Jones Act (1917) and explores the Act in light of the larger historical context of American immigration and nationality discourse in the 1900-1920's.

Paper **Making the Historical Legacies of American Racism Visible**
Paul Frymer, *University of California, Santa Cruz*
Mark Sawyer, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Overview: TBA

Paper **Race, the Degeneration of the CIO, and the Shaping of American Politics**
Michael Goldfield, *Wayne State University*
Overview: Focuses on race, CIO, and American politics.

Paper **Hotspots in a Cold War: The NAACP, Labor, and the Law-Politics Distinction**
Sophia Z. Lee, *Yale University*
Overview: "Hotspots" uses the NAACP's postwar constitutional litigation in front of the National Labor Relations Board to question the boundary traditionally drawn between law and politics and to revise the narrative of postwar civil rights.

Paper **The Racial Politics of New Deal Americanism: Black Subordination in the UAW**
Charles Williams, *The Ohio State University*
Overview: Against current views of civic nationalism as a wholly democratizing ideology, this paper explores how the discourse both advanced formal racial equality and opposed more radical challenges to racism in the context of New Deal politics and the UAW.

Disc. Dorian T. Warren, *University of Chicago*

44-103 **MEET THE AUTHOR: RUTH O'BRIEN**
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Panelist Eileen McDonagh, *Northeastern University*
Ruth O'Brien, *Graduate School, CUNY*
Judith Baer, *Texas A&M University*
Bradley Macdonald, *Colorado State University*
Gretchen Ritter, *University of Texas, Austin*
Overview: This panel will discuss Ruth O'Brien's provocative new book, *Bodies in Revolt*.

46-6 **NEW FINDINGS ON SOCIAL CAPITAL**
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Amy Widestrom, *Syracuse University*
Paper **Different Tiers of Social Lives in Politics**
Hyun J. Yun, *University of Florida*
David Hedge, *University of Florida*
Renee J. Johnson, *University of Florida*
Overview: The study finds causations between the micro level of individuals' social capital and the macro level of politics, correlations among different tiers of social capital, and combined effects of social capital elements at the macro political life.

Paper **Accidents, Claiming, and Regional Subcultures**
Jackson Williams, *AARP Public Policy Institute*
Overview: Social capital theory is applied to state-level variations in safety and personal injury claiming. Data on medical errors in hospitals, auto safety, and claim payments show a pattern corresponding to Elazar's regional political cultures.

Paper **Voluntary Association Activity in Quebec and English Canada: Assessing the Combined Effects of Language and Region**
Monica Hwang, *University of Waterloo*
Robert Andersen, *McMaster University*
Edward G. Grabb, *University of Western Ontario*
Overview: This study shows that Quebecers have lower levels of voluntary association membership than other Canadians, using 2000 national survey data. This is mainly true of French-speaking Quebecers, not all Quebecers.

Paper **Social Capital and Government Performance in American Counties**
John R. Tennert, *Virginia Tech University*
Overview: Focusing on county government in the United States, this study will evaluate a series of hypotheses testing the relationship between social capital (trust, optimism and civic engagement) and government performance.

Disc. Amy Widestrom, *Syracuse University*

47-9 **RELIGION AND POLITICS IN AFRICA**
Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am
Chair Frank P. Le Veness, *St. John's University*
Paper **Politics and Faith: Why Religion Matters in Cote d'Ivoire But Not Burkina**
John F. McCauley, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Overview: Using original data, this study shows that individuals in Cote d'Ivoire are much more likely than their neighbors in Burkina Faso to identify themselves in religious terms. This is due to the political salience of religion in Cote d'Ivoire.

Paper **Under Politics and Religion**
Santosh C. Saha, *Mount Union College*
Overview: "African Sense of National Identity and State Building: Accommodation between Ethnicity and the State", challenging the conventional wisdom that suggests that the ethnic conflict is intractable.

Paper **Democratization: African Female Political Behaviors in Islam and Christianity**
Virginia P. Beard, *Michigan State University*
Overview: Are Islam and Christianity driving forces in democratic orientations among African women? This paper asks if adherence to Islam or Christianity, within the context of other factors, helps to explain African women's political behaviors.

Disc. Michael D. McGinnis, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

47-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: RELIGION AND JUST WAR THEORY

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Presenter **Unholy Alliance: Western Just War Theory, Realism and Hegemony**

Valerie O. Morkevicius, University of Chicago

Overview: Western just war theory has its roots in the Christian ethical tradition, but indeed may not be a "pure" normative theory. Instead, it may be embedded in the logics of the Western state system and the social and political order dominant in the West.

47-204 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: MEDIA, RELIGION, AND POLITICS

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Presenter **When Marketing Religion Becomes Selling Politics**

Mara Einstein, Queens College, CUNY

Overview: Using sophisticated marketing techniques, megachurches have grown exponentially. These evangelical churches, that by definition cater to 2000+ congregants but may serve 20-30,000, wield considerable power because they helped elect the president.

Presenter **GOD Approved This Message: The Use of Moral Values in Campaign Advertising**

David J. Fleming, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Overview: Political party affiliation and constituency characteristics, namely the number of Evangelical Christians, influence the probability that an advertisement will promote "moral values."

49-105 ROUNDTABLE: HOW TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE MEDIA

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair **Melissa Harris-Lacewell, University of Chicago**

Panelist **Susan J. Carroll, Rutgers University**

Richard K. Herrmann, The Ohio State University

Janet K. Boles, Marquette University

Susan MacManus, University of South Florida, Tampa

Kenneth Goldstein, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Overview: This panel will provide advice about how political scientists can interact with the media. Topics will include how political scientists can engage the media to popularize their ideas, how to respond to media requests, etc.

51-3 THE SEXUALIZED NATURE OF PUBLIC POLICY, TAKE ONE (Co-sponsored with Gender and Politics, see 25-18)

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair **Cathy J. Cohen, University of Chicago**

Paper **Developing Love: How Sexuality Influences World Bank Policy Preferences**

Kate D. Bedford, Barnard College, Columbia University

Overview: This paper examines the models of sexuality embedded in the activities of World Bank gender staff, hereby exploring the role of the Bank as a sexualized policy agent.

Paper **Lawrence v. Texas and the Future of Sexual Regulation**

Jyl Josephson, Rutgers University

Overview: This paper will take up the implications of the Lawrence v. Texas decision for a broader understanding of sexuality and sexual liberty, exploring in greater depth the double-edged nature of law as an instrument of social change.

Paper **Civil Unions in Buenos Aires: The Unlikely Savior of National Identity**

Shawn R. Schulenberg, University of California, Riverside

Overview: This paper argues that Buenos Aires became the first Latin American city to pass civil unions legislation mainly because it helped reaffirm Argentina's national identity at a time when it was being challenged by its worst economic crisis in history.

Paper **Finding the Global in the American Exception: Welfare and Sexual Regulation**

Anna Marie Smith, Cornell University

Overview: This paper explores the importance of sexualized strategies within American welfare law by examining the structural position of the American poor in the global labor market, opening up discussion of the American case through global contextualization.

Disc. **Charles A. Smith, University of Miami**

54-2 POLITICAL THREATS CYCLES AND CATASTROPHES

Room TBA, Sat 8:30 am

Chair **John R. Bokina, University of Texas, Pan American**

Paper **The Propaganda Model: Evaluating a Theory on the Political Economy and Performance of the Mass Media**

Andrew C. Kennis, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Overview: The principal aim of this study is to test and evaluate the efficacy of the propaganda model.

Paper **Threat Inflation in the Cold War and the War on Terror**

Joseph G. Peschek, Hamline University

Overview: This paper examines the politics of foreign policy "threat inflation" in 1976-1981 and 1997-2003. In both periods conservative groups campaigned for hawkish policies by emphasizing external threats that appear to have been exaggerated.

Paper **The New Orleans Catastrophe: Lessons in the Politics of Disasters**

Martin Gruberg, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh

Overview: Ordinary and extraordinary foulups, missed opportunities, local heroes and villains, evaluation of the blame game, comparisons with some other disasters. (The author is writing a book on The Politics of Disasters.)

Paper **The Reelection Rate Gap**

Solon J. Simmons, University of Wisconsin

Overview: This paper explores the theory of political monetary cycles (PMCs) with a simple measure called the reelection rate gap. Findings suggest that the Federal Reserve does engineer PMCs, but only to the Republican Party's advantage

Paper **Spartacus in the Enlightenment**

John R. Bokina, University of Texas Pan American

Overview: After 1200 years of oblivion, Spartacus--the gladiator-general in the Servile War against Rome--became a subject of fairly intense interest. He was now interpreted as an opponent of tyranny, a revolutionary republican, and an abolitionist.

Disc. **John R. Bokina, University of Texas, Pan American**

Saturday, April 22 – 10:30 am – 12:15 pm

2-11 INEQUALITY, REVOLUTION AND VALUES -- EVIDENCE FROM THE WORLD VALUES SURVEY

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair Lawrence Mayer, *Texas Tech University*

Paper Support for Revolution in Mass Publics

Karl Kaltenthaler, *University of Akron*

Ronald Gelleny, *Rhodes College*

Overview: This paper aims at diagnosing change in ideological space and its impact on parties' electoral fortunes in the context of Turkish politics.

Paper Explaining Individual-Level Attitudes Toward Income (In)Equality

Stephen Ceccoli, *Rhodes College*

Karl Kaltenthaler, *University of Akron*

Overview: This study seeks to explain individual-level variation in attitudes toward public policies that shape income (in)equality. The paper develops and tests several distinct explanations for individual-level respondents across five continents.

Paper Economic Inequality and Nationalism

Frederick Solt, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*

Overview: Does economic inequality lead to nationalism? More unequal states may appeal to nationalism to preempt demands for redistribution. This paper finds strong support for this hypothesis among the citizens of the advanced industrial democracies.

Paper Economic Inequality and Attitudes toward Homosexuality in Cross-national Perspective

Robert A. Andersen, *McMaster University*

Tina Fetner, *McMaster University*

Overview: This paper uses cross-national data to evaluate the role of economic inequality—both within nations and across nations—and democracy in determining tolerance for homosexuality.

Paper It's Not the Economy, Stupid! Life Satisfaction and Political Participation

Benjamin Freeman, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: Using data from the World Values Survey I demonstrate that subjective life satisfaction has a negative effect on political participation and the impact of life satisfaction is found to be stronger than economic determinants of participation.

Disc. Timothy T. Hellwig, *University of Houston*

3-21 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF DECENTRALIZATION IN INDONESIA

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair Nicolaus T. Harjanto, *Northern Illinois University*

Paper Social Welfare Provisions in Indonesia

Eunsook Jung, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Overview: This paper will examine how Islamic mass organizations engaged in social welfare provision serve as the basis of political parties and explain how informal webs of social welfare provision affect social policy making of the state.

Paper Thailand and Indonesia: the Case for (and Against) Decentralization

Jacob I. Ricks, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: This paper is a discussion about the benefits and disadvantages of decentralization using two countries: Thailand and Indonesia.

Paper Decentralization and Territorial Politics in Indonesia

Ehito Kimura, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Overview: This paper explores changes in Indonesia's territorial administration in the wake of its democratization and decentralization reforms. It draws concepts from political geography and frames the recent increase in sub-national units in the context of domes.

Paper Decentralization and Anti-Corruption Efforts: Indonesia and Philippines

Philips J. Vermonte, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: This paper explains and analyzes how the NGOs, in the framework of decentralization structure, fight corruption in Indonesia and the Philippines.

Paper Decentralization's Effect on Minorities: The Other Side of Decentralization

Tobias Basuki, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: One of decentralization's main purposes is to provide a better political and cultural freedom for minorities. However in heterogeneous countries, the implementation of decentralization can have adverse effects towards minorities.

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

3-23 CLIENTELISM AND SOCIAL SERVICE PROVISION

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair Maqsood A. Choudary, *Delta College*

Paper Reconsidering "Cultural Institutions" in Development: A Case in Rural India

Mary E. Breeding, *American University*

Overview: This paper addresses the role of political culture, specifically the role of ethnic identity, and institutions in public service delivery using data from a specific example in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, India.

Paper Political Particularism and Public Service Spending

Allen Hicken, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Joel W. Simmons, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Overview: How do incentives to cultivate a personal vote affect spending on public services, particularly spending on education and health care projects and how do incentives to cultivate a personal vote affect the quality of life of citizens?

Paper Principal-Agent Theory and Political Market Failure: A Unified Electoral Theory of Rent-Seeking, Pork-Barreling and Clientelism

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

Royce Carroll, *University of California, San Diego*

Overview: We present a unified principle-agent framework to explain the political market failures that create incentives for rent-seeking, pork-barreling, and clientelism with applications to contemporary and historical cases of developing democracies.

Paper A Resource Model of Clientelism: Provincial-level Analysis

Megumi Naoi, *University of California, San Diego*

Overview: This paper develops a resource-based theory for why politicians engage in one form of clientelistic exchange over others. It tests whether two types of "favoritism" given to provinces in Thailand since 1990—investment privileges and transfers—are co

Paper Political Feasibility of Poverty Alleviation Programs

Christian Ponce de Leon, *University of Chicago*

Overview: This paper presents a model of redistributive taxation in democratic regimes where voters decide the size of the budget and its allocation between two social policies: universal assistance programs and targeted poverty alleviation programs.

Disc. Wonik Kim, *Louisiana State University*

4-14 DISSENT AND POLITICAL MOBILIZATION IN ASIA

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair Mahendra Lawoti, *Western Michigan University*

Paper Democracy Without Defenders: Tolerant but Alienated Elite in Nepal

Mahendra Lawoti, *Western Michigan University*

Overview: The study finds that the Nepali elite were tolerant but alienated from the democratic system. It partly explains the lack of widespread protests initially against the dismissal of the elected government by the King in 2002.

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

Paper **Crises and Autocratic Breakdowns in Island Southeast Asia**
Thomas B. Pepinsky, *Yale University*
 Overview: Autocrats manage economic crises by placing adjustment costs on groups outside of the regime's support coalition. Southeast Asian evidence shows that crises unseat autocrats only if they change the expected benefits of supporting the regime.

Paper **A Space Odyssey: A Comparative Analysis of Spatial Patterns of Protests**
Taehyun Nam, *Rhodes College*
 Overview: This paper considers spatial factors potentially conducive to protests and hypothesizes patterns from them. Testing local Moran's I, this paper examines whether or not there were expected special patterns of protests in South Korea from 1990 to 1992.

Paper **Comparing Velocities of Mobilization: Collective Dissent in South Korea**
Omur Yilmaz, *University of Kansas*
Taehyun Nam, *Rhodes College*
 Overview: We use duration modeling to analyze how fast different groups--students, labor, peasants--respond to newly arising issues and governmental coercion by mobilizing protests in the case of South Korea during 1990-1992.

Disc. **Martin W. Slann**, *Macon State College*

4-24 **WILL DEMOCRACY DELIVER IN EASTERN EUROPE?**

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair **Svend-Erik Skaaning**, *University of Aarhus, Denmark*

Paper **Determinants of Institutional Change During Transition**
Tatyana B. Ruseva, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: The paper undertakes an institutional analysis of the transition-specific determinants and EU-induced factors for institutional change in Bulgaria's environmental sector. It posits that transitional features are overpowering in this context.

Paper **Democracy Promotion and Its Impact on Democratization in Moldova**
Ecaterina McDonagh, *University of Dublin*
 Overview: This paper analyses the international dimension of democratic transition in Moldova. Its focus is on democracy promotion efforts used by international organizations in order to encourage domestic political elites to democratise.

Paper **Life Cycles of Civil Society and Civic Participation in Kosovo**
Kathleen Claussen, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: This report examines the paradox behind the lack of civic participation and deep mistrust in Kosovo and the Western policy in the region that treats the development of civil society as an indicator of progress toward democratic change.

Paper **Foreign Military Training Programs and the 'Savage Wars of Peace'**
Matthew J. Schmidt, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Explores the phenomenon of foreign military training programs, their history, relation to theories of the state and political development, and U.S. strategic theory in the post-Cold War era.

Paper **The International Protectorate: From an Old Formula to a New Utopia**
Karim Medjad, *HEC Paris*
 Overview: This paper offers a critical examination of the latest breed of international protectorates, from the Balkans to Iraq, based on findings made in the course of various missions performed in the Balkans and in the Middle East.

Disc. **Kevin E. Grisham**, *University of California, Riverside*

5-12 **INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS AND DOMESTIC POLICIES IN EUROPE**

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair **Isa Camyar**, *Louisiana State University*

Paper **Competitiveness and Change: The Politics of Economic Reform in an Integrating Europe**
Gregory Baldi, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: This paper examines the issue of political economic change in the European Union through an analysis of the first five years of the Lisbon Strategy for Growth and Employment in Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom.

Paper **Europeanization and Globalization: Are They Alternative or Complementary?**
Isa Camyar, *Louisiana State University*
 Overview: This paper examines the conceptual and empirical relationship between globalization and Europeanization as two macro-structural processes that affect domestic policies in the member states of the EU.

Paper **From Ideas to Policies: Reforming the Italian Budget Process**
Francesco Stolfi, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: The reforms of the Italian budget institutions in the 1990s were not the response to pressures from Europe. Rather, they were due to domestic factors, namely the interaction of the reform community's ideas with the "right" institutional conditions

Disc. **Andrew Austin**, *CERGE-EI*

5-18 **THE CONSEQUENCES OF EU MEMBERSHIP (Co-sponsored with International Political Economy, see 12-16)**

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair **David Ellison**, *Grinnell College*

Paper **Market Correctives, Market Palliatives and European Integration**
David Ellison, *Grinnell College*
 Overview: This paper analyzes the impact of EU decision-making on political battles over allocations of SCF funding for the 2007-2013 framework period and their potential to diminish more successful management of the costs of economic adjustment.

Paper **Trashing Central Europe: The Political Economy of Waste in EU Enlargement**
Robert Pahre, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
Zsuzsa Gille, *University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign*
 Overview: Enlargement of the European Union has changed the nature of the polity in which policy is made in Central Europe. Instead of being made inside national boundaries, West Europeans can now influence policy making in their own interests.

Paper **Cross-National Policy Networks and the State**
Beate Sissenich, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: Claims about NGO influence in transnational networks abound. But do cross-border networks really signify that states have lost their gate-keeping function? And do such networks transcend border effects by linking subnational actors from several countries, or are they rather vehicles for upward linkages from subnational to supranational actors?

Paper **The EU and the Baltic Tigers**
Steven G. Stoltenberg, *U.S. Department of State*
 Overview: The prospect of EU accession played a decisive role in shaping key policy choices of Baltic elites, as demonstrated by the examples of energy policy and social integration.

Paper **Roads, Rivers and Mountains: Transportation Dilemmas for EU Accession Countries in Eastern Europe**
Eleanor Zeff, *Drake University*
Ellen Pirro, *Iowa State University*
 Overview: TBA

Disc. **Michael L. Ardovino**, *St. Mary's College of Maryland*

7-8 **REGULATION AND REFORM: ECONOMIC POLICYMAKING IN LATIN AMERICA**

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair Jennifer S. Holmes, *University of Texas, Dallas*

Paper **Foreign Banks in Mexico: New Conquistadors or Agents of Change?**

Heiner Schulz, *University of Pennsylvania*

Overview: This paper examines the effect of FDI on the Mexican banking sector. Results show that foreign entry had a positive but limited impact on sector development. Politically, an external shock was necessary for liberalization of the investment regime.

Paper **Income Taxation in Argentina and Brazil: Intersection of Region and Race**

Hiram J. Irizarry Osorio, *The Ohio State University*

Overview: Argentina historically has had a lower income tax collection than Brazil, even though it has been a wealthier state. I explain this empirical puzzle by specifying the intersection between racial and regional cleavages (vertical and horizontal).

Paper **The Politics of Welfare Reform in Mexico**

Michelle L. Dion, *Georgia Institute of Technology*

Overview: This paper explains changes in Mexico's welfare regime since the 1980s. Globalization pressures and increasing party competition have led to partial retrenchment of traditional social protection and the creation of new forms of targeted spending.

Paper **Understanding Patterns of Banking Regulation in Latin America**

Mariana M. Sousa, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: This paper offers an empirically informed theoretical framework for understanding how and why banking regulation (the degree of state intervention in the banking system) has changed in Latin America in the past two decades.

Disc. Guillermo Rosas, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Gregg B. Johnson, *SUNY, Buffalo*

8-10 **CORRUPTION AND INSTITUTIONAL DYSFUNCTION IN CHINA**

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair Melanie Manion, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Paper **Institutions, Corruption, and Anti-corruption Policies: The Case of China**

Qiang Yan, *University of Missouri, St Louis*

Overview: In this paper I will discuss how institutions influence the development of corruption and the making of anti-corruption policies in China.

Paper **Analysis of Personal Secretary's Role in Official Corruption in China**

Xia L. Lollar, *University of Wisconsin, Whitewater*

Anne W. Hamilton, *University of Wisconsin, Whitewater*

Overview: The paper examines the phenomenon of "secretary corruption" in Chinese government today.

Paper **Principal-Agent Problems in China's State Owned Enterprises**

Gary A. Stradiotto, *University of California, Davis*

Overview: A large number of China's State Owned Enterprises remain inefficient and uncompetitive in the reform environment. This paper argues this is due to failures in corporate governance, which results from the breakdown of principal-agent relationships.

Disc. Melanie Manion, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

9-5 **COLONIAL LEGACIES AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS OF AFRICA**

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair Mike Hampson, *University of California, Irvine*

Paper **The Dilemma of Colonial Boundaries in Contemporary Africa: The Bakassi Peninsula in Nigeria-Cameroon Border Relations**

Geoffrey Nwaka, *Abia State University*

Overview: Many critics complain that the current boundaries of African States make little sense. Preserving them by force

creates as many problems as seeking to renegotiate or repudiate them.

Paper **Badme: A Pretext for the Ethiopian-Eritrean War**

Alemseged Abbay, *Frostburg State University*

Overview: The paper tries to decipher the root causes for the "border war" between Ethiopia and its former province of Eritrea (1998-2000). This paper argues that Badme, the flashpoint of the conflict, was not even remotely a cause for what has been described.

Paper **Weathering the Storm/Reaping the Harvest? Democratic Dividends in Africa**

Adeolu A. Durotoye, *University of Ibadan*

Overview: The paper will explore the dilemma of a confused agenda between what African leaders believe will yield democratic dividends to the citizenry and what they have to do as handed to them by the West in the name of economic conditionalities.

Paper **Foreign Aid and Democratic Leadership in Sub-Saharan Africa**

Daniel Fikreyesus, *Georgia State University*

Overview: Foreign aid is an important leverage western nations have promote democracy when African nations are strongly declaring their national sovereignty. This paper study if western powers have used their aid power to influence policies in Africa.

Disc. Paul Clements, *Western Michigan University*

10-8 **ETHNIC IDENTITY AND CONFLICT IN THE COMMUNIST AND POST-COMMUNIST WORLD**

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair Rokas Oginskis, *Wayne State University/University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Paper **The Politics of Minimal Consensus in Post-Communist Slovakia (1990-1998)**

Mihaela Mihailescu, *University of Minnesota*

Overview: This paper analyzes how the adoptions of basic democratic institutions in post-communist Slovakia helped prevent violent ethnic conflict by constraining political parties across the ethnic divide to cooperate, albeit on a minimal consensus agenda.

Paper **Lessons Learned? Western Aid for Political Moderation in the Post-Conflict Balkans**

Paula M. Pickering, *College of William and Mary*

Overview: Democracy aid is particularly complex when directed to divided post-conflict areas, like the Balkans, where states' only ephemeral experience with democracy contributed to violence. Elite interviews explore lessons learned from democracy aid.

Paper **The Origins of Territorial Autonomy Arrangements in Multi-ethnic States**

Renat Shaykhutdinov, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: In this paper I explain the formation of territorial autonomy arrangements in multiethnic states. I develop and test a theory that explains the origins of autonomies as a function of the characteristics of ethnic groups, states and mediators

Paper **Ethnic Difference and Survey Cooperation in the People's Republic of China**

Matthew Hoddie, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: This study identifies contrasts between majority and minority responses to a national survey of China. I find that members of minority communities are less forthcoming during survey interviews than individuals belonging to the Han majority.

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

11-9 **NEW THEORIES AND THUS NEW DEBATES**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Duane Adamson, *Brigham Young University*
Paper **Christianity and International Politics in the Thought of Reinhold Niebuhr and Herbert Butterfield**
Pier Domenico Tortola, *Boston University*
Overview: This paper compares Niebuhr and Butterfield's applications of Christian ideas to the analysis of interstate politics and sheds light on the broader theoretical and epistemological "debate" between realism and the English School.

Paper **Culture in International Relations Theory: Comparative Analysis of Social Theory of International Politics and Clash of Civilizations Theory**
Wael J. Haboub, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
Overview: This study will analyze the core assumptions of both Clash of Civilization Theory articulated by Samuel Huntington and that of Alexander Wendt's Social Theory of International Politics.

Paper **The Utility of Justificatory Analysis in International Relations Research**
Travis B. Nelson, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Overview: This paper examines the use of justifications as a part of empirical research in international relations and argues that the promise and pitfalls of justificatory analysis point not only to caution but to both normative and strategic utility.

Paper **Evolutionary Approaches to the Study of International Relations**
Tamas Golya, *University of Oregon*
Overview: This paper seeks to specify in what sense findings of evolutionary psychology can expand and fertilize international relations (=IR) theory, but also how not to do it. It also speaks to the relative relevance of each of the main paradigms in IR.

Paper **Synthetic Theories and the Study of Political Violence**
Jonathan Obert, *University of Chicago*
Matthias Staisch, *University of Chicago*
Overview: Endorses theoretical synthesis in IR, but criticizes its advocates for not having attained it. Presents a three-step procedure based on a typology of causal questions and related modes of explanation and applies it to the study of political violence.

Disc. Rashida Hussain, *Wright State University*

13-9 **SIGNALS AND NETWORKS**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Bahar Leventoglu, *SUNY, Stony Brook University*
Paper **Modelling Transgovernmental Network Choices with Exponential Random Graph Models**
Paul W. Thurner, *University of Mannheim*
Martin Binder, *University of Mannheim*
Overview: We investigate the motives for establishing transgovernmental network choices. Focal actors are high officials of the EU member states' ministerial bureaucracy. Exponential Random Graph Models are used for testing our hypotheses.

Paper **Effects of Historical Analogies on Foreign Policy Decision Processes**
Nehemia Geva, *Texas A&M University*
Douglas Kuberski, *Texas A&M University*
Overview: An experimental test of the proposition that exposure to historical analogies make people less sensitive to the information about the current crisis, thereby increasing support for leaders' advocated foreign policy.

Paper **Preferences, Power, and Policy Choice**
Mark A. Souva, *Florida State University*
Overview: Given a particular type of crisis, what factors most affect how a state responds? I argue that the primary factors affecting foreign policy choice are the similarity of foreign policy preferences and the balance of power in the dyad.

Paper **Public Commitment in Crisis Bargaining**
Ahmer Tarar, *Texas A&M University*
Bahar Leventoglu, *Stony Brook University*
Overview: It has long been argued that audience costs are beneficial because they allow for credible information transmission. We show how audience costs can be used to generate bargaining leverage and may lead to war, even under complete information.

Disc. Branislav L. Slantchev, *University of California, San Diego*
Ahmer Tarar, *Texas A&M University*

14-9 **THE GLOBAL CHALLENGE OF TERRORISM**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Frank La Verness, *St. John's University*
Paper **International Terrorism and Trade: A Simultaneous Equation Model**
Andrada Irina S. Costoiu, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
Overview: It is argued that the terrorist actions reduce the volume of international trade and vice versa. Using a simultaneous equation model, I find compelling evidence that terrorism and international trade determine each other.

Paper **Terrorism as a Narrative Practice**
Maarten G. D. Rothman, *Netherlands Defense Academy*
Overview: Terrorist messages are analyzed as projecting particular narratives, playing to an audience, using specific techniques, producing specific theatrical effects. This paper searches various terrorist narratives for clues about their prospective success.

Paper **Terrorism in North Africa: Going Global?**
Lianne E. Kennedy Boudali, *United States Military Academy*
Overview: Recent communications from North African terrorist groups indicate greater identification with the trans-national agenda of the "global jihad."

Paper **Terrorism in the Horn of Africa: Where Bin Laden Began**
Tsegai Isaac, *University of Missouri, Rolla*
Overview: Terrorists inspired by Al Qaeda had long established bases in the Horn. They carried out acts of violence against civilians. This paper chronicles terrorism in view of the Horn countries plea for assistance and Western ambivalence to the problem.

Paper **Terrorist Organizations and Sub-National Governmental Relations**
Kevin E. Grisham, *University of California, Riverside*
Overview: An exploration of how to characterize and measure the relationships between subnational government units and terrorist organizations in the modern era.

Disc. Bradley F. Podliska, *Texas A&M University*
Frank La Verness, *St. John's University*

15-9 **DOMESTIC POLITICS AND CONFLICT**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair Stephen B. Long, *Kansas State University*
Paper **What Will You Know?: Explaining Within Democracy Variance in Foreign Policy Institutions and Conflict Behavior**
Michael P. Colaresi, *Michigan State University*
Overview: This paper explains important distinctions between democratic governments based on retrospective foreign policy information institutions.

Paper **Political Liberalization and the Threat of Violence**
Ursula E. Daxecker, *University of New Orleans*
Overview: This paper investigates the causes of violence following political liberalization. Private information on bargaining strength and the ability of the outgoing regime to negotiate its own exit terms are argued to affect the range of possible outcomes.

Paper **An Informational Theory of National Leaders, Domestic Institutions, and International Conflict**
Scott Wolford, *Emory University*
Overview: Prior beliefs over the resolve of national leaders are endogenized to the informational consequences of domestic

	institutions, resulting in novel hypotheses and evidence about the effects of leadership turnover on international conflict.				
Paper	<u>The Politics of International Rivalry</u> Daniel S. Morey , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: Drawn from a model of domestic politics and rivalries, the central hypothesis of this paper is that only very costly wars will lead to rivalry termination. The cost from war must be extreme to displace domestic factions favoring rivalry continuation.			Paper	<u>International Humanitarian Law and Civil War: Civilian Targeting, 1980-2004</u> Jessica A. Stanton , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: This paper seeks to understand why some governments and rebel groups engage in deliberate attacks on civilians during civil war, while other actors respect the principle of noncombatant immunity, largely complying with international humanitarian law.
Disc.	Stephen B. Long , <i>Kansas State University</i>			Paper	<u>The Beijing Declaration Ten Years Later: A Global Assessment of Women's Rights</u> D. Christopher Brooks , <i>St. Olaf College</i> Overview: An empirical evaluation of the progress made to implement the 1995 Beijing Declaration's provisions for the protection of women's rights globally and regionally.
16-6	<u>THE INSTRUMENTS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY</u>			Disc.	Nikolay Marinov , <i>Yale University</i>
Room	TBA, Sat 10:30 am				
Chair	Katy Crossley-Frolick , <i>DePaul University</i>			18-10	<u>PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL ACTION</u>
Paper	<u>Beyond Dependency: The Politics of Foreign Military Bases</u> Monica M. Sickles , <i>Miami University</i> Jennifer Hamilton , <i>Miami University</i> Overview: This paper examines the consequences of US policies to maintain military outposts across the globe. Moving beyond traditional dependency arguments, we examine how the presence of US bases may encourage the development of militarized societies.			Room	TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Paper	<u>An Analysis of US Sanctions Against International Drug Trafficking</u> David Lektzian , <i>University of New Orleans</i> Overview: An empirical analysis of US coercive economic diplomacy toward drug producing and trafficking countries.			Chair	Kwang-Il Yoon , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i>
Paper	<u>Instructing Soldiers for the States</u> Martin J. Kifer , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: Through a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, this project will explain allocation strategies for U.S. military training aid to foreign militaries from the Cold War to the current era after September 11th.			Paper	<u>What Motivates Political Participation: An Experimental Test</u> Joanne M. Miller , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: Current models of political participation are inadequate inasmuch as they do not adequately incorporate motivation. To fill this gap, this project reports the results of an experiment that tests a general theory of political motivation.
Paper	<u>The Substitutability of Security</u> Peter Rudloff , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: Paper presents a model of security policy decision making specifying the relative strategy costs and state capabilities across a range of resource or cost types to explore the conditions under which sets of security strategies are substitutable.			Paper	<u>Does Valuing Opinion Diversity Help Predict Political Participation?</u> Eric A. Whitaker , <i>University of Nebraska, Lincoln</i> Overview: Empirical investigations have neglected the theoretical link between opinion diversity and political participation. In exploring this relationship, I find that valuing opinion diversity significantly predicts some types of political participation.
Paper	<u>Operationalizing "Soft" Power</u> Peter A. Furia , <i>Wake Forest University</i> Overview: This paper utilizes crossnational public opinion data to operationalize the concept of "soft power" in a rigorous social-scientific way. This allows for preliminary analysis of as yet untested claims about soft power's causes and consequences.			Paper	<u>Extreme Voices or Good Citizens Local Civic Engagement Reconsidered</u> Christopher F. Karpowitz , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: This paper reconsiders the argument that local public meetings are driven by the interests and perspectives of extremists.
Disc.	Bijan Moeinian , <i>Valencia College</i>			Paper	<u>Political Bullies: What Factors are Related to Recruitment for Extremist Activities in America?</u> Eugenia K. Guilmartin , <i>Command and General Staff College, US Army</i> Overview: What factors are related to recruitment for extremist activities? This paper analyzes responses to a survey of US Army personnel (2001) to advance the profile of a "political bully."
17-8	<u>THE EFFECTIVENESS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS AGREEMENTS</u>			Paper	<u>Why Are People Willing to Die for Their Country?</u> Oleg Smirnov , <i>University of Miami</i> John Orbell , <i>University of Oregon</i> Holly Arrow , <i>University of Oregon</i> Douglas Kennett , <i>University of Oregon</i> Overview: We create a formal evolutionary model of "heroism," altruistic violence against outsiders on behalf of one's group, and show that heroism can evolve via multi-level selection independent of other forms of altruism.
Room	TBA, Sat 10:30 am			Disc.	Lori M. Weber , <i>California State University, Chico</i> David C. Barker , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i>
Chair	Nikolay Marinov , <i>Yale University</i>				
Paper	<u>Domestic Judicial Institutions, Treaty Adoption and Compliance</u> Jeffrey K. Staton , <i>Florida State University</i> Emilia J. Powell , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: We develop and test theoretical model of treaty adoption and compliance that considers how features of the domestic judicial system influence state choices to adopt and comply with international human rights norms.			19-16	<u>PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS</u>
Paper	<u>Ratification of Human Rights Treaties and Regional Politics</u> Heather M. Smith , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: Why do states ratify human rights treaties? States engage in a competitive signaling game with their regional peers to attract foreign aid, particularly during regional political crises. Empirical testing lends tentative support to this assertion.			Room	TBA, Sat 10:30 am
				Chair	Kelly D. Patterson , <i>Brigham Young University</i>
				Paper	<u>Fiscal Policy: Implicit in the Trial-Heat and Time-For-Change Models?</u> Alfred G. Cuzán , <i>University of West Florida</i> Charles M. Bundrick , <i>University of West Florida</i> Overview: Comparing the fiscal model of presidential elections with Abramowitz's and Campbell's, we show that while all three models perform equally well at forecasting, the fiscal model offers greater understanding of voter behavior than the other two.

Paper **Are Political Markets Really Superior to Polls as Election Predictors?**
Christopher Wlezien, *Temple University*
Robert S. Erikson, *Columbia University*
 Overview: Election markets have been praised for their ability to forecast elections and to forecast better than trial-heat polls. This paper challenges that argument based on an analysis of Iowa Electronic Market data from recent presidential elections.

Paper **Multiple Methods, Conflicting Conclusions**
Amy R. Gershkoff, *Princeton University*
 Overview: I do a comparative analysis of 4 methods for measuring issue salience: 3 from the literature and 1 new method. I apply all methods to the same data, and show that different methods produce different conclusions about the impact of salience in voting.

Paper **Negative Voting in Presidential Elections**
Jonathan Williamson, *Lycoming College*
 Overview: Using NES data, this paper updates evidence of negative voter support over the last twenty years. The paper also explains negative voting at the micro level; factors leading to negative voting include ideology, partisanship and voter efficacy.

Paper **The Ambivalent Voters in Presidential Elections 1980 ~ 2004**
Sung-jin Yoo, *Stony Brook University*
 Overview: What are the effects of ambivalence in electoral choice? Focusing on the electoral choice of ambivalent voters in U.S. Presidential elections since 1980, I attempt to find the effects of attitudinal ambivalence on electoral choice.

Disc. **Helmut Norpoth**, *SUNY, Stony Brook*

22-8 **POLITICAL AWARENESS AND KNOWLEDGE**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair **Katherine Cramer Walsh**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Paper **Explaining Variations in Political Knowledge Gaps**
Jason Barabas, *Harvard University*
Jennifer Jerit, *University of Connecticut/Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
 Overview: Scholars often link knowledge to demographics, but we concentrate on the role of the information environment. Pairing dozens of surveys with media content analyses, variations in the quantity and quality of information affect political knowledge.

Paper **Who Provides Stability?: The Rational Public and Model Uncertainty**
Gregory E. McAvoy, *University of North Carolina, Greensboro*
 Overview: A longstanding concern among scholars and observers of American politics is whether the public possesses the ability to make reasonable and informed decisions about politics. Page and Shapiro provide reasons to think that in the aggregate public opi

Paper **Political Knowledge and Public Approval: California in the Post-Recall Era**
Kimberly L. Nalder, *California State University, Sacramento*
 Overview: Did support for the 2003 CA recall stem from ignorance about state government? Original CA Field Poll data is used to evaluate whether citizen ignorance drives public support for specific state policies and leaders in the post-recall era.

Paper **Political Gossip, Friendship Networks, and Attitude Change on Policy Issues: Experimental Evidence**
Suzanne Parker, *Purdue University*
Glenn Parker, *Purdue University*
Jay McCann, *Purdue University*
 Overview: This study is based upon two experiments where student-interviewers offer their opinions on salient and non-salient political issues individually to a group of their (5) friends in structured interview situations.

Paper **Can Knowledge Correct for Partisan Bias in Political Perceptions?**
Danielle Shani, *Princeton University*
 Overview: In this paper, I argue that political knowledge exacerbates rather than ameliorates the impact of partisan bias on perceptions of "objective" national conditions, like the state of the economy or the crime rate

Disc. **Jeffrey J. Mondak**, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
Katherine Cramer Walsh, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

22-205 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: FOREIGN OPINIONS OF THE UNITED STATES**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Presenter **Responsive Diplomacy: Measuring Foreign Opinions of the United States**
Ryan M. Tuggle, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Analysis of foreign opinion polling can reveal the probable impact of existing and proposed diplomatic policies. This study applies a multi-nomial logit regression to opinion polling data collected by the Pew Global Attitudes project.

23-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LOCAL DEMOCRACY IN MIDDLE AMERICA**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Presenter **Deliberative Democracy and the Study Circles in Carbondale, Illinois**
Ana M. Velitchkova, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
 Overview: A study on the Carbondale, Illinois Study Circles initiative "Carbondale Conversations for Community Action," which examines how grassroots deliberation centered on local community issues affects political actions and attitudes.

Presenter **Lessons in Direct Democracy from a Small City Recall Election**
Gregory E. Rathje, *Western Michigan University*
 Overview: In August 2005 the city of Marquette, Michigan recalled four of its seven commissioners. This research explores the political dynamics and policy consequences of the recall, within the framework of direct democracy.

23-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE INTERNET'S INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN DEMOCRACY**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Presenter **Has the Internet Fulfilled its Democratic Potential?**
Tina Ebenger, *Calumet College of St. Joseph*
 Overview: The Internet's effect on American democracy will be measured by Internet or online voting and Internet voter registration.

24-11 **THE MEDIA AND MINORITY POLITICS**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair **Gustavo Cano**, *University of Nebraska, Omaha*
Paper **Race and Place: The Impact of News Coverage of Urban and Rural Depictions of Poverty**
Mandi L. Bates, *University of Kentucky/Texas A&M University, Corpus Christi*
 Overview: This research investigates attitudes toward welfare and welfare recipients. In particular, it examines how stereotypes of places (understood as urban or rural) and races portrayed in the news media impact judgments of welfare and welfare recipients.

Paper **Media Framing of Racial Divides in Public Opinion After Hurricane Katrina**
Janet L. Donovan, *University of Puget Sound*
 Overview: Does George W. Bush care about black people? This paper traces the process by which race became a major news frame for understanding the federal government's response to Hurricane Katrina.

Paper **Geographic Media Agenda Setting: Spatial Proximity to the US-Mexico Border and Local News Coverage of Immigration Issues**
Johanna L. Dunaway, *Rice University*
 Overview: This paper addresses geographic context and media coverage of political issues. It focuses specifically on immigration, and examines how proximity to the US Mexico border influences local media attention to this and other border related issues.

Paper **T.V. Advertisements, Racial Issues, and The 2000 and 2002 Congressional Elections**
Craig F. Frizzell, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
 Overview: Symbolic racism theory is tested by examining the racial issue content of television advertisements broadcast during the 2002 congressional elections. Third parties are expected to be more likely to broadcast racial ads than candidates themselves.

Paper **The Face of Reality: Minorities and the Network News**
Kimberly Gross, *George Washington University*
 Overview: This paper presents the results of a content analysis examining the portrayal of racial minorities in television news as well as a series of interviews with reporters and producers designed to explore why the news coverage looks as it does.

Disc. **Gustavo Cano**, *University of Nebraska, Omaha*

24-12 **MEDIA EFFECTS AND EUROPEAN NATIONAL ELECTIONS**

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair **Andrew Paul Williams**, *Virginia Tech University*

Paper **The Impact of Television Advertising in the 2005 German National Election**
Lynda Lee Kaid, *University of Florida*
Monica Postelnicu, *University of Florida*
 Overview: This paper reports the results of an experimental study of the effects of exposure to the political party broadcasts of the CDU and the SPD parties in the 2005 German national election.

Paper **Effects of the TV Debate on Vote Decisions in the 2005 German Election**
Jurgen Maier, *Kaiserslautern University of Technology*
Michaela Maier, *University of Koblenz, Laundau*
 Overview: The experimental study tested whether exposure to the television debate between Gerhard Schröder (SPD) and Angela Merkel (CDU) in the 2005 German election resulted in more rational or more personalized voting decisions.

Paper **Audience Framing of Terrorism in the 2004 U.S. and 2005 U.K. Campaigns**
Sarah Oates, *University of Glasgow*
Andrew Paul Williams, *Virginia Tech University*
 Overview: This study used surveys and focus groups to determine the impact of the terrorism issue on the American and British electorates in the most recent national elections in each country (2004 and 2005, respectively).

Paper **News Coverage of Elections in Sweden and Britain**
Jesper Stromback, *Mid-Sweden University*
Adam Shehata, *Mid-Sweden University*
 Overview: This study compared the episodic and thematic framing of the most recent national elections in Sweden (2002) and Britain (2005), illustrating the presence of structural bias in media coverage.

Disc. **Lynda Lee Kaid**, *University of Florida*
Sarah Oates, *University of Glasgow*
Jesper Stromback, *Mid-Sweden University*

25-9 **DIVERSE ENDS, DIVERSE MEANS: WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS**

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair **Lee Ann Banaszak**, *Pennsylvania State University*

Paper **Covering Agenda Shifts of the US Women's Rights Movement**
Janet K. Boles, *Marquette University*
 Overview: The focus is upon the increasing importance of issues of race, class, and diversity as well as international issues. The substantive content and amount of coverage in Ms. Magazine, 1972-2005, of these issues are examined.

Paper **Decisive Housewives**
Jamie P. Pimlott, *University of Florida*
Kathryn Oates, *University of Florida*
 Overview: Conservative women have been a formidable force in the political spectrum for several decades, yet scholars have not dedicated time to their efforts. Instead, "women in politics" research has largely focused on the liberal feminist movement, tracing

Paper **Turning Sad into Mad: Grief and the Mobilization of Motherhood**
Elizabeth A. Bennion, *Indiana University, South Bend*
Laura E. Roach, *Indiana University, South Bend*
 Overview: A comparative case study of the groups Mamas Against Violence and Mothers Against Drunk Driving that explores the role of grief as a catalyst for political action by mothers from various racial, economic and political backgrounds.

Paper **Representing Women: Women's Organizations, Parties and Policy in Print Media**
Sirje Laurel Weldon, *Purdue University*
Maura P. Bahu, *Purdue University*
 Overview: In this paper we examine women's organizations' efforts to influence public discussion on policy issues, specifically in two localities, Chicago and Boston.

Disc. **Lynn Kamenitsa**, *Northern Illinois University*
Maryann Barakso, *American University*

25-12 **PERSPECTIVES ON GENDERED PUBLIC POLICY**

Room TBA, 8Sat 10:30 am

Chair **Susan G. Mezey**, *Loyola University, Chicago*

Paper **State Equal Rights Amendments: Evaluating their Effectiveness**
Linda Wharton, *Richard Stockton College of New Jersey*
 Overview: This paper evaluates the effectiveness of state equal rights amendments in protecting women's equality, focusing on their application in areas in which federal constitutional protection has been increasingly limited in scope.

Paper **Survey Says: Title IX and The Dept. of Education's Email Compliance Survey**
Leanne Doherty, *Simmons College*
 Overview: This paper discusses the ramifications that athletic interest email surveys could have on the strength of Title IX, the only public policy that protects women's sports, as well as attempt to show that this technique for policy compliance is invalid.

Paper **Citizenship, Gender and Military Service**
Mary Lou Kendrigan, *Lansing Community College*
 Overview: Feminists use the concept of "first-class citizenship" to win improvements for military women. While increased opportunities for women in the military is desirable, what kind of lessons in democratic citizenship does the military offer?

