

MPSA

Midwest Political Science Association 65th Annual National Conference April 12-15, 2007

Thursday, April 12 – 8:00 am – 9:35 am

1-106 ROUNDTABLE: TRANSITIONS TO DEMOCRACY (Co-sponsored with Comparative Politics: Transitions Toward Democracy, see 4-101)

Room Red Lacquer, 4th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair David J. Samuels, *University of Minnesota*
Panelist Barbara Geddes, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Mitchell Seligson, *Vanderbilt University*
Zachary Elkins, *University of Illinois*
Overview: This roundtable brings together scholars in an effort to broadly assess the steps forward scholars have taken in recent years in assessing the causes of transitions to democracy, as well as assess persistent conceptual, theoretical and empirical hurdles.

2-1 SOCIETIES AND WELFARE STATES: DEVELOPMENT, MEASUREMENT, AND IMPACTS OF SOCIAL POLICY

Room Salon 1, 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair Susan Giaimo, *Marquette University*
Paper Women's Resources and Welfare State Development
Catherine Bolzendahl, *University of California, Irvine*
Overview: Explores the impact of changing gender relations on welfare state development in twelve industrialized democracies. Results provide evidence for the importance of marriage rates, women's labor force participation, and women's legislative presence.

Paper De-commodification and Trust: A Cross-Country Study for Welfare Spending

Changkuk Jung, *Michigan State University*
Overview: In the cross-country data, de-commodification measured by ILO's social spending separates out the effect of de-commodification from the confounding effect of the universal-type institutions in the universal-welfare-trust literature.

Paper The End of Work or Working Endlessly? Voters' Attitudes to Retrenching Early Retirement Schemes in Europe

Achim Kemmerling, *Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin*
Overview: This paper investigates the role of causal beliefs for explaining voters' opinions on retrenchment in early retirement policies.

Paper Beyond Fractions of GDP: How Politics Affects Actual Welfare Policies

Christine S. Lipsmeyer, *Texas A&M University*
Overview: In this paper, I present and use a new measure of welfare policy, one based on changes in the structures or characteristics of five policies—unemployment, pension, sickness, maternity, and family benefits—to show how governments shape social policy.

Disc. Susan Giaimo, *Marquette University*

2-11 PERSPECTIVES ON FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICIES IN DEVELOPED DEMOCRACIES

Room Salon 2, 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair Robert J. Franzese, Jr., *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Paper Policy: To Lock-, or Not To Lock-In?

Jorge Bravo, *Duke University*
Iain McLean, *Oxford University*
Overview: Policy: to lock, or not to lock, in? A game theoretic model of policy commitment and electoral competition (Or why the British Conservative Party did not introduce an independent Central Bank but Labour did).

Paper Institutions, Attention Shifts, and Changes within National Budgets

Christian Breunig, *University of Washington*
Overview: Why do national governments legislate massive change in some budget areas while leaving other parts untouched? Decision-makers' attention to a few issues at a time enables them to overcome the legislative road-blocks that usually prevent change.

Paper The Impact of Fiscal Decentralization on Different Types of Public Spending

Marius R. Busemeyer, *Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies*

Overview: The literature on fiscal decentralization reaches no firm conclusion on the size and direction of its impact on spending. This paper provides a new perspective by looking at different types of spending (education, social... spending).

Paper Monetary-Fiscal Policy Interactions with an Independent Central Bank

Thomas Sattler, *ETH Zurich*
Overview: I reassess the influence of central bank independence on the economy when policy preferences between the fiscal and monetary authorities diverge. Using multivariate time series methods, I test the model's implications for Germany from 1950 to 1998.

Disc. Robert J. Franzese, Jr., *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

4-5 PARTIES AND ELECTIONS IN DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS

Room PDR 4, 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair Matthew Golder, *Florida State University*
Paper Party System Institutionalization and the Level of Democracy
Frank C. Thames, *Texas Tech University*

Joe Robbins, *Texas Tech University*
Overview: The party system development literature is founded on the assumption that weak party systems undermine democracy. Our paper tests this assumption by examining the effect of party system development on democracy in Latin American and Eastern Europe.

Paper The Number of Parties in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes: An Empirical Test

Ora John E. Reuter, *Emory University*
Andrew Kirkpatrick, *Emory University*
Overview: This paper examines the determinants of party aggregation and fragmentation in electoral authoritarian regimes.

Paper **The Survival of Political Parties in Newly Established Democracies**
Jason M. Smith, *Texas A&M University*
Shawn H. Williams, *Central Texas College*
 Overview: Using organizational theory as a foundation, it is argued that the survival of new parties is a function of the resources available, the background of leaders, the environment in which these parties exist, and the embeddedness of these new parties.

Paper **The Fallacy of The Fallacy of Electoralism**
Michael Cutrone, *Princeton University*
Nedim Ogelman,
 Overview: This paper reconsiders the 'fallacy of electoralism' and argues that a proper understanding of electoral competition can encapsulate the requisites for democracy.

Disc. **Emily A. Beaulieu**, *University of Kentucky*

5-1 **BARGAINING POWER IN POLICY MAKING**
Room Salon 4, 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair **Claudia Dahlerus**, *Albion College*
Paper **Voucher Reforms in Americas and Swedens Schools**
Michael B. Klitgaard, *University of Southern Denmark*
 Overview: This paper explains the American rejection and Swedish adoption of public vouchers in primary school policy as a consequence of varying institutional rules for political decision making between these two countries.

Paper **Strategic Policy-Seekers and Electoral Systems: The Politics of Education**
Tim Hicks, *Nuffield College, University of Oxford*
 Overview: With the electoral system providing in-built advantage to Left or Right, we should expect each party to exploit this knowledge in policy formulation. This mechanism is used formally to explain the diverse politics of school vouchers across countries.

Paper **Policy Balancing in Presidential Elections: The Effect of Presidential Powers**
Orit Kedar, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
 Overview: Using constitutional and electoral data from most presidential democracies since the war, I demonstrate that the more constitutionally powerful is the president, the greater the loss of support for her party in nonconcurrent legislative elections.

Paper **The Impact of Incumbency on Budget Deficits**
Jeffrey R. Kucik, *Emory University*
Stephen Chaudion, *Emory University*
 Overview: We formalize the impact of electoral outcomes on a government's ability to sustain inflated budget deficits in periods following an exogenous economic shock. We find that the size of electoral mandate is a key determinant of future deficit spending.

Disc. **Claudia Dahlerus**, *Albion College*

7-1 **EU DEMANDS, CANDIDATE RESPONSES**
Room Sandburg 7, 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair **Debra J. Holzhauer**, *Southeast Missouri State University*
Paper **Transmitting Europe: The European Union and Minority Rights in the Baltic**
Holley E. Hansen, *University of Iowa*
Zachary D. Greene, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: This paper tests the idea of the European Union as an agent of socialization for minority rights, focusing on how two mechanisms of socialization - social influence and persuasion - may promote behavioral and attitudinal changes within states.

Paper **Turkey's Immigration Policy: Can EU Norms Change Turkey's Identity?**
Juliette Tolay, *University of Delaware*
 Overview: In the domain of immigration, Turkey's identity has implied the inclusion of migrants of Turkish origin or culture and the exclusion of 'non-Turkish' migrants. This conception is incompatible with EU standards and therefore subject to redefinition.