Paper **State and Federal Breastfeeding Legislation: Advantages and Limitations of an Individual Rights Framework**
Maureen R. Oakley, *Mount St. Mary's University*
 Overview: This paper examines the context in which states and the federal government have considered and adopted breastfeeding legislation. The advantages and limitations of applying an individual rights framework to the issue breastfeeding are explored.

Disc. **Gwyneth I. Williams**, *Webster University*

26-9 MINORITY REPRESENTATION

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair Christina E. Bejarano, *University of Iowa*

Paper Conserving African American Representation: An Exploratory Analysis of the Necessary Conditions Used to Protect African American School Board Representation
Bettie C. Ray, *Texas A&M University*
Overview: Can we ensure African American representation? Using national data on school districts for both 1989 and 2001, I posit that we must observe the impact of bureaucratic structures, performance outcomes and class divisions within the black community.

Paper Turnout in U.S House Primary and General Elections: The Importance of Candidate-Level and District-Level Race and Ethnicity

Regina P. Branton, *Rice University*

Matthew Barreto, *University of Washington*

Overview: The extant literature suggests that the racial and/or ethnic makeup of a legislative district is associated with turnout in U.S. House elections (Bobo and Gilliam 1990; Barreto et al. 2004; Leighley 2001; Vanderleeuw and Utter 1993). The current res

Paper A Minority Within the Minority Party: The Congressional Black Caucus Since 1994

Frederick Carl Walton, *Lincoln University*

Overview: This paper examines and analyzes the activity of the Congressional Black Caucus since the 1994 Congressional elections that resulted in the Republican Party taking over the majority in the United States House of Representatives.

Paper Substantive Minority Representation and the Policy Process

Alisa Hicklin, *Texas A&M University*

Tyler C. Johnson, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: This paper uses theories of public policymaking to tap into where and how the link between descriptive and substantive representation emerges (particularly for African American and Latino populations) from agenda setting through policy implementation

Disc. Warren S. Eller, *Texas A&M University*

Katrina L. Gamble, *Brown University*

26-19 EMERGING DIASPORAS

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair Shyam K. Sriram, *Georgia State University*

Paper Cowpath Crossings: Narratives of Indian Immigrant Doctors From Muncie, IN

Himance Gupta-Carlson, *University of Hawaii*

Overview: Drawing on feminist, critical race, and ethnicity theories, this paper analyzes stories by two Indian immigrant doctors who recount their experiences of journeying from India to America, ultimately settling in Muncie, Indiana, in the 1980s.

Paper Geopolitics & Ethnic Mobilization: Analysis of Kurdish American Strategies

Rachel A. Paul, *The Ohio State University, Newark*

Overview: Using archival analysis and elite interviews, this paper examines changes in the strategies of Kurdish-American interest groups from 1999 to 2005.

Paper Red, Brown and Blue: Asian Indian Americans and American Politics

Shankar K. Prasad, *Brown University*

Overview: This paper is an attempt to understand the sources of political attitudes and contours of political behavior of Asian Indian Americans.

Paper Beyond Transnationalism and Nationalism: Diasporic Identity in the U.S.

Soo-Bin You, *Rutgers University*

Overview: My paper explores the complexity of identities of immigrants through the analysis on cultural activities and social movements. The case study of Korean-American identity formation shows how they construct the 'symbolic' and 'political' ethnicity.

Paper Electoral Behavioral Among Native Americans in the Dakotas

Steven J. Doherty, *Dickinson State University*

Overview: This research tests several models of political participation on electoral turnout and partisan preference in recent elections on the Dakota and Ojibwa communities of North and South Dakota.

Disc. Max Neiman, *University of California, Riverside/Public Policy Institute of California*

27-11 WAR, EMPIRE, FORCE, AND FRAUD

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair Travis S. Cook, *St. John's College, Santa Fe*

Paper Empire in Speech: The Politics of Aristophanes' Birds

John T. Lombardini, *Princeton University*

Overview: This paper explores the different accounts of the Athenian Empire as they are presented in Aristophanes' play *Birds* and Thucydides' account of the Sicilian Expedition in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*.

Paper Machiavelli on Fraud

Tim Spiekerman, *Kenyon College*

Overview: Machiavelli's enthusiasm for political fraud calls into question his concern for the people's welfare and his judgment of their capacities. I investigate both claims in an effort to understand the place of fraud in Machiavelli's thought.

Paper Teaching War: Hobbes's Behemoth and the Absolutist Argument for Limited Government

Yishaiya Abosch, *California State University, Fresno*

Overview: This paper argues that Behemoth is Hobbes's demonstration of how history is to be taught in light of the science of justice he develops in *Leviathan*.

Paper Modern Republican Empire: Hamilton and Hanson on the Nature of Western War

Anthony A. Peacock, *Utah State University*

Overview: This paper will compare the thought of Alexander Hamilton and Victor Davis Hanson on the nature of war, particularly war conducted by free societies.

Disc. Joseph A. Harder, *No Affiliation*

Travis S. Cook, *St. John's College, Santa Fe*

28-10 NIETZSCHE ON LOVE, MORALITY, AND NIHILISM

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair Christian D. Dean, *Dominican University of California*

Paper Mere Interludes? Using Nietzsche's Epigrams in Political Theory

Alexandra E. Hoerl, *Rutgers University*

Overview: This paper argues for the importance of Nietzsche's epigrams in his political theory. Like Machiavelli and Hobbes before him, Nietzsche wanted to challenge the Christianizing of love. He used the epigram to move love "beyond good and evil."

Paper Nietzsche and Rousseau on the Origins of Political Society

Jeffrey Metzger, *Brown University*

Overview: Examines the thought of Nietzsche and Rousseau, especially in *On the Genealogy of Morals* and the *Second Discourse*, to

Paper Janus at Bayreuth: The Reformation, the Ancient Regime and the Question of Fascism in Nietzsche

Alex T. Schulman, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: A reexamination of the relationship of Friedrich Nietzsche's political theory to proto-fascism, as seen through the novel prism of his attitudes toward the Protestant Reformation and the pre-revolutionary European ancien regime.

Disc. Stefan Bird-Pollan, *University of New Hampshire*

29-101 AUTHOR MEET CRITICS: ROMAND COLES - BEYOND GATES POLITICS: REFLECTIONS FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF DEMOCRACY

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Panelist **Edwina Barvosa-Carter**, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
Romand Coles, *Duke University*
Lisa Disch, *University of Minnesota*
Peter E. Digeser, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
Paul Apostolidis, *Whitman College*
 Overview: TBA

30-12 FORMAL THEORIES OF GROUP CONFLICT

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair **Catherine C. Langlois**, *Georgetown University*
Paper **Why Exclude? Religious Groups as Allies In State Building**
Birol Baskan, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: In this paper, I develop a model of two ideal-typical patterns, incorporation vs. exclusion, and show when one pattern prevails, but not the other in the changing relationships between the state rulers and religious groups during state building.

Paper **Terrorist Violence and Intra-Terrorist Competition**
Skyler J. Cranmer, *University of California, Davis*
 Overview: A formal model of terrorist violence in perfect and imperfect non-competitive terrorism environments (a terrorist group does not compete with other terrorist groups) as well as perfect and imperfect competition between terrorist groups.

Paper **On the Political Economy of Clientelism, Patronage and Inequality**
Leonardo A. Gatica-Arreola, *University of Guadalajara*
 Overview: Some theoretical approaches relate clientelism with poverty and inequality. The paper builds a formal model which challenges this idea and which is consistent with the empirical evidence.

Paper **Voting as a Credible Threat**
John B. Londregan, *Princeton University*
Andrea Vindigni, *Princeton University*
 Overview: Voting and effectiveness in battle both involve an overestimate of one's impact on events. Elections can provide a credible signal of each side's fighting capacity facilitating a bargained conflict resolution short of civil war.

Disc. **Catherine C. Langlois**, *Georgetown University*

30-22 FORMAL THEORIES OF ELECTIONS: WHO VOTES?

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair **Jay Goodliffe**, *Brigham Young University*
Paper **Voting with a Whole Lot of People: Analytical Results for a Behavioral Model of Turnout**
Jonathan Bendor, *Stanford University*
Nathan A. Collins, *Stanford University*
Sunil Kumar, *Stanford University*
 Overview: Present a formal model of turnout based on a simple adaptive rule in the limit of an infinite population. By considering this limit, we are able to derive a number of results analytically where a previous model had to rely on computer simulations.

Paper **Robust Rational Turnout**
Tasos Kalandrakis, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: We establish conditions for the existence high turnout equilibria in regular turnout games of complete information, and by extension in nearby games of incomplete information.

Paper Ethical Voting and the Probability of a Pivotal Vote: Experimental Evidence

Sean Gailmard, *Northwestern University*
Timothy Feddersen, *Northwestern University*
Rebecca Morton, *New York University*

Overview: We experimentally investigate the self-selection of voters according to other-regarding preferences, as pivot probability declines. We explore the implications of this self-selection for the relative support of equitable distribution in groups.

Paper Shaping the Electorate: Delegating Disfranchisement Decisions

Rebecca B. Morton, *New York University*
Anna Bassi, *New York University*
Jessica L. Trounstein, *Princeton University*

Overview: We formally model the interaction between a state legislature and appointed voting officials in felon disfranchisement decisions as a delegation game. We empirically test these predictions about state election laws for the period 1980-2000.

Disc. **Jay Goodliffe**, *Brigham Young University*
Brian Roberson, *Miami University*

31-101 ROUNDTABLE: PERESTROIKA! THE RAUCOUS REBELLION IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Room TBA, 10:30 am
Chair **Maurice J. Meilleur**, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Panelist **Sanford Schram**, *Bryn Mawr College*
Joanna Vecchiarelli Scott, *Eastern Michigan University*
Dorian T. Warren, *University of Chicago*
Dvora Yanow, *Vrije University*

Overview: Authors from the recently published anthology on Perestroika edited by Kristen Monroe (Yale University Press, 2005) discuss themes from the book and current issues relevant to Perestroika's sympathizers, observers, and critics.

32-9 THE BEHAVIOR AND GOVERNANCE OF PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair **David Karol**, *University of California, Berkeley*
Paper **The Electoral Benefits of Internal Party Democracy?**

Denitza A. Bojinova, *University of Houston*
 Overview: Are internally-democratic parties more successful electorally? The paper explores parties in 15 Central and Eastern European countries and whether the more internally-inclusive entities have experienced greater and more stable electoral support.

Paper Measuring Electoral Value of Party Label Under Different Electoral Rules

Kenichi Ariga, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: This paper explores empirically the extent to which collective party label is important in elections and its difference under various electoral rules, using the electoral data from several developed democracies.

Paper The Machine is Dead: Does a Change in Party Control Affect Party Worker Recruitment and Retention?

Tim Hundsdoerfer, *University of Colorado*
 Overview: This paper examines the effect of a regime change on a party's ability to recruit and retain campaign workers.

Paper Creating a Cross-National Database of Party Laws

Kenneth Janda, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: Describes a database of over 1,000 party laws in over 160 nations tagged by the laws' origins (constitutions, national legislation, court rulings, and so on) and targets: political parties, political groups, elections, campaigns, candidates, voters, etc.

Paper **Evolving Political Machines: The Christian Right as the New Tammany Hall**
Chelsea L. Haring, *Michigan State University*
Suzanne M. Gold, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: Taking the characteristics of classic political machines and applying them to modern day national interest groups, we argue that political machines are not obsolete. They have been redefined to transcend region and party.

Disc. **Bernard Ivan Tamas**, *Illinois State University*

33-7 **PRESIDENTIAL STAFF MANAGEMENT**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair **Lara M. Brown**, *California State University, Channel Islands*
Paper **Advancing the President: The Establishment of the Advance Office in the Presidential Branch**
Michael J. Burton, *Ohio University*
 Overview: Traces the establishment of the Office of Scheduling and Advance within the EOP, placing this innovation within the context of wider theories of institutional growth and development.

Paper **Interpretations of the White House: The Government Manual as Prism**
Karen M. Hult, *Virginia Polytechnic Institute/State University*
MaryAnne Borrelli, *Connecticut College*
 Overview: The paper treats the US Government Manual as an organizational self-portrait of a presidency. Focusing on transparency and gender representation, it compares the White House Office entries over time and with listings from other sources.

Paper **The Mechanics of Delegating Authority: Modeling White House Initiative**
Terry O. Sullivan, *University of North Carolina*
 Overview: A formal theory of the decision to delegate presidential authority among White House staff compares different forms of authority (e.g., presidential autonomy versus shared authority).

Paper **Clashing Ideologies in the Clinton White House**
Shirley Anne Warshaw, *Gettysburg College*
 Overview: Throughout the first term of the Clinton presidency, decision making in the White House was often paralyzed by the conflicts between the centrists, primarily from the Democratic Leadership Council, and the liberals.
Disc. **Susan L. Roberts**, *Davidson College*
Lara M. Brown, *California State University, Channel Islands*

34-5 **CONGRESS AND AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair **John H. Aldrich**, *Duke University*
Paper **Congressional Reorganization of the Federal Judiciary from 1875-1891**
Craig Goodman, *Texas Tech University*
Kevin Scott, *Texas Tech University*
 Overview: This paper analyzes congressional decision-making concerning the reorganization of the federal judiciary in the latter part of the 19th century.

Paper **Postal Reform in the 1840s: Corruption, Development and Party Power**
John Baughman, *Bates College*
 Overview: Postal reform reached a crisis in the 1840s in debates over party corruption and development. Congress faced a common pool resource problem, threatening the franking privilege. Its answer was a first step toward separating postmasters from patronage.

Paper **The Politics of Military Service Pensions in the Antebellum U.S. Congress**
Charles J. Finocchiaro, *University at Buffalo, SUNY*
Jeffrey A. Jenkins, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: We examine the rise and development of military service pension legislation in the U.S. Congress before the Civil War, focusing on distributive politics and credit claiming activities by MCs.

Paper **The Legislative Veto: A Look at Continued Congressional Oversight**
Michael J. Berry, *University of Colorado*
 Overview: This paper examines evolution the legislative veto as a congressional oversight device, with a particular emphasis on the implementation of legislative veto statutory provisions enacted after the Supreme Court's Chadha decision of 1983.

Disc. **John H. Aldrich**, *Duke University*
Jamie L. Carson, *University of Georgia*

34-18 **MODELING ABSTENTION IN LEGISLATURES**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair **Jason A. MacDonald**, *Kent State University*
Paper **Party Cohesion and Strategic Abstentions**
Scott Desposato, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: Offers a method to deal with abstentions on roll-call votes. Builds a mixture model of legislators' voting to incorporate information contained in strategic abstentions. Method is applied to case of Brazil and compared with conventional results.

Paper **Selection Effects in Roll Call Votes**
Simon Hug, *University of Zurich*
 Overview: In most parliaments roll call votes do not necessarily give an accurate reflection of legislative work.

Paper **Determinants of Roll Call Abstention in the European Parliament**
Leonard Ray, *Louisiana State University*
Mileah K. Kromer, *Louisiana State University*
 Overview: The major purpose of this research is to create a model of abstention in the European Parliament. The analysis focuses on abstention behavior at the individual member level. This research controls for institutional and individual level variables.

Disc. **David C. W. Parker**, *Indiana University, South Bend*

36-6 **THE POLITICS OF JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS (Co-sponsored with Presidency and Executive Politics, see 33-15)**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair **Amy Steigerwalt**, *University of New Orleans*
Paper **A Balancing Approach to Nominating Supreme Court Justices**
Christopher D. Martin, *Ohio Dominican University*
 Overview: This inquiry seeks to explain how a president brokers, if not balances his ideology, with respect to the ideology of United States Senators in order to realize confirmation of his nominee(s) to the Supreme Court.

Paper **Supreme Court Nomination Politics in Presidential Election Campaigns**
Christine L. Nemacheck, *College of William & Mary*
 Overview: I analyze Supreme Court nomination politics as an issue in presidential election campaigns over the 20th Century and explain the conditions under which we should expect this issue to be prominent.

Paper **Judicial Quality and the Supreme Court Nominating Process**
Andrew O'Geen, *Georgia State University*
 Overview: This paper focuses on the political circumstances surrounding a president's nominee to the Supreme Court and the impact of these circumstances on the quality of justices.

Paper **The Electoral Connection in Supreme Court Appointments**
Ehud N. Sommer, *SUNY, Stony Brook*
 Overview: I focus on micro-level analyses of the electoral connection in the confirmation process of Supreme Court nominees in the U.S. Senate. Taking the individual congresspersons as units of analysis, I argue that re-election considerations add to our under

Paper **Institutional and Partisan Effects on the O'Connor and Rehnquist Departures**
Artemus Ward, *Northern Illinois University*
 Overview: Timing is everything. The simultaneous vacancies created by the departures of O'Connor and Rehnquist demonstrate the primacy of partisanship and institutions as justices leave under favorable presidents and try to maintain a nine-member Court

Disc. **David M. Jones**, *University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh*

36-203 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: COURTS, CIVIL LIBERTIES, AND NATIONAL SECURITY**

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Presenter **A Conflict of Interest: National Security Challenges to Civil Liberties in Times of War**
Brian R. King, *Muskingum College*
Nathan A. Strum, *Muskingum College*
 Overview: The project examines challenges faced by the US in balancing civil liberties with national security needs. It analyzes current cases related to the war on terror, including an analysis of the US stance on enemy combatant status and related issues.

Presenter **The Courts in Times of Crisis: The Impact of Threat on Civil Liberties**
Linda M. Merola, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: This project examines the contours of judicial decision-making in eras of prolonged crisis in a quantitative manner through an investigation of linguistic indicators of threat within judicial decisions and other related texts.

37-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: COMPARATIVE LAW**

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Presenter **Muslim Marriage Contracts: "I do, if..."**
Samuel D. Angus, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: Interviews with lawyers, those who facilitate marriages and married men who have ties to an American mosque and its members are used to shed light on the drafting and content of Islamic marriage contracts.

Presenter **Tendencies in the Reform of the Spanish Regions Statutes**
Jose A. Garcia-Rojas, *Universidad de La Laguna*
 Overview: Since 2003, many regional parliaments began the discussion about the reform of their statutes of autonomy in order to increase their competences and in some cases, as in the Basque Country and Catalonia, to get the recognition as nations.

37-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: FEDERALISM AND THE COURTS**

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Presenter **Trends in Certification of State Law Questions: Active Judicial Federalism**
Wendy L. Watson, *University of North Texas*
Daniel Orion Davis, *University of North Texas*
McKinzie Craig, *University of North Texas*
 Overview: This paper surveys of the various state procedures available for federal courts to certify issues of state law to State Supreme Courts and trends in the federal courts' use of those procedures.

38-10 **POLICY ADOPTION AND IMPLEMENTATION IN THE STATES**

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair **Paul Brace**, *Rice University*

Paper **Approaches to Modeling the Adoption and Modification of Policies with Multiple Components**
Frederick J. Boehmke, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: Advances in state policy adoption have moved us past the simple adoption dichotomy traditionally employed. I discuss multiple-component policies and describe a variety of models for analyzing the adoption and modification of such policies.

Paper **Transactions Costs and Policy Diffusion in the American States**
Matthew A. Weinstein, *University of Pittsburgh*
George A. Krause, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: We both advance and test a contingent transaction cost theory of policy diffusion. This theory is premised on the transaction costs arising from both political institutions and governance structures of "adopting" institutions.

Paper **State Policy Diffusion: Do Institutions Matter?**
Rachel Fulcher Dawson, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: Using event history analysis, I investigate how a policy diffuses over time and across institutions. I focus on state preschool policy as an innovation potentially claimed and implemented by two primary institutions: education and social services.

Paper **One Fate, Two Fate, Red State, Blue State: Well-Being in Divided America**
Joseph J. Foy, *University of Wisconsin, Waukesha*
Sue A. Foy, *Boys and Girls Club of Park County*
 Overview: As mainstream political commentary divides America between red states and blue states, this project seeks to determine whether or not these divisions hold anything more than categorical importance on issues of policy and well-being across the states.

Disc. **Neal D. Woods**, *University of South Carolina*

39-1 **TARGETED DEVELOPMENT POLICIES -- TIFS, EZS, AND SDS**

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair **Keith A. Boeckelman**, *Western Illinois University*

Paper **The Impact of the Empowerment Zone Program: An Evaluation Using a Propensity Score Matching Model**
Deirdre A. Oakley, *Northern Illinois University*
 Overview: This study examines the socioeconomic outcomes of the federally-funded Empowerment Zones using 1990 and 2000 Census Data.

Paper **Consequences of Tax Increment Financing in the City of Houston**
Toshiyuki Yuasa, *University of Houston*
Robert Thomas, *University of Houston*
 Overview: In this paper we apply quantitative geography to examine the efficiency and equality consequences of tax increment financing in the City of Houston.

Paper **Evolving Local Government Purpose through Economic Development**
Debra H. Moore, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
Andrew J. Theising, *Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville*
 Overview: The common use of enterprise zones and tax increment financing bring new actors into the local policy process, increasing the power of private developers and shifting government purpose away from traditional policy roles.

Disc. **Keith A. Boeckelman**, *Western Illinois University*

40-4 **FACT OR FICTION? A RACE TO THE BOTTOM IN WELFARE AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY?**

Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am

Chair **Mark C. Rom**, *Georgetown University*

Paper **Poverty and Capacity in the Post Welfare Reform Era**
Suzanne M. Robbins, *George Mason University*
Holly R. Barcus, *MacAlester College*
 Overview: This paper analyzes individual-level economic capacity post-1997 welfare reform using recently released data from the National Survey of America's Families.

Paper **How Getting a Job and Making Money Can Be Bad for Your Health in the U.S.**
Lauren Morris MacLean, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
Cecile Greenway, *Health and Social Services, Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe*
 Overview: The study examines the potential impacts of future Medicaid reforms for the poor by analyzing what happens when American Indians lose access to Medicaid through short-term

	economic gains associated with new employment or tribal gaming dividends.				into what drives citizen perceptions of the safety of their water supply.
Paper	<u>The Performance Paradox</u> Janice Johnson Dias, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Steven Maynard-Moody, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: Using a large national for-profit welfare-to-work job training agency as a case study, we spotlight the ways in which devolution impacts frontline work and decision-making.		Disc.	John A. Hoornbeek, <i>Kent State University</i>	
Paper	<u>The Marketization Tendency: Which Way for the American Poor?</u> Moye G. Bongyu, <i>Jackson State University</i> Overview: The marketization tendency is rendering the poor helpless. The market by nature is not concerned about the poor. The government has the responsibility to rescue those who have been filtered out by the market mechanism.		41-102	<u>ROUNDTABLE: ISSUES IN REPRODUCTION AND SEX ED</u> Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am Panelist Alesha E. Doan, <i>California Polytechnic University</i> Lasitha K. Gunaratna, <i>University of South Dakota, Vermillion</i> Deirdre Golash, <i>American University</i> Overview: TBA	
Paper	<u>Do States Race to the Bottom? Perceptions of State Environmental Regulators</u> David Konisky, <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Overview: I examine the perceptions of state environmental regulators regarding the effects of interstate economic competition on regulatory behavior. Specifically, I analyze data from a recent survey of senior managers in state environmental agencies.		42-5	<u>TRANSITION, CORRUPTION, AND DEVELOPMENT</u> Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am Chair John E. Jackson, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Paper <u>Housing Policy in Transition Economies: Security and Insecurity</u> Nicholas Horsewood, <i>University of Birmingham</i> Nia Stoykova, <i>Tufts University</i> Overview: Homeownership in transition economies provides aspects of risk and insecurity. The investigation looks at how households cope with the financial burden and considers the introduction of an efficient safety net to manage hardship.	
Disc.	Kathleen Hale, <i>Kent State University</i> Mark C. Rom, <i>Georgetown University</i>		Paper	<u>Corruption, Lobbying, and Economic Development</u> David D. Lassen, <i>University of Copenhagen</i> Morten Bennedsen, <i>Copenhagen Business School</i> Sven Feldmann, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: We use firm level survey data to construct a measure of the intensity of lobbying in a cross-section of countries and use this to compare, and explain, the observed pattern of corruption, lobbying, economic development, and institutions.	
40-15	<u>ENVIRONMENTAL AND SCIENCE POLICY</u> Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am Chair John A. Hoornbeek, <i>Kent State University</i> Paper <u>Behavioral Motivations for Coproducing Municipal Services: Exploring Participation in a Mandatory Recycling Program</u> Hunter Bacot, <i>Elon University</i> George Taylor, <i>Elon University</i> Overview: Using a mandatory recycling program (a coproduced municipal service) to understand participatory behavior, we explore the social and moral motivations associated with participation.		Paper	<u>Regime Type and Economic Crises: Does Democracy Make a Difference?</u> Carlos Gervasoni, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Leslie Elliott Armijo, <i>Lake Oswego, OR</i> Overview: Countries that are more politically inclusive are less likely to experience extremely bad economic outcomes because of the incentives facing incumbents. Supporting evidence comes from case studies and a probit TSCS model (166 nations/38 years).	
Paper	<u>Is it What You know or What You Believe? Explaining Skepticism of Scientists in the Lake Tahoe Basin from 1984 to 2001</u> Christopher Weible, <i>Georgia Institute of Technology</i> Overview: This article uses 84, 91, and 01 surveys of stakeholders in the Lake Tahoe Basin to explain skepticism of scientists. Based on the advocacy coalition framework, it shows that skepticism of scientists is explained primarily by policy core beliefs.		Paper	<u>Globalization and Democracy Using a Simultaneous Equation Approach</u> John A. Doces, <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: This paper studies the impact of bilateral exports from LDCs to the U.S. using a simultaneous equation set-up.	
Paper	<u>The Nuclear Option: The Resurrection of Nuclear Energy Policy</u> Jeffrey S. Worsham, <i>West Virginia University</i> Katie Stores, <i>West Virginia University</i> Matt Hipps, <i>West Virginia University</i> Jonathan C. Young, <i>West Virginia University</i> Overview: This paper examines the rise, demise, and resurrection of nuclear power. Assuming a subsystem vantage, albeit with a twist, it suggests that nuclear power is a creature of presidential and bureaucratic attention to energy issues.		Disc.	Charles R. Hankla, <i>Georgia State University</i> John E. Jackson, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i>	
Paper	<u>The Impact of Local Networks on the Wetland Permit Programs in Florida</u> Soo Hyun Jung, <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: Through analyzing wetland permits issued by water management districts in Florida, I will answer the question of how networks affect the activities of local government agencies in environmental programs.		43-2	<u>REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY (Co-sponsored with Race, Class and Ethnicity, see 26-22)</u> Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am Chair Kenneth J. Meier, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Paper <u>Representative Bureaucracy and Organizational Performance</u> Christine H. Roch, <i>Georgia State University</i> Ignacio Navarro, <i>Georgia State University</i> David Pitts, <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: We examine the effects of representative bureaucracy on the types of policy tools that organizations use to achieve their goals. We focus on the effect of representative bureaucracy on policy decisions regarding disciplinary practices in the schools.	
Paper	<u>Urban Water Policy and the Technical Information Quandary: Citizen Perceptions of Water Quality in Southern Nevada</u> John Tennert, <i>Southern Nevada Water Authority</i> Micheal Schneweis, <i>Southern Nevada Water Authority</i> Chris Weiss, <i>Southern Nevada Water Authority</i> Overview: Using survey data from the Las Vegas metropolitan area, this paper will examine citizen perceptions of water quality in their community. The analysis will provide insights		Paper	<u>Public/Non-Profit: Partners in the Social Equality Enterprise?</u> Bethany G. Sneed, <i>Eastern Michigan University</i> Kelly M. LeRoux, <i>Wayne State University</i> Overview: This paper focuses on representative bureaucracy in both public and nonprofit agencies.	

Paper	<p><u>Descriptive and Substantive Representation in Community-Based Associations</u> Kyu-Nahm Jun, <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: This paper analyzed the democratic legitimacy of place-based associations by their representativeness. Relationship between descriptive and substantive representation and the existence of neighborhood effect on issue representation are studied.</p>	Paper	<p><u>American Statebuilding: Lipset's Thesis of a Stateless America and the Reality of a Predatory State</u> Jeffrey W. Meiser, <i>Johns Hopkins University</i> Richard P. Young, <i>Seattle University</i> Overview: American political development during republic's first half-century was driven largely by state action. An application of state theory and plural society theory explain this reality.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Symbolic Representation in the Bureaucracy, The Case of Law Enforcement</u> Nick A. Theobald, <i>University of Kansas</i> Donald P. Haider-Markel, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: This paper looks at the effect of symbolic representation by bureaucracies. Specifically, we study how the interaction of race between police officers and drivers affects drivers' perception of legitimacy regarding police actions.</p>	Disc.	<p>Joseph E. Luders, <i>Yeshiva University</i></p>
43-12	<p><u>THE STATE OF AVIATION SECURITY IN THE UNITED STATES</u></p>	44-11	<p><u>WAR, POLICING AND AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT</u></p>
Room	TBA, Sat 10:30 am	Room	TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair	John A. Hamman , <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i>	Chair	Bartholomew Sparrow , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i>
Paper	<p><u>The Threat of Nuclear Attack from Russian Stockpiles Against Civil Aviation</u> Kathleen M. Sweet, <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i> Overview: This paper seeks to analyze the threat from the Russian stockpile and consider its subsequent impact on aviation should a nuclear device be targeted against civil aviation.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Impact of the Spanish-American War on Republican Party Ideology</u> John W. Compton, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper examines the Republican party's shift from a rhetoric emphasizing commercial expansion to a rhetoric emphasizing humanitarian mission. I argue that this shift had its origins in a series of political and institutional factors.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Cost Benefit Analysis of New Security Technologies in US Airports</u> Julie Raines, <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i> Kimberly Nelson, <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i> Overview: This article seeks to apply cost-benefit analysis that includes consideration of intangible costs to the implementation of new security technologies in domestic commercial airports.</p>	Disc.	<p>Bartholomew Sparrow, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Aviation Security after September 11: Safety Sine Qua Non?</u> Bassel El-Kasaby, <i>University of Nebraska</i> Overview: The main goal of this paper is to put into perspective the importance of constitutionally protected civil rights when security issues are in the balance.</p>	46-7	<p><u>HARRY POTTER, MICHAEL MOORE, AND THE 9/11 COMMISSION</u></p>
Paper	<p><u>Hijacking Agencies and Airplanes, FAA, "Agency Capture," Airline Security</u> Mark Niles, <i>American University</i> Overview: This Article will analyze the allegation that the FAA has been "captured" by airline industry interests.</p>	Room	TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Disc.	John A. Hamman , <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i>	Chair	Barry Eidlin , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i>
44-10	<p><u>REPRESSION, PREDATION, AND REGULATORY ORIGINS: INTERROGATING THE AMERICAN STATE</u></p>	Paper	<p><u>Sinners in the Hands of Two Angry White Men: Michael Moore and Bill O'Reilly as Modern Jeremiahs</u> Mark S. Jendrysik, <i>University of North Dakota</i> Overview: Moore and O'Reilly's work gives insight into the rhetoric style and goals of the modern jeremiad. My analysis reveals the political problems faced by this form of discourse in contemporary America.</p>
Room	TBA, Sat 10:30 am	Disc.	<p><u>Harry Potter and The Inevitability of Class</u> Margaret M. Young, <i>Albion College</i> Murray W. Young, <i>Lambton Kent District School Board</i> Overview: This paper examines the first four Harry Potter books, focusing on two things: that Rowling's universe requires an essentialist hierarchy in order to function and that this necessity is portrayed as an inevitability, rather than a tragedy.</p>
Chair	Joseph E. Luders , <i>Yeshiva University</i>	Room	TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Paper	<p><u>On the American Origins of the Democratic Regulatory State</u> Samuel J. DeCanio, <i>The Ohio State University</i> Overview: We examine why agrarians reversed their Jacksonian commitments to laissez faire to support countercyclical federal regulatory operations. We argue this reversal was caused by elected officials' manipulation of public opinion.</p>	Chair	Nathan N. Zook , <i>University of Wisconsin, Rock County</i>
Paper	<p><u>Liberalism, Lynching and Constitutional Anarchy: How Federalism Coped with the Southern Question, 1883-1938</u> Daniel Kato, <i>New School for Social Research</i> Overview: What kind of political system existed during lynching? Contra the weak state thesis, I will argue that the U.S. chose not to deal with lynching. Using Ernst Fraenkel's dual state model, I will argue that this period was one of constitutional anarchy.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Public Perception of the Proper Role of Religion in Politics</u> Patricia Freeland, <i>University of Tennessee</i> David Houston, <i>University of Tennessee</i> Overview: The rise of the Christian right has dramatically increased debate regarding the proper role religion should play in the public square. Most of the discussion has come from popular commentators and political philosophers who comment on whether or not</p>
		Paper	<p><u>What Would Jesus Tax?</u> David L. Madland, <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: Some people argue that the free-market is part of God's plan; others assert that God supports government redistribution. This paper develops and tests a religious attitude model to explain these differences.</p>

- Paper** **A Social Versus Moral Context of Political Tolerance: Does Context Matter?**
Marie A. Eisenstein, *Indiana University, Northwest*
 Overview: This paper develops a model of political tolerance in its application to abortion and homosexual marriage in the religious community assessing changes in political tolerance depending upon if these issue are framed in a social versus moral context.
- Paper** **Religion, Religiosity and the Moral Divide in Canada**
Adrian U. Ang, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
John R. Petrocik, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
 Overview: Utilizing a regression analysis of data from the Canadian National Election Studies, we establish that there is a divide among voters on moral issues, and religion and religiosity inform their attitudes on these issues.
- Paper** **Partisanship, Core Values, and Opinions about Cultural Issues**
Laurie A. Rhodebeck, *University of Louisville*
 Overview: The paper examines the values underlying opinions about gay rights, abortion, school prayer, and gender roles. Cultural issue opinions are treated as discrete constructs that spring from different core values and have different partisan implications.
- Disc.** **J. Matthew Wilson**, *Southern Methodist University*
David E. Campbell, *University of Notre Dame*
- 48-3** **EVALUATING TEACHING AND REAL WORLD LEARNING**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair **Tammy A. Sarver**, *Benedictine University*
Paper **Predicting Good Experiences in Political Science Internships**
Tammy A. Sarver, *Benedictine University*
 Overview: This is a study of students enrolled in Political Science internships at a small liberal arts college. Specifically, this paper assesses what factors make an internship experience a good experience.
- Paper** **Management by Results: Student Evaluation of Faculty Teaching**
Laura Langbein, *American University*
 Overview: Results show that faculty who give higher grades get better ratings from student evaluations (SETs), controlling for expected grade and fixed effects for both faculty and courses. Discusses policy and management implications.
- Paper** **Measuring Outcomes of a Political Science Internship Program**
Duane D. Milne, *West Chester University*
 Overview: This research is a quantitative assessment of the outcomes achieved in the internship program run by the Department of Political Science at West Chester University (West Chester, PA).
- Paper** **Teaching Public Management in the Public Interest to Undergraduates**
Stephen M. King, *Campbell University*
 Overview: Teaching public management to undergraduate students is challenging. This paper examines one such attempt: to explain public management to undergraduate political science students enrolled in an introductory public administration course.
- Disc.** **James M. Carlson**, *Providence College*
- 50-2** **XENOPHON'S POLITICAL THOUGHT (Co-sponsored with Foundations of Political Theory, see 27-28)**
Room TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Chair **Susan D. Collins**, *University of Houston*
Paper **The Socratic Political Education in Xenophon's Memorabilia**
Carol L. McNamara, *Utah State University*
 Overview: The chief purpose of this paper is to examine the Socratic political education in Xenophon's Memorabilia, then, how it relates to the whole Socratic education so as to resolve the controversy over Socrates' relationship to practical politics.
- Paper** **Greek International Political Thought: Xenophon's Hellenica**
Matthew Brunner, *Northern Illinois University*
 Overview: An examination of the international political thought in Xenophon's Hellenica.
- Paper** **The Politics of Education and the Idea of Regime**
Christopher J. Barker, *Claremont Graduate University*
 Overview: Xenophon's "Education of Cyrus" examines regime change and its connection to education. The dichotomy of mastery and acquisition will be examined. The rejected "simple" education is analyzed in light of Aristotelian formalism.
- Paper** **Hunting in Paradise: Xenophon's Cyruses and the Art of War**
Dustin Gish, *John Cabot University*
 Overview: This paper argues that Xenophon's two Cyruses disdain and reject the opulent notion of hunting in paradise characteristic of eastern despotism, embodying instead the art of war necessary for the acquisition and maintenance of imperial 'state'.
- Disc.** **Susan D. Collins**, *University of Houston*
Robert Phillips, *Wheeling Jesuit University*
- 53-301** **POSTER SESSION: EMPIRICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THEORETICAL MODELS**
- Presenter** **Do Justices Change Their Positions When Elevated to the Supreme Court?**
Room TBA, Board 1, Sat 10:30 am
Stephen A. Jessee, *Stanford University*
 Overview: I analyze data on federal appeals court and Supreme Court decisions in order to test the hypothesis that appeals court justices change their positions when elevated to the Supreme Court.
- Presenter** **Unifying Theory and Testing of Economic Sanctions Outcomes**
Room TBA, Board 2, Sat 10:30 am
Taehee Whang, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: When do we expect economic sanctions to succeed? I subject this question to empirical testing using a fully structural estimation that employs a game theoretic model as a statistical model. I also examine the central results with four case studies.
- Presenter** **Strategic Delegation and Partial Integration in a Two-Country Union**
Room TBA, Board 3, Sat 10:30 am
Nikitas Konstantinidis, *Princeton University*
 Overview: This paper examines the effects of uncertainty and strategic delegation on the equilibrium outcome of policy centralization within a two-country union. It also introduces a dynamic approach in explaining partial unification and depth of integration.
- Presenter** **Party System Evolution in "Transitional Democracies"**
Room TBA, Board 4, Sat 10:30 am
Athanasios Roussias, *Yale University*
 Overview: How do party systems in new democracies evolve? Using "battle of the sexes" I illustrate some coordination problems parties face. Recent cases of democratic transitions reveal mechanisms by which parties manage (or not) to overcome these problems.
- Presenter** **The Politics of Presidential Term Limits and Succession**
Room TBA, Board 5, Sat 10:30 am
Alexander Baturo, *Trinity College, Dublin*
 Overview: Why do some leaders manage to extend their tenure where others do not? In this paper I formalize and empirically investigate factors pertaining to the emergence and development of various institutions regulating executive tenure in developing world.

Presenter	<u>The Political Representation of the Poor</u>	strategic interactions among movement actors at inter- and intra-group level.
Room	TBA, Board 6, Sat 10:30 am Karen L. Jusko , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: How do electoral rules affect the well-being of the poor. I present a formal theoretical model to illustrate how electoral rules affect antipoverty policy, and test the implications of this model using the Luxembourg Income Study data.	Presenter
Presenter	<u>Coalition Governments Can Make Policy Changes</u>	<u>Taming the Selection Bias: Matching vs. Selection Models</u>
Room	TBA, Board 7, Sat 10:30 am Despina Alexiadou , <i>European University Institute</i> Overview: Variable policy weights can change coalition bargaining by allowing trade-offs and logrolling. Under these conditions coalition governments should not suffer from economic delayed stabilization. The theory is tested on parliamentary coalitions.	Room
Presenter	<u>International Institutions and Coalition-Building</u>	TBA, Board 15, Sat 10:30 am Hyeran Jo , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: I examine the ways to empirically evaluate a theoretical argument about compliance with international agreements. I discuss the conditions under which matching would perform better than Heckman selection models.
Room	TBA, Board 8, Sat 10:30 am Terrence L. Chapman , <i>Emory University</i> Overview: International relations scholars have long been concerned with the determinants of multilateralism and with the effects of international institutions. This paper extends a formal model designed to demonstrate when institutions can provide legitimacy.	Presenter
Presenter	<u>Military Spending, Investment and Economic Growth</u>	<u>Time Constraints and Legislative Agenda Power</u>
Room	TBA, Board 9, Sat 10:30 am Muhammet A. Bas , <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: I find that there is a nonlinear relationship between defense spending and economic growth. Military spending affects economic growth indirectly through investment.	Room
Presenter	<u>Political Determinants of Currency Crises Outcomes</u>	TBA, Board 16, Sat 10:30 am Jesse T. Richman , <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Overview: I analyze the agenda power opportunities available to political leaders. Holding time available constant, a larger policy space leads to more powerful state legislative leadership.
Room	TBA, Board 10, Sat 10:30 am Thomas Sattler , <i>Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich</i> Overview: I use a two-period signaling model with two-sided uncertainty to explain when exchange rate defenses are successful and when they fail. The model's predictions are tested using quantitative data of 124 speculative attacks in OECD countries.	55-101
Presenter	<u>We Appreciate Your Support: Information Exchange and Party Networks</u>	<u>ROUNDTABLE: GO (MID)WEST YOUNG MAN: LATINOS IN THE HEARTLAND</u>
Room	TBA, Board 11, Sat 10:30 am Gregory Koger , <i>University of Montana</i> Seth Masket , <i>Denver University</i> Hans Noel , <i>Princeton University/University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: We argue formal parties are a portion of an extended network of interest groups, media, 527s, and candidates. We measure this network by tracking transfers of names. Using social network methods, we find two distinct and polarized party networks.	Room
Presenter	<u>Choosing Imperfectly Credible Institutions: Fixed Exchange Rates and Independent Central Banks</u>	TBA, Sat 10:30 am
Room	TBA, Board 12, Sat 10:30 am Cristina Bodea , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: I write a model describing when and why politicians choose independent central banks whose independence is hard to ascertain and fixed exchange rates that markets know can be devalued. I test the model's predictions on data from transition countries.	Chair
Presenter	<u>Electoral Cycle in Political Corruption</u>	Heather McDougall , <i>St. Mary's College, University of Notre Dame</i>
Room	TBA, Board 13, Sat 10:30 am Tetsuya Fujiwara , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: The purpose of this study is to demonstrate the existence of an electoral cycle in political corruption. When are political actors most likely to engage in corruption? My study provides a model to answer this question, and empirically tests it.	Paper
Presenter	<u>Endogenous Contentious Politics</u>	<u>A Political Model of a Leadership Process</u>
Room	TBA, Board 14, Sat 10:30 am Jamus J. Lim , <i>University of California, Santa Cruz</i> Thorsten Janus , <i>University of California, Santa Cruz</i> Overview: In this paper, we develop a model of social movement emergence and contentious politics that is not critically dependent on active elite support, but rather on	Ernest L. Stech , <i>Arizona State University</i> Overview: Current emphasis is on leadership as process rather than on the leader. A political process where there are constituencies with differing interests can be applied to leadership attempts. The process model can be used as a leadership prescription.
		Paper
		<u>Infusing Student Leadership: Models for the Classroom and Campus</u>
		Amy Herman , <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i> Ambrosia Borowski , <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i> Overview: As citizenship and globalization unfold, we struggle to reconcile the role of the university as a civic institution, designed to prepare our students for the challenges of the world at every level. This paper outlines strategies and highlights.
		Paper
		<u>Women's Intercultural Leadership: A Model for Change in the 21st Century</u>
		Joy Evans , <i>Saint Mary's College</i> Elaine Meyer-Lee , <i>Center for Women's InterCultural Leadership</i> Bonnie Bazata , <i>Center for Women's InterCultural Leadership</i> Tracy Robison , <i>Center for Women's InterCultural Leadership</i> Overview: The Women's Intercultural Leadership Model developed by the Center for Women's InterCultural Leadership at Saint Mary's College weaves theory and practice into an effective model for women's agency.
		Disc.
		Heather McDougall , <i>St. Mary's College, University of Notre Dame</i>

Saturday, April 21 – 1:45 pm – 3:30 pm

2-12 ELECTORAL INSTITUTIONS, REPRESENTATION AND POLICY (Co-sponsor with Economic Policy, see 42-13)

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair Lanny W. Martin, *Rice University*

Paper The Effect of Electoral Systems on National Competitiveness: Bringing in Corporate Governance
Jaekwon Suh, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: Rogowski and Kayser's political explanation of prices say that majoritarian systems lower prices more than proportional system. This paper elaborates their contention by examining an intervening variable between electoral systems and prices.

Paper Party vs Pork: Electoral Institutions and the Form of Redistributive Policy

Stephanie J. Rickard, *Pennsylvania State University*

Overview: The form of redistributive transfers vary across countries. Governments in candidate-centered majoritarian systems provide fewer narrow transfers than those in party-centered majoritarian systems, even controlling for domestic demands.

Paper The Efficacy of Electorally Motivated Fiscal Policy

Eric Chang, *Michigan State University*

Tse-hsin Chen, *Michigan State University*

Overview: Over the past two decades, whether and how the incumbent manipulates economic policies to further electoral interest has come to occupy center stage in the field of comparative political economy. Yet, little is known about the efficacy of electorally

Paper Representation, Death and Public Expenditures: Evidence From Japan

Shigeo Hirano, *Columbia University*

Overview: This paper tests whether representatives to Japan's Lower House of the Diet influenced the distribution of public expenditures during the period from 1977 to 1995.

Disc. Karen L. Jusko, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

2-14 EXTREME POLITICS -- SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair Josephine E. Squires, *Fort Hays State University*

Paper Secessionist Mobilization Strategies in Unitary and Federal Environments: Institutions and Independence in the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States

Lawrence M. Anderson, *University of Wisconsin, Whitewater*

Overview: This paper compares secessionist mobilization strategies in federal and unitary environments. The cases are Scotland, Quebec, and South Carolina.

Paper Radical Right Political Parties and Policymaking: in Germany and Austria

Marcella J. Myers, *Western Michigan University*

Overview: This research project is a effort to asses how radical right political parties matter in regional parliaments.

Paper The Cross-Sectional Determinants of Regionalism in Advanced Democracies

Jason Sorens, *SUNY, Buffalo*

Overview: Regionalist parties oppose independence for their territories but seek to promote regional distinctiveness and interests. Support for regionalist parties is high in culturally distinctive regions without capacity for self-government.

Paper The Immigration Issue and Anti-Immigrant Party Support in Western Europe

Joost van Spanje, *European University Institute, Florence*

Wouter van der Brug, *University of Amsterdam*

Overview: Kitschelt assumed that an economic and a socio-cultural dimension are orthogonal at the supply side of the electoral market and that the latter dimension is mainly important for the success of NRR parties. In this paper, we question this claim.

Paper Do Cultural Differences Explain the Rise of Anti-Immigrant Parties?

Hasan Kirmanoglu, *Istanbul Bilgi University*

Nejat Anbarci, *Florida International University*

Overview: In this paper we show not only that variations in unemployment and income distribution affect the rise of anti-immigrant parties but also that countries with higher individualism/collectivism scores have stronger anti-immigrant parties.

Disc. Josephine E. Squires, *Fort Hays State University*

3-8 MEASURING DEGREES AND EFFECTS OF VIOLENCE

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair Lee Ann Fujii, *George Washington University*

Paper The Phantom of a State: Continuities Between the Ba'thist State and Current Insurgency in Iraq

Nida Alahmad, *New School for Social Research*

Overview: While not denying the state's use of violence, this paper problematizes the use of violence as an explanation for the survival of the Iraqi Ba'thist state. The analytical limits of violence are examined through an investigation of the 1991 uprising.

Paper A Model for Measuring the Violations of Human Rights: A Case Study of the Arab Rulers Between 1970 and 1990

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

Overview: This paper is arguing that one of the ways to measure the violations of human rights in a country is to look at it as a function of three factors.

Paper Political Unrest and Democratic Institutions in Developing World

Dursun Peksen, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

Overview: Using a recently collected data, this paper examines the role of political institutions on political unrest in developing world.

Paper Decentralization and Violence - Analyzing the Cases of Indonesian and India

Sunny Tanuwidjaja, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: By comparing the decentralizations in Indonesia and India this paper seeks to identify and analyze the conditions facilitating the success and failure of decentralization in easing violence.

Disc. Ravi Bhavnani, *Michigan State University*

3-103 ROUNDTABLE: DOMESTIC IMPACTS ON THE MIDDLE EAST OF THE WAR ON TERROR

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair Maqsood A. Choudary, *Delta College*

Panelist Walid A. Phares, *Florida Atlantic University*

Mohammad A. Tabaar, *Georgetown University*

Timothy J. Schorn, *University of South Dakota*

Overview: TBA

4-4 REFINING METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON DEMOCRATIZATION

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair Laura Flamand, *El Colegio de la Frontera Norte*

Paper Effects of U.S. Policy on Transitions to Democracy: A Quantitative Analysis

Paul D. Trampe, *George Mason University*

Overview: This paper examines a random sample of non-democracies since 1977, places each in one of eight categories reflecting U.S. policy at the time and measures the likelihood of a nation successfully making the transition to democracy under each policy.

Paper Spreading Democracy: An Agent-Based Model of the Diffusion of Democracy

Jos Elkink, *Trinity College, Dublin*

Overview: Empirical studies on democratization over time and space clearly show that transitions to democracy cluster geographically. This paper presents an original agent-based

	model, showing regime diffusion as a product of social cross-border interaction.				
Paper	<u>The Influence of Public Support on Implementation of Transitional Justice: A Signaling Game Model</u> Byung-Jae Lee , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: My paper develops an imperfect information game model to explain the role of public support on judicial decision-making on transitional justice measure and empirically test the hypotheses drawn from the model.			Paper	<u>EU Enlargement: Agenda Setting and Priming in Comparative Perspective</u> Oya Dursun , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: This paper examines the agenda-setting and priming functions of the British and French media on the EU enlargement by combining a content analysis of The Times, The Guardian, The Mail, Le Monde, Le Figaro, and L'Espresso and Eurobarometer survey data.
Disc.	TBA			Paper	<u>European Union - Eastward Expansion</u> Jayalakshmi Gopalan , <i>Marquette University</i> Overview: The paper will analyse the impact of the European Union Membership on the 10 new members that joined the Union in 2004. The costs incurred in joining the Union and the benefits that are obtained will be studied in the field of politics and economics.
4-15	<u>DEVELOPING CREDIBLE DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES</u>			Paper	<u>The German Reunification and The Eastern Enlargement Of The EU</u> Tereza Novotna , <i>Boston University</i> Overview: The paper examines German reunification and the Eastern enlargement of the EU as two opposite types of political integration that occurred after 1989 in Europe.
Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm			Disc.	Lynn M. Maurer , <i>Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville</i>
Chair	Rita Kiki Edozie , <i>Michigan State University</i>				
Paper	<u>Challenges to Democratization: Examining the (Potential) Obstacles both at Home and Abroad</u> Jennifer M. Cyr , <i>Florida International University</i> Rezwan Hussein , <i>Florida International University</i> Overview: TBA			5-17	<u>THE COMPARATIVE MANIFESTO DATA AND PARTY POSITIONING</u>
Paper	<u>Alliance Membership and the Threats to Democracy post-September 11, 2001: Lessons from the Cold War in Southern Europe and Latin America</u> Petros Vamvakas , <i>Emmanuel College</i> Overview: The aim of this paper is to challenge these two maxims in international relations and comparative politics as they apply to the post-September 11th international system, by examining similar cases from the Cold War era in Southern Europe and in Latin America.			Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Paper	<u>Substitutable Protections: How Socioeconomic Vulnerabilities Condition the Effectiveness of Legal Institutions as Credible Commitment Devices</u> Jeffrey K. Staton , <i>Florida State University</i> Christopher M. Reenock , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: In this paper, we develop a theory of credible commitment in which we portray political institutions as substitutes for features of cultural, social or economic life that influence state predation on individual rights.			Chair	Josephine T. Andrews , <i>University of California, Davis</i>
Paper	<u>Constitutional Limits, Democracy, and National Human Rights Behavior, 1976-2004</u> C. Neal Tate , <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Linda Camp Keith , <i>University of Iowa</i> Marina V. Ghulyan , <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Overview: Describes and related the development of formal constitutional provisions establishing political rights, promoting judicial independence and limiting states of emergency over nearly three decades to national patterns of democracy and human rights.			Paper	<u>The Spatial Structure of Party Competition</u> Josephine T. Andrews , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Jeannette Money , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: We explore the conditions under which the policy positions of vote-maximizing political parties converge to that of the median voter, and under what conditions do they diverge from this position.
Paper	<u>Understanding Democratic Citizenship through the Lens of Education Policy: South Korea and the United States</u> Pamela C. Carriveau , <i>Black Hills State University</i> Hyun-Jin Seo , <i>Sungshin Women's University</i> Overview: The meaning of "democratic citizenship" in the United States and South Korea is examined by analyzing education policies from both nations aimed at providing future citizens with the particular skills needed for successful adult citizenship.			Paper	<u>Party Policy Positions and Party System Fragmentation in the Post-WWII Era</u> Robin E. Best , <i>Binghamton University</i> Overview: Party system fragmentation has increased in virtually all Western democracies in the post-WWII era. I utilize data from the Comparative Manifesto Project to explore how changes parties' policy offerings have contributed to this trend.
Disc.	David D. Yang , <i>Princeton University</i>			Paper	<u>Majority-Rule Representation and Issue Dimensionality</u> Rachel K. Cremona , <i>Flagler College</i> Overview: I explore if and how democracy works in terms of majority rule representation.
5-13	<u>ISSUES OF EU ENLARGEMENT</u>			Paper	<u>The International Economy's Influence on Parties' Socio-Economic Policies</u> Andrea B. Haupt , <i>University of California, Santa Barbara</i> Overview: I evaluate how the international economy influence parties' socio-economic policy goals.
Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm			Paper	<u>Ideological Space Dimensionality and the Number of Competitors</u> Heather Stoll , <i>University of California, Santa Barbara</i> Overview: This paper examines the relationship between the dimensionality of the politicized ideological space in which political competition occurs and the number of equilibrium competitors.
Chair	Lynn M. Maurer , <i>Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville</i>			Disc.	Michael D. McDonald , <i>Binghamton University</i>
Paper	<u>The Differential Impact of the EU in Hungary and Czech Republic</u> Isa Camyar , <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: This study examines the differential impact of the EU on the timing of state reforms in the Central and Eastern European countries and the historical and institutional dynamics mediating it through a comparative study of Hungary and Czech Republic.			6-3	<u>CANADIAN PUBLIC POLICY</u>
				Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
				Chair	Chris Manfredi , <i>McGill University</i>
				Paper	<u>Budgetary Roles in Provincial Governments - Computer Content Analysis</u> Andre S. Gosciniak , <i>Laval University</i> Overview: Wildavsky, in his budgetary process theory, distinguishes between two categories of actors: guardians of the treasury and advocates of program spending. This study verifies this theory by analyzing ministerial speeches from Ontario and Quebec.

Paper **Riptides in Ontario: Contrasting Strategies of Executive Reform, 1985-2005**
Brendan F. Burke, *Bridgewater State College*
 Overview: This paper studies the political and administrative leadership of Ontario premiers from 1985 to the present day as they represent Liberal, New Democratic Party, and Progressive Conservative Party interests.

Paper **Policy Capacity in Canadian Intergovernmental Relations**
Patricia L. O'Reilly, *Ryerson University*
Gregory J. Inwood, *Ryerson University*
Carolyn M. Johns, *Ryerson University*
 Overview: Using a comparative analysis based on primary research material, this paper focuses on the factors which inhibit or enhance successful intergovernmental policy capacity in Canada by examining the sectors of trade, environment and health.

Disc. **Chris Manfredi**, *McGill University*

7-14 **OPPORTUNITIES AND THREATS: THE QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair **Jose Vargas-Hernandez**, *Instituto tecnologico de cd. Guzman*
Paper **Do Plebiscites Foster Democratic Institutions and Accountability?**
Patricio D. Navia, *New York University*
Angelica Duran, *New York University*
 Overview: Effects of recent national referenda and plebiscite in Latin America on democratic accountability. Information asymmetries confuse issues. Politicians with an organized support base benefit from overall low turnout rates.

Paper **Political Scandals and the Dynamic of Politics in Latin American Countries**
Maria Andrea Castagnola, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: I explain why Latin American countries experienced an increase of political scandals covered by media, and what the implications for national politics are. I conduct a cross-country time-series analysis of 17 countries of the region during 1980-2001.

Paper **The Role of the OAS in the Political Crisis of Venezuela**
Jesus Sanchez, *Ohio University*
 Overview: The OAS's intervention in Venezuela reveals the limited consensus among its members as to how the Democratic Charter should be applied and the capacity of the US to dictate the terms under which the OAS intervention took place.

Paper **Civil Society, Protest, and Democracy: The Case of Argentina**
Eduardo Frajman, *University of Maryland, College Park*
 Overview: The paper examines the role of civil society and new social movements in the protests that shook Argentina in 2001. Criticizes current theories of civil society and NSM's for focusing too much on cultural and not enough on economic conflicts.

Paper **Interests and Interest Groups and the Consolidation of Latin American Democracy**
Clive S. Thomas, *University of Alaska Southeast*
 Overview: Is a viable interest group system essential to the consolidation of Latin American democracy? In answer, this paper presents a framework for understanding the development, current role, and future developments of interest groups in the region.

Paper **Decentralization in Costa Rica: The Impact of Reform on Participation and Accountability**
Jeffrey Ryan, *University of Arkansas*
 Overview: Decentralization advocates generally claim it will enhance political participation and accountability. I argue that its impact (particularly in the functional and capacity areas) on these democratic elements may be more curvilinear than direct.

Disc. **Lucio R. Renno**, *University of Arizona*
Anibal Perez-Linan, *University of Pittsburgh*

8-11 **TRANSNATIONAL FORCES IN ASIAN POLITICS**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair **Benjamin Read**, *University of Iowa*
Paper **The Transnational Politics of the Dalit Movement**
Peter J. Smith, *Athabasca University*
 Overview: This paper examines the Dalit (Untouchable) Movement's recent participation in transnational networks against casteism and corporate globalization particularly at World Social Forum venues in Asia, South America and Europe.

Paper **Interpreting a New Ethic of Global Democracy and Human Rights in Burma**
Cindy Kleinmeyer, *Northern Illinois University*
 Overview: Burma's current ruling military junta, the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) uses the state-run media as an instrument to remind readers of the regime's top political, economic and social objectives.

Paper **Technologies of Dissent: Legislating the Internet In the People's Republic of China**
Jessica Crewe, *Harvard University*
 Overview: China's much-publicized Internet censorship raises questions about the function of national identity in transnational networks and about new technologies and their potential to foster political development and dissent.

Paper **Globalization, Democratization and Women's NGO Activism in South Korea**
Bang-Soon L. Yoon, *Central Washington University*
 Overview: South Korea's hyper-growth and globalizing economy have vastly transformed society and pushed the society into a successful transition to democracy. This paper inquires into how globalization and democratization have affected women's political roles

Paper **Catholicism vs. Communism, Continued: The Catholic Church in Vietnam**
Lan T. Chu, *Occidental College*
 Overview: This paper examines the confrontations and negotiations between the Catholic Church and the communist state in Vietnam.

Disc. **Benjamin Read**, *University of Iowa*

10-9 **THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF REFORM IN POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair **Julia Gray**, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Paper **Are Oligarchs Productive? Theory and Evidence**
Yuriy Gorodnichenko, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Yegor Grygorenko, *Citigroup Russia*
 Overview: This paper studies the behavior of oligarchs, politically and economically strong conglomerates in transition and developing countries. We show that oligarchs can improve the performance of the firms they own relative to other firms.

Paper **Business Interest Groups in Post-Communist Russia: The Puzzle of Formation**
Dinissa S. Duvanova, *The Ohio State University*
 Overview: Formation of business associations in post-communist Russia is the central puzzle of the paper. The paper concentrates on identifying how the process of business interest group formation differs across industries and sectors of Russian economy.

Paper **Flatliners: Why Some European Countries Prefer, And Manage to Implement, the Flat Tax**
Julia Gray, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Alexander Baturo, *Trinity College, Dublin*
 Overview: What factors shaped the preferences of ruling parties toward the flat tax, and what made adoption feasible or infeasible Europe? Conditioned on party preference, we evaluate the influence of international and domestic political and economic pressures.

Paper	<p><u>Financial Crises and the Power of Capital in Transition Economies of Eastern Europe</u> Jana Grittersova, Cornell University Overview: The principal question this paper investigates is the following: What causes expensive and irrational delays of devaluation resulting in large currency falls that could have been avoided with an earlier devaluation?</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Common Economic Space and GUAM: Partners versus Opponents in the CIS</u> Vitalie I. Diaconu, Monterey Institute of International Studies Overview: The paper analyzes the problems of regional cooperation among CIS states, in the framework of the Common Economic Space and GUAM. Cooperation might advance the regional integration as well as starting the process</p>	
Paper	<p><u>The Political Economy of Countering the Resource Curse: The Case of Russia Under Putin</u> Adnana Vatansever, John's Hopkins University Overview: This paper on Russia's struggle with the "resource curse" under President Putin aims to contribute to the scholarly literature by providing a comprehensive study of Putin's initiatives to reform the country's tax system - an area of considerable weak of disintegration in the CIS.</p>	
Disc.	<p>Scott Gehlbach, University of Wisconsin, Madison</p>	
10-15	<p><u>CONVENTIONAL AND UNCONVENTIONAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE FORMER COMMUNIST STATES</u></p>	
Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm	
Chair	Achim Goerres, London School of Economics	
Paper	<p><u>Voting More When it Matters More: Turnout In Post-Communist Countries</u> Joshua A. Tucker, Princeton University Alexander Pacek, Texas A&M University Grigore Pop-Eleches, Princeton University Overview: This paper examines variation in turnout across 21 post-communist countries from 1990-2004. We find higher turnout in elections where there is a more "at stake", a finding that is surprisingly similar to voter turnout in established democracies.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Protest Potential and Generational Change in Russia</u> Olena Nikolayenko, University of Toronto Overview: Protest potential is considered here as an important sign of generational change in post-communist societies. Protest activity is an appropriate focus not only because it represents a remarkable departure from the habitual patterns of political part</p>	
Paper	<p><u>The End of the Wave: Regime Consolidation and Protest Decline in Russia</u> Graeme B. Robertson, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill Overview: How waves of political protest get started is a subject much studied. How they end is less studied. Using the case of Russia, I show how elite political alliances can explain protest declines in partially liberalized states.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Competing for the Monopoly on Violence in the Former Soviet Empire</u> Elina Treyger, Harvard University Overview: This paper uses violent deaths statistics to demonstrate a surprising variation across the ex-Soviet countries, and suggests a legal institutions and culture-based explanation for this variation.</p>	
Disc.	Ellen P. Carnaghan, Saint Louis University	
11-10	<p><u>PREVENTIVE WAR AND INTERVENTIONS</u></p>	
Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm	
Chair	Steven P. Millies, University of South Carolina, Aiken	
Paper	<p><u>Situating Humanitarian Intervention within International Relations Theory</u> Lamis Abdel-Aty, McGill University Overview: The theoretical question of why states engage in humanitarian intervention will be addressed by showcasing the standpoints of the two major schools of IR theory whose</p>	<p>contributions have been pertinent to the issue (realism and constructivism).</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Peace Process After Oslo and the Levels of Analysis Framework</u> Madalina C. Hanes, Louisiana State University Schvalla Rivera, Indiana State University Overview: I am using the level of analysis framework to identify the forces that affect the peace process after Oslo at each level. I conclude that the best resolution for the Arab-Israeli conflict must combine all three levels.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Threats to International Peace and Security: Evolution of a Technical Term</u> Kimberly Hudson, Brown University Overview: This paper traces the expansion of the meaning of "threats to international peace and security" over time and shows how it has led to a new interventionism that must be severely constrained, but that we should welcome as necessary and good.</p>	
Disc.	Roger J. Durham, Aquinas College	
12-10	<p><u>EXCHANGE RATE POLITICS</u></p>	
Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm	
Chair	Steven R. Hall, Ball State University	
Paper	<p><u>Democracy and Floating Exchange Rates</u> Michael G. Hall, University of Northern Iowa Overview: Why does democracy seem to correlate with floating exchange rates? This paper tests different causal explanations, which focus on the transparency of the regime and political stability.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Beggar Thy Neighbor Redux: The Political Economy of Exchange Rate Manipulation</u> Michael A. Pisa, University of California, San Diego Overview: TBA</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Currency Regime Choice</u> Jesse R. Russell, University of California, Santa Barbara Overview: This paper examines how states choose a currency regime. What domestic characteristics influence the choice to preserve, pool, or subordinate their monetary sovereignty?</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Free Riding to Dollar Decline: Changes in Global Dollar Holdings and the Future of Dollar Hegemony</u> Victor C. Shih, Northwestern University David Steinberg, Northwestern University Overview: In this paper, we test whether small holders of a reserve currency free-ride on large holders when the reserve currency is expected to depreciate. We test this using monthly data on central bank holdings of US treasuries during 2003 and 2004.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Farmers and Financiers: The Political Economy of Exchange Rate Valuation</u> David A. Steinberg, Northwestern University Overview: This paper uses panel data to determine which political factors cause variation in exchange rate over/undervaluation. We find that group preferences influence currency levels. Institutions affect the strength of the preference-policy relationship.</p>	
Disc.	Angela O'Mahony, University of British Columbia	
13-10	<p><u>PUBLIC OPINION AND CONFLICT</u></p>	
Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm	
Chair	Richard Sobel, Harvard University	
Paper	<p><u>Public Support for War and News Coverage of Military Conflicts: Persuasion or Reinforcement?</u> Scott L. Althaus, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Kevin M. Coe, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Overview: This paper presents newly re-discovered trend data that track American popular support for the war effort from Pearl Harbor until the end of the war.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Death and Taxes: Capital-Intensive Militaries and Aggressive Democracies</u> Jonathan D. Caverley, University of Chicago Overview: In democracies, development of capital-intensive militaries shifts the costs of war away from the median voter, making conflict more attractive. Thus even when democracy</p>	

	"works," a state may exhibit pathological behavior such as imperial overstretch.				
Paper	<u>Knowing When to Fold: How Military and Civilian Casualties Affect the Decision to End the War</u> <i>Sarah E. Croco, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: Using new data on military and civilian losses I test several hypotheses of the proposed relationships between costs and war termination.		Paper	<u>Territorial Dispute MID: Costly Signals of Resolve for Other Disputes</u> <i>Krista E. Wiegand, Georgia Southern University</i> Overview: This paper addresses the timing of MID in territorial disputes. I hypothesize that a challenger state is more likely to initiate a MID when it can achieve bargaining leverage in other disputes.	
Paper	<u>After the Rally: The Domestic Politics of Fighting and Ending Wars</u> <i>Thomas M. Dolan, The Ohio State University</i> Overview: This paper investigates how publics respond to new information about war, and how and when these dynamic responses affect inter-state war bargaining processes.		Paper	<u>Neighborhood Effects and the Generation of International Conflict Hotspots</u> <i>Alex Braithwaite, Pennsylvania State University</i> Overview: This paper identifies the causes of conflict hot spots. States in democratic neighborhoods, that are well integrated in the global economy are shown to be significantly less likely to become located in hot spots of international conflict.	
Paper	<u>How Domestic Factors Affect Conflict Behavior of Democratic Countries</u> <i>Wanfa Zhang, University of Alabama</i> <i>Jun Wei, University of Alabama</i> Overview: This research is a test of the diversionary theory of war with a brand-new data set and method. Different from most previous works that covers only a limited number of democratic countries, this paper will cover all democratic states so classified.		Disc.	<u>Daniel Morey, University of Iowa</u>	
Disc.	<u>Adam J. Berinsky, Massachusetts Institute of Technology</u> <u>Devra C. Moehler, Cornell University</u>		16-201	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY</u>	
Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm		Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm	
Chair	<u>Marc Kilgour, Wilfrid Laurier University</u>		Presenter	<u>Getting China Wrong: Denaturalizing the Revisionist-Status-Quo Discourse</u> <i>Jing Tao, Cornell University</i> Overview: This paper denaturalizes the revisionist-status-quo discourse in analyzing the Sino-US relations and concludes that the strategic interactions between the two powers in East Asia is to provide public good to the region rather than zero-sum in nature.	
Paper	<u>Military Intervention, Rebel Strength, and the Outcome of Civil Conflicts</u> <i>Stephen E. Gent, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: Since interveners want to impact the outcomes of civil conflicts, interventions will be more likely when there is a strong rebel group. Given that government-biased third parties intervene in tougher cases, empirically they appear be less effective.		Presenter	<u>China's Strategic and Economic Goals in Latin America and Central Asia</u> <i>Kathleen M. Appenrodt, University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: This paper is a comparative study examining China's foreign policy in both Latin America and Central Asia. It examines the economic and strategic ties China has pursued in both regions.	
Paper	<u>Rivalry Processes: An Explanation for the Internationalization of Civil War</u> <i>Kris G. Pence, Indiana Wesleyan University</i> Overview: The paper argues rivalry processes provide a strong explanatory framework for explaining the internationalization of civil war as well as providing insight in to the type of assistance offered and the target of aid.		17-9	<u>THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW</u>	
Paper	<u>The Strategic Dynamics of Third-Party Intervention</u> <i>Amy Yuen, Emory University</i> Overview: This paper examines the strategic dynamics of intervention in international conflict. Using a formal model that includes three strategic actors, I develop expectations over conflict onset, duration and participation.		Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm	
Disc.	<u>Marc Kilgour, Wilfrid Laurier University</u>		Chair	<u>Mark Sachleben, Miami University</u>	
15-17	<u>TERRITORY AND CONFLICT</u>		Paper	<u>Why Do They Return? Evaluating International Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia's Contribution to the Reconciliation of Victims</u> <i>Monika A. Nalepa, Rice University</i> Overview: I analyze the relationship between transitional justice (indictments, trials and sentences of the ICTY) and reconciliation (operationalized as refugee returns of different ethnic groups at the municipal level in Bosnia and Herzegovina over 12 years).	
Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm		Paper	<u>The Informalization of Interstate War</u> <i>Tanisha Fazal, Columbia University</i> Overview: This paper explores the causes of the decline in the use of formal declarations of war to initiate interstate wars, and in the use of formal peace treaties to conclude interstate wars. The analysis is based on an original data set on war initiation.	
Chair	<u>Daniel Morey, University of Iowa</u>		Paper	<u>Adjudication Among Peoples: A Deliberative Democratic Alternative</u> <i>Robert V. Bartlett, Purdue University</i> <i>Walter F. Baber, California State University, Long Beach</i> Overview: Critique of international legal tribunals regarding possible obstacles to globalization of deliberative democracy. A proposed alternative to the creation of international legal norms based on the theories of contemporary deliberative democrats.	
Paper	<u>Territory and Conflict: Strategic Consolidation of Disputed Territory</u> <i>David B. Carter, University of Rochester</i> Overview: I argue that territorial disputes are more likely to end violently relative to other disputes (e.g., trade disputes) because territory itself can be strategically consolidated during the dispute process, which alters the expected outcome.		Paper	<u>Measuring Time in Meters: A New Standard for Criticising International Law</u> <i>Nathan D. Griffith, Belmont University</i> Overview: Critics misapprehend the nature of the international law, criticizing it ineffectively as a result. Measuring it against the appropriate type of legal system produces more effective analysis, removing the disconnect between theory and practice.	
Paper	<u>The Steps to Interstate War in Africa</u> <i>Brandon G. Valeriano, University of Illinois, Chicago</i> <i>Douglas Gibler, University of Kentucky</i> Overview: An examination of the steps taken prior to the Ethiopian-Somalian War, the Ugandan-Tanzanian War, and the recent Congo War will be analyzed to determine common and divergent power politics patterns in the onset of warfare.		Disc.	<u>Mark Sachleben, Miami University</u>	

**18-11 THE ORIGINS AND EFFECTS OF
PARTISAN IDENTIFICATION (Co-sponsored
with Voting Behavior, see 19-17)**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair Roberta S. Sigel, Rutgers University

Paper **Emotional Partisans: The Group-based Components of
Partisan Identification**

Lynn M. Sanders, University of Virginia

Margarita Krochik, University of Virginia

Overview: The recovery of psychology in Green, Palmquist and Schickler's 2003 study of partisan identification is too agnostic about the emotional underpinnings of social group identifications. Our experiments show how partisans derive psychological gratification

Paper **The Relative Role of Affect Among Partisans, Independents,
and Misfits**

Francis Neely, San Francisco State University

Overview: I test hypotheses about the nature of partisanship with data from a June 2005 RDD survey of Californians. A question-wording experiment replicates and extends findings from the 1987 ANES pilot, focusing on the role of affect in PID.

Paper **The Policy Basis of Partisan Choice**

Christopher R. Ellis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Overview: This paper explores the impact of partisanship-policy preference consistency on the decision to cast a party line vote. The importance of policy consistency varies as a function of both individual characteristics and the macro-political context.

Paper **Partisanship, "Enduring Values" and Vote**

Geoffrey A. Evans, Oxford University

Robert A. Andersen, McMaster University

Overview: Are values conditioned by partisanship or vice versa? Multi-wave cross-lagged panel analysis over an electoral cycle demonstrates the reciprocal nature of the relationship thus questioning the extent of the causal role of values in vote choice.

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

19-6 ECONOMIC VOTING MODELS

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair Alfred G. Cuzan, University of West Florida

Paper **Memory and Mandates: The Effect Of Time On Voters'**

Evaluation of Performance

Michael E. Greenberg, Shippensburg University

Gordon S. Bergsten, Dickinson College

Overview: In this paper, we refine our previous work to incorporate and test the effect time has on the memory of political events and thus on voters' retrospective evaluation of candidates. We test variants of two main classes of "memory decay" functions.

Paper **Does the Lack of Clear Responsibility Hinder Electoral
Accountability?**

Gyung-Ho Jeong, Washington University, St. Louis

Overview: This paper argues that the lack of clarity is not the cause of weak electoral accountability, but the consequence of strong checks and balances among politicians.

Paper **Retrospective Voting and Loss Aversion: An Empirical
Analysis**

James Lo, University of California, Los Angeles

Overview: This paper applies Kahneman and Tversky's loss aversion heuristic to the study of voting behavior in America, arguing that retrospective voters value economic gains and losses differently.

Paper **Economic Crisis and Government Accountability in Latin
America**

Timothy Nordstrom, University of Mississippi

Harvey Palmer, University of Mississippi

Leslie Schwindt-Bayer, University of Mississippi

Overview: We revisit Remmer's (1991) question about the relationship between economic crisis and voting in new democracies with an expanded dataset of 148 elections in Latin American presidential systems and Caribbean parliamentary democracies.

Disc. Brad T. Gomez, University of South Carolina

**20-7 CAMPAIGN STRATEGY: COMPARATIVE
PERSPECTIVES**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair Melanie J. Blumberg, California University of Pennsylvania

Paper **Owning the Issue Agenda: Explaining Party Strategies in
British General Election Campaigns**

Jane Green, University of Oxford

Sara B. Hobolt, University of Oxford

Overview: This paper refines the issue ownership theory of party competition and applies this new model to explain party strategies in British general elections.

Paper **The Politics of Campaign Professionalization**

Jennifer K. Smith, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Overview: Rather than advancing monotonically, as existing research would suggest, the professionalization of election campaigning is conditioned by intra-party political dynamics. I draw on interview research in the UK and Germany to support this hypothesis.

Paper **A Fistful of Euros: Campaign Spending Effects under STV**

Kenneth R. Benoit, Trinity College, Dublin

Michael A. Marsh, Trinity College, Dublin

Overview: Our paper examines the effects of candidate spending under the Single-Transferable Vote electoral system, based on evidence from the 2002 Irish general election. Findings: Clear, positive evidence of spending effects, esp. for challengers.

Paper **The Increasing Role of Advance Poll Voting in Canadian
National Elections**

Tony L. Hill, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Overview: Non-election day voting is an increasingly important part of the Canadian electoral process. NED voters made the difference in a dozen ridings in 2004. This paper examines the dimensions of this trend and implications for electoral politics.

Paper **Howard's End: Political Marketing in the 2005 British
General Election**

Patrick K. Basham, Democracy Institute

Overview: Ineffective political marketing resulted more from questionable decision-making on the part of the respective party leaderships before the official campaign began than from ill-considered political marketing choices made during the campaign, itself.

Disc. John Mehrkens, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

21-9 VOTING AND ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair Richard Sinnott, University College, Dublin

Paper **Coasian Voting**

Dan Alger, Lawrence University

Overview: I introduce Coasian voting and contrast it to commonly studied voting systems for an environment with money and no income effects. While general theoretical results on voting systems based solely on the voters' ordinal preferences indicate that all

- Paper** **Preference Approval Voting**
Steven J. Brams, *New York University*
Remzi Sanver, *Bilgi Istanbul University*
 Overview: Information on preferences and information on approval of candidates in an election, though related, are fundamentally different-one cannot be derived from the other. We propose a way of combining them in a hybrid voting system.
- Paper** **Voting Systems and Strategic Manipulation**
Anna Bassi, *New York University*
 Overview: Sincere behavior in Approval voting is compared to Borda count, Hare systems, and Plurality voting in an experimental setting. The treatments vary in the extent that voters know other voters' preference orderings and the use of pre-election polls.
- Paper** **A Model of Electoral Incentives and Voter Coordination**
Neal G. Jesse, *Bowling Green State University*
 Overview: A model of electoral systems, their strategic incentives, and voter coordination to change the "naive" result.
- Paper** **Open and Closed: Party Attachment and Sincere Voting in Electoral Context**
Andrew J. Drummond, *University of California, Irvine*
 Overview: Comparing small party supporters across 17 advanced democracies, I find that sincere voting increases with partisan attachment, and that this relationship strengthens as the electoral system becomes more open to party competition.
- Disc.** **Richard Sinnott**, *University College, Dublin*
- 22-301 POSTER SESSION: PUBLIC OPINION**
- Presenter** **The Opinion Hard Core: Refining The Spiral of Silence Theoretically**
- Room** TBA, Board 1, Sat 1:45 pm
Scott H. Clarke, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: This paper develops the opinion Spiral of Silence conceptually, characterizing opinion "hard cores" along three dimensions: dogmatic thinking, a strict conformity to one's reference group and the use of alternative communication channels.
- Presenter** **Garnering the Support of Losers: How to Build Support for Local Government**
- Room** TBA, Board 2, Sat 1:45 pm
Jennifer R. Wilking, *University of California, Davis*
 Overview: This paper asks how, given continual conflicts, is support for local government built? I hypothesize outcomes of conflicts lead to short-term support, while perceptions of fair processes lead to long-term, legitimating support.
- Presenter** **What is Your Overall Impression of this Poll?**
- Room** TBA, Board 3, Sat 1:45 pm
Mary G. Currin-Percival, *University of California, Riverside*
 Overview: I find that individual characteristics such as knowledge of polling methodology and party identification are associated with different impressions of polls conducted by different polling outlets such as Gallup, the media and political parties.
- Presenter** **Survey Questions, Issue Framing, and Public Support for School Vouchers**
- Room** TBA, Board 4, Sat 1:45 pm
Misook Gwon, *University of Cincinnati*
 Overview: This study tests several hypotheses about the effects of variation in question wording on public support for school vouchers from 1993 to the present, using the multivariate, analytical technique developed by Lockerbie and Borrelli (1990).
- Presenter** **Meritocracy and Americans' Views on Distributive Justice**
- Room** TBA, Board 5, Sat 1:45 pm
Richard T. Longoria, *University of Maryland*
 Overview: Americans are ambivalent in their views towards meritocracy. They believe that intelligence and hard work should be rewarded, but they also support inherited wealth, seniority pay, and the distribution of educational opportunities through the market.

- 23-4** **SOCIAL CAPITAL AND THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**
- Room** TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair **Kim Q. Hill**, *Texas A&M University*
Paper **Manufacturing Trust: Japanese Community Currencies and Social Capital**
Sean E. Richey, *Pace University*
 Overview: Japan is the global innovator in community currencies, a policy designed to create social capital. I collect new survey data to test whether government can increase trust. I find that community currency involvement increases generalized trust.
- Paper** **Communication Network and Cognitive Political Efficacy**
Sun-Young Kwak, *University of Southern California*
 Overview: The paper investigates whether different types of communication networks of the elected board members of LA Neighborhood Councils change the board member's attitudes towards the organization's political efficacy and their political activities.
- Paper** **Who Bonds? Who Bridges? Implications for Representative Government**
Kim Q. Hill, *Texas A&M University*
Garrett Hatch, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: We seek to unravel the puzzle that bonding-group civic engagement has negative effects on democratic outcomes but bridging-group engagement has none.
- Paper** **The Unvarying Influence of Peers on Civic Participation**
Casey A. Klofstad, *University of Miami*
 Overview: There is a correlation between how much we talk with our peers about politics and how much we participate in politics. This paper looks at how this relationship varies by socioeconomic status and prior experience with politics and civic activity.
- Disc.** **Patricia Funk**, *Stockholm School of Economics*
- 24-13** **MEDIA EFFECTS AND THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION**
- Room** TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair **Robert W. Van Sickle**, *Indiana State University*
Paper **The Impact of 527 Organizations on the Campaign Environment**
Mary C. Deason, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Caitlin N. Sause, *George Washington University*
 Overview: This paper shows that 527 issue advertisements played a significant role in the increased negativity in campaign advertisements in the 2004 election campaign and explains the differences among ads run by candidates, parties, and organized interests.
- Paper** **Campaign Conclusions: A Study of Newspaper Editorial Diversity During the 2004 Presidential Race**
Steven M. Hallock, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
 Overview: Analysis of newspaper editorials in competing newspaper markets during the 2004 presidential race found varying degrees of opinion diversity, supporting the existence of a bonafide marketplace of ideas.
- Paper** **Local News and Perceptions of Campaigns**
Daniel P. Stevens, *Hartwick College*
Barbara Allen, *Carleton College*
Gregory Marfleet, *Carleton College*
John L. Sullivan, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: This paper presents survey data, content analysis, and focus group evidence on perceptions and effects of local news. We find the more individuals watch local news the less tolerant they are of standard political debate. We endeavor to explain why.
- Disc.** **Travis N. Ridout**, *Washington State University*

24-18 BIAS IN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION?

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair **Michelle D. Brophy-Baermann**, *University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point*

Paper **The Eye of the Beholder: Perceptions of Bias in the News, 1985-2005**

Stephen E. Bennett, *University of Southern Indiana*

Overview: This study focuses on feelings of political bias in the news between 1985 and 2005. If perceptions that news organizations are biased in their coverage of public affairs are part of a larger set of attitudes, it may be harder to change this feeling.

Paper **How Liberals and Conservatives Think: Evidence on Lakoff's Theory in the Rhetoric of Political Advertising**

Glenn W. Richardson, Jr., *Kutztown University of Pennsylvania*

Overview: The DICTION text analysis program is used to explore partisan variations in the rhetoric of campaign ads in terms of the conceptual metaphors in George Lakoff's worldview-based analysis, Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think.

Paper **Memorable Encounters: Ideology, Information Acquisition and Television News**

Joel Turner, *Florida State University*

Overview: Does perceived media bias impact a viewer's ability to acquire and recall information? Utilizing an experimental design, I will examine whether individuals are better able to acquire and recall information from a consonant or dissonant media source.

Disc. **Glenn W. Richardson, Jr.**, *Kutztown University of Pennsylvania*

24-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: BEING UNCIVIL: THE CHANGING TONE OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Presenter **Mediating Incivility: Contentious Political Discourse in the Television Age**

Diana C. Mutz, *University of Pennsylvania*

Jocelyn Landau, *Annenberg School for Communication*

Overview: This experimental study incorporates cross-media comparisons of civil and uncivil political discourse (television, radio, and print) in order to investigate how different forms of mediation condition the impact of incivility on political attitudes.

24-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: EDITORIALIZING POLITICS: THE ROLE OF ENDORSEMENTS AND EDITORIALS IN POLITICAL OUTCOMES

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Presenter **The Importance of Newspaper Editorials in the Policy Process**

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

Overview: This study uses both systematic and anecdotal evidence to show that members of Congress take the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal editorials seriously.

Presenter **Ballot Boxing: Comparing the Impact of Endorsements on Ballot Referenda**

Shad B. Satterthwaite, *University of Oklahoma*

Overview: This paper examines the impact of newspaper endorsements of state ballot questions. It compares endorsements from a state's two major newspapers on ballot referenda over several decades and assesses their effects on voting behavior.

25-6 THE IMPACT OF FEMALE CANDIDATES: DETERRENCE, ENGAGEMENT, AND OUTCOMES

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair **Jennifer L. Lawless**, *Brown University*

Paper **An MC Like Me: Does Descriptive Representation Effect Contacting Behavior?**

Melanie R. Castleberg, *Texas Tech University*

Overview: This paper examines the effects of descriptive representation on the political participation of women. Specifically, I focus on contacting behavior to determine whether symbolic representation does in fact influence political behavior.

Paper **Female Candidates, Issues, and Political Proselytizing**

Atiya K. Stokes-Brown, *Florida State University*

Melissa Neal, *Florida State University*

Overview: This paper examines whether candidate gender and campaign issues influence attempts at political persuasion among women in the electorate.

Paper **Do Female Candidates Deter Male Voters? The 1998 House Elections**

Katherine Gallagher, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Overview: I use propensity scores and matching on district and individual level data for the 1998 House elections to estimate how the presence of a female candidate influences voter turnout of men and women.

Paper **Party Success and Women Congressional Candidates, 1982-2004**

Rosalyn Cooperman, *University of Mary Washington*

Overview: This project examines whether aggregate vote share received by the Democratic and Republican parties increased or decreased when they ran women candidates in congressional elections from 1982 through 2004.

Disc. **Nancy Zingale**, *University of St. Thomas, Minnesota*
Jennifer L. Lawless, *Brown University*

25-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: EUROPEAN UNION INSTITUTIONS AND GENDER EQUALITY

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Presenter **Gender Equality in the Candidate Countries - a Result of Europeanisation**

Ingrid Roder, *University of Bremen*

Overview: In this paper the effectiveness of the pre-accession measures of the EU in the area of gender equality in the Czech Republic and Slovakia are examined. Were the norms of EU-gender equality not only formally, but also substantially implemented?

Presenter **Implementing European Women's Rights Policies: The Role of Transnational Networks**

Celeste Montoya Kirk, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*

Overview: This paper examines the impact that European initiatives on gender violence have had on the policy practices of Member States.

26-10 MINORITY CANDIDATES

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair **Casellas Jason**, *University of Texas, Austin*

Paper **The Influence of Skin Tone on the Trait Attributions of Black Candidates**

Tony E. Carey, Jr., *SUNY, Stony Brook*

Overview: Using an analysis of variance, the experiment focuses on how voters make trait attributions based on candidates' race and skin tone.

Paper **Post-Racial Politics, The 2004 U.S. Senate Campaign in Illinois**

Martin Dupuis, *Western Illinois University*

Keith Boeckelman, *Western Illinois University*

Overview: The role that racial issues played in Barack Obama's primary and general election will be outlined, and the factors

	that encourage African-American candidates to run for state-wide office will be discussed.				
Paper	<u>The Effects of Racial Messages in Televised Campaign Advertising: A Multi-Contextual Experimental Study</u> Stephen Maynard Caliendo, <i>North Central College</i> Charlton D. McIlwain, <i>New York University</i> Jillian Maynard Caliendo, <i>Avila University</i> Overview: This paper presents the results of an experimental design to explore the effect of racial messages on attitudes about political candidates in multiple election contexts.	Paper	<u>Gambling for Certainty</u> Mindy J. Peden, <i>John Carroll University</i> Nicole Rishel, <i>John Carroll University</i> Overview: In this paper we explore the historical and contemporary uses of the concepts of luck, chance, and uncertainty as the corollaries to inequality premised on merit, talent, worth or desert.		
Paper	<u>Navigating the Identity Terrain: Race, Ethnicity, and the Latino Candidate</u> F. Jane Mabe, <i>New York University</i> Overview: This study focuses on Antonio Villaraigosa--the 1st Latino mayor of Los Angeles since 1872--in order to examine strategies employed by candidates with cross-over appeal in navigating stereotypes and addressing the race as a campaign issue.	Paper	<u>Why Lotteries Are Just</u> Peter Stone, <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: Lotteries are just distributive devices, but theorists of justice have done little to explain this fact. A contractarian defense, grounded in the work of Thomas Scanlon, can fill this gap.		
Paper	<u>Bridge Over Troubled Waters: Race, Power and the Development of Urban Democracy</u> Michael Javen Fortner, <i>Havard University</i> Overview: This paper traces the process of cross-racial coalition formation in New York during each mayoral election from 1965 to 1989. It reveals how political institutions and temporal processes interact to produce coalitions or hinder their development.	Paper	<u>Rawls on Stability, Legitimacy and Affirmation</u> Edward H. K. Song, <i>University of Virginia</i> Overview: Critics of Rawls' political liberalism ignore its core worry, the ideal of political legitimacy. I offer an account of Rawlsian legitimacy called 'affirmation' that defends the import of citizens' subjective endorsement of their political regimes.		
Disc.	Marisa A. Abrajano, <i>Texas A&M University</i>	Disc.	Fred Eidlin, <i>University of Guelph</i> Sharon Vaughan, <i>Morehouse College</i>		
26-101	<u>ROUNDTABLE: THE POWER OF THE LATINO VOTE: LESSONS FROM THE PAST AND FOR THE FUTURE</u>	27-27	<u>CONSTITUTIONALISM</u>		
Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm	Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm		
Panelist	Henry Flores, <i>St. Mary's University</i> Antonio Gonzalez, <i>William C. Velasquez Institute</i> Luis Miranda, <i>Miram Group</i> Matt Barreto, <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: TBA	Chair	Anthony A. Peacock, <i>Utah State University</i>		
		Paper	<u>The Missing Judiciary in Locke's Separation of Powers</u> Ross J. Corbett, <i>Brown University</i> Overview: Locke's separation of powers comprises the executive, legislative, and federative, while everyone else's replaces the federative with the judicial. Where is the judicial function in Locke, and why is it not a separate power?		
27-13	<u>POLITICAL PASSIONS</u>	Paper	<u>Reconsidering Locke's Strange Doctrine of Natural Executive Power</u> Lee Ward, <i>Campion College at the University of Regina</i> Overview: Rather than interpreting Locke's political thought in terms of Hobbes' natural rights or Christian natural law, his "strange" doctrine of natural executive power, is best understood as a critical departure from both of these strains of argument.		
Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm				
Chair	Thomas Conte, <i>Maryville College</i>	Paper	<u>Pacificus v. Helvidius: The Problem of Executive Power</u> Benjamin A. Kleinerman, <i>Virginia Military Institute</i> Overview: Seeks to extend recent work upon the founders' understanding of executive power and upon the constitutional debate between Hamilton and Madison. Paper emphasizes the essential constitutional differences that emerge from this debate.		
Paper	<u>Fear and Politics, Ancient and Modern</u> Daniel J. Kapust, <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: An historical criticism of Corey Robin's "Fear: The History of a Political Idea," developed through a reading of a selection of Greek and Roman texts.	Paper	<u>Expertise and Accountability</u> Dimitri Landa, <i>New York University</i> Overview: I argue that the election-based account of accountability runs into a fundamental conceptual problem: if legislators are superior judges, how can we judge the choices they make?		
Paper	<u>Nietzsche and the Problem of Guilt</u> Roberto Alejandro, <i>University of Massachusetts</i> Overview: In this paper I attempt to offer a detailed examination of the different versions of guilt that Nietzsche offers in the Genealogy.	Disc.	Anthony A. Peacock, <i>Utah State University</i> Scott C. Pandich, <i>St. Lawrence University</i>		
Paper	<u>Adventures in Invisibility: Against Political Uses of Shame</u> Blaise Misztal, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: While the repressive nature of the practice of social shaming has been expounded at some length, recently there have been attempts to rehabilitate shame or humiliation as potential salutary correctives on social and political behavior.	28-12	<u>FREEDOM, PUNISHMENT, AND POWER IN MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT</u>		
Paper	<u>On the Introduction of Boredom</u> Daniel A. Silver, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This paper seeks methods for understanding the meaning and power of the idea of boredom and related concepts in modern political and social thought.	Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm		
Disc.	Jeffrey Church, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Thomas Conte, <i>Maryville College</i>	Chair	Michael R. James, <i>Bucknell University</i>		
		Paper	<u>Foucault, Felons, and Voting Rights</u> Andrew T. Dilts, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: In the contemporary US, the subject generating functions of the carceral society outlined by Foucault exist outside the walls of the prison or reformatory, finding their way into the constitutional forms of self-government.		
27-23	<u>THE POLITICS OF CHANCE AND RISK</u>	Paper	<u>Rationale of Punishment: Utilitarianism's Most Important Contribution?</u> James T. McHugh, <i>Roosevelt University</i> Overview: The Rationale of Punishment, attributed to Bentham, is a neglected and, arguably, the most important utilitarian text, especially for its real and potential contribution to penology and insight into the early development of this school of thought.		
Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm				
Chair	Fred Eidlin, <i>University of Guelph</i>				
Paper	<u>From Danger to Risk in Early Modern British Political Thought</u> Emily C. Nacol, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This paper will analyze the linguistic and conceptual relationship between seventeenth-century British political				

Paper **The Despotism of Modern Political Theory: Misunderstanding Freedom**
John Phillips, *University of Maryland*
 Overview: Benjamin Constant rejects the melding of freedom with obedience and authority. Freedom is meaningless unless it is removed from discussions about the nexus of power and authority and put back where it belongs - independence.