Paper **Impacts of the EU's Political Conditionality on Poland, Romania and Turkey**
Beken Saatcioglu, *University of Virginia*
 Overview: This paper analyzes the variation in compliance with the EU's political membership criteria in Poland, Romania and Turkey and uses content analysis to discover the levels of clarity and credibility of the EU's post-1993 political conditionality.

Disc. **Marko Papic**, *University of Texas, Austin*
Zeki Sarigil, *University of Pittsburgh*

8-1 **DECENTRALIZATION AND SUBNATIONAL GOVERNMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA**
Room Sandburg 6, 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair **Allyson Benton**, *CIDE, Mexico*
Paper **The International Political Economy of Decentralization in Latin America**
J. Tyler Dickovick, *Washington and Lee University*
Kent Eaton, *University of California, Santa Cruz*
 Overview: This paper analyzes the numerous conflicts that have emerged involving subnational governments and foreign investment across Latin America in the wake of decentralization and liberalization.

Paper **Clientelism and Social Policy in Argentine Municipalities**
Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro, *Columbia University*
 Overview: Why do some local governments perform well, while others perform poorly, distributing goods in a personalistic manner? This paper uses an original dataset of social welfare policy implementation in Argentine cities to explain such variation.

Paper **Collective Action through Association: The Mexican National Conference of Governors**
Laura Flamand, *El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Mexico*
 Overview: By exploring the creation and upholding of the Mexican National Conference of Governors (Conago), this paper analyzes a solution to the collective action problem faced by governors in their interactions with the central government.

Paper **Revitalized Federalism and the Role of Governors in Argentina: Some Insights from the Experience of the Frente Federal de Gobernadores**
Juan Cruz Olmeda, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: Considering the case of the, still not extensively studied, "Frente Federal de Gobernadores" in Argentina this paper aims to better understand the conditions under which governors form coalitions to negotiate with the federal authorities.

Paper **The Municipalismo Movement in Brazil: An Examination of National and State Level**
Mariano Magalhaes, *Augustana College*
Raquel Barros, *Augustana College*
 Overview: This paper examines the impact of three national level institutions.

Disc. **Alfred P. Montero**, *Carleton College*

9-1 **DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES OF CHINA AND EAST ASIA**
Room Sandburg 5, 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair **Venelin Ganey**, *Miami University, Oxford*
Paper **East Heads West: Export Strategies of Chinese Automotive Makers**
Irina Aervitz, *Miami University, Oxford*
 Overview: This article discusses state policies that encourage Chinese companies to export and export strategies of three automotive enterprises: Beiqi Foton Motor Co., Great Wall, and Chery Automobile Co.

Paper **Third Wave of Market Internationalization in Asia: Causes and Consequences**
Francis Schortgen, *Miami University, Oxford*
 Overview: From a comparative perspective, I will critically evaluate Chinese MNC strategies and contrast them with earlier internationalization waves of Asian capitalism, namely those spearheaded by Japan in the 1980s and South Korea in the 1990s.

Paper	<p><u>Special Economic Zones as a Path of Development: The Case of China</u> Tony Frye, <i>Miami University, Oxford</i> Overview: This paper investigates the use of special economic zones (SEZs) in China to attract foreign direct investment, as well as its policy consequences on the investment choices of U.S. automobile manufacturers that invest in these zones.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Do Interest Groups Affect Immigration?</u> Prachi Mishra, <i>International Monetary Fund</i> Anna Maria Mayda, <i>Georgetown University</i> Giovanni Facchini, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the impact of special interest groups on immigration in the U.S. using a unique industry-level dataset on lobbying expenditures by businesses specifically for immigration issues.</p>
Disc.	<p>Phillip Stalley, <i>Princeton University</i></p>	Disc.	<p>Jamus J. Lim, <i>Centre College</i></p>
14-1	<p><u>ELECTIONS, TERROR, NATURAL DISASTERS, AND CROSS-BORDER CAPITAL FLOWS</u></p>	15-1	<p><u>THE POLITICS OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE</u></p>
Room	<p>Sandburg 2, 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am</p>	Room	<p>Salon 5, 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am</p>
Chair	<p>William Bernhard, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i></p>	Chair	<p>Leonid Kil, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Gravity Model of Globalization, Democracy and Transnational Terrorism</u> Brock S. Blomberg, <i>Claremont McKenna College</i> Peter B. Rosendorff, <i>New York University</i> Overview: This paper provides an original study into how democratization and globalization influence transnational terrorism examining the motives of terrorists and how democratic institutions and international integration influence non-state economic actors.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Faith and Foreign Aid</u> Joshua D. Loud, <i>Brigham Young University</i> Christopher B. O'Keefe, <i>Brigham Young University</i> Overview: We argue that increasing apprehension towards the Muslim world allows European political leaders to use bilateral foreign aid as a policy tool in Muslim countries, rather than altruistically, as voters prefer.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Is Democracy Good for Development? Maybe Not</u> John A. Does, <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: I demonstrate that malaria infections decimate existing levels of human capital and also, by increasing fertility rates, prevent the development of future levels of human capital, decreasing the expected return to capital.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Aid After the 2004 Tsunami: The Performance of State and Non-State Actors</u> Miguel F. P. de Figueiredo, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Benjamin A. Oppenheim, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Greg Rafert, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Using surveys and interviews in India, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka following the 2004 Asian Tsunami, we examine variation in the performance of the state, NGOs, international organizations, and other actors in providing disaster relief to recipients.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Financial Costs of Natural Disasters, Terrorist Strikes, and Elections</u> David Leblang, <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Overview: Drawing on a diverse set of countries and investment instruments we analyze the impact of natural disasters, terrorist strikes and political events on financial markets.</p>	Paper	<p><u>International Aid Refocused: Trading Stability for Reform</u> Martin C. Steinwand, <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: International aid may lead to political instability in recipient countries if conditionality succeeds in inducing political reform. Formal and empirical analyses produce solid evidence that conditional aid increases the probability of civil war.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Partisan Banking Cycles in Emerging Markets</u> Paul M. Vaaler, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: We examine whether and how overall international lending levels and or international lending maturities vary during election years in emerging markets.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Funding Workers' Rights: Foreign Aid and ILO Core Labor Standards</u> Reed M. Wood, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: This paper assesses the impact of OECD official development assistance (ODA) on the promotion of core labor rights in developing countries in the post-Cold War period.</p>
Disc.	<p>William Bernhard, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Private Foreign Assistance: What Role Might it Play?</u> Julie M. Bunck, <i>University of Louisville</i> Overview: The topic of private foreign aid has caught the attention of scholars. This new focus raises challenging questions regarding quantification of aid levels, the efficiency of delivery, and the level of cooperation between public and private donors.</p>
14-3	<p><u>LABOR FLOWS AND HUMAN CAPITAL</u></p>	Disc.	<p>Leonid Kil, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i></p>
Room	<p>Sandburg 4, 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am</p>	Paper	<p><u>DOMESTIC POLITICS AND COUNTERTERRORISM</u></p>
Chair	<p>Jamus J. Lim, <i>Centre College</i></p>	Room	<p>Monroe, 6th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am</p>
Paper	<p><u>Regime Type and Immigration</u> Nikola Mirilovic, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: The effects of immigration on entitlement programs differ under different regime types and also drive immigration policy choices. There is more immigration into rich dictatorships than into rich democracies.</p>	Chair	<p>John H. Parham, <i>Davenport University</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Industry and Immigration: A Sectoral Analysis of Immigration Policy</u> Shannon L. Port, <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Overview: This paper takes a comparative approach to examining how the relative strength of industrial sectors within a state's economy influences its immigration policy.</p>	Paper	<p><u>U.S. Immigration Policy in an Age of Terror</u> Debra L. DeLaet, <i>Drake University</i> Overview: This case study of U.S. immigration policy after 9/11 seeks to answer the following question: has the United States moved from "an age of rights" to "an age of terror" in terms of the dominant domestic political forces shaping U.S. immigration policy?</p>
Paper	<p><u>Migration Regulation Contagion</u> Herbert Bruecker, <i>Institute for Employment Research</i> Philipp J. H. Schroeder, <i>University of Aarhus</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the political economy of regulating migration. We find theoretically and empirically that countries which regulate by human capital criteria admit more migrants, and if one country opts for regulation others are forced to follow.</p>	Paper	<p><u>US Response to the Threat of Nuclear Terror: Policy in Search of a Strategy</u> Alethia Cook, <i>University of Akron</i> Overview: The threat of terrorist use of a nuclear device has evolved since the U.S. developed the first atomic weapons. This paper explores the evolution of this threat and the U.S. government's response to it.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Intangible Capital Flows Where? New International Regime in S&T and R&D?</u> Adrian S. Petrescu, <i>University of Texas, Brownsville</i> Overview: Europe produces less innovation than its strong science base predicts. Japan produces more than its weak science base predicts. I argue intangible capital flows explain the puzzle, while asking whether an international regime on S&T and R&D is brewing or overdue.</p>		