Disc. **James Wiley**, *St. Norbert College*

28-5 **USING HISTORICAL AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT TO ILLUMINATE CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN POLITICS**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair **Vincent J. Strickler**, *DePauw University*
Paper **America's Cosmopolitan Moment**
Aaron M. Keck, *Rutgers University*
 Overview: The framing of the U.S. Constitution in 1787 can be understood as a practical realization of the cosmopolitan ideal--an ideal that has shaped the development of American political thought and national identity in still-unexplored ways.

Paper **Constitutional Cassandra: Vindicating Brutus, the Anti-Federalist**
Vincent J. Strickler, *DePauw University*
 Overview: The dire predictions of "Brutus" have come largely true. But, Federalists denied their plausibility. Thus, they reveal what both sides of the original constitutional debate believed that the Constitution was not or should not be.

Paper **Abraham Lincoln and "Practical Equality"**
Jason R. Jividen, *Northern Illinois University*
 Overview: Lincoln's thought includes a view of equality that admits inherent limitations on its actualization, yet his rhetoric of equality might be flexible enough to often obscure these limitations.

Paper **Madison and Lincoln on Majority Rule**
Jeffrey H. Anderson, *U.S. Air Force Academy*
 Overview: Madison and Lincoln do not reject the primacy of majority rule; however, neither do they embrace majority rule without applying a nuanced understanding that majority rule must be filtered, moderated, checked. This paper explores their thoughts.

Disc. **Daniel P. Klinghard**, *College of the Holy Cross*

29-6 **SOCIAL COHESION, OBLIGATION AND RESPONSIBILITY**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair **Burke Hendrix**, *Cornell University*
Paper **Beyond the Rule of Law: Do Direct Action Campaigns Maintain the Human Bond?**
Stephen P. Chilton, *University of Minnesota, Duluth*
Jamison Tessneer, *University of Minnesota, Duluth*
 Overview: If law presses people beyond the limit of their consciences, they may choose not to obey it. In so doing, they may sever their bonds with non-dissidents, to the detriment of all. Is (or how much is) this a problem for the U.S. peace and justice movement?

Paper **An Offer We Can't Refuse? How Residence Can Ground Political Obligation**
John R. Harris, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
 Overview: Grounding the moral duty to obey the law might best be done by utilizing consent theory, yet determining how one gives her consent has proven difficult. My paper offers a defense of the claim that we consent to obey the law by residing in a state.

Paper **Who Killed Socrates? The Plausibility of a Blameworthy Collective Agency**
Jeffrey B. White, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
 Overview: The focus of the following paper is the phenomenon of the collective agent; what constitutes the appearance of a collective agent?

Paper **Against Political Obligation**
Thomas M. Hughes, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
 Overview: This paper advances a skeptical tradition against the concept of political obligation by developing a multiprincipled critique. The analysis draws upon existing critiques found in virtue theory, liberalism and anarchism.

Disc. **Steve Vanderheiden**, *University of Minnesota, Duluth*
Thomas C. Ellington, *Wesleyan College*

30-13 **FORMAL THEORIES OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair **Matias Iaryczower**, *California Institute of Technology*
Paper **A General Model of Lobbying with Implications for Delegation**
Lawrence S. Rothenberg, *University of Rochester*
Jaehoon Kim, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: We develop a general model of lobbying under multiple dimensions and show that, if competing lobbyists specialize in their expertise, then full information revelation is unlikely.

Paper **Relving on the Expertise of Interested Parties**
Sven Feldmann, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: I develop a model of communication in which a decision maker seeks to learn from a potentially informed party. The paper endogenizes the emergence of expertise and provides a foundation for learning from information provided by interested parties.

Paper **A Servant of Two Masters: Cheap Talk with Multiple Receivers**
Leslie Johns, *New York University*
 Overview: I examine how the presence of multiple audiences affects the incentives of informational agents to truthfully reveal their private information.

Paper **Modelling the Tragedy of the Commons with Verbal Sanctions**
David V. Schwab, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: This paper presents a game-theoretic model of how allowing users of a CPR to verbally sanction one another can resolve the tragedy of the commons.

Disc. **Matias Iaryczower**, *California Institute of Technology*

31-9 **METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN IPE (Co-sponsored with International Political Economy, see 12-22)**

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair **Jake Bowers**, *Harvard University*
Paper **Instrumental Variables, Weak Instruments and Uncertainty**
Robert W. Walker, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: With a specific focus on the quality of instruments and parameter uncertainty, we provide practical tests of relevance and orthogonality for instrumental variables estimators in political research.

Paper **Modeling Spatial Interdependence in Political Economy with Tax-Competition Examples**
Robert J. Franzese, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Jude C. Hays, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: Theoretical and empirical-modeling issues in globalization and capital taxation, stressing strategic dependence among countries in fiscal policymaking and resultant spatial interdependence (contemporaneous correlation) of capital tax rates in TSCS data.

Paper **Popular Sovereignty and the Room to Maneuver: A Search for a Causal Chain**
Thomas Sattler, *Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich*
John Freeman, *University of Minnesota, Twin Cities*
Patrick Brandt, *University of Texas, Dallas*
 Overview: We reanalyze the claim that governments retain substantial room to maneuver despite globalization. Competing arguments about the causal chains connoting popular sovereignty over the economy are tested using new Bayesian, multiple time series methods.

Disc. **Michael D. Ward**, *University of Washington*

32-12 POLITICAL PARTIES IN ELECTIONS

Room LaSalle 2,7th Floor, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair Stewart L. French, *Saginaw Valley State University*

Paper Are U.S. Presidential Nominations Party-Centered or Candidate-Centered?

Marty Cohen, *University of California, Los Angeles*

David Karol, *University of California, Berkeley*

John Zaller, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: The party insiders who dominate presidential nominations are long-term players more loyal to party than to individual candidates, and seek to coordinate their support behind the candidate with greatest potential for broad support within the party

Paper How Well do the Parties Compete in House Elections?

Jonathan S. Krasno, *SUNY, Binghamton*

Conor M. Dowling, *SUNY, Binghamton*

Overview: Through an examination of the amount of campaign donations and spending by Democratic and Republican party committees, we assess the parties' strategies to maximize their seat gains in House elections.

Paper State Party Organizations as Campaign Service Providers

Joshua P. Stockley, *Nicholls State University*

Overview: Surveys of 200 legislative candidates and interviews with 50 past and present members of the state party in Oklahoma, Texas, and Louisiana were conducted to determine how candidates perceive party roles during state legislative elections.

Paper Reputation and Electoral Alliances: The Roles of Ideology and Viability

Royce A. Carroll, *University of California, San Diego*

Overview: I present a model of electoral alliances driven by the pursuit of government access, in addition to seats, whereby factors shaping the electoral importance of governing viability provide incentives for otherwise independent entities to coalesce.

Paper Party Dominance in Africa's Multiparty Elections

Daniel J. Young, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: In this paper I test competing explanations of the pattern of party dominance in African elections, including ethnic voting and electoral authoritarianism. I emphasize the importance of presidential coattails, and find evidence of its importance.

Disc. Casey B. K. Dominguez, *University of San Diego*

33-103 AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: ANDREW RUDALEVIGE'S 'THE NEW IMPERIAL PRESIDENCY'

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair Matthew Dickinson, *Middlebury College*

Panelist Andrew Rudalevige, *Dickinson College*

Nancy Kassop, *SUNY-New Paltz*

William Howell, *Harvard University*

David Adler, *Idaho State University*

Overview: Author Meets Critics: Andrew Rudalevige's 'The New Imperial Presidency'

34-11 THE APPROPRIATIONS PROCESS IN CONGRESS

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair Russell D. Renka, *Southeast Missouri State University*

Paper Omnibus Appropriations: Creatures of Gridlock, Dereliction, or Design?

Stonegarden Grindlife, *Georgetown University*

Overview: Are omnibus appropriations bills simply the result of a distracted, gridlocked, or even lazy legislative branch or do they serve a very specific purpose in congressional electoral strategies?

Paper US Senate Majority Leaders and Distributive Politics

Andrea C. Hatcher, *University of the South, Sewanee*

Overview: Is being Leader advantageous in distributive politics? This paper makes use of archival data to trace the role of US Senate Majority Leaders in securing pork for their state.

Paper Institutional Change and the Congressional Appropriations Process

Jason A. MacDonald, *Kent State University*

Overview: This paper examines innovations in the congressional appropriations process that shifted some control over policy decisions made by Congress from authorizing committees to appropriations committees. What explains these institutional changes?

Disc. Diana Evans, *Trinity College*

34-301 POSTER SESSION: LEGISLATIVE INSTITUTIONS POSTER

Presenter Veto Power in Committee: An Experimental Study

Room TBA, Board 7, Sat 1:45 pm

Hankyoung Sung, *The Ohio State University*

John Kagel, *The Ohio State University*

Eyal Winter, *Hebrew University*

Overview: This paper experimentally examines the veto power in the committee bargaining. We consider two cases: urgent and non-urgent.

Presenter Legislative Rules Revisited

Room TBA, Board 8, Sat 1:45 pm

Julianne F. Flowers, *Loyola University, Chicago*

Overview: The existing Congressional literature on institutional rules treats "rules" as a monolithic construct; that is all rules are treated the same. This paper proffers a typology of five distinct types of rules.

Presenter From the Party of Deficit Hawks to the Party of Defense Hawks: Where Does Party Reputation Come From?

Room TBA, Board 9, Sat 1:45 pm

Jungkun Seo, *University of Texas, Austin*

Overview: This paper investigates the sources and processes of party reputation-building in Congress. I analyze the Republican Party in national security arena and explain how reputation building processes affect legislative outcomes.

35-8 A NEW LOOK AT INCUMBENCY EFFECTS

Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm

Chair George Serra, *Bridgewater State College*

Paper Incumbency, Risk, and the Gender Gap

Kristin Kanthak, *University of Arizona*

Barbara Norrander, *University of Arizona*

Katrina Running, *University of Arizona*

Overview: We posit that differing attitudes toward risk between men and women may help explain variations in the gender gap. Because women are more risk-averse than men, they are more likely to vote for incumbents. We provide evidence from the 2004 elections.

Paper The Impact of Incumbency on Political Participation

Jean-Francois Godbout, *Northwestern University*

Overview: The paper focuses on measuring the dynamic relationship between incumbency and turnout in congressional districts. The results show that incumbency puts a downward pressure on turnout and that this effect increases with tenure length.

Paper Appearance Effects on Legislative Careers

Margaret Ann Curran, *Northern Illinois University*

James N. Schubert, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: In previous research (Schubert and Curran 2002), we considered the possibility that stereotypes, with respect to facial appearance and social identity, influence political factors that affect the course and longevity of political careers.

Paper The Electoral Consequences of Pork: A Multilevel Analysis

Andrew H. Sidman, *Stony Brook University*

Maxwell H. Max, *Stony Brook University*

Overview: We have two methodological critiques of previous research on the effects of congressional pork on electoral outcomes. Seeking to alleviate these problems, we use a multilevel model to estimate the true effect of pork on congressional elections.

- Paper** **Incumbency Advantage in German and British Elections: A Quasi-Experimental Approach**
Holger L. Kern, *Cornell University*
 Overview: Our paper presents causal estimates for the incumbency advantage in British and German federal elections.
- Disc.** **Kenneth Bickers**, *University of Colorado*

36-7 **STATE COURTS**

- Room** TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair **Christopher D. Martin**, *Ohio Dominican University*
Paper **Judicial Diversity: The Interaction of Access and Consensus**
Brent D. Boyea, *University of Texas, Arlington*
 Overview: Evaluating state judicial institutional arrangements and the behavior of judges, the distribution of judge attributes is found to strongly affect consensus. Consensus is considerably greater in elected courts with less diversity.

- Paper** **This Paper Will Test a Model of Turnover on State Courts of Last Resort Between 1975 and 2005**
James C. Brent, *San Jose State University*
 Overview: Much scholarly research has been devoted to explaining why judges retire. Building upon research regarding the United States Congress, the existing literature suggests several reasons why judges might voluntarily depart the federal bench.

- Paper** **Controversy in State Courts: The Effects of Judicial Selection Methods**
Rachel Paine Caufield, *Drake University/American Judicature Society*
 Overview: Using over 500 news reports of controversy surrounding state court decisions, this paper assesses the relationship between methods of state judicial selection and controversial or unpopular decisions in all 50 states from 2001-2005.

- Paper** **Public Opinion and the Judicial Calculus of Gay Rights in State High Courts**
Frederick S. Wood, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: In this paper, I examine the impact of attitudinal, environmental, and institutional variables in cases before state supreme courts in which the rights claims of gays and lesbians were decided.
- Disc.** **Chris W. Bonneau**, *University of Pittsburgh*
Kyle A. Scott, *Miami University*

36-8 **CROSS-NATIONAL STUDIES OF COURTS**

- Room** TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair **Sunita A. Parikh**, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Paper **Political Stability, Cleavage Structures and Judicial Independence**
Nick Jorgensen, *College of William and Mary*
 Overview: This paper tests a model of judicial independence that links court autonomy to the inclusiveness or exclusiveness of political regimes, state intervention in the economy, and political stability.

- Paper** **Gavels Gambling Against Guns: Judicial Negation in Authoritarian**
Rodelio C. Manaca, *Vanderbilt University*
 Overview: When do courts develop the daring to rule against the state in authoritarian regimes? This paper provides an empirical assessment of why and when judiciaries "gamble" to rule against the government during periods of authoritarianism.
- Paper** **Opinion Writing in the U.S. Supreme Court and the High Court of Australia**
Kirk A. Randazzo, *University of Kentucky*
Lee R. Remington, *University of Kentucky*
Reginald S. Sheehan, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: This paper explores the influences - legal, political and strategic - of opinion writing in both the U.S. Supreme Court and the High Court of Australia.

- Paper** **Nuking the Nuclear Option: A Comparative Analysis of Judicial Selection**
Rebecca Wood, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: What would our system look like without "Advice and Consent?" By examining constitutional prescriptions, legal requirements and the operation of these selection systems, we can get an idea what our system would look like without the nuclear option.
- Disc.** **Susan W. Johnson**, *University of North Carolina at Greensboro*
David Weiden, *Illinois State University*

36-16 **FORMAL MODELS OF LAW AND JUDICIAL POLITICS (Co-sponsored with Formal Modeling, see 30-23)**

- Room** TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair **Jeffrey R. Lax**, *Columbia University*
Paper **Law Creation by a Team of Judges**
Charles M. Cameron, *Princeton University/New York University*
Lewis Kornhauser, *New York University*
 Overview: We study the creation of law by a team of judges operating within a judicial hierarchy. The particular focus is the role of hierarchy and litigant control of appeals decisions in the creation of new legal rules.

- Paper** **Legal Doctrine and Political Control**
Tonja Jacobi, *Northwestern University*
Emerson Tiller, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: A formal model of doctrine as an instrument of political control by higher courts of lower courts.
- Paper** **Collegial Court Chaos? Policies, Cases, and Legal Rules**
Jeffrey R. Lax, *Columbia University*

- Overview: I analyze the creation and application of legal rules in collegial courts, demonstrating that the unique structures of judicial policy-making induce stability and coherence in contrast to the disequilibrium of most majority-rule decision-making.
- Paper** **The Majoritarian Basis for Judicial Countermajoritarianism**
James R. Rogers, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: A game-theoretic model is developed that identifies the conditions under which popular majorities will support judicial independence (and the judicial countermajoritarian function of courts) against legislative attack.

- Paper** **A Costly-Signaling Theory of "Hard Look" Judicial Review**
Matthew C. Stephenson, *Harvard Law School*
 Overview: This paper develops a costly-signaling model of "hard look" judicial review, in which the quality of the government's explanation for its decision conveys useful information to uninformed courts because of the cost of producing a high-quality record.
- Disc.** **Charles M. Cameron**, *Princeton University/New York University*

37-7 **PUBLIC AND ELITE ATTITUDES TOWARD CIVIL LIBERTIES**

- Room** TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair **Richard Braunstein**, *University of South Dakota*
Paper **Cognitive Heuristics and the Evaluation of Fourth Amendment Questions**
Jeffery W. Green, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
 Overview: When presented with an opportunity to evaluate the propriety of police conduct in hypothetical scenarios involving rights under the Fourth Amendment what cognitive heuristics do individuals employ to construct their reactions to these situations?

- Paper** **Popular Rights Claiming Before there was Civil Rights Law: 1939-41**
George I. Lovell, *University of Washington*
 Overview: This paper examines connections between federal civil rights administration and ordinary citizen's ideas about law and rights by analyzing 800 letters sent to the President and Justice Department between 1939 and 1941.

Paper	<p><u>Challenging Others or Censoring the Self? Attitudes of Censorship and Academic Freedom among University Faculty</u> Chapman B. Rackaway, <i>Fort Hays State University</i> Michael V. Suchoparek, <i>Fort Hays State University</i> Mitchell Hall, <i>Fort Hays State University</i> Ethan Harder, <i>Fort Hays State University</i> Mark Colwell, <i>Fort Hays State University</i> Overview: A survey of university faculty on attitudes of censorship and academic freedom post-9/11.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Agenda Setting in Garbage Cans: Lessons from U.S. and Japanese Education Reform</u> Keith Nitta, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Garbage can processes in U.S. and Japanese education agenda formation have 1) facilitated the spread of trendy administrative reforms, 2) prevented rational planning and coordination, and 3) prevented pressing education problems from being addressed.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Theorizing Communities and Judicial Change: Legal Academics in Canada, the UK, and New Zealand</u> Jason L. Pierce, <i>University of Dayton</i> Overview: This paper compares how the legal academics in Canada, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand shaped the roles that their respective courts assumed under the Canadian Charter, the British Human Rights Act, and New Zealand's new bill of rights.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Education Policy in the State of Ohio</u> Matthew J. Carr, <i>Kent State University</i> Overview: TBA</p>
Disc.	<p>Susan Burgess, <i>Ohio University</i></p>	Disc.	<p>Joseph Stewart, Jr., <i>Clemson University</i> Sandra Vergari, <i>SUNY, Albany</i></p>
38-102	<p><u>ROUNDTABLE: THE FUTURE OF THE STUDY OF STATE POLITICS AND POLICY</u></p>	40-19	<p><u>URBAN DESIRES: HOUSING, ECONOMIC GROWTH AND AMENITIES</u></p>
Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm	Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Panelist	<p>Richard F. Winters, <i>Dartmouth College</i> Christopher Z. Mooney, <i>University of Illinois, Springfield</i> David Lowery, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Ron Weber, <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Overview: TBA</p>	Chair	<p>Juliet F. Gainsborough, <i>Bentley College</i></p>
39-11	<p><u>NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS AND PROTEST POLITICS</u></p>	Paper	<p><u>Defining Patterns of Residential Blight for Economic Development</u> H. Douglas Adams, <i>St. Louis University</i> Overview: Local governments, lacking a standard for blight, appear subjectively to designate blight to justify Tax Increment Financing. Using Census data, an index of residential blight is proposed to identify blight according to an objective standard.</p>
Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm	Paper	<p><u>The Transformation of Federal Housing Policy and Management, 1980-Present</u> Stephen Page, <i>University of Washington</i> Rachel Kleit, <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: An analysis of recent changes in federal housing programs in historical context shows how the management of public housing authorities now entails a novel combination of discretion, obligations, and partnerships in different areas of responsibility.</p>
Chair	<p>Jose F. Marichal, <i>California Lutheran University</i></p>	Disc.	<p>Juliet F. Gainsborough, <i>Bentley College</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Organizing For Justice: The Urban Poor And Environmental Politics in Multi-Ethnic Southern California</u> Armando Xavier Mejia, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: Paper examines three organized efforts by the urban poor to contest environmental injustice in Southern California. Case studies offer theoretical and comparative lessons for successful grassroots environmental mobilization in multi-ethnic regions.</p>	40-201	<p><u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: VARIATION IN INCARCERATION RATES ACROSS THE FIFTY STATES</u></p>
Paper	<p><u>The Fate of Institutionalized Protest: The Suburban O'Hare Commission</u> Bonnie Lindstrom, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: The rise and fall of the Suburban O'Hare Commission, a coalition of suburbs formed to oppose O'Hare expansion, exemplifies the fate of locality-based protest when a grassroots group becomes institutionalized and identified with one political party.</p>	Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Disc.	<p>Jose F. Marichal, <i>California Lutheran University</i></p>	Presenter	<p><u>Variation in Incarceration Rates Across the Fifty States</u> Anita Pritchard, <i>Florida Atlantic University</i> Michael Wiatrowski, <i>Department of Education</i> Overview: This paper examines variation in incarceration rates across the fifty states.</p>
40-14	<p><u>STANDARDS BASED EDUCATIONAL REFORM</u></p>	40-202	<p><u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: HIGHER EDUCATION I</u></p>
Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm	Room	TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair	<p>Sandra Vergari, <i>SUNY, Albany</i></p>	Presenter	<p><u>The Academic Church: The Culture Wars, Academic Freedom and Tenure</u> David C. Paris, <i>Hamilton College</i> Overview: This paper explores the image of postsecondary institutions as a kind of "church" with reference to contemporary policy debates. It suggests norms for professional responsibility and accountability, including with respect to the state and market.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Race and the Politics of Grade Retention</u> Valentina A. Bali, <i>Michigan State University</i> Dorothea Anagnostopoulos, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: Retaining low performing students in grade has become a central though disputed component of current standards-based reforms. This paper examines the political and organizational determinants of school district retention rates across racial groups.</p>	Presenter	<p><u>Allowing Community Colleges To Grant Bachelor Degrees In Florida: A Policy Framing Process At Florida Legislature and Two Community Colleges</u> Gregory Pershin, <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: The presentation deals with framing policies permitting community colleges to grant baccalaureate degrees in Florida.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Interaction Between Organizational Values and Morality Policy</u> Warren S. Eller, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper addresses the potential outcomes of the centralization of educational policy at the federal level on school performance and violence prevention programs.</p>		

- 42-6** **DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL POLITICS AND POLICY (Co-sponsored with International Political Economy, see 12-18)**
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Tobias Hofmann, *Free University of Berlin*
Paper **Mexican Markets in Comparative Terms: Cartels and their Consequences**
Jeffrey F. Timmons, *ITAM*
Overview: Using an original database covering 50 countries, this paper explores the causes and consequences of market concentration. Focusing on Mexico, it shows that market concentration leads to higher prices and slower economic growth.
- Paper** **Banking on the Market? Industry and Finance in Latin America**
Ines Valdez, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Overview: This paper explores the effects of banking sector liberalization on industry's access to credit in L. America. This relationship--of great importance for industrial development--is often overlooked in political economy accounts of banking reforms.
- Paper** **The Blame Game: IMF Structural Adjustment Loans and Leader Survival**
Laron K. Williams, *Texas A&M University*
Overview: This paper examines strategic interaction between the IMF and leaders concerning the implementation of structural adjustment loans and how those reforms impact leader tenure under various domestic institutional arrangements.
- Paper** **Can Debt Relief Buy Growth?**
Ralf Hepp, *University of California, Davis*
Overview: This paper investigates the effects of debt relief initiatives in the 1990s on developing countries. I find that debt relief had a positive growth effect on some developing countries, but seems to have been ineffective in promoting growth in the world.
- Disc.** Tobias Hofmann, *Free University of Berlin*
- 42-203** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PROSPECT THEORY AND ECONOMIC SANCTIONS**
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Presenter **Prospect Theory and Economic Sanctions-Toward an Economic Coercion Theory**
Michael A. Rudy, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
Jerome F. Venteicher, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
Overview: We present an application of prospect theory through a game-theoretic model to the initiation and subsequent stages of economic sanctions, thereby offering a substantial improvement to the existent theories in the field.
- 44-9** **RECONSIDERING THE REVOLUTION AND THE EARLY REPUBLIC**
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Matthew Glassman, *Yale University*
Paper **Jefferson and the Impeachment Power: Constitutionalism and Political Change**
Jeremy D. Bailey, *Duquesne University*
Overview: This paper considers Thomas Jefferson's understanding of the impeachment power in the context of his larger project to institutionalize political change while preserving a written constitution.
- Paper** **Thomas Jefferson's Ward Republics and a Defense of Classical Republicanism**
Brian W. Dotts, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
Overview: Thomas Jefferson idealistically remained attached to and hopeful of putting into practice his classical republican ideas. This paper analyzes Jefferson's ward democracies and how they intended to support public education and active citizenship.
- Paper** **Solemn and Authoritative Acts: Historical Analysis of the Founder's Ideas on Constitutional Amendment**
Darren P. Guerra, *Vanguard University of Southern California*
Overview: This paper explores the Founder's ideas regarding the Constitutional Amendment; it is argued that their ideas are best viewed as a set of ordered criteria rooted in their dual commitments to a written constitutionalism grounded in popular authority.
- Paper** **The Revolution in their Hearts: Changing Conceptions of British Citizenship in Revolutionary America**
Jason Ross, *Georgetown University*
Overview: This paper examines changing conceptions of British citizenship among revolutionary-era Americans through the lens of patriot arguments about the British constitution.
- Disc.** Matthew Glassman, *Yale University*
- 45-101** **ROUNDTABLE: POLITICAL SCIENTISTS WHO BLOG**
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Thomas F. Schaller, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*
Panelist Philip A. Klinkner, *Hamilton College*
Brendan Nyhan, *Duke University*
Dante Scala, *St. Anselm's College*
Overview: This panel assembles several political scientists who blog to discuss the implications of blogging on political science, the impact of political scientists who blog, and the growing nexus between political science theory and practical politics.
- 47-7** **ISLAM AND POLITICAL ACTION**
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair Valerie O. Morkevicius, *University of Chicago*
Paper **Islam and the West: The Case of the UK**
Orla Lynch, *University College, Cork*
Overview: This paper will examine the implications of Al Qaeda's operations in Europe for British Muslims. It will focus on issues of identity and examine how perceptions of European Muslims are changing due to the proliferation of radical Islamic terrorism.
- Paper** **Collective Action and Jihad: Group Theory, the Mujahideen and Martyrdom**
Micheal C. Struempff, *University of Kansas*
Overview: The formal model shows an individual's calculus changing as the expected costs associated with participation increases (social engagement < martyrdom). To marginalize the expected costs, Islamic groups make appeals to dominant themes in the society.
- Paper** **Shi'a Symbolism, the Imam, and the Formulation of a Revolutionary Ideology**
Cyrus A. Contractor, *University of Oklahoma*
Overview: The aim of this research is to depict how the revolutionary leaders in Iran, primarily Ayatollah Khomeini, used charisma, ideology, and Shi'a symbols to formulate an ideology that influenced the events of the Iranian Revolution.
- Paper** **Feminism in Uncertain Times: Women Activists, Islam, and State Transition in Indonesia**
Rachel A. Rinaldo, *University of Chicago*
Overview: Based on ethnographic research in Jakarta, Indonesia, this paper argues that many young women activists in Indonesia are inspired by Islamic teachings to struggle for gender equality in their religion and their society more broadly.
- Paper** **Ironies of the Veil in Turkey: Passive Militant Girls and Uncovered Wiggled Girls**
Neslihan K. Cevik, *Arizona State University*
Overview: This paper aims to reread the veil issue through revealing the ironies of veil in the Turkish context: Firstly, the representation of veil both a repressive ritual and a militant symbol and secondly, the replacement of veil with wigs.
- Disc.** Ivan Strenski, *University of California, Riverside*
Gunes Murat Tezcur, *Loyola University, Chicago*

52-3 SOCIAL POLICIES: CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair **Trudy Steuernagel**, *Kent State University*
Paper **Self Interest Rightly Understood: Social Capital and Schooling**
Soren Serritzlew, *University of Aarhus, Denmark*
Gert Svendsen, *University of Aarhus, Denmark*
Overview: We offer 3 hypotheses about training, selection and corruption on how schooling contributes to social capital. This is investigated by the use of theory in relation to our new social capital database covering 21 countries and 25,000 respondents.

Paper **Determinants of Public Support for Regulation: A Look at Health Care Reform**
Eileen Braman, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
Michael J. Ensley, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
Overview: We look at support for government intervention in health care. The influences of (1) ideology (2) self-interest (3) institutional orientation (4) perceptions of societal harm and (5) political entrepreneurship are tested using individual level data.

Paper **Prohibition and Progressivism, or Punctuated Equilibrium?**
Mark L. Schrad, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Overview: Punctuated equilibrium and serial information processing models lend new insight into the politics of alcohol prohibition in the US, and buttress new process models of institutional decisionmaking that are both longitudinal and comparative.

Paper **Comparative Policy Entrepreneurship: The Case of Autism Related Policy in North America**
Dana L. Baker, *Washington State University*
Trudy Steuernagel, *Kent State University*
Overview: Explores how the structure of government and traditions of governance affect successful policy entrepreneurship by comparing the emergence of policy entrepreneurs surrounding autism in Canada and the United States.

Disc. **Lisa J. Dotterweich**, *Kent State University*

57-3 LEADERSHIP THEORY: INSIGHTS FROM POLITICAL THEORY AND LITERATURE
Room TBA, Sat 1:45 pm
Chair **Nathan W. Harter**, *Purdue University*
Paper **Leadership in the Change Process of Gramsci**
Nathan W. Harter, *Purdue University*
Overview: Gramsci described leadership roles in the social change process, with distinct functions in the forming of cadres to establish hegemony. His observations on the leadership of cadres have yet to become part of the mainstream literature on leadership.

Paper **Understanding Global Leadership: Insights from Vaclav Havel and Martha Nussbaum**
Heather McDougall, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
Overview: In his 2004 book, James MacGregor Burns calls for "global leadership." What is global leadership? Utilizing the works of Vaclav Havel and Martha Nussbaum, I argue that in order to be a leader in the global community, individuals need to recognize their responsibility to communities beyond the local or national level.

Paper **The Play's the Thing: Leadership, Literature, and 'maginative Understanding**
Michael Harvey, *Washington College*
Overview: Vivid stories, both ancient and modern, dramatize the problems that leaders and followers confront, helping students and scholars develop an imaginative understanding of the nature and circumstances of leadership.

Disc. **Thad M. Williamson**, *University of Richmond*

58-301 POSTER SESSION: UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH I

Presenter **The Historical Role of the International Court of Justice and the Need for Universal Compulsory Jurisdiction**
Room TBA, Board 10, Sat 1:45 pm
Adam S Moore, *Northern Kentucky University*
Overview: I will look at the historical role of the International Court of Justice and point out some prominent cases that illustrate both its successes and failures. Additionally, I will discuss the need for the ICJ to have universal compulsory jurisdiction.

Presenter **The Bush Doctrine and The American Quest for Global Hegemony**
Room TBA, Board 11, Sat 1:45 pm
Michael-Lee O Brockhouse, *Central Missouri State University*
Overview: A comparative analysis of the National Security Strategy of the United States of America, set fourth on September 20, 2002.

Presenter **Youth Turnout and Voting in Presidential Elections, 1972-2000**
Room TBA, Board 12, Sat 1:45 pm
Matthew B Incantalupo, *University of Miami*
Overview: This paper is an analysis of youth turnout and voting behavior in presidential elections following the Twenty-sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. It finds that much of the conventional wisdom surrounding youth voters is largely misguided.

Presenter **The Presidential Nomination Process and Distributive Politics: 1984 - 2000**
Room TBA, Board 13, Sat 1:45 pm
Micah Sucherman, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
Overview: In recent presidential nomination cycles, state parties have jockeyed for earlier positions in the primary and caucus calendar. This study seeks to determine if and to what degree this process has implications for the distribution of federal funds to states.

Presenter **A Comparative Study of Immigration in France and Germany**
Room TBA, Board 14, Sat 1:45 pm
Helen Huggins, *Valparaiso University*
Overview: Tensions towards immigrants, especially Muslims, in have become a top issue in recent months. Germany and France both have significant Muslim populations and face similar futures. Their paths to integration have been different, but the results have been increasingly similar.

Presenter **Hamilton and Madison: from Collaboration to Opposition**
Room TBA, Board 15, Sat 1:45 pm
Shannon L Burgess, *Northern Illinois University*
Overview: This paper examines the political positions of Alexander Hamilton and James Madison in the 1780s and 1790s. It explains how the two collaborated on the Constitution and Federalist Papers, but later became the leaders of opposing political parties.

Presenter **From Delgamuukw to Kaadan - Indigenous Communities, Nation-States and Law**
Room TBA, Board 16, Sat 1:45 pm
Valery Kisilevsky, *University of Toronto*
Overview: A comparative study combining the theories of Barzilai (2003) and Hirschl (2004) finds similarities in the legal and political status of Aboriginal Canadians and Israeli Arab-Palestinians, especially with regard to land resources access and control.

Presenter **The Determinants of Trade-Policy Preferences in Developing Countries: The Case of Malaysia**
Room TBA, Board 17, Sat 1:45 pm
Megan N Westrum, *University of Notre Dame*
Overview: This paper centers on an empirical test of the Ricardo-Viner and Stolper-Samuelson models in developing countries using Malaysia as a test case. The analysis uses the author's survey data complemented by personal interviews with Malaysian officials, academics, and business people.

- Presenter** **From Pittsburgh to Providence: Justice Kennedy, the Establishment Clause, and Judicial Behavior**
- Room** TBA, Board 18, Sat 1:45 pm
Timothy W. O'Brien, *College of the Holy Cross*
 Overview: This paper follows Justice Anthony Kennedy's evolving view of the Establishment Clause from ALLEGHENY v. ACLU to LEE v. WEISMAN using Harry Blackmun's papers to situate his change in the scholarly debate over the factors affecting judicial behavior.
- Presenter** **Variations in Rhetoric and Coverage: How American and English-Language Arab Newspapers Differ in their Presentation of the War on Terror**
- Room** TBA, Board 19, Sat 1:45 pm
Kevin F Adler, *Occidental College*
 Overview: By analyzing articles, consulting journalists, and studying their media institutions' fundamental disparities, this project sought to determine if (and how) the portrayal of the "War on Terror" differs between American and Arab-based newspapers.
- Presenter** **A Case Study Analysis of the Actions of Policy Entrepreneurs in the State Policy Process**
- Room** TBA, Board 20, Sat 1:45 pm
Emily M Farris, *Furman University*
 Overview: Agenda-setting theory has paid limited attention to external actors in the policy process. I build on previous work to develop a description of policy entrepreneurs' activities, with a case study analysis of the South Carolina Conservation Bank Act.
- Presenter** **PAC Contributions and Votes: A Case Study on the Energy Policy Act of 2005**
- Room** TBA, Board 21, Sat 1:45 pm
Jonathan E. Bettis, *Furman University*
 Overview: This study examines the relationship between campaign contribution receipts by oil PAC's during the previous election year and congressional support for the Energy Policy Act of 2005.
- Presenter** **The Effects of Residence on Voting Habits of College Students**
- Room** TBA, Board 22, Sat 1:45 pm
Andrew E Pate, *Vanderbilt University*
 Overview: This project investigates the effect of residency requirements on the voting of college students. I explore the potential for increased voting associated via new procedures allowing students to become permanent residents of their college towns.
- Presenter** **Post-Colonial Border and Maritime Dispute: Spain and Morocco**
- Room** TBA, Board 23, Sat 1:45 pm
Kara N Friel, *North Central College*
 Overview: This examines the relationship between Spain and Morocco in the context of an island dispute of Perejil/Leila in 2002. Since this case has gotten the most notable international attention and reached high intensity, it was used to identify patterns of interaction and progression of the conflict.
- Presenter** **The Myth of Consociationalism in South Africa? Examining ANC Hegemony**
- Room** TBA, Board 24, Sat 1:45 pm
Graeme D Blair, *Reed College*
 Overview: Observing the hegemony of the African National Congress in South Africa, the thesis tests intra-party alternatives to Lijphart's multi-party consociationalism to explain how the state has achieved social peace amidst ascriptive fragmentation.
- Presenter** **Peering Beyond Party: Examining Senate Votes on ANWR Drilling in 2005**
- Room** TBA, Board 25, Sat 1:45 pm
Lindsay J Miller, *Wellesley College*
 Overview: The US Senate considered allowing oil drilling in the Alaskan National Wildlife Refuge several times in 2005. This study analyzes potential influences faced by senators on this issue to examine the dynamics producing roll call vote outcomes.

Saturday, April 22 – 3:45 pm – 5:30 pm

1-101 ROUNDTABLE: REMAKING THE AMERICAN NATIONAL ELECTION STUDY: A NEW ERA BEGINS

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm

Panelist **Arthur Lupia**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Jon A. Krosnick, *Stanford University*

Brian Humes, *National Science Foundation*

Overview: In 2005, NSF funded a dynamic new ANES. It not only continues the presidential year study, it also adds panel and pilot studies and new ways to promote broad involvement in survey development. This roundtable examines the changes and their benefits.

2-13 STRATEGIC CHOICES AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm

Chair **Michael Harris**, *Ferris State University*

Paper Whose Your Daddy? Legitimacy, Regime Type, and the Duration of Leadership Tenure

Randall J. Blimes, *University of Colorado*

Overview: The primary purpose of this paper is to explain leadership duration as a function of the success a leader encounters following one or all of three different strategies designed to maintain office.

Paper Cabinet Reshuffles and Government Duration in Parliamentary Democracies

Hande Mutlu, *New York University*

Overview: I examine the link between cabinet reshuffles and cabinet duration. Using competing risks approach and data on 13 parliamentary democracies (1945-1987), I show that reallocation of portfolios-itself an indicator of instability- can lead to stability.

Paper Choosing Leaders in Federations

Kenneth W. Kollman, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Overview: The paper compares how leadership accession in federations is influenced by philosophies of government proposing centralization or devolution of power.

Paper Portfolio Allocation as Leadership Strategy in Japan

Yoshikuni Ono, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Overview: Constructing a formal model and drawing on data of factional affiliations in LDP cabinets between 1956 and 1991, I demonstrate that portfolio allocation is an instrument the prime minister uses to handle intra-party and inter-party pressures.

Disc. **Michael Harris**, *Ferris State University*

Bonnie N. Field, *Bentley College*

3-4 BOTTOM-UP, OUTSIDE-IN: CHALLENGING AND CHANGING THE CHINESE STATE (Co-sponsored with Asian Politics, see 8-15)

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm

Chair **Andrew C. Mertha**, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Paper Bottom-Up, Outside-In: Challenging and Changing the Chinese State

Andrew C. Mertha, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Yi Zhao, *MacAllister College*

Overview: TBA

Paper Popular Participation in Policy-Making and Policy Implementation in China

Martin K. Dimitrov, *Dartmouth College*

Overview: Scholars assume that there is no popular input in policy-making in single-party states. Empirically based on environmental protection in China, this paper shows that citizens do have a variety of means through which they can affect policy-making.

Paper Between Bureaucrats and Markets: China's Frustrating Involvement in Standards Wars

Scott Kennedy, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Overview: This paper investigates Chinese efforts to set unique technical standards in information technology. It finds that Chinese have had no success using standards as part of a protectionist strategy.

Paper Foreign Direct Investment and Politically Strong China

Maksym Kovalov, *University of Oklahoma*

Overview: This paper looks at how and where the Chinese government has acquired the capacities to operate as a market economy under centralized political control, given the high inflows of FDI into the Chinese economy.

Paper Policy Learning and China's Opening Strategy

Lawrence C. Reardon, *University of New Hampshire*

Overview: Having undergone a complex learning process that revealed the deficiencies of China's thirty-year inwardly-oriented development regime, Chinese elites incrementally learned to implement an outwardly-oriented regime in the 1980s.

Disc. **Yi Zhao**, *MacAlester College*

3-5 POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND DEMANDS IN ETHNIC AUTONOMY MOVEMENTS

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm

Chair **Mary E. Breeding**, *American University, SPA*

Paper Responses to Demands for Autonomy: Cultural Autonomy, Carvation, Secession

Tavishi Bhasin, *Emory University*

Amy H. Liu, *Emory University*

Overview: Using game theory, we show that the concessions granted by the central government to demands for greater autonomy depend on discount rates, expected electoral gains, economic clout, and ethnic heterogeneity. We test the hypotheses on multiple cases.

Paper The Dynamic Declines of the JVP's Waves of Contention in Sri Lanka

Brent D. Hierman, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Overview: This paper utilizes social mobilization literature to explore factors that caused two insurgent waves launched by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna against the Ceylonese/Sri Lankan state to crest from an initial upsurge and begin a downward trajectory.

Paper Question of Identity of Enclave People Between India and Bangladesh

Pahi Saikia, *McGill University*

Overview: I examine the construction of a shared enclave identity of the people in the enclaves between India and Bangladesh and what impact if any, does it have on the dilemmas of their citizenship? How can one possibly find a way out of this situation?

Paper Pragmatic Ideologues: The Conflict of Strategic and Normative Interests in the Promotion of Democracy in Post-Civil-War States

Madhav R. Joshi, *University of North Texas*

Overview: Promotion of democracy in the post-civil-war state is dominant research agenda in political science right now. It has been presumed that the democratic countries are more likely to support democracy in post-civil-war state if involved in the conflict.

Disc. **Jennifer Gandhi**, *Emory University*

4-5 ENHANCING TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE AND THE RULE OF LAW

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm

Chair **Katy Crossley-Frolick**, *DePaul University*

Paper Fragile Judicial Independence in Latin America: A Decade After Reform

Silvia Inclan, *UNAM*

Overview: This paper examines the effects of elections and divided governments on executives' incentives for judicial independence by looking at the Argentinean, Peruvian,

	Ecuadorian and Mexican experiences with recent judicial reforms.				
Paper	<u>Anticipating the Consequences of Court Rulings: The Politics of Presidential Decrees in Chile</u> Druscilla Scribner , <i>University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh</i> Overview: This paper explains how and why the Chilean Constitutional Tribunal's interpretation of presidential power has an important "anticipated" effect on presidential use of various types of decree power available in the Chilean political system.		Paper	<u>Dynamic Representation in Western European Party Systems</u> James F. Adams , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Andrea Haupt , <i>University of California, Santa Barbara</i> Heather Stoll , <i>University of California, Santa Barbara</i> Overview: We explore the linkages between public opinion shifts and parties' policy shifts in Western Europe.	
Paper	<u>The Integration of East German Police in Post-Unified Germany: A Comparison of Berlin and Brandenburg</u> Katy Crossley-Frolick , <i>DePaul University</i> Overview: As one method of transitional justice, the paper discusses the processes and results of vetting former East German police officers in Berlin and Brandenburg.		Paper	<u>Valence Issue and Parties' Policy Dynamics</u> Michael Clark , <i>University of California, Santa Barbara</i> Overview: I investigate whether parties adjust their policy programmes in response to changes in their reputations for competence, unity, and integrity.	
Paper	<u>Revisiting Transitional Justice: Latin America and Beyond</u> David Backer , <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: This paper examines the puzzle of why certain countries alter the mode of accountability for past human rights violations that was adopted following the transition to democracy, evaluating a range of factors in an analysis of 14 Latin American cases.		Paper	<u>Testing the Left-Right Dimensionality of the Party Manifesto Data</u> Erica E. Edwards , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Ryan Bakker , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Catherine Netjes , <i>Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam</i> Overview: This paper investigates the cross-temporal and cross-national dynamics underlying party positioning by employing content analyses of parties' policy programmes.	
Paper	<u>The Democratizing Impact of Justice: the Chilean Paradigm</u> Mark Ensalaco , <i>University of Dayton</i> Overview: The Chilean experience demonstrates that pursuit of both truth (restorative justice) and criminal prosecutions (retributive justice) can contribute to the restoration of the rule of law, and democratic consolidation.		Paper	<u>Dynamic Distributional Representation</u> Lawrence Ezrow , <i>Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam</i> Overview: Does the diversity of policy choices on offer in a political system change in response to changes in the diversity of voters' policy preferences? The empirical analyses in this paper suggest the answer is yes.	
Disc.	Mark Massoud , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i>		Paper	<u>Are Changes in Factional Control the Source of Party Left-Right Volatility?</u> Michael D. McDonald , <i>Binghamton University</i> Overview: Investigation of whether party leadership changes are a necessary condition for substantial change in party policy position taking.	
4-16	<u>CONSOLIDATING GAINS IN AFRICAN DEMOCRACIES</u>		Disc.	Michael Laver , <i>New York University</i> Bonnie M. Meguid , <i>University of Rochester</i>	
Room	TBA, Sat 3:45 pm				
Chair	David H. Carwell , <i>Eastern Illinois University</i>		5-20	<u>THE IMPACT OF PUBLIC OPINION IN EUROPE AND THE EU</u>	
Paper	<u>Democratic Transitions and Stability in Africa: Role of Political Ethnicity</u> Raphael O. Ogom , <i>DePaul University</i> Overview: The early 1990s marked a period of democratic transitions in Africa. However, many of these failed to consolidate. We argue that this failure lies in the issue of political ethnicity and its dysfunctional manipulation by the African political elite.		Room	TBA, Sat 3:45 pm	
Paper	<u>Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa: Progress and Retreat</u> Chris Lee , <i>University of Minnesota, Morris</i> Overview: This is a paper that examines trends in African Political Development over the last thirty years and looks closely at several cases where democratization seems to be succeeding and others where it has clearly failed.		Chair	Francesca Vassallo , <i>University of Southern Maine</i>	
Paper	<u>Political Reconciliation and Democratic Contestation in South Africa: Evaluating the Role of Opposition Parties Since 1994</u> Matt Murphy , <i>Reed College</i> Graeme Blair , <i>Reed College</i> Overview: Using data from federal and provincial elections, parliamentary votes, committee participation, and debates, we look for evidence of political reconciliation between opposition parties and the dominant ANC in South Africa.		Paper	<u>Public Support or Trust: Do Europeans Make the Differentiation?</u> Tracy S. Harbin , <i>Syracuse University</i> Overview: This paper is designed to test if Europeans respond differently to questions of "public support" and "trust." The goal is to understand if we can speak about trust in a meaningful way that is different from the studies on public support.	
Disc.	TBA		Paper	<u>Conditional Effect of Public Opinion on Party Positions in Europe</u> Hanbeom Jeong , <i>University of Kentucky</i> Satoshi Machida , <i>University of Kentucky</i> Overview: This study examines the link between parties and the public in the context of European integration. We argue that party reactions to the public depend on the type of parties. We systematically test this hypothesis by using 2SLS.	
5-14	<u>PARTIES' POLICY DYNAMICS IN WESTERN EUROPE (Co-Sponsored with Comparative Politics-Industrialized Countries, see 2-19)</u>		Paper	<u>Does Immigrant Groups Influence Public Attitudes On Immigration in Europe?</u> Jason E. Kehrberg , <i>University of Kentucky</i> Overview: This study examines the public attitudes on immigration across six different categories of immigration finding differences.	
Room	TBA, Sat 3:45 pm		Paper	<u>Culture, Benefits and Elite Cues: Attitudes Toward Turkey's EU Membership</u> Dale L. Smith , <i>Florida State University</i> Sabri Ciftci , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: This paper argues that individual support for Turkey's EU membership is a function of both economic and cultural factors conditional on the degree of Euroskepticism and divisiveness of national elites.	
Chair	Bonnie M. Meguid , <i>University of Rochester</i>				

Paper	<p><u>It's Not the Economy Stupid! EU Citizens' Attitudes Towards Turkey</u> Basak Yavcan, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: The purpose of this paper is to reveal where European Union citizens' attitudes towards Turkey's membership come from. A new theory incorporating the effects of identity is generated and tested against utilitarian approaches of preference formation.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Political Economy of Banking Reforms in Indonesia, Korea, and Thailand</u> Sawa Omori, <i>University of Tokyo</i> Overview: This paper examines what makes the pace and the degree of banking reforms vary in Indonesia, Korea, and Thailand. Not only the IMF's influence but also the number of veto players matter in explaining banking reforms in these three countries.</p>
Disc.	<p>Francesca Vassallo, <i>University of Southern Maine</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Global Finance, Neoliberal Economic Reform, and the State: The Case of Japan</u> Takaaki Suzuki, <i>Ohio University</i> Overview: This paper demonstrates how and why the rise of global finance in Japan since the early 1990s has expanded, rather than eroded, the role of the state in the issue area of fiscal and financial policy.</p>
7-10	<p><u>THE OUTCOMES AND EFFECTS OF SUBNATIONAL ELECTIONS IN LATIN AMERICA</u></p>	Disc.	<p>Kam C. Wong, <i>University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh</i></p>
Room	<p>TBA, Sat 3:45 pm</p>	9-2	<p><u>POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND SUB-NATIONAL LOYALTIES IN AFRICA</u></p>
Chair	<p>Christopher Diaz, <i>Morehead State University</i></p>	Room	<p>TBA, Sat 3:45 pm</p>
Paper	<p><u>How Mexico's Municipal Usos y Costumbres Regimes Affect Federal Elections</u> Allyson L. Benton, <i>CIDE</i> Overview: This paper investigates how systems of local governance in Mexico affect electoral behavior in state and federal contests.</p>	Chair	<p>Agber Dimah, <i>Chicago State University</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Determinants of Voting Behavior in Mexico's Sub-National Politics</u> Ricardo H. Cavazos-Cepeda, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Mexico's democratization process evolved rapidly. The objective of this paper is to investigate the existence of punishment voting based on state level politics in Mexico.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The 'Re-traditionalization' of Ethnicity in Post-Colonial Africa</u> Jean G. Tompihe, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This study asks why do ethnicities reinforce and become politically salient. It argues that the plausible explanation for re-traditionalization of ethnicities results from the lethal combination of institutional legacies of inequity, and the intention</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Evolution of Partisan Competition in the Mexican States Between 1970 and 2005: Origins and Consequences</u> Mark P. Jones, <i>Rice University</i> Paloma Bauer de la Isla, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: We examine the evolution of partisan competition at the state level in Mexico since 1970. To do so we employ modified versions of the Ranney and Holbrook-Van Dunk indices that have been used to examine partisan competition in the U.S.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Regime Type and Political Competition in Africa</u> Athanassios Roussias, <i>Yale University</i> Charalampos Mylonas, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: We extend previous analyses of party politics in Sub-Saharan Africa and show that recent findings have been incorrect. We show that the interaction of standard variables predicts the number of parties only for democratically held elections.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Clashing Incentives: the Provincialization of Electoral Politics in Argentina</u> Julietta Suarez-Cao, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: Despite a constitutional reform that encourages the nationalization of politics, Argentine electoral politics are increasingly tied to the local arenas. The paper argues that this should be understood as an unintended by-product of economic reforms.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Electoral Systems and Ethnicity in Africans' Political Participation</u> Wonbin Cho, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: Using Afrobarometer survey data set with information on political institutions from 18 Sub-Saharan African countries, I want to explore variance in political participation across ethnic groups.</p>
Disc.	<p>Christopher Diaz, <i>Morehead State University</i> Tulia G. Falleti, <i>University of Pennsylvania</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>The New Challenge of Classifying Africa's Post-Authoritarian Regimes</u> Fodei J. Batty, <i>Western Michigan University</i> Overview: The paper draws attention to problematic regimes in Sub-Saharan Africa. Previous classification criteria fail to capture the real nature these regimes, which have flourished since Western donors set democracy as a precondition for receiving aid.</p>
8-12	<p><u>TOPICS IN ASIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY</u></p>	Disc.	<p>Carl LeVan, <i>University of California, San Diego</i></p>
Room	<p>TBA, Sat 3:45 pm</p>	11-11	<p><u>REALISM'S ANCIENT ROOTS AND MODERN RELEVANCE</u></p>
Chair	<p>Kam C. Wong, <i>University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh</i></p>	Room	<p>TBA, Sat 3:45 pm</p>
Paper	<p><u>CCP's Cooptation Strategy and the Chinese Private Sector</u> Jing Tong, <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i> Overview: The paper examines the relation between the Chinese private sector and the government by looking into the variation of CCP's cooptation strategy and how the size of private enterprises significantly influences their relationship with the government.</p>	Chair	<p>Zaryab Iqbal, <i>University of South Carolina</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Politics of Financial and Corporate Restructuring in South Korea</u> Heon Joo Jung, <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> Overview: This research examines the role of financial regulatory reform in corporate restructuring in South Korea since the 1997 financial crisis.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Sophists, Thucydides, and Realism in International Politics</u> Thomas J. Johnson, <i>University of Akron Wayne College</i> Overview: This is a reevaluation of the place that Thucydides holds in the realist canon in international politics, based on a reading of how the ideas of the sophists of Athens influenced his "History", and thus all subsequent realist scholarship.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Political and Social Role of Business Groups (Business Associations) in the Democratization of China</u> Siu Fung Nerisa Chan, <i>University of Newcastle upon Tyne</i> Overview: Despite the rapid economic growth of China in recent decades, there have been no significant political change.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Could War Become Obsolete? An Examination of the Classical Understanding of War</u> Angela D. Dworin, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This paper will examine the writings of Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle on the subject of war and its causes, and then ask whether their insights will illuminate the contemporary question of whether it is possible for war to become obsolete.</p>

Paper	<p><u>Where Has the Old Debate Gone? Realism, Institutionalism and IR Theory</u> Rafael Grasa, <i>Autonomous University of Barcelona</i> Oriol Costa, <i>Autonomous University of Barcelona</i> Overview: This paper sustains that the neorealism-neoinstitutionalism debate is not the main reference in IR theoretical arguments any more, it intends to explain why, and it tries to suggest which may be the next querelle to pay attention to.</p>	<p>why election observation spread, and present empirical evidence to support my argument from an original dataset of elections from 1960-2004.</p>
Paper	<p><u>NATO's Transformation and its Implications for IR Theory</u> Ivan D. Ivanov, <i>University of Cincinnati</i> Richard J. Harknett, <i>University of Cincinnati</i> Overview: This paper examines the relationship between the security communities and John Mearsheimer's offensive realist contribution toward understanding unipolarity through a study of NATO.</p>	<p><u>How a President Decides to Use Unilateral Force: A Poliheuristic Explanation</u> Bradley F. Podliska, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Using poliheuristic theory, this paper examines the sequence of decisions a president faces in a crisis, explaining how a president first decides to use force, and then how he makes a second decision to use unilateral or multilateral force.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Inferring Intention from the Choice of Sides: The Decision to Balance</u> Robert F. Trager, <i>Oxford University</i> Overview: Third parties involve themselves in conflicts either to gain from conquest or to exert greater influence on the post-war settlement. States bandwagon rather than balance, except when the behavior of the more powerful side indicates hostile intention.</p>	<p><u>Executive Agreement Stasis: Implications in Determining President's Evasion</u> Randall D. Smith, <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i> Overview: This paper offers an examination of the most complete detailed dataset of American international agreements since World War II. I test the hypothesis that the number of sole executive agreements conducted during this time period has remained static.</p>
Disc.	<p>Ann Wyman, <i>Missouri Southern State University</i></p>	<p><u>News Coverage of Use of Force Events and the Rally 'Round the Flag Effect</u> Wayne P. Steger, <i>DePaul University</i> Matt Wolski, <i>DePaul University</i> Overview: This study contends that the effect of a "use of force event" on public opinion depends on the volume of news coverage given to the event by the news media.</p>
12-12	<p><u>POLITICAL RISK AND FINANCIAL MARKETS</u> TBA, Sat 3:45 pm Andrew Appleton, <i>Washington State University</i> <u>Pork Bellies and War Futures: Making the Case for Market Signals</u> Jason Brozek, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: If war depresses trade, financial markets will anticipate and signal this relationship. In this paper, I use high-frequency market data and daily events data to examine the short-term relationship between interstate conflict and market activity.</p>	<p><u>An Emerging Civil Society in China</u> Sung-Ho Kim, <i>Ohio University</i> Michael B. Cunningham, <i>Ohio University</i> Overview: An examination of a rising civil society and its implications for the domestic regime and the external relations of China.</p>
Room		
Chair		
Paper	<p><u>Democracy and Financial Markets - When Voters and Investors Disagree</u> Daniella Campello, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper studies 35 countries along 25 years in order to investigate the reaction of financial markets to national elections and whether this reaction is associated to the partisanship of the likely winner of the contest.</p>	<p><u>Is War Rational? The Extent of Miscalculation and Misperception as Causes of War</u> Dan Lindley, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: Is war a rational pursuit? Pre-1900, war initiators won 73% of wars. Since 1945, the win rate is 33%. Assuming that states initiate wars planning to win, war's utility is declining. Miscalculation and misperception now dominate decisions for war.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Partisan Politics, Credibility, and Government Bond Markets</u> Hye Jee Cho, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: Leftist governments may send negative messages to investors because of their partisan policies and party label. Investors may be willing to invest in left governments over center/right governments if leftist governments provide policy certainty.</p>	<p><u>Polarity and War: Simulating Power Concentration in Virtual World Politics</u> Byoung W. Min, <i>Seoul National University of Technology</i> Overview: A computer simulation is conducted to test two theoretical themes on the frequency of war regarding its relationships with polarity and power concentration.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Are There Institutional Determinants of FDI?</u> Rumel S. Mahmood, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Dan O'Neill, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Long Chen, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: The literature has found that democracies attract more FDI. We look at the more nuanced aspects of a democracy involved in attracting or discouraging FDI flows. We use panel corrected standard errors. Some of our findings are counter intuitive.</p>	<p><u>The Snowballing Effect of Concessions: When Present Deals Affect Future Outcomes</u> Thomas Chadeaux, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: Concessions made today affect future bargaining power. In a three-player context, war can be rational even under complete information if one of the parties expects its losses over time to be high.</p>
Disc.	<p>Jude C. Hays, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i></p>	<p><u>The Diffusion of Military Power, Power Balances, and War</u> Michael Horowitz, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This paper studies the diffusion of military power in the international system, using time-series and survival analysis to examine potential factors that may drive the rate and extent of diffusion for major military innovations.</p>
13-12	<p><u>DOMESTIC POLITICAL APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ISSUES</u> TBA, Sat 3:45 pm Glenn P. Hastedt, <i>James Madison University</i> <u>Observing Norms: Explaining Internationally Monitored Elections</u> Susan D. Hyde, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: Why do incumbent leaders invite international observers and then commit blatant electoral fraud? I explain</p>	<p><u>Michelle Kuenzi</u>, <i>University of Nevada, Las Vegas</i> Carmela Lutmar, <i>Princeton University</i></p>
Room		
Chair		
Paper		

15-10 **DEMOCRACY, EQUALITY, AND PEACE**

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm

Chair **Kelly M. Kadera**, *University of Iowa*

Paper **Re-examining the Feminist Peace**

Kristen Flanagan, *University of Pittsburgh*

Overview: This paper examines the assumption that gender egalitarian states fight less than non-gender egalitarian ones. Utilizing survey data and an examination of dyadic MIDs, I demonstrate that who a state fights matters.

Paper **Democratic Theory Confronts IR: The Challenges of Democracy as a Variable**

Bernadette M. E. Jungblut, *University of Central Florida*

M. Shawn Reichert, *University of Central Florida*

Overview: Democracy is increasingly a key variable in international relations research. This paper applies the complexities of comparative discussions of democracy and democratization to questions of interest to IR scholars.

Paper **Evaluating the Monadic Democratic Peace**

Stephen Quackenbush, *University of Missouri*

Michael Rudy, *University of Missouri*

Overview: Although most have focused on the dyadic democratic peace, some have argued that democracies are peaceful in general, not just in their relations with one another. We examine support for the claim that the democratic peace is a monadic phenomenon.

Paper **Everyone Out of the Pool! Remodeling the Democratic Peace**

Michael D. Ward, *University of Washington*

Randolph M. Siverson, *University of California, Davis*

Cao Xun, *University of Washington*

Overview: A model is developed to incorporate dependencies among countries, yielding far better statistical and predictive results than the standard approach used to study the democratic peace.

Disc. **Megan Shannon**, *University of Mississippi*

17-10 **NGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS**

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm

Chair **Thomas D. Zweifel**, *Columbia University*

Paper **Where to Help: An Analysis of NGO Response to Humanitarian Crises**

Jennifer J. White, *University of Georgia*

Sarah D. Darville, *University of Georgia*

Overview: Our research sheds new light on NGO decision-making, revealing that NGOs are not only influenced by functionalist, needs-based ideals, but also by realist considerations, and that their claims of independence and neutrality have become jeopardized.

Paper **Partners, Partisans, Peacemakers: International Faith-Based Organizations**

Michael D. McGinnis, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Overview: This paper extends policy evaluation research on domestic FBOs in US policy areas to examine the unique contributions of international FBOs to global policy on humanitarian aid, development, peacemaking and post-conflict reconciliation.

Paper **The First NGO: ICRC Neutral Humanitarian Aid in a Conflict Environment**

Celia J. Wintz, *Houston Community College System*

Overview: This paper is an examination of the original purpose of the ICRC and its initial multinational structure and present evolution. A contemporary example of ICRC behavior will provide an example of its' conceptualization of neutral humanitarian aid.

Paper **NGO in Indonesian Disaster Relief: Aceh and West Timor**

Mefi R. Hermawanti, *University of Hawaii*

Overview: In Indonesia, NGOs are controversial. Recent natural and man-made disasters showcased, the romantic "anti-state" NGO. The tsunami, demonstrated the growing influence of NGOs on the globalization process. What kind of influence do the NGOs wield?

Disc. **D. Christopher Brooks**, *St. Olaf College*

Thomas D. Zweifel, *Columbia University*

18-13 **RACIAL STEREOTYPES AND FEELINGS TOWARD OUTGROUPS**

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm

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

Paper **Ideological Evaluations of Black Conservative Candidates**

Philip Paolino, *University of North Texas*

Overview: The paper examines the effect of racial stereotypes upon the process by which voters evaluate candidates' policy preferences.

Paper **Points for Subtlety: Influencing Voter Perceptions with Background Imagery**

Nathaniel Swigger, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Overview: Implicit imagery serves a powerful purpose in campaign advertising. In an experimental setting, I find that the presence of blacks in campaign ads serves as a heuristic cue for voters, altering their perceptions of the candidate on racial issues.

Paper **Anti-Detroit Ads in Michigan Electoral Politics: A Case of Racial Appeals?**

Ewa A. Golebiowska, *Wayne State University*

Overview: Based on a statewide experimental survey, I extend the study of implicit racial communications by focusing on the impact of anti-Detroit ads in Michigan electoral politics.

Paper **The Measurement and Meaning of Anti-Americanism**

John M. Sides, *George Washington University*

Zachary S. Elkins, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Overview: This paper describes the structure and sources of anti-American attitudes cross-nationally, in particular whether it is US foreign policy, aspects of US society, or individual frustration that motivates such antipathy.

Disc. **Christopher M. Federico**, *University of Minnesota*

19-7 **ELECTRONIC VOTING SYSTEMS**

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm

Chair **Jerrold Rusk**, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

Paper **Measuring the Effect of Voting Technology on Residual Votes**

Delia Grigg Bailey, *California Institute of Technology*

Overview: Using data from the 1988-2004 presidential elections, this paper estimates the effect of voting technology on residual votes using difference-in-differences, fixed effects regression models and a propensity score matching method.

Paper **Usability of Electronic Voting Systems: Field and Laboratory Experiments**

Frederick Conrad, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Emilia Peytcheva, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Michael Traugott, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Brian Lewis, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Paul Herrnson, *University of Maryland*

Benjamin Bederson, *University of Maryland*

Overview: We explore the usability of six electronic voting machines in a lab setting. Voter accuracy-based on video recordings-is well below 100% and varies across machines, as does voting time. The more actions required, the lower voters' satisfaction.

Paper **Voter Errors in Electronic Voting: Voting Systems, Ballot Type, and Voter Traits**
Paul S. Herrnson, *University of Maryland*
Richard G. Niemi, *University of Rochester*
Michael J. Hanmer, *Georgetown University*
Benjamin B. Bederson, *University of Maryland*
Frederick Conrad, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Michael Traugott, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: We report on a field experiment studying whether voters cast votes as intended. Significant variations in accuracy occurred when the task was complex, as when a vote change was required. Ballot format and voter demographics also impacted accuracy.

Paper **From Punchcards to Touchscreens: Some Evidence from Pasco County, Florida, on the Effects of Changing Voting Technology**
Michael C. Herron, *Dartmouth College*
Jeffrey Lewis, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: TBA

Paper **Voters' Abilities to Cast Write-In Votes Using Electronic Voting Systems**
Richard G. Niemi, *University of Rochester*
Paul S. Herrnson, *University of Maryland*
Benjamin B. Bederson, *University of Maryland*
Frederick Conrad, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Michael Traugott, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: Using field and lab-based experiments, we evaluate voters' ability to cast a write-in on six electronic voting systems. The success rate was about 90%. With paper ballots, voters often fail to fill in the oval; their votes would not be counted.

Disc. **Thad E. Hall**, *University of Utah*
Geralyn M. Miller, *Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne*

20-5 **CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING DYNAMICS**
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair **J. Tobin Grant**, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
Paper **Campaign Advertising Impact on Recall and Recognition of Candidates**
David M. Greenwald, *University of California, Davis*
 Overview: This paper looks at the effect of campaign advertising on the ability of voters to recall candidate names in the 2000 U.S. Senate races. The effect of campaign advertising will vary depending on the political sophistication of the individual voter.

Paper **Campaigns in a New Media Age: How Candidates Use the World Wide Web**
James N. Druckman, *Northwestern University*
Martin Kifer, *University of Minnesota*
Michael Parkin, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: We test theories of campaigns and information processing with data from over 450 candidate websites and two election cycles (2002, 2004).

Paper **Advertising and Strategy in the 2004 Presidential Campaign**
Michael G. Hagen, *Temple University*
 Overview: This paper explores the tailoring and targeting of advertising by the presidential campaigns, and by the other groups that sponsored advertising bearing on the campaign, in 2004. The analysis addresses the deployment of both rhetoric and funds.

Paper **Negative Campaigning and the Political Environment: An Analysis of Presidential General Election Rhetoric, 1900-2004**
Robert P. Amyot, *Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville*
 Overview: An analysis of the role of various factors in a campaign's decision to attack an opponent. These factors include incumbency, poll position, and timing, as well as environmental effects: changes in technology, public trust, and elite attitudes.

Disc. **Daniel P. Stevens**, *Hartwick College*

21-6 **PARTIES AND ELECTORAL SYSTEMS**
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair **Neal G. Jesse**, *Bowling Green State University*
Paper **The Number of Parties: Why Age Matters**
Ekaterina R. Rashkova, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: This paper examines the relationship between the age of democracy and the number of parties. The findings provide evidence for the hypothesis, and show that there is a learning effect that we have ignored so far.

Paper **Electoral Systems in Context: The Latin American Case**
Matthias Caton, *University of Heidelberg*
 Overview: This paper analyzes the influence of different parliamentary electoral system types on party systems in Latin America in the light of specific contexts, such as cleavages and historical experiences with democracy or the breakdown of democracy.

Paper **The Impact of Electoral Systems on Change of Parties and Party Systems**
Javier Vazquez, *University of Pittsburgh*
Scott J. Morgenstern, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: Instead of examining the misleading notion of party development, we define and analyze different aspects of party change. We find the weight of the electoral system relative to other factors is sometimes significant but not always substantial.

Paper **Electoral Systems and Gender Quotas**
Richard E. Matland, *University of Houston*
 Overview: This paper examines electoral systems and gender quotas.

Disc. **Alberto Simpser**, *Princeton University*

22-101 **ROUNDTABLE: INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION AND THE STUDY OF FOREIGN POLICY (Co-sponsored with Foreign Policy, see 16-101)**
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair **Peter A. Furia**, *Wake Forest University*
Panelist **Richard Sobel**, *Harvard University*
Andy Katz, *Denison University*
Russell Lucas, *University of Oklahoma*
Chris Whitney, *Chicago Council on Foreign Relations*
 Overview: This roundtable gathers five experts with a diverse set of ideas about how, if at all, cross-national opinion studies inform our understanding of comparative foreign policy behavior.

22-207 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE POLITICAL GENDER GAP IN AFRICA: SIMILAR ATTITUDES, DIFFERENT BEHAVIORS**
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Presenter **The Political Gender Gap in Africa: Similar Attitudes, Different Behaviors**
Carolyn Logan, *Michigan State University*
Michael Bratton, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: The analysis uses public opinion data gathered by the Afrobarometer in 15 African countries in 2002-03 to analyze gender gaps in regime preferences, policy preferences, performance evaluations, and especially, political behavior.

22-208 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE INFLUENCE OF ELITES ON PUBLIC OPINION**
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Presenter **Political Elites, Social Groups, and Mass Opinion of Public Policies**
Stacey L. Pelika, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: The paper uses a series of mixed-method case studies to investigate how political elites attempt to influence which social-group cues are present in a policy debate in order to maximize public support for their desired outcomes.

Presenter **Polarization, Public Opinion, and Political Change**
Erika Franklin Fowler, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: Few studies of mass-elite linkage focus explicitly on how elite actions filter down to public consciousness. This paper argues that media messages about polarization provide the fundamental causal link between elite and mass decline and resurgence.

23-3 **SOCIAL NORMS, MOBILIZATION, AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair **Sean E. Richey**, *Pace University*
Paper **Political Cleavages and Participatory Democracy in India**
Ramya Padmanabhan, *Marquette University*
 Overview: This paper examines the entry of erstwhile rulers into the Indian political system and its impact on the institutionalization of participatory Democracy in India.
Paper **Theory and Evidence on the Role of Social Norms in Voting**
Patricia Funk, *Stockholm School of Economics*
 Overview: The introduction of optional mail voting reduced turnout in small communities. I explain this at a first glance puzzling result with social pressure to appear at the polls, which was removed by this modern voting tool.
Disc. **Sean E. Richey**, *Pace University*

24-17 **SOCIAL NETWORKS AND THEIR AGENDAS**

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair **Juliet A. Musso**, *University of Southern California*
Paper **Cross Talk? The Role of Neighborhood Associations in Political discourse**
Juliet A. Musso, *University of Southern California*
Christopher Weare, *University of Southern California*
Kyu-Nahm Jun, *University of Southern California*
 Overview: Social network analysis is employed to assess discourse between neighborhood group members who are diverse demographically and with respect to substantive interest (homeowners, businesses, social services).
Paper **Network News or Social Networks? The Influence of Discussion Partners on Public Agendas**
Bas van Doorn, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: Drawing upon a variety of literatures, I investigate the effect of the composition of discussion networks on one commonly researched type of media effect: agenda-setting.
Paper **Interest Groups, Advertorials, and the Public Agenda**
Garrett Glasgow, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
Stephen Weatherford, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
 Overview: We examine the relationship between "advertorials" in the New York Times (advertisements on the op-ed page, paid for by organized interests) and other measures of the public agenda, such as Congressional hearings.
Disc. **Stephen C. Brooks**, *University of Akron*

24-203 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: MEDIA EFFECTS ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH**

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Presenter **Young Voter Response to Political Ads**
Elizabeth E. Geske, *Iowa State University*
Daniela Dimitrova, *Iowa State University*
 Overview: This study showed political ads to young voters and captured their responses toward the candidate. The effect of political affiliation as well as differences between positive and negative ads were measured.

Presenter **Post-9/11 Elections: Media Habits that Could Better Serve Young Voters**
Karon R. Speckman, *Truman State University*
 Overview: Expanding on Tocqueville and Bellah et al's habits of the heart, this paper argues that Wallace's basic habits of oral communication developed in the McCarthy era can be applied to improving media coverage of post-9/11 elections for young voters.

25-11 **GENDERED BEHAVIOR IN LEGISLATIVE INSTITUTIONS (Co-sponsored with Legislative Politics: Institutions, see 34-22)**

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair **Cindy Simon Rosenthal**, *University of Oklahoma*
Paper **Decision Making in Gendered Groups**
Rebecca J. Hannagan, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*
Kevin B. Smith, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*
 Overview: We use laboratory experiments to test whether the gender composition of a group makes a difference in decision making. We test the hypothesis that all female groups will render different decisions than all male or mixed sex groups.
Paper **The Substantive Representation of Women: Rethinking the 'Critical Mass' Debate**
Mona Lena Krook, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: Scholars often employ and criticize the concept of 'critical mass' in studies of women's legislative behavior. We offer two means for rethinking this debate that draw on more than twenty years of research on women's substantive representation.
Paper **Providing for the Common Defense: An Analysis of Gender Differences in Defense Policy Participation**
Michele Swers, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Post-9/11, women are viewed as disadvantaged in an electoral environment that emphasizes national security. I analyze amendments and floor debate on the annual Senate defense authorization to test popular assumptions about women's policy expertise.
Paper **The Gender Gap in State Legislative Voting Behaviors**
Eun-Hye (Grace) Lee, *Northern Illinois University*
 Overview: Female legislators are known for taking more liberal sides when voting, how would this affect the women's issues being represented? Can female voters expect that the female legislators are better at representing their gender-related issues?
Disc. **Cindy Simon Rosenthal**, *University of Oklahoma*

25-203 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: EVOLUTION AND ENDURANCE OF ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN**

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Presenter **Modern Sexism and Old-Fashioned Sexism**
Sasha Fay Miller, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: The 2004 NES includes questions that tap both modern sexism and old-fashioned sexism. This paper will explore the differences between these two measures with a concentration on how the gender of the interviewer may complicate the relationship.
Presenter **Dynamic Meaning of Being a Woman: Changes in Aggregate Social Identity**
Heather E. Ondercin, *Pennsylvania State University*
 Overview: I measure progressiveness of societal views towards women from 1953-2003, one measure of aggregate social identity. I explain change in aggregate social identity as a function of generational replacement, demographics and the economy.

25-204	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: WOLLSTONECRAFT AS THEORIST AND THEOLOGIAN</u>				
Room	TBA, Sat 3:45 pm				
Presenter	<u>Slavery which Chains the Very Soul of Woman: The Theology of Mary Wollstonecraft and the Birth of Modern Feminism</u> Sarah E. Spengeman, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: The focus of this paper is the theology of Mary Wollstonecraft as communicated through her early writings. I argue that Wollstonecraft's faith in God provides the essential foundation for her feminist philosophy and radical political ideas.				
26-11	<u>RACIALIZED MEDIA</u>				
Room	TBA, Sat 3:45 pm				
Chair	Stephen Maynard Caliendo, <i>North Central College</i>				
Paper	<u>Interviewing the Interviewers: Journalistic Norms and Racial Diversity in the Newsroom</u> Terri L. Towner, <i>Purdue University</i> Katsuo A. Nishikawa, <i>Purdue University</i> Rosalee A. Clawson, <i>Purdue University</i> Eric N. Waltenburg, <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: By conducting face-to-face interviews with African American and Latino journalists, we investigate the influence of journalistic norms and racial diversity on news coverage in mainstream newsrooms. We argue that journalistic norms shape the behavior				
Paper	<u>Color-Coded Coverage: The Racial Strategy Frame in Local Election Reporting</u> Matthew P. Taylor, <i>Mount St. Mary's University</i> Overview: This study measures use of the racial strategy frame in mayoral election coverage. Five variables are examined in this coverage: racial identifiers for the candidates, endorsements related to race, opinion polls, geography, and crowd descriptors.				
Paper	<u>Images of Latin American Immigrants in the Argentine Society: Analysis of Media Coverage of Immigration 1992- 1994</u> Julia Albarracin, <i>Western Illinois University</i> Overview: Using qualitative and quantitative methods, this paper explores the construction of an immigration crisis in Argentina by showing how immigrants from Southern Cone countries became associated with unemployment, crime, and most ills of the Argentine				
Paper	<u>Race, Sex and Violence: Lynching and the Politics of Pornography</u> Niambi M. Carter, <i>Duke University</i> Overview: Has played a fundamental role in America's racial project. Pornography borrows heavily from the images of black sexuality central to lynching narratives and reinscribe them with new meaning for yet another generation through interracial films.				
Disc.	Julie Webber, <i>Illinois State University</i>				
26-20	<u>RACIAL GROUPS IN AMERICAN POLITICS</u>				
Room	TBA, Sat 3:45 pm				
Chair	Sylvia Manzano, <i>St Mary's University</i>				
Paper	<u>The Quality of The Black Legislative Experience Within City Councils</u> Gregory G. Neddenriep, <i>No Affiliation</i> Overview: I rely on data generated by two nation-wide surveys (one of black city councilors and one of their white counterparts) to describe the quality of black legislative experience within city councils and to explain why the quality varies.				
Paper	<u>Spatial Profiling: To What Extent Do the Cleveland Police Department's Traffic Ticketing Patterns Target Blacks?</u> Ronnie A. Dunn, <i>Cleveland State University</i> Overview: This study analyzed the traffic ticketing patterns of the Cleveland Police Department by race, at the city, police precinct, and street level.				
Paper	<u>Does Assimilation Bring Resistance to Racial Preferences?</u> Mingying Fu, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper examines whether an adoption of American identity is associated with an acceptance of conservative racial attitudes, and explores determinants of Asians' racial attitudes associating with their immigration backgrounds.				
Paper	<u>The Impact of African-American Members on Congress</u> Charles Tien, <i>Hunter College/Graduate Center, CUNY</i> Dena Levy, <i>SUNY, Brockport</i> Overview: In this paper we approach the question of whether or not gains in descriptive representation for African Americans also result in losses in substantive representation from a different angle than previous research. We assess the long-term impact of el				
Disc.	Henry Flores, <i>St Mary's University</i>				
27-14	<u>THE NATURE AND PHENOMENON OF LAW</u>				
Room	TBA, Sat 3:45 pm				
Chair	Francis J. Carleton, III, <i>University of Wisconsin, Green Bay</i>				
Paper	<u>Natural Right and Acquisition in Grotius, Selden, and Hobbes</u> Jeffrey Edwards, <i>SUNY, Stony Brook</i> Overview: The paper examines the 1600s debate between Hugo Grotius and John Selden concerning the foundations of property law. It determines how this debate relates to modern natural-law conceptions of the normative basis of juridical and political obligation.				
Paper	<u>Order and Law</u> Elina Treyger, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This paper suggests that any defensible positivist conception of law-based order requires a foundation in something close to natural law, and elaborates and defends one such conception.				
Paper	<u>The Phenomenon of Law</u> Stanley C. Brubaker, <i>Colgate University</i> Overview: In The Concept of Law, H.L.A. Hart endeavors, but fails, to preserve the phenomenon of law by viewing it from the "internal" perspective. Only the perspective of the "citizen," joining jurisprudence with political theory, can preserve the phenomenon.				
Paper	<u>Commodifying Environmentalism and the New Counter- Movement</u> Brian D. Solis, <i>University of Maryland</i> Overview: Links the commodification of sustainability to natural law and articulates the new counter-movement that develops in reaction to this commodification				
Disc.	Frank Lovett, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Francis J. Carleton, <i>University of Wisconsin, Green Bay</i>				
27-24	<u>MODERN THINKERS IN ACTION</u>				
Room	TBA, Sat 3:45 pm				
Chair	Peter McNamara, <i>Utah State University</i>				
Paper	<u>The Theorist as Architect: John Locke and the Carolina Constitution</u> Scott C. Pandich, <i>St. Lawrence University</i> Overview: An examination of John Locke's work on the constitution of the Carolina colony.				
Paper	<u>The Rights of Confederate States: Montesquieu and the Civil War Reality</u> Halima K. Khan, <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: Taking lead from the perceived paucity of philosophical discussion on the issue of secession this paper will attempt to show that the U.S. Civil War was at once both legitimate and illegitimate when examined in light of Montesquieu's writings.				
Paper	<u>Montesquieu on Power: Lessons for Today</u> Peter M. Levine, <i>National-Louis University</i> Overview: Consistent with Montesquieu's constitutional theory that power exercised by governments should be limited, states should seek to limit their exercise of power in international affairs through a variety of different mechanisms.				

Paper **John S. Mill and Alexis de Tocqueville Capitalism and the Problem of Poverty**
Sharon Vaughan, *Morehouse College*
Fateen Bullock, *Morehouse College*
 Overview: Mill and Tocqueville were deeply concerned about poverty and both wrote provocative pieces that illustrate their struggles to understand its causes in a rich and industrious country such as England. This paper explores their beliefs about the causes,
Disc. **Peter McNamara**, *Utah State University*
Ross J. Corbett, *Brown University*

27-101 ROUNDTABLE: HARVEY MANSFIELD'S BOOK MANLINESS

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair **Robert C. Bartlett**, *Emory University*
Panelist **Harvey C. Mansfield**, *Harvard University*
Arlene Saxonhouse, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Stephen Salkever, *Bryn Mawr College*
Leon Craig, *University of Alberta*
Susan Shell, *Boston College*
 Overview: A roundtable on Harvey Mansfield's provocative new book, *Manliness*, which offers the first comprehensive study of the quality of manliness and a defense of manliness in our "gender-neutral society."

28-13 MARX AND HEGEL ON ANIMALS, UMANS, AND AGENCY

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair **Mark S. Kremer**, *Kennesaw State University*
Paper **Marx and Hegel at the Zoo**
Maya Joseph, *New School for Social Research*
 Overview: In critiquing Hegel's Philosophy of Right, Marx reveals an understanding of nature which contains a unique and expansive view of man's relationship to nature and critically informs his early understanding of democracy.
Paper **Love, Rectitude, Patriotism, and Valor: Hegel's Theory of Ethical Disposition**
Jeremiah John, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: An examination of the concept of *Gesinnung* as it appears in part three of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*.
Paper **Agents Provocateurs: Agency and Recognition in Hegel, Honneth, and Habermas**
Tanner J. McFadden, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: A rethinking of Hegel's concept of recognition in light of his pragmatist approach to truth, suggesting that Hegel offers important insights while avoiding a basic problem shared by Habermas' democratic theory and the politics of recognition.
Disc. **Geoffrey Kurtz**, *Rutgers University*

29-7 COMPARATIVE THEORY AND THE POLITICAL IMAGINARY

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair **Wayne S. LeCheminant**, *Loyola Marymount University*
Paper **Activist Theorists: N. Manley, E. Williams, & West Indian Decolonization**
Fragano S. J. Ledgister, *Clark Atlanta University*
 Overview: Political education of decolonizing peoples involved developing a political theory of independence, both to encourage movement to it and to justify it.
Paper **Imagining Bolivia: The Struggle for Democracy in the Midst of Competing Visions of "the Nation"**
Miguel Centellas, *Western Michigan University*
 Overview: Using the current Bolivian crisis as an example, this paper presents the argument that democracies are "imagined political communities" and that democratic consolidation is not severely hindered so long as citizens in a democracy are unable to agree.

Paper **Modeling Korean Civil Society: Against Three Liberal Ways**
Sungmoon Kim, *University of Maryland, College Park*
 Overview: This paper shows the inadequacy of three liberal models of civil society in capturing the viability of Korean civil society and calls for an attention to its own indigenous cultural assets, the affectionate sentiments as an engine of that viability.

Paper **The Ayatollah's Republic: An Examination of Plato's Republic and Khomeini's Welavat Al-Faqeeh**

David Alvis, *University of West Florida*
Husain Abdulla, *University of West Florida*
 Overview: For Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Plato's Republic offered a partial model for the reform of Iranian politics. Here we argue that the criticism directed at much of Iran's theocratic state derives from the problems inherent in the Republic.

Paper **Orderly Liberty: Elite Republican Imaginings of American Executive Administration from the Founding to the Gilded Age**

Jonathan S. O'Hara, *University of Southern California*
 Overview: Elite Republican thought emphasizing values of leadership hierarchy, popular deference and paternalism has been undertheorized in the American context. The emphasis has been on popular republican notions of liberty and equality
Disc. **Eileen Hunt Botting**, *University of Notre Dame*

30-14 FORMAL THEORIES OF ELECTIONS: THE ROLE OF INFORMATION

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair **Sven Feldmann**, *Northwestern University*
Paper **Elections: Pivots for the Present versus Signaling for the Future**

Ken Shotts, *Stanford University*
Adam Meirowitz, *Princeton University*
 Overview: Most electoral models focus on low probability pivot events in which a single vote makes a large impact. We add in a high probability low impact signaling effect.

Paper **Government Transparency and Policymaking**

Justin Fox, *Yale University*
 Overview: Increasing the openness of government proceedings is widely believed to increase the the public's welfare. This paper examines the conditions under which this conventional wisdom is correct.

Paper **Testing Ferejohn's Model of Transparency and Accountability in US States**

Robert C. Lowry, *Iowa State University*
James E. Alt, *Harvard University*
 Overview: We use panel data for gubernatorial elections from 1972-2000 to test a formal model by Ferejohn that predicts voters will have greater confidence in incumbents and accept higher taxes and spending when government institutions are more transparent.
Disc. **Sven Feldmann**, *Northwestern University*

31-7 COMPLEX ESTIMATION PROBLEMS

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair **Carl Palmer**, *University of California, Davis*
Paper **Quantifying Missing Information in Ecological Inference**

Kosuke Imai, *Princeton University*
Ying Lu, *Harvard University*
Aaron B. Strauss, *Princeton University*
 Overview: We propose a statistical method that formally quantifies the missing information due to data aggregation in ecological inference. The method allows researchers to compute the fraction of missing information in parameter estimation and hypothesis testing.

Paper **What to Do When Your Varying Slopes Correlate With Your Varying Intercepts**

Joseph Bafumi, *Yale University*
Andrew Gelman, *Columbia University*
 Overview: Multilevel models often require estimating varying slopes. These slopes may correlate with varying intercepts. We compare the effectiveness of several strategies for dealing with correlating slopes and intercepts in multilevel models.

Paper	<p><u>A Verification Study of Goodman Regression, Double-Regression and EI Extended Model</u> Baodong Liu, <i>University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh</i> Overview: This paper takes advantage of a unique opportunity to compare the controversial methods, including survey approach, by using aggregate as well as individual level data from an actual election. Our results show that EI basic model provided a better es</p>	Paper	<p><u>Last Mover Advantage: Presidential Power and the Role of Signing Statements</u> Bryan W. Marshall, <i>Miami University</i> Chris S. Kelley, <i>Miami University</i> Overview: Signing statements are an important tool of presidential power in signaling policy implementation, electoral rewards, and protecting prerogatives. Our analysis of signing statements offers a lens to assess change in presidential power over time.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Beyond Balance Tests: Placebo Tests for Matching Methods</u> Alexis J. Diamond, <i>Harvard University</i> Jens Hainmueller, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: We develop tests to evaluate if matching has identified control units that show what would have been observed for treated units in the absence of treatment. These tests promote honest analysis in that they do not involve outcomes for treated units.</p>	Disc.	<p>Jeffrey S. Peake, <i>Bowling Green State University</i></p>
Disc.	<p>Jonathan N. Katz, <i>California Institute of Technology</i></p>	33-12	<p><u>PRESIDENTIAL BIOETHICS COMMISSIONS</u></p>
32-10	<p><u>THIRD PARTIES IN AMERICAN POLITICS</u></p>	Room	<p>TBA, Sat 3:45 pm</p>
Room	<p>Tim Hundsdoerfer, <i>University of Colorado</i></p>	Chair	<p>Mark B. Brown, <i>California State University, Sacramento</i></p>
Chair	<p><u>Surviving Against All Odds: A Case Study of the Vermont Progressive Party</u></p>	Paper	<p><u>Political Legitimacy and the President's Council on Bioethics</u> Adam R. Briggie, <i>University of Colorado</i> Overview: This paper explores the political legitimacy of a current bioethics commission through an analysis of three controversial events and concludes with recommendations for future commissions.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Delia N. Goolsby</u>, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Partrick R. Miller, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Nicholas Pyeatt, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: The Vermont Progressive Party is unique among third parties for its growth and stability. This paper seeks to examine the factors that help this party survive, its ideological effect on the two major parties, and the role of partisan coordination.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Assessing the Political Impacts of Presidential Bioethics Commissions</u> Summer Johnson, <i>Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health</i> Overview: Using presidential bioethics commissions as a case study, this paper discusses the empirical methods of impact assessment as well as the political impact of these executive advisory commissions.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Women and Green Parties in the U.S. and Germany: Locations of Power?</u> Ellen McMinn Larrimore, <i>Northeastern Illinois University</i> Overview: Are Green Parties locations of power for women in terms of their political interests and party participation? I compare the success of Germany's Green Party to that of the U.S. Green Party in improving access to political and socio-economic positions</p>	Paper	<p><u>Democratic Legitimacy and the Design of National Bioethics Councils</u> Christopher F. Vukicevich, <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: This paper develops an analytical framework to evaluate the effects of institutional design on the legitimacy and impact of national ethics councils in the U.S. and Germany.</p>
Paper	<p><u>A Systematic Study of the Frequency of American Minor Party Co-optations</u> Eric D. Russell, <i>The Ohio State University</i> Overview: How often do the agenda items of minor parties end up on the national platforms of the major parties? This paper employs case studies of the most successful minor parties to systematically address a key presumption in the field of political parties.</p>	Disc.	<p>Eric M. Meslin, <i>Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis</i> Mark B. Brown, <i>California State University, Sacramento</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Ballot Access Laws and the Two-Phase Decline of American Third Parties</u> Bernard Ivan Tamas, <i>Illinois State University</i> Matthew D. Hindman, <i>Illinois State University</i> Amalia Monroe, <i>Illinois State University</i> Overview: State election laws stultified third parties in two phases, not one.</p>	34-4	<p><u>LOBBYING: A U.S. AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE</u></p>
Disc.	<p>Kenneth Janda, <i>Northwestern University</i></p>	Room	<p>TBA, Sat 3:45 pm</p>
33-8	<p><u>PRESIDENTIAL-CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS I</u></p>	Chair	<p>Sean M. Theriault, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i></p>
Room	<p>TBA, Sat 3:45 pm</p>	Paper	<p><u>Promoting Policy in a Mediated Democracy: Congress, Lobbying and the News</u> Christine DeGregorio, <i>American University</i> Overview: This study compares how lawmakers and lobbyists convey their interests in major policy with what is later reported in three news dailies: one liberal (New York Times), one centrist (Washington Post) and one conservative (Washington Times).</p>
Chair	<p>Kenneth Mayer, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Does K Street Run Through Capitol Hill? Lobbying in a Republican Era</u> Burdett A. Loomis, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: Various scholars and journalists argue that the Republican control of Congress has made lobbying more partisan, in marked contrast to past practices. This paper asks, "Is this so? And if so, with what implications?"</p>
Paper	<p><u>The President's Agenda: Presidential Position-Taking in the U.S. House</u> William D. Anderson, <i>University of South Dakota</i> Overview: This paper employs an event history model to assess presidential position-taking in the U.S. House and finds support for the hypothesis that declines in presidential capital—measured with the ticking clock—shape presidential policymaking in Congress.</p>	Paper	<p><u>An Empirical Investigation of Lobbying In Developing Countries: A Comparison of Brazil and India</u> Vineeta Yadav, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: I argue that rather than distorting democratic accountability in uniform ways, lobbies are instrumental in pushing political systems towards one of two equilibria.</p>

Paper **Lobbying by Transportation Agencies: A Case Study of Four Bay Area Agencies from 2001-2004**
Lynn Scholl, *University of California, Berkeley*
Elizabeth Deakin, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: Using four years of lobbying reports and the results of interviews, we examine how Bay Area agencies use their resources to lobby the state and federal legislatures and compare each agency's agenda to issues identified in planning documents.