Paper	<u>Fear of Terrorism and National Defense Politics</u> Musa Tuzuner, Kent State University Osman Dolu, Kent State University Overview: In this paper, we statistically show a substantial policy outcome, increasing the US National Defense Budget, as a function of state-contextual-variables as opposed to be a reflection of fear of terrorism as framed by the politicians.	19-1	<u>POWER, ECONOMICS, AND CONFLICT IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS</u> Clark 10, 7 th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Duncan Snidal, University of Chicago <u>Evaluating World Bank Post-Conflict Assistance Programs, 1987-2006</u> Irfan Nooruddin, Ohio State University Thomas Edward Flores, University of Michigan Overview: We examine reconstruction efforts by the World Bank in post-conflict societies and explain which countries receive funds and which ones successfully recover.
Disc.	Mariya Y. Omelicheva, Purdue University John H. Parham, Davenport University		
16-1	<u>MODELING PATHWAYS TO REVOLT</u> Salon 6, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Bridget L. Coggins, Dartmouth College <u>Just War Theory and the Northern Ireland</u> David Schmitt, Northeastern University Overview: Applying just war theory to the IRA campaign of violence during the contemporary era, this paper argues that republican justifications for their pursuit of Irish unification through a violent struggle against British rule fail to meet the tests of just war.	Paper	<u>Power Preponderance, Institutional Homogeneity, and the Likelihood of Regional Integration</u> Gaspere M. Genna, University of Texas, El Paso Overview: This paper introduces a theory and research design that attempts to explain and predict levels of regional integration worldwide. Systematic testing of the hypotheses is introduced in the preliminary research design.
Paper	<u>The War on Terror: Regimes' Responses (Saudi Arabia and Indonesia)</u> Ribhi I. Salhi, Roosevelt University Overview: This paper will assess the effectiveness of these two countries in fighting their national terrorism. It analyzes the political concerns for them for rallying behind the U.S. on its global war on terror.	Paper	<u>Trade Links and the Kantian Peace: A Network-Theoretic Approach to Communication, Inter-Cultural Understanding, and Conflict</u> Han Dorussen, University of Essex Hugh Ward, University of Essex Overview: We examine Classical Liberal arguments about international trade using social network theory and find that trade networks indeed are pacifying.
Paper	<u>Cluster Analysis of Revolutionary Causation in Twenty-four Revolutions and Rebellions</u> Christopher Newman, Elgin Community College Overview: The paper proposes to subject leading accounts of twenty-four revolutions and rebellions to textual analysis using the Simple Concordance Program. The most commonly used words and phrases will then be subjected to cluster analysis.	Paper	<u>Vicious and Virtuous Circles: Is Peace Endogenous to IGO Attributes and Memberships?</u> Charles Boehmer, University of Texas, El Paso Timothy Nordstrom, University of Mississippi Erik Gartzke, Columbia University Overview: We examine endogeneity between state membership in IGOs with interstate peace and institutional structure of IGOs.
Disc.	Joshua C. Walton, Claremont Graduate University	Disc.	Megan Shannon, University of Mississippi Duncan Snidal, University of Chicago
17-1	<u>IT COMES WITH THE TERRITORY: GEOGRAPHY, BORDERS, AND CONFLICT</u> Sandburg 8, 7 th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Krista E. Wiegand, Georgia Southern University <u>Point A to Point B: Straight-Line Borders and the Probability of Conflict</u> Cyrus Karimian, University of Kentucky Overview: Examines international conflict between contiguous dyads, estimating the effects of different geographical borders. Why are straight-line borders prone to peace when contiguous dyads are more likely to engage in conflict than non-contiguous dyads?	21-4	<u>HEURISTICS: HOW "GOOD" ARE THEY?</u> Parlor H, 6 th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Christopher Lawrence, Saint Louis University <u>First Things First: Heuristic Reasoning and the Source Cue Environment</u> David Schwieder, Susquehanna University Overview: This paper broadens the study of source cue based heuristic reasoning by adding an analysis of the surrounding media environment to existing studies that have examined individual processing of these kinds of cues.
Paper	<u>The Making of the Territorial Order: How Borders Are Drawn</u> David B. Carter, University of Rochester Hein Goemans, University of Rochester Overview: We find that new international borders drawn in the aftermath of secession and militarized conflict are drawn not according to principles of "nationalism" or military strategy, but rather in accordance with previous administrative frontiers.	Paper	<u>Fuzzy Heuristics and Voting</u> Drew Seib, Southern Illinois University Overview: This study examines a person's ability to use the ideology heuristic when it is not clear to the recipient by presenting subjects with a combination of ideologically traditional and nontraditional candidates.
Paper	<u>Taking Geography Seriously: War and Geographic and Colonial Networks</u> Peter M. Li, National University of Singapore Overview: This paper adopts techniques and concepts from graph theory and social network analysis to construct a measure of geography which can better aid our understanding of the mechanism by which geography affects the likelihood of international conflict.	Paper	<u>Understanding Ideological Identity through Personality Traits: A Common Heuristic?</u> Leonie Huddy, Stony Brook University Everett Young, Stony Brook University Overview: We examine how using nonpolitical personality traits such as open-minded and traditional to understand ideological labels' meanings ("liberals are open-minded") allows people to define their ideological identity.
Paper	<u>Sustaining Peace in Post-Secession Dyadic Relations</u> Ioannis Ziogas, University of Georgia Mwita Chacha, University of Georgia Overview: This research is concerned with identifying dynamics that may resonate upon two states' relationship, when one of them has been created through the process of partition and the other has not.	Disc.	Sung-youn Kim, University of Iowa Toby W. Bolsen, Northwestern University
Disc.	Krista E. Wiegand, Georgia Southern University	21-7	<u>DELIBERATION</u> Salon 12, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Thomas E. Nelson, Ohio State University <u>An Examination of Neutral Respondents in a Deliberative Experiment</u> Lori M. Weber, California State University, Chico Peter Muhlberger, Texas Tech University Overview: A central claim of deliberation research is attitude change. This paper examines "neutral" responses from a