Disc. **Kevin M. Esterling**, *University of California, Riverside*

35-7 **LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm

Chair **Leslie Schwindt-Bayer**, *University of Mississippi*

Paper **The Effect of Position on Re-election and Promotion of Legislators**
Kentaro Fukumoto, *Gakushuin University*
Masahiko Tatebayashi, *Kobe University*
 Overview: In this paper, we argue that past positions help parliamentarians to run for and win an election and that continuous reelection (seniority) leads to future promotion to higher positions and larger policy influence in turn.

Paper **Reelection, Rent-seeking, and Impunity Among Panamanian Legislators**
Carlos Guevara Mann, *University of Nevada, Reno*
 Overview: In addition to re-election and career advancement, representatives may be motivated by other goals, such as getting rich and obtaining immunity from prosecution, which the literature may have overlooked.

Paper **Political Institutions and the utility of Campaign Finance in Comparative Perspective**
Joel W. Johnson, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: the utility of campaign finance, or the increase in likelihood of winning per additional dollar spent, varies with political institutions. Consequences include the cost of elections, incentives to raise illegal funds and the likelihood of reform.

Disc. **Gregg B. Johnson**, *University of Buffalo, SUNY*

36-9 **FOREIGN COURTS**

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm

Chair **Jeffrey J. Davis**, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*

Paper **Asserting Judicial Supremacy: Marbury v. Madison in Comparative Context**
Sunita A. Parikh, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Alfred W. Darnell, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: We compare the Marbury v. Madison decision to two analogous judgements by the Federal Court of India and the Supreme Court of India.

Paper **Russia's Constitutional Court: Solution to the "Parade of Sovereignities"?**
Sabrina Pinnell, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
 Overview: This is a study of three Constitutional Court decisions that affected the sovereignty debate between Russia's center and its regions, helping to delineate authority between them and also establish the Court's role in the federalist system.

Paper **The Exercise of Judicial Power in South Africa**
Shannon I. Smithey, *Westminster College*
 Overview: This paper explores 10 years worth of constitutional decision making by the Constitutional Court of South Africa, focusing on the ways the Court has expanded its own power and contributed to the development of the new democratic regime.

Disc. **Nick Jorgensen**, *College of William and Mary*
Lee D. Walker, *University of Kentucky*

36-301 **POSTER SESSION: JUDICIAL POLITICS**

Presenter **When the Law Says Little: Birth Control Statutes and Service in the US**
John P. Balz, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: My paper proposal compares state statutes on birth control in the early 20th century (1900-1940) to the service levels across the nation. I explain what kind of effect, if any, legislative initiatives had on how citizens acquired birth control.

Room TBA, Board 1, Sat 3:45 pm

Presenter **Appeals of Sentences Under the Guidelines: Who Wins, Who Loses, and Why**
William L. Gillespie, *Kennesaw State University*
 Overview: I investigate what factors lead to appellant success or failure when appealing sentences given by district court judges that fall outside of the recommended Federal Sentencing Guideline range (a.k.a. sentencing departures).

Room TBA, Board 2, Sat 3:45 pm

Presenter **Game Theory, Chief Justice Rehnquist and Dickerson v. United States**
Daniel M. Katz, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: A game theoretic explanation for the late Chief Justice Rehnquist's otherwise anomalous pro-miranda decision in Dickerson v. United States.

Room TBA, Board 3, Sat 3:45 pm

Presenter **To Cite or not to Cite: When Does the Supreme Court Cite Amicus Briefs?**
Ryan J. Owens, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: This paper analyzes cases heard during the Court's 2001 and 2002 terms in order to explain the circumstances under which the Court will reference amicus briefs.

Room TBA, Board 4, Sat 3:45 pm

Presenter **Courtroom Battlefields in the Evolution War: Examining Judicial Behavior and Potential Outcomes of Cases Involving Public Education and Intelligent Design**
Trevor W. Ramsey, *Indiana State University*
 Overview: With federal court battles over anti-evolution/pro-intelligent design, this paper seeks to apply models of judicial behavior in an attempt to predict outcomes in such cases.

Room TBA, Board 5, Sat 3:45 pm

Presenter **Why Do They Switch? A Spatial Model of Voting Fluidity on the U. S. Supreme Court**
Min Ye, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
 Overview: A spatial model is established to explain voting fluidity on the Supreme Court. As a result, voting fluidity reflects justices' efforts to build winning coalition in the different institutional contexts on the Court.

Room TBA, Board 6, Sat 3:45 pm

Disc. **C. Scott Peters**, *University of Northern Iowa*

38-12 **REDRAWING DISTRICT LINES**

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm

Chair **Adam J. Newmark**, *Appalachian State University*

Paper **The Importance of Institutional Rules in Limiting Gerrymandering**
Jonathan Winburn, *Western Kentucky University*
 Overview: This paper enters the debate over state legislative redistricting reform. I argue that institutional rules can be effective in limiting legislative gerrymandering and that the use of non-partisan commissions may not be necessary.

Paper **The Limits of the Gerrymander: Examining the Impact of Redistricting on Electoral Competition and Legislative Polarization**
Seth E. Masket, *University of Denver*
Gerald C. Wright, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
Jonathan Winburn, *Western Kentucky University*
 Overview: While legislative polarization has been on the rise and electoral competition has been on the decline in the Congress and many state legislatures, this paper shows that redistricting has had only a marginal impact on either of these trends.

Disc. **Teena Wilhelm**, *University of Georgia*

39-8 IMPACT OF RACE/ETHNICITY ON LOCAL POLITICS AND POLICY

- Room** TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Brady Baybeck, *University of Missouri, St Louis*
Paper Urban Charter Reform and the Politics of Race and Class
 Lana Stein, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*
 David Kimball, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*
 S. Kristine Walker, *Wayne State University*
 Overview: Cities such as St. Louis and Dallas recently defeated charter reform. The reforms differed in the two cities: Dallas would have moved to a mayor-council form from a manager-council form while St. Louis would strengthen a weak mayor system.
- Paper** Accounting for Variation in Black Distrust of Local Police
 Elaine B. Sharp, *University of Kansas*
 Overview: The paper analyzes variation in black distrust of local police.
- Paper** Must Difference Divide? The Institutional Roots of Racial Politics in New York and London
 Michael Javen Fortner, *Harvard University*
 Overview: This paper asks: Must racial hierarchy beget racial politics? Using data on non-white associations, it compares the development of non-white civil society in London and New York in order to identify the roots of racial-oriented activism.
- Paper** How Concentrated Poverty Matters for the Digital Divide
 Karen Mossberger, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Michele A. Gilbert, *Kent State University*
 David Kaplan, *Kent State University*
 Overview: Building on a national study that showed that controlling for concentrated poverty, race is no longer a significant factor in the digital divide, we use hierarchical linear modeling in three Northeast Ohio communities, to identify causal mechanisms.
- Disc.** Brady Baybeck, *University of Missouri, St Louis*
 Jill L. Tao, *University of Oklahoma*

40-11 LEVERAGING MARKETS FOR ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

- Room** TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Mark Lubell, *University of California, Davis*
Paper The Diffusion of State Policies: New Examples from Environmental Policy
 James W. Stoutenborough, *University of Kansas*
 Matthew Beverlin, *University of Kansas*
 Overview: Renewable energy production by citizens can be encouraged through at least two policy solutions: net metering and tax subsidies. This study examines the state adoption of these policies through the use of a diffusion model.
- Paper** Market Implementation Under Conditions of Incomplete Property Rights
 Christopher J. Wright, *University of Arkansas, Monticello*
 Overview: This research suggests that a commitment by public administrators and agencies to market discipline and to the enforcement of created property rights must be central if cap-and-trade markets are to be successful.
- Paper** Is Market-based Environmental Governance More Effective? The Experience of Emission Trading in California: 1990-1999
 Xueyong Zhan, *University of Southern California*
 Overview: This paper is intended to examine the effectiveness of emission trading in air pollution control by using reduced-form models derived from the Environmental Kuznets Curve.
- Paper** Magnitude of Non-Compliance in Operating Hazardous Waste Firms
 Joice Y. Chang, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: This paper will provide some insight into the magnitude of non-compliance with RCRA in operating hazardous waste firms in the United States.
- Disc.** Mark Stephan, *Washington State University, Vancouver*
 Mark Lubell, *University of California, Davis*

40-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: HIGHER EDUCATION II

- Room** TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Presenter Access to Higher Education for Economically Disadvantaged Students
 Scott M. Rainone, *Kent State University*
 Overview: The purpose of this study is to explore the condition of access for Ohio's economically disadvantaged students by exploring post-secondary models used in five other states.

42-7 FISCAL POLICY AND CONSTRAINTS IN OPEN ECONOMIES (Co-sponsored with International Political Economy, see 12-19)

- Room** TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Vera E. Troeger, *University of Exeter*
Paper Global Recession, Policy Choices, and Policy Reforms in OECD Countries
 Nobuhiro Hiwatari, *University of Tokyo/Harvard University*
 Overview: A panel analysis of recessions in advanced industrial democracies show that capital mobility in the 90s compelled OECD governments to undertake disinflationary monetary policies, fiscal austerity, and welfare policy reprioritization.
- Paper** Strategic Spending and Saving: Fiscal Manipulation in a Global Economy
 Angela O'Mahony, *University of British Columbia*
 Overview: I examine how exchange rate regime and trade openness affect fiscal manipulation. I find that fiscal manipulation is likely when the exchange rate is fixed and trade openness is high, and when the exchange rate is floating and trade openness is low.
- Paper** Modeling Constrained Regional Convergence of Economic Policy and Growth
 Tobias Hofmann, *Free University of Berlin*
 Overview: Modelling interactions between regional integration and national political institutions, I show how institutions constrain regional convergence of economic policy and with it growth. I test the model's empirical implications using panel econometrics.
- Paper** Buck for the Bang? Budget Punctuations in Denmark, Germany, the UK, and the US
 Christian Breunig, *University of Washington*
 Overview: The study shows that massive shifts within national budgets occur and considers four sources of these shifts: institutional constraints, attention, partisan preferences, and veto players. The theory is tested via time-series data of four democracies.
- Disc.** Vera E. Troeger, *University of Exeter*

42-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: INDUSTRIAL AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY UNDER GLOBALIZATION

- Room** TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Presenter Industrial Policies in a Global Commodity Context: An Avenue for Economic Development?
 Marco A. Fernandez, *Duke University*
 Elda L. Becerra Mizuno, *Duke University*
 Sinziana Popa, *Duke University*
 Overview: In the last decades of the 20th century we have observed important changes in the patterns of production in the global economy. The fragmentation of the value chains is reflected in the increase of the outsourcing and the off-shoring of production.
- Presenter** Regional Integration and the Challenge of Economic Development in Africa
 Roselyn K. Akombe, *African Union Mission to the United Nations*
 Overview: Many African countries consider regional integration as a vehicle for achieving economic development. This could be seen from the many regional integration frameworks aimed at promoting intra-regional trade, investment and development.

42-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT AND STABILITY STRATEGIES IN ZAMBIA, IRAN, AND KUWAIT

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm

Presenter **Economic Policy and the Domestic Private Sector: Iran and Kuwait, 1950-1979**

Nimah Mazaheri, *University of Washington*

Overview: Utilizing an historical institutionalist approach, this paper examines the forces that helped shape state policies towards the domestic private sector in Iran and Kuwait from 1950-1980.

43-8 DECISIONS AND AGENDAS (Co-sponsored with Public Policy, see 40-21)

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm

Chair **Sean Gailmard**, *Northwestern University*

Paper **Wary Cooperation in Agency Rulemaking: A Quantitative Test**

Ryan T. Rynbrandt, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Overview: This paper develops a model of political control of the federal rule making agenda. I test the model using ten years of data from the semiannual regulatory agenda of the EPA from both the Clinton administration and the second Bush administration.

Paper **A Model of Bureaucratic Policy Innovation**

Wayne A. Thornton, *Harvard University*

Overview: I propose a model of bureaucratic policy innovation. My paper first develops the model, and then demonstrates its plausibility by explaining historical cases from two disparate policy areas-- national defense and agriculture.

Paper **Agency Agendas: Why Study Substance?**

Samuel G. Workman, *University of Washington*

Overview: This paper applies recent research on decision making and the politics of agenda setting to the Securities and Exchange Commission. I begin from the premise that federal agencies are created to solve problems, then develop a theory of agency problem

Paper **Comparing Executive-led Policy Agendas in the USA and UK**

Heather A. Larsen, *University of Washington*

Peter John, *University of Manchester*

Overview: This paper takes two cases of executive-led policy agendas, the USA and UK, seeking to find out how different executive agendas are from other agendas, and how different the institutions are from each other.

Paper **Revisiting Federal Agency Responsiveness to Executive Policy Direction**

Dana Michael Harsell, *University of North Dakota*

Overview: Mandatory planning and performance reporting systems inaugurated by GPRA and maintained by the PMA have augmented agency responsiveness to the executive branch by increasing goal congruence between top career and non-career executives.

Disc. **Jason A. MacDonald**, *Kent State University*

43-10 COMPARATIVE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm

Chair **Gaylord G. Candler**, *Indiana University, South Bend*

Paper **Public Management, Autonomy, and Performance**

Holly T. Goerdel, *University of Kansas*

David W. Pitts, *Georgia State University*

Overview: Bureaucratic power is predicated on autonomy and resource extraction. We investigate ways in which public managers translate this power into positive outcomes for the agency.

Paper **Globalizing Local Governance: A Comparative Study of Local Governance Reform in China and in the United States**

G. Z. Lan, *Arizona State University*

Overview: The paper examines the structures, the processes, reform trends of local governments in China and in the United States.

Paper **China's Civil Service Reform and Government Performance: An Agency Approach**

Xiaoqi Wang, *University of Hong Kong*

Overview: This article examines the impacts of China's 1993 Civil Service Reform on performance of government agencies in charge of environmental protection and education in three Chinese cities (Beijing, Changchun, and Ningbo).

Paper **Preservation Strategies: NGO Autonomy in Ecuador**

Stephanie L. Smith, *Syracuse University*

Overview: This study explores the issue of organizational autonomy from the perspective of NGO administrators in Ecuador. Interviews suggest various strategies are used to preserve mission-focused autonomy to cope with funding and socio-political environments.

Paper **External and Internal Politics of Turkish Management Reforms: The Experience of Public Hospitals in ISO 9001 Certification**

Ali O. Ozturk, *North Carolina State University*

Overview: One approach to management improvement, widely used in the U.S. private sector, is to secure quality certification under ISO (International Organization for Standardization) 9001 standard.

Disc. **Xiaoqi Wang**, *University of Hong Kong*

46-8 PATRIOTISM AND TOLERANCE, EAST AND WEST

Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm

Chair **Mark S. Jendrysik**, *University of North Dakota*

Paper **Political Tolerance: The Committed, the Conflicted, and the Constrained**

Robert K. Postic, *Wayne State University*

Overview: Using GSS data this paper will test the pluralistic tolerance model suggested by Sullivan, Piereson, and Marcus (1979, 1982).

Paper **Can Dissent Be Patriotic in Wartime? Results From a Representative U.S. Survey**

Jeremy B. Straughn, *Purdue University*

Overview: A representative CATI survey of 1,500 U.S. citizens is used to evaluate the proposition that attitudinal patriotism comprises at least two conceptually distinct and potentially contradictory notions of civic duty-compliance and contention.

Paper **Memory, Meanings, and Political Actions in 2005 China's Anti-Japan Protests**

Bin Xu, *Northwestern University*

Overview: My paper examines how different groups in China's Anti-Japanese Protest Movement in 2005 reacted to the same mnemonic narrative of WWII in different ways and how they strategically utilized the memory in their political actions.

Paper **Emergence and Development of Taiwan Independence Movement in the US**

Chi-Chen Chiang, *University of Chicago*

Overview: This paper attempts to formulate a new model to explain Taiwanese movement in the US by analyzing a transnational network established among intellectual communities in the US and the island to sustain the force of the movement.

Disc. **Deva R. Woodly**, *University of Chicago*

47-8 RELIGION AND DEMOCRATIC VALUES IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair David E. Campbell, *University of Notre Dame*
Paper **The Impact of Religious Beliefs and Practices on the Support for Democracy**
Myunghee Kim, *Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville*
Charles F. Andrain, *San Diego State University*
Overview: By using data from the 1999-2001 World Values Survey, this paper examines the impact of religious beliefs and practices on support for democracy across twenty countries.
Paper **The Role of UK Faith Communities in Defending Asylum-Seeker Rights**
Esther D. Reed, *University of St. Andrews*
Overview: This paper considers: (a) how faith communities in the UK have been defending asylum-seeker rights; and (b) how questions raised by faith communities have exposed retreats from rights in the name of greater security and increasing legal voluntarism.
Paper **Giving to Caesar What Is Caesar's... and More: Analyzing the Relationship Between Religion and Corruption**
Aubrey L. Westfall, *Colorado University, Boulder*
Overview: Using panel data and regression analysis, this paper fleshes out the theoretical relationship between religion and corruption, focusing on the Muslim, Catholic, and Protestant religions.
Paper **The Impact of Religion on Citizens' Perceptions of Human Rights**
Matthew M. Carlson, *University of Vermont*
Overview: To what extent are citizens' perceptions of human rights issues shaped by religious denomination and religiosity? I examine whether the fit between perception and reality improves when variables that tap religion are included in the model.
Disc. Geoffrey C. Layman, *University of Maryland*
Benjamin Radcliff, *University of Notre Dame*

48-103 ROUNDTABLE: POLITICS, POP CULTURE AND THE TEACHABLE MOMENT
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Chapman B. Rackaway, *Fort Hays State University*
Panelist Shala Mills-Bannister, *Fort Hays State University*
Darrell A. Hamlin, *Spring Hill College*
Kevin Anderson, *Eastern Illinois University*
Michael A. Smith, *Emporia State University*
Overview: A discussion of popular culture mediums such as current music, the Daily Show and Saturday Night Live as an extension of the traditional use of film and fiction to teach political science.

51-4 THE SEXUALIZED NATURE OF PUBLIC POLICY, TAKE TWO (Co-sponsored with Gender and Politics, see 25-19)
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Chair Kate D. Bedford, *Barnard College*
Paper **Abstinence Only Education: The Politics of Gendered Sexuality**
Alesha E. Doan, *California Polytechnic University*
Overview: We analyze abstinence education as a morality policy, critiquing its effects on teenagers who are subject to the teaching of abstinence. The lessons of abstinence education reveal the politics of gender, particularly the politics of sexuality.
Paper **Sexual Agency in Risk Society**
Valerie D. Lehr, *St. Lawrence University*
Overview: After discussing the centrality of sexuality to the lives of youth in "risk society," I will begin to articulate a vision of sexuality as an expression of agency with the potential to enhance democracy, particularly for young people.

Paper **My Two Moms: Homosexuals Parental and Adoption Rights in Developed Democracies**
Megan E. Osterbur, *University of New Orleans*
Overview: This paper examines variations in parental rights and adoption rights policy for gays and lesbians in industrialized democracies with focus on explaining why such variations exist.

Paper **State Efforts to Promote Companionate Sexuality in Popular-Front Chile**
Karin A. Roseblatt, *Syracuse University*
Overview: This paper will explore the importance of marriage and the regulation of sexuality to state-building projects by examining the experiences of the Chilean popular-front governments of 1939-1950.

Disc. TBA

56-101 MIDWEST CAUCUS FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION BUSINESS MEETING AND HERBERT SIMON LECTURE: ORGANIZATIONAL ATTENTION DEFICIT DISORDER: THE SORTING PROCESS OF ORGANIZATIONAL PRIORITIES
Room TBA, Sat 3:45 pm
Lecturer Bert A. Rockman, *Purdue University*

58-302 POSTER SESSION: UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH II
Presenter **Appellate Court Judge Retirement and Polarization of U.S. Political Parties**
Room TBA, Board 8, Sat 3:45 pm
Emily F Siedell, *Wellesley College*
Overview: Prior studies reveal the impact of politics on appellate court judge retirement. I build on this research by examining historical change in strategic retirement over time, particularly as related to the increasing polarization of political parties.
Presenter **Reclaiming Humanitarian Action: An EU Civilian Rapid Reaction Mechanism**
Room TBA, Board 9, Sat 3:45 pm
Alyson J Kuttruff, *Carthage College*
Overview: The EU should create a non-military rapid reaction mechanism. It would signal a return to the fundamental values of humanitarian aid. This mechanism could separate military from humanitarian goals and improve the effectiveness of the current system.
Presenter **Fostering Social Capital and Public Health in Southern Cone Countries**
Room TBA, Board 10, Sat 3:45 pm
Alexander W Hertel-Fernandez, *Northwestern University*
Overview: This study offers a comparative framework to examine the effect of state-mediated welfare programs on social capital, the impact of social capital on health outcomes, and policy implications for WHO social determinants to health in the Southern Cone.
Presenter **The impact of anger and fear on political tolerance**
Room TBA, Board 11, Sat 3:45 pm
Dunya M.M. van Troost, *Leiden University*
Overview: This research presents experimental data on the degree to which anger and fear can have a different impact on tolerance judgments. I examine how citizens feel towards a perceived out-groups, when they are made to feel angry or afraid.
Presenter **The Executive's New Legal Universe: The Bush Administration's Unilateral Construction of a New Legal Paradigm for Fighting Terrorism after September 11th**
Room TBA, Board 12, Sat 3:45 pm
Jacob W Day, *SUNY, New Paltz*
Overview: This paper examines the profound shift from "crime" to "act of war" that characterized the Bush administration's approach to terrorism after 9/11, and questions whether or not such an approach can be reconciled with the traditional understanding of separation of powers in the Constitution.

Presenter **Female Athletes Making Headlines: the Impact of Title IX on Media Coverage of Women's Athletic Events**

Room TBA, Board 13, Sat 3:45 pm
Lindsay Orosz, *Muhlenberg College*
 Overview: A content analysis of print media coverage of female athletics before and after the establishment Title IX public policy.

Presenter **Bases of Popular Support for Aboriginal Rights Claims in Canada**

Room TBA, Board 14, Sat 3:45 pm
Matthew L Cornett, *University of Toronto*
 Overview: This paper seeks to determine the most significant underlying determinants of Canadian public support for aboriginal rights claims using national survey data. The study concludes aboriginal-specific predictors, such as the belief aboriginal- non-aboriginal relations are improving or perceptions of the aboriginal material situation, are by far the most significant underlying determinants of support for aboriginal rights claims.

Presenter **Chicago City Council: Rubber Stamp or Legitimate Legislature?**

Room TBA, Board 15, Sat 3:45 pm
Elias Cepeda, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Overview: Chicago politics is known for strong executive/mayoral control over the whole of the city's government, including it's legislative body, the City Council. Many believe that current Mayor Richard M. Daley's control over the City Council is comparable to that which his father wielded as Mayor. Yet, the landscape is different for the present Mayor. This study shows those differences.

Presenter **The United States Government and HIV Prevention Strategies in Africa**

Room TBA, Board 16, Sat 3:45 pm
Valerie Berezner, *Indiana University, South Bend*
 Overview: In Sub-Saharan Africa, women struggle to protect themselves from contracting HIV. This research outlines why the Abstinence, Be Faithful, Condoms (ABC) approach is unrealistic, and which programs and initiatives may be more effective.

Presenter **Women in Government and the Effects on the Type of Foreign Aid**

Room TBA, Board 17, Sat 3:45 pm
Kathryn A Sanders, *Truman State University*
 Overview: The relationship between gender participation in government and its effects on the type of foreign aid is examined. Through statistical analysis, gender empowerment and the type of foreign aid possessed a positive relationship.

58-303 POSTER SESSION: UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH III

Presenter **The Changing Face of Retail: Wal-mart's Effects in Mexico**

Room TBA, Board 18, Sat 3:45 pm
Kathryn E Dove, *The Ohio State University*
 Overview: Globalization is affecting the commercial sector in Mexico as traditional small shops lose ground to Wal-mart's big-box retail. Using district-level data, I utilize regression analysis to isolate Wal-mart's effects on small shop owners.

Presenter **Authoritarianism, Regime Transitions, and the First Use of Violent Force**

Room TBA, Board 19, Sat 3:45 pm
Ryan T Conway, *Truman State University*
 Overview: This study investigates the often overlooked "Authoritarian peace" proposition in international relations literature, testing the effects of different authoritarian regime types, and different types of transition to democracy, on conflict initiation

Presenter **Attitudes toward Social Security Reform**

Room TBA, Board 20, Sat 3:45 pm
Joshua Caldwell, *University of Texas, Brownsville*
 Overview: Social Security reform is emerging as a hot-button political issue. Public opinion polls indicate a discontent for reforming the entitlement program. However, are these attitudes age-based? Our research looks at age — and other characteristic

factors (sex, political affiliation) — and whether or not they affect attitudes toward social security reform.

Presenter **The Struggle of Democratic Consolidation in Post-Marcos Philippine Politics**

Room TBA, Board 21, Sat 3:45 pm
Gaia Benitez, *University of Pennsylvania*
 Overview: The 1986 People Power Revolution ended Philippine dictatorship and opened an opportunity for democratization. Yet, President Corazon Aquino hindered democratic consolidation as a politically inexperienced compromise candidate of a diverse coalition.

Presenter **Expansionism & Exportation: Rhetoric of Manifest Destiny and the War on Terror**

Room TBA, Board 22, Sat 3:45 pm
Sarah M Bryner, *Beloit College*
 Overview: Current political rhetoric describing the War on Terror resembles the language used to justify manifest destiny. By analyzing media coverage, this paper will illuminate the differences between expansionism in the 1850s and exportation today.

Presenter **If Welfare Rolls Are Decreasing, Then Welfare Reform Is Working...Right?**

Room TBA, Board 23, Sat 3:45 pm
Leslie A Ransdell, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: This paper will examine the quality of life of Michigan's welfare recipients. The focus will be on the interaction of Michigan's welfare system with a challenging economic situation and the resulting effects on Michigan recipients.

Presenter **What Affects the Strength of Partisan Identity in Sub-Saharan Africa?**

Room TBA, Board 24, Sat 3:45 pm
Krystal L Fox, *Truman State University*
 Overview: This study examines the strength of partisan attachment among respondents from nine African countries.

Presenter **Durable Influence of Parent Partisan Identity**

Room TBA, Board 25, Sat 3:45 pm
Nick Jones, *Heidelberg College*
 Overview: College education, membership in the "60s" generation and residential mobility significantly reduce the correlation between parent and respondent partisan identity. The findings are based on a 2005 election survey in Tiffin, Ohio.

Presenter **Shifting Outlooks: The Presidency and National Education Reform**

Room TBA, Board 26, Sat 3:45 pm
Ashley E Watson, *University of Washington*
 Overview: The No Child Left Behind Act is the culmination of a journey to reevaluate the nation's education system. This project considers how the politics of national education policy have been altered since a federal role was initiated more than three decades ago.

Presenter **Canadian Attitudes Towards Gays and Lesbians**

Room TBA, Board 27, Sat 3:45 pm
Aldous Cheung, *University of Toronto*
 Overview: This study investigates the causes of attitudes towards gays and lesbians in Canada, using public opinion data. Interestingly, one important independent variable seems to be respondents' attitudes toward Canadian relations with the United States.

Sunday, April 23 – 8:30 am – 10:15 am

2-15 VOICE AND OPPOSITION -- MEASURING DEMOCRACY AND PROTEST

Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am

Chair Erik R. Tillman, *Emory University*

Paper **A New Measurement of Democracy: The Inclusion of the Context**

Michael Stoiber, *University of Darmstadt*

Heidrun Abromeit, *University of Darmstadt*

Overview: Indices of democracy produce an institutional fallacy in measuring democratic quality, because they ignore the respective (societal, institutional) context. We develop and test a new contextualized measurement.

Paper **Diffusing Violence: Competition and Radicalization in Contentious Politics**

Jakub Kakiemek, *Emory University*

Overview: This paper examines relationship between competition between social movement organizations and their use of political violence.

Paper **Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death: Repression in the Democratic Context**

David A. Armstrong, II, *University of Maryland*

Overview: This work investigates the variation of repression and violations of civil liberties within democracies. I find that even within democracies when domestic threats are present, the civil liberties of citizens hang tenuously in the balance.

Paper **The Political Responses of the 'Losers of Globalization'**

Yotam M. Margalit, *Stanford University*

Overview: A comparative study of the political responses of the 'losers of globalization': who they are, what factors are salient in their own accounts of why they are worse off, and how the sense of losing out translates into support for a political program.

Disc. Erik R. Tillman, *Emory University*

3-6 DISAGGREGATING ETHNIC IDENTITY

Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am

Chair Brent D. Hierman, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Paper **Policy Veto Players and Relevant Ethnic Groups**

Jóhanna K. Birnir, *SUNY, Buffalo*

David M. Waguespack, *University of Maryland*

Overview: Are indigenous groups, that by and large are excluded from the policy process in Latin America, instrumental to the passing (and quality) of economic policy?

Paper **Appropriating Nation-ness: Peru as the "Inca State"**

Sebastian Karcher, *Northwestern University*

Overview: Drawing on a variety of non-standard approaches, the paper seeks to explain why in Peru, unlike in its Andean neighbor states, no significant indigenous movement has emerged.

Paper **The Political Economy of Ethnic Mobilization**

Nikolaos Biziouras, *Harvard University*

Overview: Using case study evidence from Sri Lanka, Bulgaria and Malaysia, I show how the strategic interests of ethnic political entrepreneurs interact with the selective incentives that the ethnic group members demand to institutionalize ethnic politics.

Paper **Bolivia and Peru: Differing Ethnic Discourses**

Kimberly E. Moloney, *American University*

Overview: Bolivia's indigena and Peru's indigenista discourses and their relevance for present-day Bolivian and Peruvian politics.

Paper **Political Community and Indigenous Identity in Latin America**

Daniel E. Moreno Morales, *Vanderbilt University*

Overview: Using survey data from Bolivia and Guatemala, this paper explores the effect that ethnic, and particularly indigenous identities have on the strength of citizens' identification with the national political community.

Disc. Amalia Pallares, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

3-24 KEY CASES IN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am

Chair Susan Glover, *American University*

Paper **Economic Globalization, Winning Coalitions, and Human Rights**

Meggan Fitzgerald, *SUNY, Binghamton*

Overview: This paper attempts to reconcile the competing liberal and critical theories of globalization by arguing that the effect of foreign economic penetration on respect for human rights is conditional upon the size of the leader's winning coalition.

Paper **It's the Government, Stupid!: Human Development Variation in China and India**

Devin Joshi, *University of Washington*

Overview: Through historical process tracing I find that: 1) leadership priorities, 2) state capacity, and 3) national stability explain most of the variation in human development and poverty alleviation in China and India from 1950-2000.

Paper **The Political Distribution of Employment Programs in Argentina During the 1990s**

Agustina Giraudy, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Overview: Partisanship, state structure and social mobilization strongly determined the expansion of employment programs in Argentina in the '90s. My results challenge the assumption that these programs are used as clientelistic handouts to buy people's votes.

Paper **China's Family Planning Policy: An Economic Analysis of Some Externalities**

Linjing Wang Wang, *Purdue University*

Glenn R. Parker, *Purdue University*

Dwayne Woods, *Purdue University*

Overview: The most prominent external cost of the family planning policy is an unbalanced sex ratio of the new born babies. We use a simple economic model of the costs and value of having sons to explain the cause of the problem.

Paper **Hunger in Brazil: Comparative Analysis Across Time, Regimes, and Institutions**

Tricia D. Olsen, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Overview: Using hunger in Brazil as the case study, this analysis gives insight into why particular social movements emerge and diffuse and under what conditions regimes choose to institutionalize efforts of the movement.

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

4-6 COMPARING DEMOCRATIZATION ADAPTATION IN TRANSITION STATES

Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am

Chair Kathleen R. Barrett, *Georgia State University*

Paper **Democratic Society and Adaptive Management Models: Comparing the Resilience and Collapse of Ten Democratic Systems**

Amy Lauren Lovecraft, *University of Alaska, Fairbanks*

Sultan Tepe, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

Overview: Drawing on ten cases (Iran, Nicaragua, Iraq, Nigeria, Colombia, Turkey, Israel, Germany, the UK, the US) we ask to what extent the Gunderson and Holling's resilience theory is useful to explain the adaption and maladaptation of democratic society?

Paper **The Cultural and Institutional Foundations of Trust: A Cross-National Study**

Amaney A. Jamal, *Princeton University*

Irfan Nooruddin, *The Ohio State University*

Overview: The correlation between trust and democratic government has opened several new debates, in which two overarching themes have become particularly visible. The first examines the source from which trust emerges. From what cultural dynamics does trust

- Paper** **Micro-Level Determinants of Democratic Cooperation**
Calvin J. Mouw, *University of Illinois, Springfield*
Overview: This paper examines the relative effect of performance-based evaluations and idea or policy-based sentiments on individual citizen commitment to party system politics.
- Paper** **Transitions to Democracy in Pre-State Conditions**
Aviad Rubin, *McGill University*
Overview: The paper compares democratic transitions in Israel and Palestine pre-independence and account for the different outcomes based on 4 variables: elite formation; Exposure to democratic values; Level of coercive capabilities; Diaspora's influence.
- Disc.** TBA
- 4-17** **TESTING THE LINKAGES BETWEEN ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY**
- Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
- Chair** Timothy J. Schorn, *University of South Dakota*
- Paper** **Islamist Participation in Democratic Processes: The Face Behind the Mask or the Mask Becoming the Face?**
Jocelyn S. Weiner, *Georgetown University*
Overview: This paper explores whether and how Islamists can be included in participatory politics, and to what extent this participation will lead to increased moderation and compromise in the Islamists' political platforms and intrinsic support for democracy.
- Paper** **Intermestic Strategies for Democratization and the Rise of Islamism in the Arab World: The Case of Morocco**
Aicha Lahlou, *University of Houston*
Overview: What impact does international pressure have on Islamism? What is the impact of both trends on democratization?
- Disc.** Mohamed A. Between, *Texas A&M International University*
- 5-15** **POLICY MAKING IN EUROPE**
- Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
- Chair** Josephine E. Squires, *Fort Hays State University*
- Paper** **Alcohol Control Policy in the European Union**
Pamela Camerra-Rowe, *Kenyon College*
Overview: This paper examines the way in which market liberalization has affected the debate over alcohol control policy in the European Union and explores the relative effectiveness of industry and non-producer groups in this regulatory debate.
- Paper** **Ethnic Mobilization and Policy Making in East-Central European States**
Jennifer L. Oetken, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
Overview: What role have ethnic minorities played in the creation of new policies and state behavior in East-Central Europe? This paper argues that ethnic groups prompted European institutions to apply pressures on states to change their domestic policies.
- Paper** **Emerging Fundamental Rights of the Family in the ECJ**
Galya B. Ruffer, *DePaul University*
Overview: The control of immigration in the EU must contend with the complexity of legal relationships in the evolving neo-liberal economic order. This paper examines the recent trend in the ECJ to protect family rights as "fundamental."
- Paper** **Trafficking in Women: A Case Study of Latvia and the European Union**
John R. Wallenfang, *Illinois State University*
Overview: Examination of European Union and Latvian laws and policies that address trafficking in women.
- Disc.** Josephine E. Squires, *Fort Hays State University*

- 7-11** **TOWARD THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY: JUDICIAL REFORM IN LATIN AMERICA**
- Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
- Chair** Eduardo L. Leoni, *Columbia University*
- Paper** **Social Law and Judicial Subordination in the Mexican Revolution, 1917-1928**
Timothy M. James, *University of Chicago*
Overview: This paper explores the judicial politics around the implementation of Mexico's nascent social law in favor of workers and peasants and its relation to a subordinated and subservient judiciary in the 20th century.
- Paper** **The Relation Between "Law" and "Reality" Regarding Judicial Independence in Latin America**
Julio Rios-Figueroa, *New York University*
Andrea Pozas-Loyo, *New York University*
Overview: Under what conditions should we expect a gap between de jure and de facto judicial independence? When are judicial systems that is more dependent in "reality" than in "law" and vice versa? We address these questions theoretically and empirically.
- Paper** **Judicial Reforms, Policy-Making Processes and Public Policy in Latin America**
Mariana M. Sousa, *University of Notre Dame*
Overview: TBA
- Paper** **Determinants of Judicial Reform in New Democracies: Lessons From Brazil**
Rodrigo M. Nunes, *University of Texas, Austin*
Overview: Judicial reform is promoted by international organizations and outgoing politicians seeking insurance, but ultimately processes of reform are driven by attempts to address the unexpected institutional effects that courts have had on new democracies.
- Disc.** Gretchen Helmke, *University of Rochester*
Silvia Inclan, *UNAM*
- 8-13** **INVESTMENT AND POLITICS IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA**
- Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
- Chair** Xia L. Lollar, *University of Wisconsin, Whitewater*
- Paper** **Understanding the Role of China's SEZ: The Case of Fiat's Expansion**
Edward Petronzio, *Miami University*
Overview: This paper examines the evolution of China's SEZ policy and a case study of Fiat, the Italian auto maker that has established a significant presence in China's SEZ.
- Paper** **The New Juche and the Economic Unification of the Korean Peninsula**
Donald F. Williamson, II, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
Overview: Economic unification of the Korean peninsula would revitalize the North Korea economy and help South Korea obtain the goal of becoming the economic hub of East Asia. The reconnection of the Korean rail systems would benefit the East Asian region.
- Paper** **Energy Cooperation in Asia--From Impediments to**
Bo Kong, *Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies*
Overview: This paper will examine reasons why there lacks energy cooperation in Asia despite its potential benefits to economies in the region and explores whether the status quo will change against the increasing integration in the region.
- Paper** **Southeast Asia and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in 1990s**
Aticha Suebsawangkul, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*
Overview: A pattern of FDI inflow of Southeast Asia is highly conditioned by the region's relations with the rest of the world. Technology, China, and regional problem contribute to a decrease of FDI inflow in Southeast Asian countries in 1990s.
- Disc.** Xia L. Lollar, *University of Wisconsin, Whitewater*

10-12 DETERMINANTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF POST-COMMUNIST ELECTIONS

Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am

Chair Oana I. Armeanu, *Southern Methodist University*

Paper Issue Salience and Dynamic Economic Voting in New Democracies

Hyeok Yong Kwon, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: This paper examines the electoral effects of issue salience of unemployment in new democracies. Analyzing survey data from the post-Communist countries, the paper finds dynamic electoral consequences of economic reforms in new democracies.

Paper Electoral Rules and Political Corruption in Post-Communist Countries

Tatiana Kostadinova, *Florida International University*

Overview: This paper argues that the rules of electoral competition have had a strong effect on resulting levels of political corruption in Eastern Europe. Cross-sectional time-series panel data are used to test this proposition.

Paper Explaining Electoral Volatility in Post-Communist Romania

Silviu M. Matei, *Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris*

parties, Overview: Addressing the institutionalization of political I use a logit model for ecological inference to explain the high level of volatility of the Romanian party system. The model uses socio-demographic characteristics as explaining variables.

Paper The Fourth Power: Mass Media and Campaign Finance in South Eastern Europe

Bogdan Stanciu, *Eastern Illinois University*

Overview: Mass media and campaign finance in southeastern Europe

Disc. Bryon Moraski, *University of Florida*

11-12 REGIME TYPE AND INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR

Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am

Chair Scott M. Fitzsimmons, *University of Calgary*

Paper Can Democracy Still Promise the Victory in Militarized Disputes?

Kwang-Jin Kim, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

Overview: This paper examines the effect of democracy and dynamic statecrafts such as economic coercion and air power on the outcome of militarized disputes.

Paper Domestic Institutional Constraints on International Cooperation

Sam R. Bell, *SUNY, Binghamton*

Overview: I examine the effect of institutional structures on the ability of democracies to cooperate internationally.

Paper Are Democracies More Transparent in Their External Affairs Than Dictatorships?

James J. Marquardt, *Lake Forest College*

Robert J. Lemke, *Lake Forest College*

Overview: This paper tests several hypotheses on transparency and regime type.

Paper The Impact of Regime Change on Issue Onset and Issue Violence

Michelle L. Keck, *Texas Tech University*

Overview: This study seeks to expand research on issues by examining if regime change influences issue onset and issue violence. It will also examine if the level and incidence of issue violence varies across regime types.

Disc. Gaye B. Muderrisoglu, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

11-13 RETHINKING GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AFTER THE WAR IN IRAQ

Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am

Chair Francois Debrix, *Florida International University*

Paper Sublime Spectatorship and the War in Iraq: Revisiting Global Governance as America's Politics and Aesthetics of Terror

Francois Debrix, *Florida International University*

Overview: The sublime is the pleasurable experience through visual representation of a situation or event that would otherwise be painful or terrorizing if lived or experienced firsthand.

Paper Critique, Cosmopolitanism, War

Scott Nelson, *Virginia Tech University*

Overview: Derrida's "counter-method" of deconstruction interrupts the imperative of theory, likening its practice to a form of war. This paper examines the significance of Derrida's critical theory to the imperatives of political theory today.

Paper The Next 'Long Twilight Struggle with Totalitarianism'? Recreating Islamic Radicalism, Iraq, and Insecurity in the Bush (43) Administration as Islamo-Fascism

Timothy Luke, *Virginia Tech University*

Overview: This paper looks at how the current alliance of liberal capitalist states lead by the U.S.A. under President Bush (43) is struggling to define the "war on terror" as essentially World War IV.

Paper Suspended Sovereignty and the Law of Foreign Occupation: Incorporating the Biopolitical Paradigm into Global Governance

Alex Barder, *Florida International University*

Overview: The legal concept of suspended sovereignty has been receiving greater attention within the last decade. The implementation of humanitarian interventions in Somalia, Kosovo - to name a few - and more recently the occupation of Iraq in 2003.

Disc. Pablo Toral, *Florida International University*

12-13 POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY, INSTITUTIONS, INTERESTS, AND TRADE POLICIES (Co-sponsored with Economic Policy, see 42-16)

Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am

Chair Jeffrey W. Ladewig, *University of Connecticut*

Paper Constituency Size and Support for Trade Liberalization

Sean D. Ehrlich, *Florida State University*

Overview: This paper tests the oft-used assumption that policymakers with larger constituencies will be more supportive of free trade because they will be less susceptible to particularistic pressure by analyzing roll call vote data from the U.S. Congress.

Paper Political Geography and the Import Restriction Bias

Lucy M. Goodhart, *Columbia University*

Overview: The paper presents a model that explains the observed import restriction bias in trade policy and in which representatives are responsive to local employment conditions.

Paper Why Regions, Not Sector or Class? Lobbying for Trade Compensation in Japan, 1950-2002

Megumi Naoi, *University of California, San Diego*

Overview: Using a new dataset covering interest group lobbying on trade before Diet committees from 1950 to 2002 in Japan, this paper investigates when regional competitions, as opposed to class or sectoral competitions, prevail in trade politics.

Paper Political Determinants of Interindustry Labor Factor Mobility

Qiang Zhou, *Columbia University*

Overview: This paper proposes a theory to endogenize interindustry labor factor mobility within the political process. I argue that certain government policies can influence levels of factor mobility and governments manipulate them for political purposes.