	deliberation experiment. We argue that these respondents can lack the mental "schema" for absorbing new political information.		
Paper	<u>The Interplay between Political Discussion and Sense of Community</u> Mary R. Anderson, <i>University of Memphis</i> Overview: This paper explores the interplay between sense of community and patterns of political discussion.	Paper	<u>Money and Elections: The Iowa State Legislative Elections of 2006</u> Arthur Sanders, <i>Drake University</i> Overview: This study uses finance data and interviews with party and group leaders to explore the strategies, successes and failures in the 2006 Iowa State House and Senate elections with a focus on the impact of money on those races.
Paper	<u>Is Deliberative Democracy Psychologically Plausible?</u> Arthur Lupia, <i>University of Michigan</i> Yanna Krupnikov, <i>University of Michigan</i> Adam Seth Levine, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: In deliberation, participants take turns speaking. We examine communicative dynamics that are related to communicative sequences. We use these insights to build a new theory of deliberative effectiveness.	Disc.	David Dulio, <i>Oakland University</i> Kevin M. Wagner, <i>Florida Atlantic University</i>
Paper	<u>Strategic and Communicative Rationality in a Deliberative Field Experiment</u> Peter J. Muhlberger, <i>Texas Tech University</i> Overview: Strategic participants may seek to manipulate democratic deliberation. This paper validates a measure of manipulation and finds that it occurs more in some online deliberations and is explained by political internalization and authority attitudes.	24-2	<u>GENDER QUOTAS AND WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION</u>
		Room	Sandburg 1, 7 th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
		Chair	Miki Caul Kittilson, <i>Arizona State University</i>
		Paper	<u>Electoral Quotas: Frequency and Effectiveness</u> Richard E. Matland, <i>Loyola University, Chicago</i> Overview: This paper proposes a model of gender quotas for elections to parliamentary positions, taking the legislative recruitment process as a starting point. It then analyzes the variables that influence which types of quotas are adopted.
		Paper	<u>Democratic Legitimacy or Electoral Gain? Why Countries Adopt Gender Quotas</u> Leslie A. Schwandt-Bayer, <i>University of Mississippi</i> Harvey Palmer, <i>University of Mississippi</i> Overview: We empirically test a theory of endogenous institutional change to determine whether states and parties adopt legislative gender quotas to achieve long-term goals of democratic legitimacy via more inclusive electoral participation or if they adopt quotas.
Disc.	Thomas E. Nelson, <i>Ohio State University</i>	Paper	<u>The Global Impact of Quotas: On the Fast Track to Increased Female Legislative Representation</u> Aili Mari Tripp, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Alice Kang, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: This crossnational study of 153 countries demonstrates that today the introduction of quotas offers the most explanatory power for women's representation in national legislatures together with party-list proportional representation electoral systems.
22-1	<u>BALLOT ORDER EFFECTS</u> Salon 8, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am		
Room	Michael J. Hanmer, <i>Georgetown University</i>		
Chair	<u>Titling Effects on Passage of State Ballot Initiatives</u> Chad Murphy, <i>University of California, Riverside</i> Jackie Filla, <i>University of California, Riverside</i> Overview: Does changing the titles of ballot initiatives change the level of support for the initiative?	Paper	<u>The Causes and Consequence of Ballot Order-Effects</u> Marc N. Meredith, <i>Stanford University</i> Yuval Salant, <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: We show that ballot order changes the outcomes of over five percent of California local elections. Focusing on multi-member district elections allows us to isolate the mechanisms causing order-effects in a way unavailable in single-member districts.
Paper	<u>Ballot Effects: Expanding External Validity Through Wider Experimentation</u> Joseph Sempelinski, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: A replication of the ballot order experiment described in Koppell and Steen 2004. The method utilizes the rotation of ballot order in New York City for primaries. This is a replication in the same setting over a new, more varied and larger dataset.	Paper	<u>Theorizing the Implementation and Impact of Candidate Gender Quotas</u> Mona Lena Krook, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: Gender quotas have now been adopted in more than one hundred countries around the world, but result in varying changes in the numbers of women elected to political office.
		Disc.	Pamela Paxton, <i>Ohio State University</i>
Disc.	Michael J. Hanmer, <i>Georgetown University</i>		
23-1	<u>THE IMPACT OF MONEY AND FINANCE REGULATIONS</u> Salon 7, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am	25-1	<u>PARTISANSHIP AND PARTY CUES</u>
Room	David Dulio, <i>Oakland University</i>	Room	Salon 9, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair	<u>The FEC as Enforcer: Evaluating the 'Toothless Anaconda'</u> Michael M. Franz, <i>Bowdoin College</i> Overview: This paper evaluates the enforcement actions of the FEC by exploiting a unique database of 700 legal complaints moderated by the commission since 1995.	Chair	Paul R. Abramson, <i>Michigan State University</i>
Paper	<u>Spending Limits in Practice: The Case of Albuquerque</u> Anthony G. Gierzynski, <i>University of Vermont</i> Donald Gross, <i>University of Kentucky</i> Overview: This paper reports on a time series analysis of the impact of mandatory campaign spending limits in Albuquerque, NM city elections on the costs of elections, voter turnout, competition, reelection rates of incumbents, and electoral success.	Paper	<u>Why Does Macropartisanship Vary Substantially from Cohort to Cohort?</u> Matthew D. Atkinson, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: Macropartisanship varies substantially from cohort to cohort. The macropartisanship of each cohort is explained by the national policy mood during the cohort's early adolescence. The mechanism underlying this relationship is event-driven socialization.
Paper	<u>Public Money, Candidate Time, and Electoral Outcomes in State Legislative Elections</u> Michael G. Miller, <i>Cornell University</i> Overview: Using survey data, I find that publicly-funded candidates spend less time raising money and more time actively seeking votes than traditionally funded candidates. Further, this extra time in the field translates to general election vote gains.	Paper	<u>Party Frames and Public Opinion</u> Rune Slothuus, <i>University of Aarhus</i> Overview: The relative impact of party cues and issue frames on citizens' opinion formation and interactive effects of source, message, and receiver characteristics are investigated in a series of experiments embedded in a 2006 national representative survey.
		Paper	<u>Asymmetric Partisan Biases in Perceptions of Political Parties</u> Jonathan Woon, <i>Carnegie Mellon University</i> Overview: I show that citizens' perceptions of party positions on issues vary systematically as a function of partisanship, show that its effects are nonlinear and vary across issues, and investigate the role of affect, sophistication, and issue salience.

Paper **Uncertainty and Heterogeneity in the Issue-Basis of Party Identification**
Andrew D. Garner, *University of Mississippi*
 Overview: This paper seeks to contribute to the party identification literature by examining how the clarity of citizens' issue preferences conditions the effect of issues on party identification.

Disc. **Paul R. Abramson**, *Michigan State University*

25-17 **PUBLIC OPINION ON ECONOMIC AND FISCAL POLICY**
Room Parlor F, 6th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair **Kent L. Tedin**, *University of Houston*
Paper **Self-Interest, False Consciousness, Ignorance, and Values in U.S. Tax Opinion**
Andrea L. Campbell, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
 Overview: Examines bases of Americans' views on various taxes and tax reform proposals, and how support and attitudinal structures vary across groups of differing economic status and political influence.

Paper **The Politics of Free Trade: View from the U.S.**
Sukru D. Koyluoglu, *Eastern Michigan University*
 Overview: This study focuses on the politics of free trade as it attempts to capture the reactions of people, over a wide spectrum of the society, who are affected directly or indirectly by the free trade policies of the last one and a half decade.

Paper **Information and Consumer Uncertainty**
Paul M. Kellstedt, *Texas A&M University*
Suzanna L. De Boef, *Pennsylvania State University*
 Overview: We investigate the causes of individual-level consumer uncertainty using the Survey of Consumer Attitudes and Behavior, and ask whether individuals with low or high levels of information and sophistication exhibit more uncertainty.

Paper **Political Trust, Ideology, and Public Support for Tax Cuts**
Thomas J. Rudolph, *University of Illinois*
 Overview: Using data from three different surveys of the American public, this paper analyzes the joint role that political trust and ideology play in shaping public attitudes toward tax cuts, accelerated tax cuts, permanent tax cuts, and the inheritance tax.

Paper **Feelings Toward Big Business and Labor: Changes Over Time**
Adam H. Hoffman, *University of Maryland*
 Overview: Tracking the public's perception of business and labor over the past four decades, this paper examines the relative success of business in the policy process and how, as compared to labor, it has maintained a favorable image among the public.

Disc. **Justin H. Phillips**, *Columbia University*
Kent L. Tedin, *University of Houston*

26-2 **GETTING OUT THE VOTE: MOBILIZATION AND VOTER TURNOUT**
Room Clark 9, 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair **Jason Barabas**, *Florida State University*
Paper **Mobilizing Minorities: New Lessons from California Field Experiments**
Melissa R. Michelson, *California State University, East Bay*
Lisa Garcia Bedolla, *University of California, Irvine*
Donald P. Green, *Yale University*
 Overview: Results from a series of community organization-led voter mobilization experiments from the June 2006 primary election in California, most with minority populations, yielding a number of new "best practices" for guiding such efforts.

Paper **Do Voter Registration Drives Increase Voter Turnout?**
Tina M. Ebenger, *Calumet College of St. Joseph*
Darren Henderson, *Calumet College of St. Joseph*
 Overview: The paper gauges the effect of a voter registration drive on voter turnout (and other assumptions regarding voting behavior), by conducting a voter registration drive at CCSJ. It then compares the results to a previous study done in 2004.

Paper **Does Canvasser Dress Affect Voter Turnout: The T-Shirt Experiment**
Andra Gillespie, *Emory University*
 Overview: Do well-dressed canvasser increase voter turnout more? This paper presents results from a randomized field experiment, where casually and professionally dressed canvassers visit voters in a randomized field experiment.

Disc. **David W. Nickerson**, *University of Notre Dame*

27-9 **RACE, ETHNICITY, AND THE REPRESENTATION OF POLITICS**
Room Clark 1, 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair **Carol Swain**, *Vanderbilt University*
Paper **The Racialized Portrayal of Poverty**
Rosalee A. Clawson, *Purdue University*
Mark P. Franciose, *Purdue University*
Adam B. Scheidt, *Purdue University*
 Overview: We examine the racialized portrayal of poverty in news magazines between 1999 and 2006.

Paper **Media Framing of the Aftermath of Hurricane Katrina**
Kimberly Gross, *George Washington University*
Marcie Kohenak, *George Washington University*
 Overview: This paper examines media coverage of the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. The paper presents the results of a content analysis of print and broadcast media that examines the causal explanations offered for why individuals failed to leave New Orleans.

Paper **Ethnicity and Episodic Framing in the Wake of Hurricane Katrina**
Eran N. Ben-Porath, *University of Pennsylvania*
Lee K. Shaker, *University of Pennsylvania*
 Overview: This experiment-based study finds that attribution of blame to the government for Hurricane Katrina increases when images of victims appear in news. The presence of images increases the gap between blacks' and whites' attribution of responsibility.

Paper **On the Down Low--Media Narratives and Black Attitudes Towards Black Men**
Lester K. Spence, *Johns Hopkins University*
 Overview: "Down low" behavior has been posited by many media accounts as the reason for the increase in HIV/AIDS rates among heterosexual black women. What are the effects of this particular narrative on the attitudes of black Americans?

Paper **Racialized Media Framing in Federal Elections, 1990-2006**
Stephen M. Caliendo, *North Central College*
Charlton D. McIlwain, *New York University*
 Overview: This paper features a comprehensive analysis of all federal election contests from 1990 to 2006 where at least one candidate in the general election was either African American or Latino/a.

Disc. **Kevin Arceneaux**, *Temple University*
Elizabeth Wabindato, *Northern Arizona University*

28-4 **THE IMPACT OF WOMEN IN CONGRESS, STATE LEGISLATURES, AND THE JUDICIARY**
Room Parlor B, 6th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair **Jilda Aliotta**, *University of Hartford*
Paper **Gender and the U.S. Courts of Appeals: Do Female Judges use a "Different Voice"?**
Katherine F. Scheurer, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
 Overview: In this paper, I employ logistic regression to examine whether gender influences the final voting decisions of U.S. Courts of Appeals judges across a number of different policy areas.

Paper **Building a Legislative Reputation on National Security: The Impact of Stereotypes Related to Gender and Military Experience**
Michele L. Swers, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: An analysis of President Bush's judicial nominees shows that in the face of extreme levels of partisan and institutional pressures, the impact of gender considerations is minimal even in a context where the symbolic politics of gender loom large.