- Paper** **Governmental Structure, Partisanship, and Free Trade in Latin America**
William D. MacMillan, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: Research suggests that, in Latin American countries, political variables effectively describe the aggregate volume of tariffs. This work uncovers the conditional nature of partisan and institutional influence in setting the tariff rates.
- Disc.** **Todd Allee**, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
- 13-13** **WAR FROM REGIONAL POWERS PERSPECTIVES**
- Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair **Adrian S. Petrescu**, *University of Texas, Brownsville*
Paper **The India-Pakistan Peace Process: Towards Normalization of Relations?**
Arijit Mazumdar, *Miami University*
 Overview: The current peace process between India and Pakistan represents the most significant opportunity for reconciliation of differences because of the convergence of international and domestic factors that are both crucial and unprecedented.
- Paper** **The War on Terror From Regional Powers Perspectives: Indonesia and Saudia Arabia**
Ribhi I. Salhi, *Roosevelt University*
 Overview: Both Saudia Arabia and Indonesia have been considered crucial allies for the war on terror. This paper will examine the role of the two nations in fighting Alqaeda and its terror network. It compares the nations' policy in war on terror.
- Paper** **Constructing Regional Institutions in Asia: APEC and ASEAN+3**
Yasumasa Komori, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: This paper examines the formation of APEC and ASEAN+3 by examining the variation in state preferences over time and a catalytic role of weaker powers as initiators at the critical juncture.
- Disc.** **Adrian S. Petrescu**, *University of Texas, Brownsville*
- 15-11** **ECONOMICS AND CONFLICT**
- Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair **Mark Crescenzi**, *University of North Carolina*
Paper **Economic Freedom as a Source of International Peace**
Christopher G. Ingram, *Louisiana State University*
 Overview: While democratic peace may guide the pursuit of democracy to deter international conflict, this paper argues that, for reasons of normative values and economic rationale, policies that spread economic freedom could serve equally as a source of peace.
- Paper** **Bargaining and Economic Coercion**
Valentin L. Krustev, *Rice University*
 Overview: Building on the recent informational literature on economic sanctions, the paper develops and tests a bargaining model of one-sided incomplete information, in which the imposition, escalation, and termination of sanctions are determined endogenously.
- Paper** **How the Weaker Prevail: An All-Pay Auction Model of Conflict Escalation**
Keith A. Grant, *University of Arizona*
 Overview: Conflict escalation can be modeled as an All-Pay Auction, in which players are required to pay what they bid regardless of who wins the pot. This suggests that disputants' relative power interplays with the salience of the conflict, defining an equil
- Disc.** **Bernadette M. E. Jungblut**, *University of Central Florida*

- 16-7** **THEORIZING THE FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING PROCESS**
- Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair **Stephen B. Dyson**, *Wabash College*
Paper **The Inherent Nuances of American Foreign Policy Construction--What an Issue Areas Analysis Can Reveal About the State-Centrism-Domestic Variables Debate**
Matthew M. Caverly, *University of Florida*
 Overview: This paper offers an alternative theoretical conception to analyze American foreign policy by breaking foreign policy down into its component issue areas.
- Paper** **Time Horizons, Discounting, and Intertemporal Choice**
Philip A. Streich, *Rutgers University*
Jack S. Levy, *Rutgers University*
 Overview: Our aim in this paper is to review the literature in behavioral economics and psychology on discounting and intertemporal choice, and to begin to explore some of the implications for theories of international conflict.
- Paper** **US Foreign Aid and Human Rights**
Woongjo You, *Binghamton University, SUNY*
 Overview: This paper examines the circumstances under which the US is more likely to attach the goal of the advancement of human rights practices to foreign aid.
- Paper** **Power, Influence, and Bureaucrats: The Role of Status Within Foreign Policy Formation**
Eben J. Christensen, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
 Overview: This paper applies social network analysis and experimental techniques to examine the influence of status and feedback within a simulated foreign policy environment. Results indicate such factors alter policy recommendations and information selection.
- Disc.** **R. Michael Smith**, *Glenville State College*
- 18-12** **INDIVIDUAL AND CONTEXTUAL DETERMINANTS OF POLICY PREFERENCES**
- Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair **Evan Parker-Stephen**, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Paper **Understanding Social Conservatism: Values, Threat, and the Framing of Issue Preferences**
Stanley Feldman, *Stony Brook University*
Christopher Weber, *Stony Brook University*
 Overview: We examine the personality and situational factors that help shape social and moral issue preferences. Results indicate that individuals endorsing social conformity, non-egalitarian beliefs, and who experience a threat to social order are more likely
- Paper** **Limits of Leadership**
Renan Levine, *University of Toronto*
Laura Stephenson, *University of Western Ontario*
 Overview: What happens when political and religious leaders convey conflicting messages? We conducted an experiment where we could control the message the respondent received, varying the source (religious or political leader) and the frame.
- Paper** **Public Policy Preferences and Perceptions of Inequality and Discrimination**
Elisabeth R. Gerber, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Charles L. Ballard, *Michigan State University*
Jeremy F. Duff, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: We analyze the ways in which perceptions of inequality and discrimination influence preferences on a wide variety of public policy issues. Our data set includes detailed information from a survey of over 1000 respondents.
- Paper** **The Impact of Economic Inequality on Attitudes of the Rich and Poor**
Alina R. Oxendine, *Hamline University*
 Overview: In order to elucidate the relationship between economic inequality and civic attitudes, this paper uses cross-sectional survey data from communities across the US, in conjunction with a quasi-experimental comparison of two rural towns.

Paper **Competing Partisan Frames, Public Opinion and Party Identification**
Michael W. Wagner, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: This paper uses an experimental design (N=133) to demonstrate the conditions under which competitive partisan issue framing can affect public opinion and party identification.

Disc. **Joanne Miller**, *University of Minnesota*

19-10 **ISSUES AND IDEOLOGY IN VOTE CHOICE**
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair **Steven E. Galatas**, *Stephen F. Austin State University*
Paper **Ideology and Evaluation in an Experimental Setting: Proximity vs. Direction**
Ryan L. Claassen, *Kent State University*
 Overview: The debate between which model best describes citizens' political behavior, directional or proximity, remains unresolved. I report the results of an experiment designed to control many sources of contradictory findings based on observational studies.

Paper **Uncovering the Reform Dimension in Contemporary Elections**
Daron R. Shaw, *University of Texas, Austin*
Melvin Hinich, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: We argue that a wide range of countries have witnessed the emergence of a second dimension in recent elections. This dimension is properly understood as pitting candidates and parties advocating reform versus those representing established interests.

Paper **The Cultural Component of Issue Voting: The Party Intercept**
Soren R. Thomsen, *Aarhus University, Denmark*
 Overview: The paper presents a comparative study of issue voting in several democracies trying to understand the meaning of the party intercept in the proximity model as well as in the directional model.

Paper **The Structure, Meaning, and Influence of Political Ideology**
Shawn Treier, *University of Georgia*
Sunshine Hillygus, *Harvard University*
 Overview: Using an item response model (IRT) to estimate a measure of individual-level ideology, we examine the structure and meaning of ideology and its relationship to party identification and the vote.

Paper **New Evidence on Directional vs. Proximity Voting**
Robert P. Van Houweling, *University of California, Berkeley*
Michael R. Tomz, *Stanford University*
Paul M. Sniderman, *Stanford University*
 Overview: To advance the debate on directional vs. proximity voting, we conduct a set of survey experiments (N=2000). Our method allows critical tests that are not possible with standard surveys.

Disc. **Garrett Glasgow**, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
Dean P. Lacy, *The Ohio State University*

21-7 **POLITICS OF MAJORITY-MINORITY DISTRICTS**

Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair **Guy-Uriel E. Charles**, *University of Minnesota*
Paper **Legislating Without Constraints: The Effect of Minority Districting on Legislators' Responsiveness to Constituency Preferences**
Claudine Gay, *Stanford University*
 Overview: Using data on referenda and initiative voting to estimate constituency preferences, I assess the correspondence between district opinion and roll call voting for legislators from majority-minority and majority-white CA Assembly districts.

Paper **Hurricanes & Rotten Boroughs**
John K. Wildgen, *University of New Orleans*
Fritz F. Wagner, *University of Washington*
 Overview: A Louisiana majority-minority Congressional seat depended on a dense, homogeneous black population compromised by the storm. We examine how contemporary urban planning theory and redistricting practices might respond to post-Katrina redistricting.

Paper **A Unified Theory of Minority-Majority District Effects: Latino Legislators**
Eric Gonzalez Juenke, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
Robert R. Preuhs, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
 Overview: We combine several important elements of minority legislative incorporation into a single theoretical model to demonstrate how institutional arrangements affect the degree to which racial and ethnic group representatives influence public policy.

Disc. **Guy-Uriel E. Charles**, *University of Minnesota*
David L. Leal, *University of Texas, Austin*

22-6 **ATTITUDES ABOUT IMMIGRATION**
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair **Brian P. Frederick**, *Northern Illinois University*
Paper **I Pity the Poor Immigrant...Why Immigrants are more Xenophobic?**

Daphna Canetti-Nisim, *University of Haifa*
Eran Halperin, *University of Haifa*
Stevan E. Hobfoll, *Kent State University*
Robert Johnson, *University of Miami*
 Overview: In this study, we examine the differences between veteran Israelis versus immigrants from the former Soviet Union (FSU) with regard to the theoretical frameworks explaining their xenophobic tendencies towards Palestinian citizens of Israel (PCIs).

Paper **Skill Mix of Immigrants and Public Attitude Toward Immigration in the U.S.**
Kyung Joon Han, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: This paper asks how skill mix of immigrants affects public attitudes in receiving states toward immigration and finds that the magnitude of the effect of individual skill level on the attitudes goes along with the fraction of unskilled immigrants.

Paper **Racializing the Border: How Race, Moral Conservatism, and National Defense Have Shaped Immigration Attitudes**
Bradford Jones, *University of Arizona*
Regina Branton, *Rice University*
Jennifer Byrne, *University of Arizona*

Overview: This paper examines pre- and post-September 11th attitudes toward immigration. We find that in contrast to the pre-September 11th era, moral conservatism and racial resentment strongly influence attitudes toward immigration.

Paper **Cross-Generational Attitudes of Latino Groups on Immigration**
Jason E. Kehrberg, *University of Kentucky*
Adam Butz, *University of Kentucky*
 Overview: This study examines the Latino attitudes on immigration across 3 generations and 5 different Latino groups.

Disc. **Stephen Nuno**, *University of California, Irvine*

22-10 **VALUES AND CULTURAL ISSUES**

Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair **Beth Miller**, *Rice University*
Paper **Culture Wars as Identity Politics**
Erin C. Cassese, *Stony Brook University*
 Overview: In this study, I examine the micro-level dynamics thought to underlie the culture wars. Using experimental data, I explore the effects of social identity and emotional reactions to threat on social policy attitudes and political tolerance.

Paper **Ideas About Children and the Red State – Blue State Divide**
Brian R. Duff, *University of New England*
 Overview: The paper examines the effect of the popular idea that having children is the best way to make life feel meaningful on people's political attitudes and behaviors.

Paper **Evolution of the Revolution: Habermas, Foucault, and Sex Attitudes 1972-2004**
Christopher C. Hull, *Georgetown University*
Linnea N. Meyer, *Harvard University*
 Overview: Are changes in casual sex imposed by society's power, or arrived at by collective action? We analyze US trends in sexual beliefs and behavior using Habermas and Foucault's theories to test which of the two best explains those changes.

Paper	<u>Social Class Identity and Political Attitudes: The Role of Political Elites</u> Katherine Cramer Walsh, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: When does social class identity affect political attitudes? Analysis of a two-generation national sample panel study reveals the importance of political candidates' strategies.	26-14	<u>COMPARATIVE RACIAL POLITICS</u>
Disc.	Edward Carmines, <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i>	Room	TBA, Sun 8:30 am
24-15	<u>THE WEB AND ACCESS TO POLITICAL VOICE</u>	Chair	Arus Harutyunyan, <i>Western Michigan University</i>
Room	TBA, Sun 8:30 am	Paper	<u>Security, Xenophobia and Nationalism</u> Amber C. Concepcion, <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: The rise of extreme right-wing parties in the supposedly tolerant societies of Western Europe has been attributed to such diverse causes; this paper argues that public fears of crime and terrorism are an integral part of the puzzle.
Chair	Claes H. de Vreese, <i>University of Amsterdam</i>	Paper	<u>Contesting National Identities in an Ethnically Homogeneous Armenia</u> Arus Harutyunyan, <i>Western Michigan University</i> Overview: Looking at the ethnically homogeneous country of Armenia the study argues that instead of an expected ethnic type of Armenian national identity, currently there are multiple contesting national identities.
Paper	<u>Web Research on Transnationalism: Surfing at Sea or at the Swimming Pool?</u> Gustavo Cano, <i>University of Nebraska, Omaha</i> Kari S. Burdick-Caves, <i>University of Nebraska, Omaha</i> Carie M. Franks, <i>University of Nebraska, Omaha</i> Overview: The proposed research aims to point out to what extent research on "transnationalism" through the web is useful to advance the theoretical and empirical development of the term.	Paper	<u>Racism and the Re-Constitution of Class in Post-'Unification' Germany</u> Juliane Edler, <i>York University</i> Overview: East Germans have accepted their class positions in post-'unification' Germany as they have received the wages of Germanness. The East German inferiority/West German superiority dualism coexists with the binary 'non-German foreigners' and Germans.
Paper	<u>The Political Discourse of Magazines and Weblogs: A Content Analysis</u> Susan Currie Sivek, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: This study will provide a content analysis of political articles in American news magazines and partisan opinion magazines, as well as political weblog postings, in order to describe the contribution of these media to American political discourse.	Paper	<u>Confrontation with Arrogant Discourses</u> Kathleen Claussen, <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i> Blaine Horrocks, <i>Susquehanna University</i> Maura Beaufait, <i>Vassar College</i> Eric Brown, <i>City University of New York</i> Overview: This paper examines the different political constructs for the integration of Muslim communities in London and Copenhagen. It surveys the attitudes that structure the interaction between majority and minority groups in the two metropolitan areas.
Paper	<u>Candidate Control in Cyberspace: News Media as a Strategic Tool on Campaign Websites</u> Matthew P. Taylor, <i>Mount St. Mary's University</i> Overview: This paper looks at how gubernatorial campaigns use the news media as part of their Web sites to control the agenda and communicate their messages more directly.	Paper	<u>O Movimento Negro and the Civil Rights Movement: An Interpretive Analysis</u> Rosalind Fielder, <i>University of Illinois</i> Overview: The paper will respond to the question, why have Afro-Brazilians been unable to mount a mass movement on the scale of the civil rights movement through an interpretative analysis of the Brazilian Black movement and the civil rights movement.
Paper	<u>Fifth Estate or Echo Chamber. An Analysis of the Blogosphere, Media Coverage and the War in Iraq</u> Kevin J. Wallsten, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: This paper explores the question of whether blogs are an "echo chamber" (meaning they merely repeat media messages) or a "fifth estate" (meaning they criticize and fact-check media sources) in the context of an analysis of blogging on the war in Iraq.	Disc.	Julia Albarracin, <i>Western Illinois University</i> Agnes K. Koos, <i>University of New Orleans</i>
Disc.	G.R. Boynton, <i>University of Iowa</i>	27-15	<u>DESIGNING DEMOCRACY: FOUR VIEWS FROM THE EARLY REPUBLIC</u>
25-13	<u>WOMEN AND THE WELFARE STATE</u>	Room	TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Room	TBA, Sun 8:30 am	Chair	Michael P. Zuckert, <i>University of Notre Dame</i>
Chair	Alesha E. Doan, <i>California Polytechnic University</i>	Paper	<u>Publius' Theory of the Stable Democracy</u> Shanaysha M. Furlow Sauls, <i>Duke University</i> Overview: The association of democracy with stability is a relatively new notion and most certainly a modern one. How did the association of democracy with stability arise? I argue that the emergence of the contemporary notion of a stable democracy can be at
Paper	<u>Intersectionality and the Welfare State: A Comparative Study</u> Sirje Laurel Weldon, <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: In this paper I reformulate the idea of intersectionality and apply it in a comparative analysis of welfare states, examining social policies addressing gender, race and class inequality in general as well as intersectionally marginalized groups.	Paper	<u>Democracy and the Framers' Constitution: Towards an Apolitical Assessment</u> Alan Gibson, <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: This paper will revisit the question, "How Democratic is the Constitution?" by first providing a Madisonian interpretation of the Madisonian Model and then evaluating it against the criteria of responsiveness, inclusiveness, and political equality.
Paper	<u>Assessing Welfare Reform from a Feminist Perspective</u> Mary Ann E. Steger, <i>Northern Arizona University</i> Overview: Using a feminist perspective to redefine the values of accountability, equality, effectiveness, and efficiency radically changes state-determined TANF rules and shifts the goal of welfare reform to one of moving families out of poverty.	Paper	<u>Jefferson's Ward Republic: Political Rights and an Engaged Citizenry</u> Derek A. Webb, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: Jefferson's proposal of the ward republic represented an attempt on his part to supply greater security to the political rights of citizens by overcoming anemia (a potential vulnerability in liberal politics) and encouraging citizen vigilance.
Paper	<u>Budget Deficit, Welfare Reform, and Single Mothers: Canada and the United States</u> Sherrow O. Pinder, <i>Hobart and William Smith Colleges</i> Overview: I examine the deficit politics in Canada and the United States from 1980-1999. I focus on Ontario and New York State, and I show how both followed the same political trajectory with similar consequences for single mothers in both locales.		
Disc.	Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, <i>University of Utah</i> Alesha E. Doan, <i>California Polytechnic University</i>		

- Paper** **John C. Calhoun's Consensus Model of Government**
James H. Read, *College of St. Benedict*
 Overview: Critical examination of Calhoun's argument for government by consensus rather than majority rule.
- Disc.** **Lilly J. Goren**, *Carroll College*
Michael P. Zuckert, *University of Notre Dame*

27-22 **EDMUND BURKE: CONSERVATIVE OR RADICAL?**

- Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair **Joyce M. Mullan**, *Oakton College*
Paper **Burke on Tradition and Normativity**
Daniel Patrone, *Rogers State University*
 Overview: I argue Burke's concern is with the normativity of institutions that could be constructed within the "scheme of things" that liberals require for political innovation. Burke's views of tradition, nature, reason, and political honesty are reconsidered.

- Paper** **Edmund Burke's Anti-Rationalist Conservatism**
Andrea M. Radasanu, *University of Toronto*
Andrea Radasanu, *University of Toronto*
 Overview: This paper poses the question of Edmund Burke's political and philosophical conservatism. While it seems clear that he had conservative political goals, it is not clear that his philosophical grounds proved conducive to his conservative politics.

- Paper** **Strauss's Burke Reconsidered**
Steven Lenzner, *Claremont-McKenna College*
 Overview: TBA
- Disc.** **Joyce M. Mullan**, *Oakton College*
Joseph Pappin, *University of South Carolina*

28-15 **EXPLORING HEIDEGGER**

- Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair **Mark Blitz**, *Claremont McKenna College*
Paper **What Are Poets For? Gadamer's Answer to Heidegger's Question**
Glenn D. Clifton, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: This paper addresses the issue of what political theory has to learn from the arts, through an examination of the differences between Gadamer's ideas about poetry and those of his teacher, Heidegger.

- Paper** **The Concept of Authenticity in Charles Taylor and Martin Heidegger**
Christopher S. McClure, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: This paper compares the concept of authenticity as used by Heidegger and Taylor in an effort to understand how the meaning of the concept changed over time, and the political implications of those changes.

- Paper** **The Convergence of Martin Heidegger Philosophy and Politics**
Mark A. Menaldo, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: An examination of Heidegger's philosophical view of politics in his, "Introduction to Metaphysics". Special attention is paid to his view of ground and intrinsic order of the "polis".
- Disc.** **Christian D. Dean**, *Dominican University of California*

30-15 **FORMAL THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

- Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair **Konstantin Sonin**, *New Economic School/CEFIR*
Paper **Global Games in International Relations Theory**
Barry O'Neill, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: In a global game players hold symmetrical payoff functions but have only incomplete information about what these are. Their benefits are advocated as international relations models.

- Paper** **Rational Sanctions: A Game Theoretic Analysis**
Catherine C. Langlois, *Georgetown University*
Jean-Pierre P. Langlois, *San Francisco State University*
 Overview: We develop a game theoretic model of sanctions and test it using data on sanctions episodes.

- Paper** **Threats and Promises, Bargaining Strategies and Intergovernmental Negotiations**
Hartmut Lenz, *University of Essex*
Han Dorussen, *University of Essex*
Hugh Ward, *University of Essex*

Overview: The paper explores the strategic use of public commitment in negotiations. It uses a signaling model to distinguish between credible commitment and mustering public support. It is applied to negotiations on the EU constitution and crisis bargaining.

- Paper** **Coalitional Colonel Blotto Games: Application to the Economics of Alliances**
Dan Kovenock, *Purdue University*
Brian Roberson, *Miami University*

Overview: This paper examines a multi-player, multi-front Colonel Blotto game in which players may form non-cooperative alliances. Unilateral transfers within an alliance may arise even though resource expenditure is not a (pure or impure) public good.

- Disc.** **Konstantin Sonin**, *New Economic School/CEFIR*
David A. Siegel, *Stanford University*

32-4 **INTEREST GROUP FORMATION AND SURVIVAL**

- Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair **Anthony J. Nownes**, *University of Tennessee*
Paper **Structuring Incentives to Participate: Democracy in Voluntary Associations**
Maryann Barakso, *American University*
Brian Schaffner, *American University*

Overview: This study provides empirical evidence on the relative influence members may exert in interest group election and policymaking processes and examines the factors that correlate with higher levels of internal democracy.

- Paper** **Big Money Group Donors and Patrons: What They Give and What They Get**
Allan J. Cigler, *University of Kansas*
Anthony Nownes, *University of Tennessee*

Overview: While dues are crucial to public interest group viability, at least as important for many is the ability to attract large donations in amounts well above the minimums required for simple membership.

- Paper** **The Voluntary Provision of Public Goods: Public Interest Groups and the Collective Action Problem**
Richard Jankowski, *SUNY, Fredonia*

Overview: We propose an explanation of how public interest groups solve their collective action problem by incorporating weak altruistic motives to individuals. We then test our hypotheses by using the 2002 GSS analysis of altruism.

- Paper** **Discerning Collective Action and Density Dependence in Interest Communities**
David Lowery, *Universiteit Leiden*

Virginia Gray, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
James Monogan, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
 Overview: Aggregate level evidence of density dependence and collective action in interest communities cannot distinguish between these two models. We show why this is so and offer a solution to this conundrum focusing on secondary features of the two models.

- Paper** **Interest Groups and Nonprofit Advocacy**
Jill D. Nicholson-Crotty, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
 Overview: This study explores the relationship between the advocacy activities of nonprofit organizations and interest groups in the states.

- Disc.** **Suzanne M. Robbins**, *George Mason University*

33-9 **PRESIDENTIAL-CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS II**
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Samuel B. Hoff, *Delaware State University*
Paper **The Presumption of Success on Presidential Appointments Reconsidered: How Delay Has become the Primary Method of Defeating Nominees**
Jon R. Bond, *Texas A&M University*
Richard Fleisher, *Fordham University*
Glen S. Krutz, *University of Oklahoma*
 Overview: This analysis shows that the lengthening of the confirmation process for nominations to major executive and judicial offices from 1965-2004 is due to a purposeful strategy to defeat presidential nominees by preventing them from getting a vote.

Paper **Recommend for Their Consideration: The President's Legislative Policy Agenda, 1789-2004**
Jeffrey E. Cohen, *Fordham University*
Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha, *University of North Texas*
 Overview: We look at presidential policy comprehensively by coding by policy area all 14,000+ presidential requests to Congress for legislation from 1789-2004.

Paper **Presidential Targeting of Members of Congress**
Michael Cutrone, *Princeton University*
 Overview: I will consider informal methods of presidential influence -- specifically, presidential trips to the district. I will examine a number of hypotheses regarding who Presidents target in their efforts at persuasion and the success of these efforts.

Paper **Clinton's Veto Threats: Speaking Often, and the Need to Wield the Big Stick**
Matthew G. Jarvis, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: The power of the veto lies in its threat, not in its use. Presidents vary in their willingness to veto. This paper explores how Clinton's reputation as a "waffler" affected how his veto threats were perceived and how that evolved over his presidency.

Paper **Popular Presidents' Strategic Choices Under Divided Government**
Hoi-Ok Jeong, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: I argue that under divided government, presidents will be less likely to go public, and this strategic behavior is motivated by relatively high presidential popularity that presidents are blessed to enjoy during divided government.

Disc. **Steven A. Shull**, *The Ohio State University*

34-12 **EXPLAINING SPENDING BY LEGISLATURES**
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Ronald E. Weber, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
Paper **Congressional Support for Deficit Reduction: Taxing versus Spending**
Patrick Fisher, *Seton Hall University*
 Overview: This study will analyze congressional support for deficit reduction differentiating between taxing and spending legislation by utilizing the votes on "fiscal responsibility" as compiled by the Concord Coalition, an anti-deficit interest group.

Paper **The Inequitable Distribution of Federal Aid in Criminal Justice**
Pamela M. Schaal, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: The distributive patterns of grant-in-aid spending are influenced by several categorical variables but political variables are more prevalent in periods of unified government.

Paper **Electoral Systems, Bargaining Power, and Legislative Outcomes**
Michiko Ueda, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
James M. Snyder, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
 Overview: The paper tests two contrasting hypotheses regarding the impact of district magnitude on legislative outcomes by examining intergovernmental transfers from state governments to counties in the U.S. state legislatures during the 1960s and 1970s.

Paper **Friends in High Places: The Institutional Politics of Post-Disaster Recovery**
Mark Wrighton, *University of New Hampshire*
Lara M. Brown, *California State University, Channel Islands*
 Overview: Recovery efforts after recent hurricanes have highlighted the importance of representation and intergovernmental relationships. This paper explores the changing political scene of the South and its effects on disaster recovery efforts there.

Paper **Party Strength, the Personal Vote, and Government Spending**
David M. Primo, *University of Rochester*
James M. Snyder, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
 Overview: We use a noncooperative bargaining model to analyze the conditions under which party strength constrains legislative incentives for inefficient spending. We also show that strong party organizations constrain spending in the U.S.

Disc. **Jocelyn J. Evans**, *University of West Florida*

35-9 **CANDIDATE QUALITY, STRATEGY, AND COMPETITION**
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair Scot D. Schraufnagel, *University of Central Florida*
Paper **Iraq War Veterans and the 2006 Elections: An Analysis of Candidate Quality**
Neal Allen, *University of Texas*
Jeremy M. Teigen, *Ramapo College*
 Overview: This paper explores the connection between veteran status and candidate quality in U.S. House elections. This paper focuses on 2006 anti-war veteran candidates, and their ability to counter issue ownership deficits of the Democratic Party.

Paper **Candidate Quality and Voter Response in U.S. House Elections**
Walter J. Stone, *University of California, Davis*
Nathan Hadley, *University of California, Davis*
Rolfe Peterson, *University of California, Davis*
Sandy Maisel, *Colby College*
Cherie D. Maestas, *Florida State University*
 Overview: District-informant based measures of challenger and incumbent quality employed to study voter response to House campaigns, and to assess the impact of challenger and incumbent quality on House electoral competition.

Paper **Confronting Strategic Behavior in Congressional Elections Research**
Michael J. Ensley, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
Scott J. Basinger, *SUNY, Stony Brook*
 Overview: Procedures for dealing with an endogenous dichotomous treatment variable are analyzed and applied to two examples of strategic behavior in congressional politics: the effect of challenger quality on fundraising and incumbent retirement on shirking.

Paper **All in the Family: Advantages of Second-Generation U.S. House Candidates**
Michael Kellermann, *Harvard University*
 Overview: Do candidates from political families win more votes? This study estimates the electoral advantage of second-generation politicians in House elections, and finds that candidates who run to fill vacancies left by relatives outperform other candidates.

Paper **A Deterrence Model of Congressional Elections: The Polarizing Effects of Quality Challengers in Congressional Elections**
Justin M. Buchler, *Case Western Reserve University*
 Overview: Circumstances that make quality challenger entry into a congressional election more likely can produce non-centrist outcomes, even when the quality challenger is more moderate than the incumbent.

Disc. **Kristin Kanthak**, *University of Arizona*

36-12 DISENTANGLING LAW AND POLITICS IN JUDICIAL DECISION MAKING

Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am

Chair Robert R. Robinson, *Rhodes College*

Paper Legal Considerations and Heterogeneity in Supreme Court Decision-Making

Brandon L. Bartels, *The Ohio State University*

Overview: I theorize that legal considerations interact with justices' policy preferences and induce heterogeneity in preference-based behavior. Results from multilevel models show how the law is capable of shaping the magnitude of preference-based behavior.

Paper Ideology or Interpretative Philosophy?

Sara C. Benesh, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*

Jason C. Czarnecki, *Marquette University*

Overview: In order to test the relative weight of legal and attitudinal variables, we model decisions of the Seventh Circuit as a function of ideology and of legal interpretive philosophy.

Paper The Reach of Justice

Jeffrey J. Davis, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*

Overview: In this paper I quantitatively test the impact of the executive, judicial ideology, Supreme Court precedent and other forces in human rights cases in U.S. courts.

Paper Supreme Court Decision-Making in Affirmative Action and Regulatory Takings Cases, 1978 - 2005

Michael C. Evans, *University of Maryland*

Rebecca Thorpe, *University of Maryland*

Overview: How is Supreme Court decision-making different in economic and civil rights cases? To address this question, we analyze opinions and briefs from Supreme Court regulatory takings and affirmative action cases from 1978 to 2005.

Paper Strategic or Sincere? Understanding Supreme Court Decision-Making

Richard L. Paccelle, *Georgia Southern University*

Bryan W. Marshall, *Miami University*

Brett Curry, *The Ohio State University*

Overview: In studying Supreme Court decision-making, there has been a disconnection between individual and institutional levels of analysis. This is an integrative model that examines the influence of legal, attitudinal, and political variables.

Disc. Chad M. King, *University of Texas, Dallas*

38-13 STATE-LEVEL DETERMINANTS OF REGULATORY POLICY

Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am

Chair Lilliard E. Richardson, *University of Missouri*

Paper Crisis, Culture, or Coverage: Are State Ethics and Lobbying Regulatory Policies Driven by Image or Substance?

Adam J. Newmark, *Appalachian State University*

Shannon Vaughan, *Appalachian State University*

Overview: We examine the scope of state legislative scandals through a content analysis of AP wire stories in ten states from 1998-2005. The purpose is to determine whether coverage of a scandal is an indicator of the scandal's severity or other factors.

Paper Interstate Competition and U.S. Environmental Regulation

Neal D. Woods, *University of South Carolina*

Overview: The study seeks to ascertain whether states respond to competition from neighboring states, either by reducing regulatory costs or altering the allocation of costs among industry and taxpayers.

Paper The Interactive Effects of National and State Institutions on Regulatory Decisions

Doo-Rae Kim, *East Carolina University*

Overview: TBA

Disc. Margaret R. Ferguson, *Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis*

39-13 POLICY ISSUES IN GOVERNING METROPOLITAN AREAS

Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am

Chair David K. Hamilton, *Roosevelt University*

Paper Policy Implications of Minority Location in Metropolitan Areas

James Lewis, *Roosevelt University*

Overview: The challenge for a more racially inclusive regionalism nationwide include reducing racial/ethnic separation, enacting voting schemes to ensure appropriate representation, and establishing human relations commissions to mitigate potential conflicts.

Paper Land Issues in Metropolitan Areas

Allan Wallis, *University of Colorado, Denver*

Overview: This paper looks at the evolution of efforts to regulate and in other ways shape the pattern of land development at a regional level. It contrasts fundamentally top-down approaches with approaches that are more bottoms-up and often ad hoc.

Paper Pollution in the Metropolitan Environment

Christopher Stream, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

Overview: This paper provides a historical perspective on current environmental problems in metropolitan areas. I also describe the involvement of regional and local interest groups, government structure and municipal administrators. Recommendations are made.

Paper Transportation Issues in Metropolitan Areas

Curtis H. Wood, *Northern Illinois University*

Laurie Hokkanen, *City of Dekalb, Illinois*

Overview: This study presents the history, problems, and policies of public transportation in six regions, how public transportation can improve quality of life, and collaborative and competitive efforts between governments.

Paper Facing the Future: Georgia Regional Transportation Authority Re-examined

Anna A. Filipova, *Western Michigan University*

Overview: This paper focuses on the likely effectiveness of Georgia Regional Transportation Authority to link transportation, land use planning, and air quality policy issues in the future and become an implementation vehicle of democratic processes.

Disc. David K. Hamilton, *Roosevelt University*

40-12 RACIAL DISPARITIES AND PUBLIC POLICY

Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am

Chair Regina Bratton, *Rice University*

Paper Constructing Policy Narratives: School Desegregation in Los Angeles

Ryane M. Straus, *College of Saint Rose*

Overview: This paper is an examination of the development of policy narratives by different racial groups, based on a case study of desegregation in the Los Angeles Unified School District.

Paper Race, Ethnicity, and "Three Strikes and You're Out" in California

Elsa Y. Chen, *Santa Clara University*

Overview: Study examines the extent to which ethnic/racial differences emerge at various stages of criminal processing to determine how much observed disparity can be attributed to the design and implementation of "Three Strikes and You're Out" in California.

Paper Welfare Reform: Who Are the Leavers and Who Are the Left Out?

Miriam S. Wilson, *Bowling Green State University*

Overview: This paper discusses a social program "tipping point" where support for programs diminishes when there are more minority recipients than white recipients.

- Paper** **Equal Employment Opportunity: An Idea Whose Time Has Come**
Mitzi Ramos, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Overview: This work unites Charles Lindblom's incremental model and John Kingdon's policymaking model in examining the emergence of Equal Employment Opportunity policy and the multiple factors leading to the passage of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.
- Paper** **Racism as Effective Public Policy Epistemology**
Adrian J. Lott, *Eastern Michigan University*
 Overview: This paper examines racism as a source of knowledge. It looks at the epistemological strengths of racism as historically exhibited and gleans lessons for future public policies in a variety of arenas.
- Disc.** **Erin O'Brien**, *Kent State University*
Regina Bratton, *Rice University*
- 41-3** **TRENDS IN EDUCATION POLICY**
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair **Terry S. Weiner**, *Union College*
Paper **Why States Support Charter Schools**
Bryan T. Shelly, *Wake Forest University*
 Overview: This paper examines which factors make states more likely to adopt charter schools.
- Paper** **Private Higher Education in the Persian Gulf: The Experience of Kuwait**
Christian B. Hummel, *College of Saint Benedict/Saint John's University*
Gina E. Cinali, *Gulf University of Science and Technology*
 Overview: Building on four years of combined fieldwork in the Gulf, this paper examines the emergence of private institutions of higher education in the Persian Gulf with a particular focus on new "American-style" universities in Kuwait.
- Paper** **Outcomes and Quality of Alternative Early Education Policies**
Dana K. Rickman, *Georgia State University*
Gary T. Henry, *Georgia State University*
Craig S. Gordon, *Gordon Holdings*
 Overview: The fragmentation of early education programs is utilized to compare the service quality and children's developmental outcomes of low income students enrolled in a targeted Head Start program and the state-run universal Pre-K Program in Georgia.
- Paper** **The UK Education System: Access to Children With Special Educational Needs**
Lisa Nitti, *University College of London*
 Overview: Representational democracy in the United Kingdom elects professional groups to enact special educational policies. The civic voluntarism model explains the existence of participatory inequalities in parental groups. Recommendations are provided.
- Paper** **Teaching Evolution: State Institutions, Public Opinion, and Science Curriculums**
Michael B. Berkman, *Pennsylvania State University*
Eric Plutzer, *Pennsylvania State University*
Nicholas Stark, *Pennsylvania State University*
 Overview: We rate each state's biology curriculum based on how closely it adheres to the most rigorous standards for teaching evolution and model differences across the states with an emphasis on state institutions and public policy.
- Disc.** **Jal D. Mehta**, *Harvard University*
Rachel A. Fulcher Dawson, *Michigan State University*

- 43-1** **COURTS AND BUREAUCRACY (Co-sponsored with Judicial Politics, see 36-21)**
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair **Stefanie Lindquist**, *Vanderbilt University*
Paper **A Tale of Two Values: The Conflict of Equity and Efficiency in New York's Administrative Law Tribunal Process**
Danette Brickman, *John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY*
Warren Eller, *Bush School of Government and Public Service*
 Overview: This paper addresses the Administrative Law Tribunal process in New York and focuses on the structural dynamics of the system as they relate to systemic equity, overhead control and accountability.
- Paper** **Congress' Regulatory Control of Business: The Efficacy of Civil Rights Litigation in Achieving Regulatory Compliance**
Sean Farhang, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: TBA
- Paper** **At-Will Employment in the Public Sector and State Appellate Courts: Exploring the Nexus Between Law, Politics, and Public Administration**
Stephen L. Nelson, *University of Utah*
 Overview: This project collects and reviews state appellate court opinions in at-will employment cases involving state and local governments. The most important feature of this data is not the ultimate outcome or holding of the cases.
- Paper** **Judicial Uncertainty and Antitrust Prosecution**
Quan Li, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: This article develops a theory of judicial impact on bureaucratic prosecution and tests it with Antitrust Division litigation data from 1950 to 1994.
- Disc.** **Stephanie Lindquist**, *Vanderbilt University*
- 46-1** **EDUCATIONAL CULTURES**
Room TBA, Sun 8:30 am
Chair **David M. Dolence**, *Cuyahoga Community College*
Paper **The Local as the Site of the Other: The Role of Teachers in Negotiating Intersubjective Meaning**
Sherwin Malekzadeh, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Cultural dissonance is increasingly a local affair, making withdrawal from the site of encounter difficult. There is no choice but to find, or build, a way across the discursive divide if state and society are to hold.
- Paper** **Cultural Frames, Institutions, and Space in the School Reform Movement**
Luis C. Martos, *Harvard University*
 Overview: In my prospectus, I suggest a theory and method to understand the effect of the 1988 and 1995 School Reform Acts in Chicago on how Local School Council members in four different neighborhoods understand education and political involvement.
- Paper** **The Culture of Learning in the Context of Globalization**
Barbara A. Strassberg, *Aurora University*
 Overview: The paper focuses on the transformations of the culture of learning in the context of processes of globalization, as well as the competition of various regions of the world for hegemony in the new emerging world-system.
- Paper** **Children's Bioethics: Participatory Citizenship and the Right to Identity**
Maya Sabatello, *University of Southern California*
 Overview: Focusing on traditional and modern biomedical practices, I explore the international bio-political discourse on the child's right to identity, in view of concepts such as social agency, participatory citizenship and children's rights.
- Disc.** **Tanner J. McFadden**, *University of Chicago*

- 47-13** **THE RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS OF
POLITICAL LIBERALISM**
- Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
- Chair** **John Michael McTague**, *University of Maryland, College Park*
- Paper** **The Implications of Martin Luther's Political Absolutism on
Liberalism**
Graham B. Glover, *University of Florida*
 Overview: The purpose of this discussion is to evaluate Martin Luther's commitment to political absolutism and its implications for today's liberal understanding of the relationship between secular and ecclesiastical authorities.
- Paper** **Prophetic Black Christianity and the Limits of Rawlsian
Liberalism**
Terrence Johnson, *Brown University*
 Overview: Rawlsian liberalism's unabashed rejection of religious beliefs in deliberative democracy stems from a parochial interpretation of religion. What Cornel West calls prophetic Christianity challenges the divide between the religious and the political.
- Paper** **Reassessing Religion in Liberalism**
Clarissa H. L. Kornell, *Ohio University*
 Overview: By examining the recent rise of Christian fundamentalism in the United States, this paper aims to broaden the liberal perception of religion in politics to demonstrate that liberal principles and comprehensive religious beliefs can be reconciled.
- Disc.** **Rokas Oginskis**, *Wayne State University/University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Andrew R. Murphy, *Valparaiso University*

- 49-101** **ROUNDTABLE: HOW TO LAND YOUR
FIRST ACADEMIC JOB: TIPS FOR THE
ACADEMIC JOB MARKET**
- Room** TBA, Sun 8:30 am
- Chair** **Tracy L. Osborn**, *Bridgewater State College*
- Panelist** **Eileen Braman**, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
Tasha Philpot, *University of Texas, Austin*
Mona Lena Krook, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Brandice Canes-Wrone, *Princeton University*
 Overview: This roundtable will provide advice for graduate students about the academic job market. Members of the roundtable will offer tips on such topics as the application process, the job talk, and the interview. Panelists will draw on their experiences on both sides of the hiring process.

Sunday, April 23 – 10:30 am – 12:15 pm

2-16 REPUTATION, GLOBALIZATION AND ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am

Chair Nobuhiro Hiwatari, *University of Tokyo/Harvard University*

Paper The Impact of Globalization and Partisan Politics on Economic Performance

Eunyoung Ha, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: The purpose of this paper is to examine the influence of globalization and the balance between political power and labor market institutions on macroeconomic performance.

Paper A Formal Public Goods Approach to Societal Investment in the Varieties of Capitalism

Katri K. Sieberg, *Binghamton University, SUNY*

Brandon C. Zicha, *Binghamton University, SUNY*

Overview: Our formal model draws on the Olsonian logic of encompassing interests, the economics of barter, and bilateral monopoly to explain comparative patterns of economic and social investment in terms of public good provision technologies.

Paper The Race to the Bottom: Tax Reform and Economic Development in the EU

Akis Kalaitzidis, *Central Missouri State University*

Overview: This paper considers the debate about flat vs. graduated taxes for economic development in the EU. Using data from countries that already use flat taxes as well as comparable data from older EU members it argues that this debate is misplaced.

Disc. Nobuhiro Hiwatari, *University of Tokyo/Harvard University*

3-7 ETHNICITY AND INSTITUTIONS

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am

Chair Jugdep S. Chima, *University of California, Berkeley*

Paper A Decade of Indigenous Customary Law in Mexico

Todd Eisenstadt, *American University*

Overview: This article evaluates the ten-year empirical record of post-electoral conflicts in Mexico's Oaxaca state since that government's decision to legally recognize usos y costumbres local leader selection via traditional practices.

Paper Ethnicity, Class, and Party System Change in Emerging Democracies

Rachel M. Gisselquist, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Overview: This project presents and tests a theory explaining change in the political salience of ethnicity and class in party systems in new democracies. It tests hypotheses using data on Bolivia from fieldwork in 2004-05 and a new cross-national dataset.

Paper Disempowering Babel: Language, Governance, and Democracy in South Africa

Eric S. McLaughlin, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Overview: The paper examines the impact of language diversity and language barriers on important micro-level democratic indices. It offers evidence that linguistic diversity and linguistic exclusion produce negative consequences for democratic governance.

Paper State Formation, Ethnicity and Democratization in Guyana, Trinidad and Mauritius

Kunle P. Owolabi, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: This paper examines the processes of state formation and ethnic mobilization in Guyana in order to understand the breakdown of democracy in Guyana on the eve of Independence, and the contrasting democratic successes of Trinidad and Mauritius.

Disc. Johanna K. Birnir, *SUNY, Buffalo*

3-9 CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN AFRICA

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am

Chair Carl LeVan, *University of California, San Diego*

Paper Crime, Security and Support for Democracy in Africa

Michelle T. Kuenzi, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

Kenneth E. Fernandez, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

Overview: We examine the relationship between citizens' reported experiences with crime and perceptions of safety and their support for democracy and non-democratic alternatives as well as trust in legal institutions in 12 sub-Saharan African countries.

Paper Short-Run Power versus Long-Run Democratization: Africa in Comparative Perspective

Susan Glover, *American University*

Overview: This paper considers the shifting roles of power and ethnicity in the post-Big Man era in Africa, assessing instances of politically- and ethnically-motivated land redistribution and trends for the institutionalization of democratic practices in Africa.

Paper Understanding Motivations of Ghanaian Bureaucrats

Christine Lokko, *West Virginia University*

Overview: This paper examines the motivations of Ghanaian bureaucrats; particularly, the extent to which solidary, functional, pecuniary and familial preferences impact the behavior of Ghanaian bureaucrats.

Paper Does Civic Education Promote Participation?: Evidence from Rural Africa

Satu S. Riutta, *Georgia State University*

Overview: Does civic education promote participation in rural Africa? Answers offered are based on survey data from villages in Tanzania and Zambia. Significance: for democracy promoters and those wishing to increase civil society's role in African politics.

Paper Candidate Recruitment in New Democracies - the 2005 Ethiopian Election

John T. Ishiyama, *Truman State University*

Marijke Breuning, *Truman State University*

Overview: This paper proposes to test theories developed in the post-communist Eastern European context on candidate selection and nomination strategies using the case of the Ethiopian parliamentary election of 2005.

Disc. Frank Le Veness, *St. John's University*

4-18 CRISIS, INSTABILITY AND DEMOCRATIC BREAKDOWN

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am

Chair Roger P. Hamburg, *Indiana University, South Bend*

Paper A Failure of Federalism: The Legacy of Asymmetry in the Russian Federation

David R. Foley, *Canisius College*

Overview: Russia's democratization process is stalled because the transition to democracy has been confounded by the adoption of an asymmetric districting regime which is antithetical to the institutional foundations of a free market federal democracy.

Paper Whither Russia?: Domestic and Foreign Factors

Roger P. Hamburg, *Indiana University, South Bend*

Overview: I will assess Russian political parties, civil society, democratic prospects. I will also take a future view of Russian foreign and military policy.

Paper Examining the Colored Revolutions: Successes and Failures in Popular Revolt

Scott T. Nissen, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Overview: This paper attempts to understand why revolts were successful in changing governments in the former USSR. This done by comparing successful cases (Georgia and Ukraine) to cases in which a change in government did not occur (Azerbaijan and Russia).

Paper **Competition or Coordination, Elite Strategies in Russia and Ukraine**
Jana W. Kunicova, *California Institute of Technology*
Olga Shvetsova, *SUNY, Binghamton*
 Overview: Why was the Ukrainian presidency contested so hotly, while the Russian was a done deal? We argue that the answer lies in the choice of the elite strategy for political interaction among the contestants.

Disc. **Petros Vamvakas**, *Emmanuel College*

4-104 **ROUNDTABLE: A MULTIDIMENSIONAL APPROACH TO REGIME CHANGE IN TAIWAN AND SOUTH KOREA: A ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Panelist **John A. Grummel**, *West Virginia State University*
Chen Pao Chou, *Hamline University*
 Overview: This research applies a multidimensional approach, utilizing both macro and micro-level approaches as well as historical and contextual factors to examine regime transformation in Taiwan and South Korea.

5-16 **RADICAL RIGHT PARTIES IN EUROPE**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair **Jennifer Fitzgerald**, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
Paper **The Case of the Vlaams Belang**
Hilde Coffé, *Vrije Universiteit Brussel*
 Overview: By performing a content analysis of the economic discourse of the Vlaams Belang, we will investigate whether Kitschelt's winning formula which includes economic neoliberalism, fits the extreme right party.

Paper **Putting the Success of the Extreme Right in its Nationalist Environment**
Hilde Coffé, *Vrije Universiteit Brussel*
David Art, *Holy Cross College*
 Overview: By comparing different political systems both with strong and weak pre-existing nationalist subcultures, we demonstrate that the existence of a nationalist subculture is a necessary condition for the long-term success of extreme right parties.