Paper	<u>The Rise of the Conservative Woman in the 109th Congress</u> Brian P. Frederick , <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: This paper looks at the rise of conservative women in the U.S. House over the past decade. This paper shows that in the two most recent Congresses Republican women are almost as Conservative as their male Republican colleagues.	29-1 Room Chair Paper	<u>IDENTITY, RACE AND POLITICS</u> PDR 5, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Jan E. Leighley , <i>University of Arizona</i> <u>Black Ethnic Participation in NYC: Race, Identity, and Engagement</u> Christina M. Greer , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: This study unfolds the attitudinal similarities and differences between the three black ethnic groups, as well as observes the comparability of ethnicities when observing traditional and non-traditional forms of participation and civic engagement.
Paper	<u>Effectiveness of Female Legislators: 106th-108th Congress</u> Michelle L. Wade , <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i> Kami Whitehurst , <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i> Overview: We extend Jeydel and Taylor's (2003) examination of the differences of legislative effectiveness between male and female legislators by adding recent data from the 106th-108th Congress.	Paper	<u>American Blackness: Competing Identities Or A Common Script ?</u> Ronald E. Brown , <i>Wayne State University</i> Wassim H. Tarraf , <i>Wayne State University</i> James S. Jackson , <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: This paper attempts to contribute to the emerging scholarship that focuses on the relative saliency of a "shared racial group identity" between American born blacks and black immigrants from the Caribbean.
Paper	<u>Solidarity? Race and Female State Legislators' Policy Preferences</u> Natasha L. Bingham , <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the interaction of race and gender by examining the bill initiation and sponsorship of female legislators in the lower chambers of 15 state legislatures.	Disc.	<u>Randall D. Swain</u> , <i>Morehead State University</i> Jan E. Leighley , <i>University of Arizona</i>
Disc.	Tracy L. Osborn , <i>Bridgewater State College</i> Jilda Aliotta , <i>University of Hartford</i>		
28-8	<u>PERSPECTIVES ON FEMINIST THEORY (Co-sponsored with Political Philosophy: Approaches and Themes, see 33-30)</u>	29-17	<u>MINORITY PUBLIC OPINION AND AMERICAN RACIAL POLITICS</u>
Room	Clark 7, 7 th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am	Room	Suite 9-128, 9 th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair	Michaele Ferguson , <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i>	Chair	David Leal , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i>
Paper	<u>Sexual Politics Revisited: Darwinian Feminists and Feminist Evolutionists</u> Rebecca J. Hannagan , <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: Unlike previous biological accounts of gendered behavior, the observations of Darwinian feminists suggest that the evolved female political strategy exerts a formidable check on male power.	Paper	<u>Race, Class, and Trust in Public Institutions</u> Terrell L. Strayhorn , <i>University of Tennessee</i> Overview: Recent data suggest that trust in public institutions has declined. Using data from the National Study of Civic Education, results suggest that race and class exert significant influence on the level of one's trust in institutions.
Paper	<u>What is 'Revolutionary' in the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments?</u> Penny A. Weiss , <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: 300 people met in 1848 "to discuss the social, civil, and religious conditions and rights of women." The document they passed is misread as a minor corrective to the 1776 Declaration of Independence. It has a more revolutionary character.	Paper	<u>Putting It Out There: How Black Institutions Affect Black Group ID</u> Harwood K. McClerking , <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: Extant work suggests that Black indigenous institutions (Black media, etc.) work to maintain group identity. This research work moves to another important question: How do these institutions actually make a difference in Black group identification?
Paper	<u>The Extraordinary Woman: Engendering Max Weber's Theory of Charisma</u> Karen L. Mitchell , <i>Ottawa University</i> Overview: Political systems determine the role of gender on access to power but authority rests on gendered-cultural norms. Weber's typology does not compensate for this. Only though charisma can women in traditional systems exercise legitimate authority.	Paper	<u>Gender, Ethnicity, and Support for Bilingual Education</u> Robert D. Wrinkle , <i>University of Texas, Pan American</i> Overview: We examine whether the ability of Latinos to translate descriptive representation into substantive representation in contingent upon gender. We find that Latinas are more effective at substantively representing Latino/as than their male counterparts.
Paper	<u>Mary Wollstonecraft and the Iconography of First-Wave Women's Rights Movements in Germany, Britain, and the United States</u> Eileen Hunt Botting , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Elizabeth Kozlow , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Christine Carey , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: This paper is the first to explore how Mary Wollstonecraft, the Enlightenment protofeminist philosopher, was used by leading first-wave women's rights activists as a transnational icon to unite and ignite their women's rights.	Paper	<u>Latino Preferences and Policy Outcomes</u> Sylvia Manzano , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Barbara Norrander , <i>University of Arizona</i> Overview: Using Senate Exit Polls and agency specific data, this paper examines the relationship between Latino public opinion and policy outcomes in the fifty states. We consider the impact of Latino preferences on a range of public policy areas.
Paper	<u>Gender Equality in F. Schlegel's Idea of the True State</u> Murray W. Skees , <i>Morgan State University</i> Overview: Sexual equality, according to Friedrich Schlegel, nurtures an environment that promotes love and devotion, two characteristics that are essential for a true state.	Disc.	<u>David Leal</u> , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i>
Disc.	Michaele Ferguson , <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Shauna Shames , <i>Harvard University</i>		
		30-8	<u>SOCRATIC EDUCATION</u>
		Room	Dearborn 1, 7 th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
		Chair	Elliot Bartky , <i>Indiana University Purdue University, Ft. Wayne</i>
		Paper	<u>Fear, Friendship and Failure in Plato's Protagoras</u> Martin J. Plax , <i>Cleveland State University</i> Overview: Socrates' narrative of his rebuttal of Protagoras, out of concern with the political impact of Protagoras' hubris, aims at dissuading his comrade from pursuing Protagoras as a teacher.
		Paper	<u>Utilitarian Reason and the Teaching of Protagoras</u> Andrew S. Hertzoff , <i>California State University, Sacramento</i> Overview: The adoption of a utilitarian calculus by Socrates at the end of the Protagoras is shown to demonstrate not Socrates' own views, but the inevitable position that Protagoras himself will be forced to adopt by his interest in presenting himself as acceptable.

Paper	<u>Techne of Woman and The Socratic Education</u> Nandiyang Zhang , <i>Chinese University of Hong Kong</i> Fengshi Wu , <i>Chinese University of Hong Kong</i> Overview: This paper explores the art of midwifery and its intricate relationship with the political fate of the Socratic education of political philosophy.	33-16 Room Chair Paper	<u>CITIZENS, COSMOPOLITANS, AND FOREIGNERS</u> Dearborn 2, 7 th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Steven J. Wulf , <i>Lawrence University</i> <u>How to Realize Human Rights Across Borders: Shaming the West and Enlightened Imperialism for the Rest</u> Benjamin Gregg , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: Given the fundamental indeterminacy of the idea of human rights, I argue that if they are ever to obtain, they should (1) not be constructed as universally valid (as culture-independent) but (2) as entirely results-oriented, (3) locally not universally valid.
Paper	<u>The Friendship of Socrates and Alcibiades: Thumos, Eros and Philia in the Alcibiades Major</u> Catherine B. Horsefield , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: The Alcibiades Major develops philosophical and political themes regarding the character of philia in Plato's dialogues, painting a vivid portrait of Socratic friendship and meditating on the relationship between spiritedness and friendship.	Paper	<u>Foreigners, Citizens and Political Obligations</u> Thomas M. Hughes , <i>University of California, Santa Barbara</i> Overview: This paper explores the concept of the foreigner as an individual who exists without obligations to domestic political institutions, and as such argues that the concept of obligation is not as necessary to the rule of law as previously considered.
Disc.	Dana J. Stauffer , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i>	Paper	<u>Rooted and Limited Cosmopolitanism</u> Aaron M. Keck , <i>Rutgers University</i> Overview: My paper critiques the notion of "rooted cosmopolitanism" that has become popular in post-1989 thought, and offers a practical direction for future cosmopolitan theory.
32-1 Room Chair Paper	<u>KANT</u> Clark 3, 7 th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Jeffrey Church , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> <u>Kant and the Cosmopolitan Problematic</u> Brian M. Milstein , <i>New School for Social Research</i> Overview: Kant's way of framing the problem of world order is just as innovative as the prescriptions he makes for addressing it. This paper analyzes his conception of the cosmopolitan and evaluates its usefulness in critically addressing contemporary issues.	Paper	<u>Constituting Global Governance: A Transnational Popular Sovereignty</u> Adam I. Lupel , <i>International Peace Academy</i> Overview: The paper argues that transnational constitutive processes must become central to the project of cosmopolitan theorizing, and it offers a notion of transnational popular sovereignty as a conceptual tool for theorizing the constitution of democratic global governance.
Paper	<u>Damocles' Sword: Kant and the Democratic Peace</u> Heather M. Roff , <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Overview: Roff argues that the current debate surrounding the democratic peace proposition is mistaken on both sides. She offers a new interpretation of Kant's argument by careful exegesis concerning Perpetual Peace and other important works.	Paper	<u>Cosmopolitanism and Historical Injustice</u> Timothy Waligore , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: Liberal cosmopolitan theories seem to be at odds with justifications for group claims stemming from historic injustice. I argue that impartialist theories like Brian Barry's are flawed, and contingent cosmopolitan theories like Thomas Pogge's do not rule.
Paper	<u>Kantian Politics in the "Critique of Pure Reason"</u> Ronda L. Roberts , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: I explore the political as it occurs in Kant's first critique. I argue with O'Neill and Arendt that the overtones found in the later sections of The Critique of Pure Reason set us up for Kant's thesis theory in The Critique of Practical Reason.	Disc.	Steven J. Wulf , <i>Lawrence University</i>
Paper	<u>Revisiting Perpetual Peace: Paradigms, Definitions, and Teleos</u> Cristy L. Stoddard , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: Current research in democratic peace strays from Kant's original Perpetual Peace. Kant's work is confused in three areas: paradigmatic geometry, definitions, and teleology. A return to Kant's thesis clarifies the potentiality of the democratic peace.	33-27 Room Chair Paper	<u>AUTONOMY AND LIBERTY: ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTIONS OF POLITICAL AGENCY</u> Montrose 7, 7 th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Michael P. McKeon , <i>Syracuse University</i> <u>The Value of Choice - Rethinking School Choice</u> Sigal R. Ben-Porath , <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> Overview: My aim in this paper is to conceptualize choice as a mechanism for realizing certain values, and to consider the merits of school choice and other educational choice policies in the context of this conceptual framework.
Disc.	TBA	Paper	<u>Aristotelian-Liberal Autonomy</u> Geoffrey A. Plauche , <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: Develops a classical liberal/libertarian theory of autonomy, based on a broadly Aristotelian foundation, that avoids Enlightenment pitfalls identified by communitarians, conservatives, and postmoderns.
32-24 Room Chair Paper	<u>REPUBLICS, EMPIRES, AND THEIR LEADERS</u> LaSalle 1, 7 th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am William B. Parsons , <i>James Madison University</i> <u>The Machiavellian Reordering of a Livian Founding</u> James T. Fetter , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: I compare Machiavelli's and Livy's accounts of the founding of Rome, paying particular attention to Machiavelli's frequent alterations to Livy's discussion of Romulus and Numa.	Paper	<u>Politics and the Middle Path: A Buddhist Theory of Democracy</u> Matthew J. Walton , <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: In this paper I describe the beginnings of a theory of Buddhist democracy by finding concepts within Buddhist theory and practice that support or are compatible with elements of democratic theory.
Paper	<u>Liberty and Empire in Machiavelli and Guicciardini</u> Paul E. Kirkland , <i>College of the Holy Cross</i> Overview: This paper compares the realist republicanism of Machiavelli and Guicciardini, locating the question of the relation of liberty and empire as the chief cause of their divergent judgments.	Paper	<u>Three Conceptions of Positive Liberty</u> Efrat Waksman , <i>New School for Social Research</i> Overview: In this paper I argue that while Berlin is right to steer clear of the positive conception of freedom as self-mastery, other conceptions of positive liberty are not only defensible but actually belong to the very core of liberal democracy.
Paper	<u>Rousseau's Rome and the Modeling of Republicanism</u> Jeffrey A. Smith , <i>St. John's College</i> Overview: The essay examines Rousseau's varied analyses and uses of Rome in his theoretical and practical political works, and concludes by offering a new account of what Rousseau means in calling republican Rome "the model of all free peoples."	Disc.	Michael P. McKeon , <i>Syracuse University</i>
Disc.	William B. Parsons , <i>James Madison University</i>		

35-1	<u>NETWORK ANALYSIS</u>		Paper	<u>Does Money Buy Power? Interest Group Resources and Policy Outcomes</u>
Room	Montrose 2, 7 th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am			Beth L. Leech, Rutgers University
Chair	James Honaker, University of California, Los Angeles			Frank R. Baumgartner, Pennsylvania State University
Paper	<u>Agreement Beyond Polarization: Spectral Analysis of Congress</u>			Jeffrey M. Berry, Tufts University
	Matthew C. Harding, Massachusetts Institute of Technology/Harvard University			Marie Hojnacki, Pennsylvania State University
	Overview: I challenge the perceived unidimensionality of congressional voting behavior and develop an econometric procedure for estimating bi-partisan agreements based on the study of the random networks.			David C. Kimball, University of Missouri, St. Louis
Paper	<u>Co-Sponsorship Networks of Minority-Supported Legislation in the House</u>		Disc.	Overview: A study of 98 U.S. policy issues suggests that having many resources does not guarantee political outcomes. In most cases both sides were well funded. Politics created strange bedfellows, with resource-poor groups joining better-funded groups.
	David Epstein, Columbia University			Scott R. Furlong, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay
	Sharyn O'Halloran, Columbia University			
	James Fowler, University of California, San Diego		38-1	<u>PRESIDENTIAL DECISION MAKING</u>
	Overview: We measure substantive representation of minority interests via cosponsorship networks.		Room	LaSalle 3, 7 th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Paper	<u>Challenges in Policy Network Measurement: A Comparison of Three Approaches</u>		Chair	Bruce F. Nesmith, Coe College
	Adam D. Henry, University of California, Davis		Paper	<u>PD 59: What MAD Pursuit</u>
	Mike McCoy, University of California, Davis			Betty Glad, University of South Carolina
	Overview: Three methods of policy network measurement are compared and evaluated, yielding insight into how to best measure and describe networks in policy subsystems.			Overview: This paper examines Carter's adoption of Presidential Directive 59, a document that laid the foundation for Reagan's expansion of U.S. military capabilities and shows how a motivated tactician could squeeze out the Secretary of State in the final decision.
Disc.	Bradford S. Jones, University of California, Davis		Paper	<u>The Men Who Held The Offices: A Systematic Examination of the Factors In Presidential Decision Making</u>
37-8	<u>INTEREST GROUP VOICES IN THE POLICY MAKING PROCESS</u>			Geralyn M. Miller, Indiana University Purdue University, Fort Wayne
Room	LaSalle 2, 7 th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am			Anna Marie Schuh, Roosevelt University
Chair	Suzanne M. Robbins, George Mason University			Overview: Analysis of the factors that contribute to presidential decision making.
Paper	<u>Mobil Oil's Advertorial Campaigns: Outlets, Audiences and Messages</u>		Paper	<u>The Impact of Emotional Intelligence on Presidential Success</u>
	Clyde Brown, Miami University, Oxford			Eric J. Stokan, Wayne State University
	Overview: Mobil Oil's advertorials in TIME magazine, the American Journalism Review and the Columbia Journalism Review, and the "op-ed" and regular pages of the New York Times from 1985 to 2000 are analyzed in terms of audiences targeted and message content.			Overview: This paper partly unravels the complexities of measuring presidential success by using emotional intelligence to reconcile differences between Neustadt's persuasion thesis and Skowronek's political time model.
Paper	<u>Organized Interests and Amicus Briefs: Who Files? Who Fights Whom? Who Wins?</u>		Paper	<u>Analyzing if the U.S. Should Have Attacked Iraq: Decision Theory Primer</u>
	Kay L. Schlozman, Boston College			Ernest Y. Wong, United States Military Academy
	Traci Burch, Harvard University			Overview: Controversy still surrounds the decision to invade Iraq. However, it has been hard for war critics to sway those who argue an attack was the best choice at the time. We apply decision theory to this debate in order to gain more objectivity.
	Philip Jones, Harvard University		Disc.	Peter Schultz, Assumption College
	Sidney Verba, Harvard University			
	Henry E. Brady, University of California, Berkeley		39-14	<u>POLICY PREFERENCES AND POLICY MAKING</u>
	Overview: Using data from all Supreme Court amicus briefs filed in 2000-2, we analyze the kinds of interests (e.g., business, labor, governments) that sign briefs, discern patterns of alliance and opposition, and assess the probabilities of victory and defeat.		Room	Suite 9-142, 9 th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Paper	<u>Interest Group Informational Lobbying: Policy vs. Political Information</u>		Chair	E. Scott Adler, University of Colorado
	Bryan S. McQuide, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign		Paper	<u>Constituency Opinion and Senator Roll Call Voting: The Case of Immigration Policy, 2006</u>
	Overview: This paper seeks to evaluate the information theory of interest group influence by examining new technology and existing groups' uses of political and policy information in Congressional hearings over the 1985-2004 period.			Jeffrey E. Cohen, Fordham University
Paper	<u>The Influence of Interest Groups on Policy-Making in Congress</u>			Richard Fleisher, Fordham University
	Nina Therese Kasniunas, Loyola University, Chicago			Overview: We analyze the impact of constituency opinion on Senate immigration roll call votes during 2006, asking whether senators are more responsive to constituents specific attitudes towards immigration or their more general orientations (e. g., ideology).
	Overview: A preferred activity of organized interests is testifying at congressional hearings. This paper will examine the question of whether that testimony influences the "markup" of legislation at the House (sub)committee level.		Paper	<u>Transformations in Congress and U.S. Higher Education Policy, 1973-2006</u>
				Suzanne Mettler, Syracuse University
				Overview: This paper examines shifts in Congressional leadership, party dominance, and interest group representation in order to explain why policymakers are no longer acting—as they did in the mid-20th century-- to expand access to higher education.
			Paper	<u>V.O. Key's Veterans Revisited: Assessing the Electoral Connection in the Interwar Era</u>
				David Karol, University of California, Berkeley
				Overview: In assessing the electoral consequences of MCs' votes on WWI Veterans' bonus I test three hypotheses that Key (1943) ignored: A. MCs' votes on the bonus affected their vote shares. B. MCs with safer seats were more apt to oppose the bonus.