Paper **Modernization and its Political Consequences, East and West**
Florin N. Fesnic, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: I look at the social and economic determinants of support for extreme right-wing parties in Eastern and Western Europe. I compare Romania and France, identifying variables which account for the rise of extreme right-wing support in both countries.

Paper **Anti-immigrant Vote in Denmark and Norway: the Volk Effect**
Barbara S. Kinsey, *University of Central Florida*
Juan Gabriel Gomez-Albarello, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: We examine the anti-immigrant vote across electoral districts in Denmark and Norway. This vote is expected to be conditioned by the concentration of foreigners across districts but this effect would vary depending on the citizenship model that applies.

Paper **Does Radical Right Parties Capitalize on Anti-Immigrant Sentiments?**
Wonjun Yoon, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: As opposed to the conventional wisdom that radical right parties in Europe capitalized on anti-immigrant sentiments, I argue that the success of radical right parties was not the result but the cause of anti-immigrant sentiments.

Disc. **Terri E. Givens**, *University of Texas, Austin*

7-12 **WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS (Co-sponsored with Gender and Politics, see 25-15)**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair **Leslie Schwindt-Bayer**, *University of Mississippi*
Paper **Effects of Women's Agency in Latin America**
Christina E. Bejarano, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: I examine the substantive impact of women's movements in Latin America by analyzing effects of the agency role of women, including political involvement of women, attitudes towards the changing role of women, and membership in the women's movement.

Paper **From Gender Quotas to Gender Inclusiveness: Political Women in Argentina**
Adriana M. Crocker, *Benedictine University*
 Overview: Employing both quantitative and qualitative analyses, this paper seeks to analyze the role of the Argentine political women in a post-gender quota environment and argues that under current circumstances gender quotas are practically obsolete.

Paper **Getting to the Top: Career Paths of Latin American Female Cabinet Ministers**
Maria Escobar-Lemmon, *Texas A&M University*
Michelle Taylor-Robinson, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: Examines careers in Latin American cabinets to determine if ministers are specialists or generalists, and if gender or appointment to a "women's ministry" affects career paths. We use pooled, time-serial data from 18 countries from 1980-2003.

Paper **Representation and Gender Quotas in Latin America: A Vertical Reassessment**
Amanda M. Driscoll, *University of Arizona*
 Overview: This paper explores the impact of gender quotas on the public's assessment of women. Specifically, have women's evaluations of political opportunity been impacted by increased exposure to women in leadership?

Paper **Differential Identity and Coalition Formation Among Uruguayan Women's Groups**
Erica Townsend-Bell, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: This paper focuses on the question of the conditions under which social movement groups interact in sustained coalition. In particular I focus on the extent to which differential identities within groups may foster or hinder coalition formation.

Disc. **Leslie Schwindt-Bayer**, *University of Mississippi*
Mona Lena Krook, *Washington University, St. Louis*

8-14 **WELFARE, SOCIAL POLICY, AND CORPORATISM IN EAST ASIA**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair **Koop Berry**, *Walsh University*
Paper **Corporatism Transformation in Asian Developed Nations--Japan and South Korea**
Lichao He, *University of Georgia*
 Overview: The comparative study of Japan and South Korea demonstrates that the difference in their corporatism transformation from state to societal corporatism is decided by their different civil society tradition and configuration of social forces.

Paper **Incentives, Ideology, or Other Initiatives? Why China's Health Reforms Fail**
Tana Reisenauer-Johnson, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: Many scholars blame China's healthcare shortcomings on factors within the health system itself. However, such factors are only the proximate cause: the underlying source is external factors such as reforms in other sectors and eroded societal ties.

Paper **State Legitimacy, Social Contract, and the Welfare System-Welfare Politics in China and Taiwan**
Bin Yu, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
 Overview: Why is the welfare state collapsing in China while it is growing Taiwan? This paper argues that they have chosen different state legitimacy formulae that led to different social contracts, which ultimately resulted in different welfare patterns.

Paper **Protecting Japanese Workers from Death by Overwork: The Role of the State?**
Darlene M. Budd, *Central Missouri State University*
 Overview: This paper presents and analyzes the results of a survey administered to 200 Japanese businessmen in Nagoya, Japan on the topic of karoshi ("death by overwork"), and the role of the government to protect workers against dangerous work conditions.

Paper **Bureaucratic Choice under Double Advent: Lessons from the South Korean Case**
Dongryul Kim, *University of Virginia*
 Overview: This paper suggests a triangular relationship between democratization, globalization, and bureaucracy. The so-called double advent is conducive to friction when a bureaucracy resists economic reform in reaction to political liberalization.

Disc. **Koop Berry**, *Walsh University*

9-3 **COLONIAL LEGACIES AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair **Gina M. S. Lambright**, *George Washington University*
Paper **Traditional Leaders in Modern Africa: Can Democracy and The Chief Co-Exist?**
Carolyn Logan, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: Using public opinion data gathered by the Afrobarometer in 15 African countries, we analyze perceptions of traditional leaders in comparison to elected officials, and evaluate the impacts of modernization and other factors on these perceptions.

Paper **The Social Construction of Ethnicity and National Identity in Contemporary Senegal**
Nancy Kwang Johnson, *Western Illinois University*
 Overview: In Senegal, French is the official language and the Wolof language is the de facto lingua franca. Wolofization, the process of promoting Wolof as a first language among non-Wolof ethnic groups, is increasingly becoming a national phenomenon.

Paper **Politics and Geography: Explaining African Economic Performance**
Matthew Fails, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
 Overview: The shape and size of state boundaries are presented as fundamental determinants of African economic performance. This re-focuses the debate on the legacy of European colonialism in the region.

Paper **Leave Your Credit Cards at Home: Criminality and Rumor in Gaborone's Slums**
Steve D. Marr, *University of Florida*
 Overview: Combining an inter-disciplinary approach and nearly 18 months of fieldwork, the paper examines the failure of utopian urban planning in Gaborone, Botswana and the discursive mechanisms working to marginalize slum dwellers in the city.

Paper **Explaining Economic Policy Reform: Does the Interest Group/Rational Choice Model Work?**
Stephen M. Clements, *University of Memphis*
 Overview: The utility of the interest group/rational choice model as regards Africa has been questioned. Using Guinea and Nigeria as case studies, this paper tests the model. The result is that the model can be effective if it includes possible state autonomy.

Disc. **Fodei J. Batty**, *Western Michigan University*

10-13 **PUBLIC POLICY IN THE FORMER COMMUNIST STATES**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair **Alexander Baturo**, *Trinity College, Dublin*
Paper **Reworking Post-Communist Welfare: How Politics Affects Policy Structures**
Christine S. Lipsmeyer, *University of Missouri*
 Overview: Using a new measure of welfare policy, one based on structural changes in five policies, I show how governments affect policy. I systematically analyze how governments create welfare policy in thirteen European post-communist countries.

Paper **Institutions, Ideology, or Wealth?: Government Spending after Communism**
Tatiana Kostadinova, *Florida International University*
 Overview: The paper tests hypotheses about the impact of institutions, government ideology, and economic growth on public expenditures in fifteen post-Communist countries undergoing dual transition to a market economy and democratic political practices.

Paper **Determinants of Government Spending in Post-Communist Countries**
Joseph W. Robbins, *Texas Tech University*
 Overview: This research extends existing literature on institutions and government spending to Post-Communist countries. Preliminary results indicate that when strong executives and weak parties coexist, government spending increases.

Paper **Sweeping Anti-Corruption Reforms?: A New Comparative Approach in Measuring Corruption Fighting**
Monica Dorhoi, *World Bank*
 Overview: This study investigates why and how countries fight corruption.

Paper **Party Systems, Coalitions, and Pension Reform. Legislative Roll Call Analyses and Expert Surveys in Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary**
Oana I. Armeanu, *Southern Methodist University*
 Overview: Roll call analyses of voting in legislatures and expert surveys of party positions in Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia show that the characteristics of the nationalist-conservative and left poles are decisive for the outcome of pension reform in CEE.

Disc. **Alexander Baturo**, *Trinity College, Dublin*

12-9 **INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, PROPERTY RIGHTS, AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair **John A. Doces**, *University of Southern California*
Paper **North-North Divisions Regarding Intellectual Property Rights Enforcement**
Nikolaos Bizziouras, *Harvard University*
 Overview: This paper argues that the differences among rich countries in terms of IPR enforcement result from the interaction between domestic level veto point institutional structures and the extent of the public goods nature of the products.

Paper **Countries With Access to Information Laws: An Examination of Institutions**
Jeannine E. Relly, *University of Arizona*
Meghna Sabharwal, *Arizona State University*
 Overview: Countries have adopted access to information laws in the last decade at a pace unlike any other time in history. This study will examine the strength of economic and political institutions in countries that have passed these laws.

Paper **Systemic Globalization and Personal Integrity Rights in Developing States**
Robert Stewart-Ingersoll, *Grand Valley State University*
 Overview: This paper empirically examines the influence of globalization as a systemic and multi-dimensional phenomenon upon the protection of personal integrity rights in LDCs, arguing that globalization may be viewed as a liberally-based ordering principle.

Paper	<u>Protection of Human Rights During Economic Development</u> David S. Yamanishi , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: I explore the relationship between the protection of different classes of human rights (due process, civil, economic, social) and economic development, in an effort to improve upon the vague "rule of law" measures prevalent in the literature.	Paper	<u>The Paradoxical Effect of Shared Military Identity on State Socialization</u> Carol Atkinson , <i>The Ohio State University</i> Overview: Statistical analyses are used to evaluate the extent to which state socialization to more liberal practices (democratic institutions and human rights practices) is facilitated through educational exchange programs and shared common identity.
Disc.	Andrew C. Mertha , <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i>	Paper	<u>The Politics of Ethnic Cleansing</u> H. Zeynep Bulutgil , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: The paper deals with the conditions under which ethnic cleansing occurs. I develop an argument and then test it by using data from Europe between 1900 and 1950 as well as by using the results of my field research in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
13-14	<u>ALLIANCES, INSTITUTIONS AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS</u>	Disc.	Khalil M. Marrar , <i>Loyola University, Chicago</i>
Room	TBA, Sun 10:30 am	15-12	<u>METHODS, MODELS, AND WAR</u>
Chair	Randolph M. Siverson , <i>University of California, Davis</i>	Room	TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Paper	<u>Latin America 1950-1979: Evidence of Autocratic Economic Cooperation?</u> Ana Carolina Garriga , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: Do Latin American autocracies cooperate more in the economic realm than democracies do? Preliminary results show that autocracies have been more prone to cooperate than democracies. This propensity varies across different types of economic agreements	Chair	Stephen E. Gent , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i>
Paper	<u>Explaining the Adoption of International Human Rights Treaties</u> Emily R. Hencken , <i>Emory University</i> Overview: This paper presents the hypothesis that the system ratification status of international human rights treaties establishes a normative concern, which makes social movements against the state more likely, regardless of the state's ratification status.	Paper	<u>Cheap Conflict: Picking Fights and Accepting Costs</u> Michelle C. Anderson , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: A state's decision to fight depends on the expected costs and a willingness to accept them. Logit and duration analyses suggest that the probability and duration of international conflict are positively influenced by both.
Paper	<u>Democratization and U.S. Alliances in Asia</u> Dong Sun Lee , <i>East-West Center</i> Overview: This paper investigates how democratization affects alliance. I argue that democratization tends to destabilize asymmetric alliances, but its effects are uneven because transition occurs in different threat environments and takes divergent paths.	Paper	<u>The Origins of Private Information and War</u> Adam H. Meirowitz , <i>Princeton University</i> Anne E. Sartori , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: We show why states create informational asymmetries that lead to war. In our model, two actors with no private information invest in military capacity; they often keep each other guessing about their chosen capacity and create a risk of war.
Paper	<u>Anarchy, Hierarchy, and Alliance Relations: Does Regime Type Matter?</u> Neill Mohammad , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Michelle Allendoerfer , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: We argue that choices about the rigidity of alliances are related to domestic regimes. The risk of both economic distortions and abandonment suggests that democratic dyads will build anarchic alliances, and others will stress hierarchy.	Paper	<u>The Road to War: Choosing the Instrument of Coercion</u> Branislav L. Slantchev , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: We examine the choice between the military and economic instruments for strategic coercion in international crises.
Paper	<u>Realism, and Risk Acceptance: Arms Transfers Between Rivals</u> Michael P. Jasinski , <i>University of Georgia</i> Jeffrey Berejikian , <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: The paper advances a prospect theory-based theoretical framework to explain cooperation among rivals in situations where relative gains concerns are acute, through a study of arms transfers between Russia and China.	Paper	<u>Power Distributions and Patterns of Conflict among the Major Powers</u> Kelly M. Kadera , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: TBA
Disc.	Stephen Quackenbush , <i>University of Missouri</i> Randolph M. Siverson , <i>University of California, Davis</i>	Disc.	Stephen E. Gent , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i>
14-12	<u>HUMAN SECURITY</u>	17-11	<u>REGIONAL INTEGRATION BEYOND THE EU</u>
Room	TBA, Sun 10:30 am	Room	TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair	Khalil M. Marrar , <i>Loyola University, Chicago</i>	Chair	Nathan D. Griffith , <i>Belmont University</i>
Paper	<u>International Security and Immigration Policy</u> Nikola Mirilovic , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: I argue and show using econometrics that the countries that face substantial security threats (e.g., war, intense regional security competition) are more likely to adopt permissive immigration policies than the countries that face fewer threats.	Paper	<u>Regional Cooperation and Conflict Resolution in Africa</u> Sebunya E. Kasule , <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: This paper studies the East African Community to find out whether African leaders use Regional Economic Organization to address regional conflicts, and if so whether they have been successful.
Paper	<u>Legal Barriers to Human Security in the Baltic States</u> Kathleen Claussen , <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i> Joshua Asher , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: Ambiguities in international law lead to a new classification of individual in the context of international security. Russian nationals living in Estonia are at risk of remaining "citizenshipless" with no institution to guarantee them of any rights.	Paper	<u>Regional Integration, Domestic Institutions, and Economic Security</u> Huisheng Shou , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: The paper aims to identify the domestic factors and understand the mechanisms that determine the variation of policy choices of ASEAN member states in negotiating multilateral rules set for ASEAN Free Trade Area(AFTA).
		Paper	<u>US-Mexico Relations and Why is NAFTA Not Enough for Either Country</u> Adrian S. Petrescu , <i>University of Texas, Brownsville</i> Overview: Using past cases of regional integration and assessing opportunities in US-Mexico relations, I look at the policy complexities in immigration, economic and education policies in the US, and how do US-Mexico relations affect these policy issue areas.
		Disc.	Yoram Z. Haftel , <i>The Ohio State University</i>

18-14 **THE STUDY AND MEASUREMENT OF RACIAL ATTITUDES**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am

Chair Shayla C. Nunnally, *University of Connecticut*

Paper **On the Meaning and Measurement of Political Values: A Critical Assessment**

Christopher S. Parker, *University of California, Santa Barbara/Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Scholar*

Overview: This paper challenges whether or not a second-order factor representing political culture is possible, and whether its measurement is affected by race.

Paper **Color-Blind Policies or Color-Infused Principles: An Experiment**

Inna Burdein, *Stony Brook University*

Overview: This experiment addresses competing hypotheses within racial literature: (a) conservatives rely on their principles in making policy decision, regardless of race, or (b) conservatives abandon their principles when policies benefit minorities.

Paper **Race on the Brain: A Functional MRI Study of Racial Perception**

Darren Schreiber, *University of California, San Diego*

Overview: MRI has proven to be a useful tool for examining racial attitudes. This study adds nuance to this line of research by focusing on the neural correlates of perception of White and Black political figures.

Paper **Social Groups and Social Desirability: Measuring Group and Question Stimulus Effects**

Christopher P. Muste, *University of Montana*

Overview: Survey experiments are used to assess two types of social desirability effects: the effect of social group cures of race, sex, and class; and the effect of questions tapping social group affiliations compared to perceptions of social group influence.

Disc. John E. Transue, *Duke University*

19-9 **INFORMED VOTING?**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am

Chair Richard R. Lau, *Rutgers University*

Paper **Hearing the Campaign: Candidate Messages, Public Perceptions, and Public Priorities**

Michele P. Claibourn, *University of Virginia*

Overview: Do citizens accurately hear the issue content of the presidential advertising campaign? Do they prioritize the issues candidates emphasize in their advertising campaigns?

Paper **An Exploration of Correct Voting in U.S. Presidential Elections, 1972 - 2004**

Richard R. Lau, *Rutgers University*

David J. Andersen, *Rutgers University*

David P. Redlawsk, *University of Iowa*

Overview: This paper presents a comprehensive examination of correct voting in U.S. presidential elections, 1972 - 2004. Three sets of predictors are considered: individual (cognitive) capacity, task difficulty, and the complexity/density of the information.

Paper **Too Many Bush Voters? False Vote Recall and the 2004 Exit Poll**

Mark Lindeman, *Bard College*

Overview: The 2004 NEP exit poll indicates that 2004 voters had substantially favored George W. Bush over Al Gore in 2000 – an "impossible" result that some took as evidence of fraud. How anomalous is the result, and how should it influence election analysis?

Paper **Campaign Effects and Correct Voting**

Scott D. McClurg, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*

Tom Holbrook, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*

Overview: We examine the effect of presidential campaigns on the probability of voting correctly.

Paper **Consumption of Ideology and Voting Heuristics**

X. T. Wang, *University of South Dakota*

Overview: The study examined how different choice heuristics accounted for participants' presidential choice two months before the 2004 election. A few simple heuristics did better in predicting the overall winner of the voting than normative decision rules.

Disc. William G. Jacoby, *Michigan State University*

22-9 **SHORTCUTS TO POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am

Chair Paul Goren, *Arizona State University*

Paper **The Military Vote: Security Threats and Candidates' Veteran Prestige as Determinants**

John M. Fulwider, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*

Overview: The military votes like civilians, except in times of threat. Further, they aren't swayed by a candidate's military background. This will affect the electoral prospects of the first group of veterans since Vietnam to enter politics in large numbers.

Paper **Cue-based Versus Message-based Political Persuasion: Evidence From a Survey**

Rune Slothuus, *University of Aarhus, Denmark*

Overview: A national representative election survey allows me to disentangle the persuasive effects of changing arguments in political messages, while holding the partisan source constant, thus illuminating cue-based versus message-based opinion change.

Paper **Cues Given, Cues Received: How Candidates Use Shortcuts When Voters Need Them Most**

Jeff M. Tessin, *Princeton University*

Overview: This paper shows that House candidates use more cues and heuristics in their ads in crowded media markets and unsophisticated districts. Thus, candidates may help citizen competence by providing messages suited for low-information conditions.

Disc. Paul Goren, *Arizona State University*

Wendy Rahn, *University of Minnesota*

23-2 **CROSS-NATIONAL VOTER TURNOUT AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am

Chair Miki Caul Kittilson, *Arizona State University*

Paper **Voter Equality in Post-Industrialized Nations: The Interaction of Individual Resources and Political Context**

Miki Caul Kittilson, *Arizona State University*

Mark M. Gray, *Georgetown University*

Overview: We draw on the cross-national Comparative Study of Electoral Systems data set to examine how political institutions and organizations interact with individual-level resources in shaping an individual's propensity to vote.

Paper **European Parliament Electoral Turnout in Post-Communist Europe**

Mary A. Stegmaier, *University of Virginia*

Christine Fauvelle-Aymar, *Universite de Paris I*

Overview: Turnout rates in the 2004 European Parliament election in the post-communist states averaged 32.5% and ranged from 17% in Slovakia to 48% in Lithuania. Using district-level data, we assess the factors that explain the variance in turnout rates.

Paper **What Makes Compulsory Voting Mandatory? A Cross-National Study of Compulsory Voting and Turnout, 1970-2004**

James W. Endersby, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

Jonathan T. Kriekhaus, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

Overview: On average, compulsory voting increases national voter turnout by about ten percent. However, the influence of mandatory voting laws depends on the penalty imposed, the level of enforcement, the extensiveness of coverage, and the level of democracy.

Paper **Social Capital and Political Participation**
Maria Elena Sandovici, *Lamar University*
 Overview: This paper explores the relationship between political participation and social capital. It argues that social networks facilitate participation, and trust shapes the choice between conventional and unconventional action.

Disc. TBA

24-16 **AGENDA SETTING AND THE MEDIA**
Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair **Johanna L. Dunaway**, *Rice University*
Paper **Whose Agenda Wins Out? The Effects of Candidate and Media Issue Attention**
Danny Hayes, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: I identify the circumstances under which one group of elites -- candidates or journalists -- is more likely to succeed in setting the public's agenda, as well as the ways individual-level factors condition a person's susceptibility to agenda-setting.

Paper **Does the Media Agenda Reflect the Candidates' Agenda?**
Travis N. Ridout, *Washington State University*
Rob B. Mellen, *Washington State University*
 Overview: Using coding of local news broadcasts, statewide newspapers, candidate ads and candidate websites, this paper examines the degree of congruence between the candidates' issue agenda and the media's issue agenda in the 2002 U.S. Senate campaigns.

Paper **Entertain Their Brain: Selling Political Agenda Using Entertainment Values**
Michael D. Todd, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
 Overview: This paper is an analysis of how nightly news programs are using entertainment and marketing techniques to present President Bush's War on Terror to the viewer and with what effect.

Disc. **Linda Bennett**, *University of Southern Indiana*

25-14 **DESCRIPTIVE AND SUBSTANTIVE VIEWS OF WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION**
Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair **Katherine Opello**, *Hollins University*
Paper **Women's Political Mobilization in Ethnic Conflicts: Theoretical Considerations**
Linda Racioppi, *Michigan State University*
Katherine O. See, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: This paper explores women's political mobilization under conditions protracted ethnic conflict. It examines how ethnic conflict shapes and constrains activism and political participation and how such conflict limits movements for women's equality.

Paper **Explaining French Parties' Response to the Parity Law**
Rainbow Murray, *Birkbeck College, University of London*
 Overview: This paper examines the French parity law from the perspective of political parties. Existing theoretical approaches are used in conjunction with individual party priorities to provide a fuller explanation of parties' choice of electoral candidates.

Paper **Critical Acts or Critical Mass? Female Deputies' Impact on Policy in France**
Katherine Opello, *Hollins University*
 Overview: This paper examines whether women in the French National Assembly affect policy. It posits that demands for and passage of "women friendly" policies are due to the critical acts (rather than a critical mass) of female deputies.

Disc. **Manju Parikh**, *College of Saint Benedict/Saint John's University*

26-7 **AFRICAN AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**
Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair **Damon Freeman**, *University of Pennsylvania*
Paper **Considering Political Socialization Among African American Youth**
Zahra G. Ahmed, *University of California, Irvine*
 Overview: This paper conceptualizes five research dimensions of the political socialization literature. A critique follows each dimension in the context of its utility for understanding political consciousness development among African American youth.

Paper **Black Ethnicity: Political Attitudes, Incorporation, and Participation**
Christina M. Greer, *Columbia University*
 Overview: An analysis of political attitudes and participation of black American, African Immigrant, and Afro-Caribbean Immigrant members of the Social Services Employees Union - Local 371 in New York City, NY.

Paper **Uplift Revisited: Barack Obama and Black Progress in America**
Gayle McKeen, *University of the South, Seawee*
 Overview: This paper sets the recent wave of uplift ideology articulated by black leaders such as Obama in the context of African-American political thought and examines the recent shift from civil rights to self-help discourse.

Paper **Advocacy on Behalf of the Poor: Elite Influence on Organizational Behavior**
Catherine Paden, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: I compare the NAACP's and NUL's responses to the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act and the 1988 Family Support Act. I argue that the organizations' changing relationship with elites affected their advocacy on behalf of the poor during the 1980s.

Disc. **Mark Q. Sawyer**, *University of California, Los Angeles*

27-16 **LIBERALISM, COMMUNITARIANISM, PLURALISM**
Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair **Eric MacGilvray**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Paper **The Ideas of Roscoe Pound: Pragmatism, Pluralism and Polylegalism**
Roger J. Cusick, *University at Albany*
 Overview: This paper examines the life and writings of Roscoe Pound (1870-1964). It focuses upon his largely overlooked decisions as a Nebraska judge (1901-03) his early writings and the unique way that he merged theory, practice, and education in law.

Paper **Conversation, Conversion and Conservation: Oakeshott, Arendt and Cavell**
Richard E. Flathman, *Johns Hopkins University*
 Overview: An examination of relationships that produce and sustain conversion and conversation. Critical discussion of the theories of Oakeshott, Arendt and Cavell all look to what they call conversation sustaining the continuity of political

Paper **Liberalism and the Limits of Pluralism**
Paul E. Kirkland, *Kenyon College*
 Overview: This paper responds to critics of liberal universalism like John Gray by examining the preferences among goods involved in the foundations of liberalism in thinkers like Locke and Montesquieu.

Paper **The Political Significance of Commitments**
Mara G. Marin, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: Based on existing relations, commitments are voluntarily created. In contrast with contractual obligations, however, commitment-based obligations cannot be precisely specified. I argue that political obligations should be understood in this model

Disc. **Eric MacGilvray**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Nicolaus Tideman, *Virginia Tech University*

28-14 Room Chair Paper	<u>ROUSSEAU RECONSIDERED</u> TBA, Sun 10:30 am Folke B. Lindahl , <i>Michigan State University</i> <u>Rousseau and the Republican Fear of Large Assemblies</u> Ethan Putterman , <i>National University of Singapore</i> Overview: Eighteenth and nineteenth century republicans such as James Madison and Edmund Burke routinely describe large or "extended" legislatures as mobs. <u>Nature in the Thought of Montaigne and Rousseau</u> Benjamin W. Storey , <i>Furman University</i> Overview: This paper describes a naturalist strain of modern thought that runs from Montaigne to Rousseau, thereby challenging the standard view of Rousseau as reactionary, and the view of modern thought as anti-naturalist. <u>Elective Aristocratic Republican Government: Rousseau Reconsidered</u> Michael J. Faber , <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i> Overview: Rousseau's essay On Social Contract is frequently cited as the source of absolutist ideas. I argue here that this essay is generally misinterpreted, and in fact lays down a limited government based in modern republican principles. <u>The Spirit/Form Tradition in Political Thought</u> Michael T. Rogers , <i>Lindsey Wilson College</i> Overview: In this paper I argue a) there are enough similarities in Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Tocqueville to treat them as a common tradition and b) using their approach to political analysis can give us a better understanding of the practice of democracy today. Disc. Jeffrey Metzger , <i>Brown University</i>	30-16 Room Chair Paper	<u>LAB EXPERIMENTS OF FORMAL MODELS</u> TBA, Sun 10:30 am Rebecca B. Morton , <i>New York University</i> <u>Endogenous Choice of Redistributive Taxes in a Lab Experiment</u> Justin Esarey , <i>Florida State University</i> Tim Salmon , <i>Florida State University</i> Charles Barrilleaux , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: We conduct a laboratory experiment to assess the effects of different rules on individual preferences for redistribution. <u>Spurring Development: Developing Trust</u> Nicholas Weller , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: Economic exchange requires institutions, and I test experimentally the type and quality of institutions that increase exchange between subjects. <u>Constrained Instability: Experiments on the Robustness of the Uncovered Set</u> Michael S. Lynch , <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> William T. Bianco , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Gary J. Miller , <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Itai Sened , <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: This paper reports the results of five-person voting experiments designed to test the viability of the uncovered set. The results show strong support for the uncovered set as a solution concept in simple majority decision-making environments. Disc. Rebecca B. Morton , <i>New York University</i>
29-8 Room Chair Paper	<u>FAMILY, EQUALITY, AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS</u> TBA, Sun 10:30 am Jennifer C. Rubenstein , <i>Princeton University</i> <u>Individual Rights v. Community Standards: The Case for the Right to Marry</u> Mary B. McThomas , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: The courts have progressively recognized the individual's right to marry over the state's interest in limiting that right. The exception is bigamy. How does this inform our understanding of individual choice, community scrutiny and same-sex marriage? <u>Same-Sex Marriage and the Task of Political Philosophy</u> Joshua D. Goldstein , <i>University of Toronto</i> Overview: Seeking to clarify political philosophy's task in relation to same-sex marriage. <u>Can Political Liberalism Deliver Equality in the Social-Bases of Self-Respect?</u> Gerald Doppelt , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: This paper examines Rawls' important notion of equality in the social bases of self-respect and the pivotal role of his paradigm of self-respect as equal democratic rights. I examine reformulations of Rawls' principles that accommodate the objection. <u>Gay Marriage and the Sexual Omelet</u> James M. Patterson , <i>University of Virginia</i> Overview: Both sides of the gay marriage debate view sex as personal fulfillment from treating another person as if he were an object. Resolving the debate requires redefining sex as a social performance to support both persons. <u>Squaring Happiness with Democracy</u> William A. Gorton , <i>Alma College</i> Overview: Public policy aimed at increasing happiness poses a dilemma for liberal democracies because people are not good at predicting what will make them happy. I discuss how democracies might pursue happiness while continuing to honor citizens' autonomy. Disc. Joseph Agassi , <i>Tel-Aviv University/York University, Toronto</i> Phil Neisser , <i>SUNY, Potsdam</i>	32-11 Room Chair Paper	<u>VOTER REACTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTIES</u> TBA, Sun 10:30 am Emily Clough , <i>University of North Texas</i> <u>The Rise of the Cultural Voter and What It Means for the American Party System</u> Joel A. Lieske , <i>Cleveland State University</i> Overview: This paper explores how cultural differences and issues have come to play a central role in the outcome of presidential elections and how American voters view the two major parties and their candidates. <u>Parental Influence On Partisan Identification</u> Patrick T. Hickey , <i>University of Texas</i> Overview: This paper examines the effect parents have on their children's partisan identification. The hypothesis is that parental party ID is the strongest predictor of the partisan ID of young adults. The dataset used is the General Social Survey. <u>Partisan Stability and Electoral Context</u> Quin Monson , <i>Brigham Young University</i> Kelly Patterson , <i>Brigham Young University</i> Jeremy Pope , <i>Brigham Young University</i> Overview: Using 2004 three wave panel data, we find individuals change their partisanship in response to political stimuli in their environment suggesting that institutional context affects partisan stability even in the abbreviated window of a campaign season. <u>Do Policy Shifts Have an Electoral Payoff?</u> Margit Tavits , <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Overview: Party policy shifts on pragmatic issues such as managing the economy are associated with increased voter support. However, policy shifts on principled social issues lead to decreased support for the party. <u>Making a Difference: How Exposure to Ads Conveys Party Distinctions</u> Michael M. Franz , <i>Bowdoin College</i> Overview: This paper explores the effect of campaign ads on citizen perception of party differences. Disc. Barbara A. Trish , <i>Grinnell College</i>

33-10 **THE MEDIA, PUBLIC OPINION, AND PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am

Chair Susan L. Roberts, *Davidson College*

Paper **The Mass Mediated Presidencies of John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan: From Spectacle to Simulacra**

James A. D. Buccellato, *Wayne State University*

Overview: This essay examines the mass mediated presidencies of JFK and Ronald Reagan. The paper improves upon previous research by using Guy Debord's socioeconomic theory to enhance our understanding of the presidential spectacle.

Paper **Code Fear: The Terror Alert System and the Rally Effect**

Tracy C. Burdett, *Eastern Kentucky University*

Overview: Can a basis for possible manipulation of the color-coded terror alert system by the Bush administration be found in the concept of the rally effect? I examine approval ratings and news items for periods preceding each change in terror alert level.

Paper **Presidential Persuasion and Media Coverage of Domestic Policies Post-9/11**

Caroline E. Heldman, *Whittier College*

Erinn M. Carter, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: TBA

Paper **Going Public When the Public Has Turned a Deaf Ear**

Todd Kent, *Texas A&M University*

Justin S. Vaughn, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: Using time series methods, we determine the causal relationship between declining public support for George W. Bush's Social Security reform plan, his handling of the Iraq war and the energy crisis, and his performance as president in general.

Paper **Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion on the Economy**

Jeffrey S. Peake, *Bowling Green State University*

Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha, *University of North Texas*

Overview: Studies of leadership of opinion exclude an important link in the public presidency: the media. When controlling for media, our results indicate presidents have difficulty leading the public primarily because of their reliance upon the 4th estate.

Disc. Susan L. Roberts, *Davidson College*

R. Steven Daniels, *California State University, Bakersfield*

34-13 **DUCK AND COVER: FILIBUSTERING IN CONGRESS**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am

Chair Burdett A. Loomis, *University of Kansas*

Paper **Supreme Court Appointments: Advice and Consent, Separation of Powers**

William L. Rosenberg, *Drexel University*

Overview: Since the origins of the United States the institutional and political processes of Supreme Court Nominations and confirmations have been evolving.

Paper **Going to the Mattresses: Filibustering in Congress, 1789-1901**

Gregory Koger, *University of Montana*

Overview: I measure filibustering in the historic Congress, finding a general increase over time and more filibustering in the House than the Senate. Regression analysis suggests that filibustering varies with partisanship and the scarcity of chamber time.

Paper **A Historical Analysis of Points of Order in the United States Senate**

Anthony Madonna, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Overview: This paper is an evaluation of all points of order in the U.S. Senate from the 56th to 106th congresses. The results are then contrasted to the contemporary debate over the nuclear option.

Paper **A War of Words: The Duration of the Filibuster in the U.S. Senate, 1919-93**

Charles Shipan, *University of Iowa*

Doug Dion, *University of Iowa*

William D. MacMillan, *University of Iowa*

Overview: This paper applies two war of attrition game theoretic models to describe the use of the filibuster in the Senate from 1917-1993. Using a Weibull model, we find support for the existence of two regimes.

Paper **Curing Obstruction? Potential Effects of Reforming the Filibuster**

Lawrence S. Rothenberg, *University of Rochester*

Fang-Yi Chiou, *Princeton University*

Overview: Policy production in the United States is typically viewed as obstructed, with proposals and nominations stymied against majority wishes.

Disc. Michael P. Bobic, *Emmanuel College*

36-101 **ROUNDTABLE: PERSPECTIVES ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND LAW AND SOCIETY**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am

Chair Mitchell Pickerill, *Washington State University*

Panelist Joel B. Grossman, *Johns Hopkins University*

Doris M. Provine, *Arizona State University*

Christopher Zorn, *South Carolina University*

Herbert M. Kritzer, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

C. Neal Tate, *Vanderbilt University*

James F. Spriggs, *University of California, Davis*

Overview: This panel will evaluate the interconnections between the public law and judicial politics field in political science and the Law and Society Association. The various distinguished scholars on the panel will, broadly speaking, explore the relationship

37-1 **COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES ON LAW AND RIGHTS**

Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am

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

Paper **Constitutional Identity**

Gary J. Jacobsohn, *University of Texas, Austin*

Overview: An inquiry into the concept of constitutional identity. The approach is theoretical and comparative, the latter to be pursued with a dual focus on India and Ireland. An understanding of constitutional change must confront the question of identity.

Paper **The Americanization (?) of Canadian Voting Rights Jurisprudence**

Mark Rush, *Washington and Lee University*

Christopher Manfredi, *McGill University*

Overview: An analysis of the evolution of Canadian Supreme Court voting rights decisions from a distinct, collective-rights oriented jurisprudence to one that struggles with individual and collective rights in the same manner as its American counterpart.

Paper **Not in Our Right Minds: Reason, Virtue and Crimes of Passion**

Catherine E. Warrick, *American University*

Overview: The relationship between reason and virtue in society is evaluated through an examination of comparative criminal law. The legal treatment of "crimes of passion" points to the need to reconsider reason as the basis of virtue in law and politics.

Paper **Constitutionalism and the Detention of Non-Citizens in Australia, Canada and the U.S.**

Rebecca E. Hamlin, *University of California, Berkeley*

Overview: This paper compares recent court decisions regarding alien detention in three countries.

Paper **The Judicial Treatment of Abortion in the United States and Germany**
Robert M. Yonkers, *Wayne State University*
 Overview: This paper compares and contrasts the abortion decisions of the United States and the German Supreme Courts.

Disc. **Ian G. Cram**, *Leeds University*

39-6 **LOCAL BOUNDARY CHANGES**
Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair **Michael C. Craw**, *Michigan State University*
Paper **Annexation Policy in Milwaukee: An Historical Institutional Approach**
Joel Rast, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
 Overview: Theories of urban politics assume that societal actors play a key role in the making and execution of policy. Using evidence from Milwaukee's annexation program, this paper finds that situations exist in which city governments act autonomously.

Paper **Promises Made, Promises Kept? An Assessment of the Efficiency and Effectiveness of City-County Consolidation**
Suzanne M. Leland, *University of North Carolina, Charlotte*
 Overview: To date, there are no documented studies that empirically prove city-county consolidation cuts costs and leads to improved service delivery. This paper plans to directly address this gap in the literature.

Paper **Government Consolidation in Rural Areas**
Keith A. Boeckelman, *Western Illinois University*
 Overview: This paper examines the desirability of consolidating counties and eliminating/reducing the number of townships in rural areas. The evaluation will consider how consolidation affects 1) the cost of services, and 2) citizen access to government.

Paper **The Politics of Special District Dissolution**
Nicholas G. Bauroth, *North Dakota State University*
 Overview: Using data from the Bureau of the Census and the 50 state statutory codes, this study examines the processes through which special districts dissolve. It classifies dissolution by degree of difficulty and tests the impact upon district policies.

Disc. **J. Edwin Benton**, *University of South Florida*

40-13 **REGULATING SIN: SMOKING, DRINKING AND DRIVING**
Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair **Raymond Tatalovich**, *Loyola University, Chicago*
Paper **Forms of Evidence Used in Testimony on Statewide Smoking Restrictions**
Lisa Bero, *University of California, San Francisco*
Dorie Apollonio, *University of California, San Francisco*
 Overview: We test theories of what constitutes effective presentation of evidence using legislative hearing transcripts and interviews with policymakers, and determine that legislators find testimony that demands constituency service most compelling.

Paper **Revenue or Regulation? A Closer Look at State Cigarette Taxes**
Michael J. Licari, *University of Northern Iowa*
 Overview: This paper assesses the legislative intent of state cigarette taxes. It then addresses the issue of whether the revenue from the tax is used appropriately given the regulatory or revenue intent.

Paper **The Enforcement of Drinking and Driving Laws in the States**
Anthony Bertelli, *University of Georgia*
Lilliard E. Richardson, *University of Missouri*
 Overview: Using survey data, we develop a measure of the latent propensity to drink and drive. We use quantile regression analysis to test how perceptions of enforcement, arrest, and conviction affect the propensity to drink and drive.

Paper **Legislative Action and Market Responses: Results of Virginia's Natural Experiment with Direct Wine Shipment**
Alan E. Wiseman, *The Ohio State University*
Jerry Ellig, *George Mason University*
 Overview: We focus on Virginia's alcohol direct shipment ban as a testing ground for assessing the economic effects of regulations that limit competition.

Paper **Are Federal Regulations on Alcohol Use Safe?**
Alissa B. Almeida, *Boston University School of Public Health*
Jacey Greece, *Boston University School of Public Health*
Sara Minsky, *Boston University School of Public Health*
Donald Allensworth-Davies, *Boston University School of Public Health*
Jonathan Howland, *Boston University School of Public Health*
Damaris Rohsenow, *Brown University*
J. Todd Arnedt, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: Current regulations on alcohol use don't account for the residual effect of alcohol after a night of heavy drinking. As many workers have this exposure, effects felt at zero BAC the next day could have a large impact on the workplace.

Disc. **Raymond Tatalovich**, *Loyola University, Chicago*

42-1 **POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT RISK (Co-sponsored with International Political Economy, see 12-17)**
Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair **Bumba Mukherjee**, *Florida State University*
Paper **Elections, Partisan PBC's and Sovereign Bond Spreads in Developing Countries**
Bumba Mukherjee, *Florida State University*
 Overview: I develop and test a model using partisan political business cycle (PBC) theory to predict the investment risk perceived by investors during several presidential and parliamentary elections in 50 developing countries from 1986 to 2000.

Paper **Institutional and Security Determinants of Bilateral FDI Inflows**
Quan Li, *Pennsylvania State University*
Tatiana Vashchilko, *Pennsylvania State University*
 Overview: We investigate theoretically and empirically how various institutional and security variables influence bilateral investment flows.

Paper **Insuring Against Violence: Political Institutions and Risk Insurance Pricing**
Nathan M. Jensen, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Daniel J. Young, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: We offer a theory of how political institutions affect political risk. We then estimate how political constraints affect the prices paid by multinationals to purchase political risk insurance contracts covering civil war and political violence.

Paper **The Politics of Investment: Partisanship and Sectoral Patterns of Investment Performance**
Pablo M. Pinto, *Columbia University*
Santiago M. Pinto, *West Virginia University*
 Overview: This paper attempts to establish whether foreign direct investment (FDI) reacts to changing political conditions in host countries. We explore the existence of partisan cycles in FDI investment performance at the industry level.

Disc. **Bumba Mukherjee**, *Florida State University*
Pablo M. Pinto, *Columbia University*

43-11 **THOSE PRECIOUS CIVIL SERVANTS**
Room TBA, Sun 10:30 am
Chair **Susan A. MacManus**, *University of South Florida*
Paper **Civil Service Modernization in the Post Reform Era: A New Institutional Perspective**
Katherine C. Naff, *San Francisco State University*
Albert C. Hyde, *Brookings Institution*
 Overview: This paper examines current efforts to reform civil service using the new institutionalist perspective. It examines the social context of the current civil service change efforts and the motivations of key participants based on three case studies.

Paper	<p><u>Do Employee Attitudes Differ by Agency Type?: Analysis of 2004 FHCS</u> Yoonho Kim, <i>Cornell University</i> Overview: This paper examines if there are different federal employees' attitudes by agency types (e.g., Theodore Lowi's and James Q. Wilson's) using 2004 Federal Human Capital Survey data (focusing on effectiveness, job satisfaction, motivation, etc).</p>	Paper	<p><u>Ideology in the Classroom: A Q Methodological Study of the Academic Bill of Rights</u> Timothy Newman, <i>Kent State University</i> Overview: This analyses the potential ideological functions of Academic Bill of Rights and similar policies, which attempt to balance or neutralize core curricula and course content.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Review of the Four Personnel Reform Effects on Organizational Effectiveness: An Empirical Study of the GeorgiaGain Program and the Civil Service Reform Law</u> Sung Min Park, <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: In this paper, within the principal agent theoretical frameworks, four major personnel reform effects – discretionary and performance controlling systems and monetary and information incentive systems – were empirically analyzed at the state level.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Role of Political Science Courses in Civic Engagement</u> Scott R. Furlong, <i>University of Wisconsin, Green Bay</i> Denise Scheberle, <i>University of Wisconsin, Green Bay</i> Overview: The paper explores the relationship between certain political science courses and different measures of civic engagement for college students with the question of the whether these courses may promote more civic engagement.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Work-Family Culture and Job Satisfaction in Public, Private, and Nonprofit Sectors</u> Sanda M. Dolcos, <i>North Carolina State University</i> Dennis M. Daley, <i>North Carolina State University</i> Overview: Using data from the 2002 National Study of the Changing Workforce, we investigate how the impact of family-friendly policies and work-family culture on job satisfaction vary according to the sector of employment and gender.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Religious Beliefs, Practice and Student Interest in Public Service</u> Roger P. Rose, <i>Benedictine University</i> Jessica Herdrich, <i>Benedictine University</i> Overview: This paper explores the influence of religious beliefs and practice upon student interest in public service and related public-centered activities.</p>
Disc.	<p>Anna A. Amirkhanyan, <i>American University</i></p>	Disc.	<p>Elizabeth T. Smith, <i>University of South Dakota</i></p>
47-12	<p><u>THEOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOLUTIONS TO THE CULTURE WARS</u></p>		
Room	TBA, Sun 10:30 am		
Chair	Erika R. Seeler , <i>Duke University</i>		
Paper	<p><u>Roger Williams: Toleration, Cooperation, and Culture Wars</u> Owen Yeates, <i>Duke University</i> Overview: This paper argues that Williams's defense of toleration and respect for others resulted from his unrelenting religious convictions. It calls on the religious and non-religious to seek grounds for cooperation within their own and others' traditions.</p>		
Paper	<p><u>Ecumenical Religious Dialogue: A Model for Ecumenical Political Dialogue?</u> Amy L. Cavender, <i>Saint Mary's College</i> Overview: In this essay, I explore the experience of three interfaith/interreligious dialogues, examining the ways in which ecumenical religious dialogue has been conducted, and apply the learnings from that exploration to the field of political dialogue.</p>		
Paper	<p><u>Making Deep Reasonings Public: Pursuing Moral Debate and Fugitive Ontologies</u> Jeff Bailey, <i>Cambridge University</i> Overview: Repair of political fragmentation is found in shared ontologies, discovered when deep reasonings can be expressed amidst difference. Searle and Bourdieu, as well as new models of interfaith textual study, offer resources for such political repair.</p>		
Paper	<p><u>The Democratization of the Sacred</u> Giuseppe Giordan, <i>University of Valle d'Aosta</i> Overview: Religion and democracy mutually define themselves: the emergence of the "spirituality" category in contemporary sociology of religion highlights the very process of the "democratisation of the sacred".</p>		
Disc.	<p>Maurice M. Eisenstein, <i>Purdue University, Calumet</i> Andrew R. Murphy, <i>Valparaiso University</i></p>		
48-5	<p><u>TEACHING POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT</u></p>		
Room	TBA, Sun 10:30 am		
Chair	Roger P. Rose , <i>Benedictine University</i>		
Paper	<p><u>What Do College Students Know about American Government and When Do They Know It?</u> Jane Bryant, <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i> Overview: To assess information and knowledge of college-aged students - measure civic engagement and how democratic ideals are fostered in the community college environment.</p>		