Paper **Vving for Benefits: The Distribution of Federal Discretionary Programs, 1983-2004**
William Howell, *University of Chicago*
Chris Berry, *University of Chicago*
Barry Burden, *University of Wisconsin*
 Overview: In this paper, we present a simple model of distributive politics, which yields clear predictions about the allotment of scarce discretionary funds across districts over time.

Disc. **E. Scott Adler**, *University of Colorado*
Boris Shor, *University of Chicago*

39-25 **COALITION BUILDING AND PARTY COHESION IN LEGISLATURES**

Room Montrose 1, 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair **Anibal S. Perez-Linan**, *University of Pittsburgh*
Paper **Oversized Coalitions as Self-Imposed Constraints on Political Parties**
Minodora A. Buliga-Stoian, *Binghamton University*
 Overview: Parties form oversized coalitions to put an end to coalition cycling, guaranteeing not only the stability of the coalition, but also optimal distribution of portfolios by making sure that no one member of the coalition can unilaterally defect.

Paper **The Electoral Origins of Legislative Organization**
Royce A. Carroll, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: Examines the relationship between the distribution of posts in legislatures and the degree of pre-electoral bargaining.

Paper **Party Cohesion in the Danish Municipalities**
Asbjorn Skjaeveland, *University of Aarhus*
 Overview: Based on an empirical investigation of the Danish municipalities this paper shows that the number of parties does not have a positive effect on party cohesion.

Paper **Consensus and Conflict in Parliaments**
Xavier Coller, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Analysis of patterns of conflict and cooperation among parties in parliaments using consensus as the dependent variable and a number of factors as independent variables (number of groups, national political conflict, elite discontinuity, party, etc).

Paper **Membership Turnover and the European Parliament**
Gaye Gungor, *Florida International University*
 Overview: This paper examines the impact of membership turnover on the European Parliament. In particular, it analyzes changes in the legislative efficiency and the power of the legislature. It covers a period of thirty five years, from 1979 through 2006.

Disc. **Carlos Pereira**, *Michigan State University*
Anibal S. Perez-Linan, *University of Pittsburgh*

40-101 **ROUNDTABLE: ASSESSING THE 2006 MIDTERMS AND PREVIEWING THE 2008 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**

Room Adams, 6th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Panelist **Thomas F. Schaller**, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*
Alan Abramowitz, *Emory University*
Philip Klinkner, *Hamilton College*
David Lublin, *American University*
Richard Skinner, *Williams College*
 Overview: Political scientists who follow national election patterns will discuss the congressional, gubernatorial and state legislative results from 2006 and preview the battle for the White House and control of Congress in 2008.

41-17 **JUDICIAL CHOICES, DECISIONS, AND STRATEGIES**

Room Burnham 1, 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair **Mark S. Hurwitz**, *Western Michigan University*
Paper **Institutionally-Induced Strategic Judicial Behavior: A Comparative Analysis**
Ehud N. Sommer, *SUNY, Stony Brook*
Eser M. Sekercioglu, *Stony Brook University*
 Overview: A New Institutional approach with a game-theoretic model is employed to undertake cross-sectional analyses of the

effects of institutional antecedents on strategic judicial behavior in different systems.

Paper **Attitudes vs. Fact-Patterns: When Do Attitudes Predict Supreme Court Cases?**

Andreas Broscheid, *James Madison University*
 Overview: This paper explores under which conditions the attitudinal model is better than a simple fact-pattern model at predicting the votes of Supreme Court justices. It investigates search-and-seizure cases.

Paper **The Executive Chief Justice: Judicial Conference Selection Strategy**

Dawn M. Chutkow, *Cornell University*
 Overview: The Chief Justice's selection of Judicial Conference members depends on political ideology and congressional and executive access; suggesting that Judicial Conference activities may involve the advancement of independent political interests.

Paper **Acclimation Effects and Voting Instability of Freshman Justices**

Daniel C. Bowen, *University of Iowa*
Robert J. McGrath, *University of Iowa*
Jeff Stout, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: Previous research has not been able to determine if new Supreme Court justices go through a period of acclimation. Using the Martin-Quinn measures of ideal point estimation, we retest for acclimation effects measured as voting instability.

Disc. **Scott E. Graves**, *Georgia State University*
Mark S. Hurwitz, *Western Michigan University*

42-7 **LAW, LANGUAGE, AND POLITICS (Co-sponsored with Political Philosophy: Approaches and Themes, see 33-31)**

Room Clark 5, 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair **Jeremy Elkins**, *Bryn Mawr College*
Paper **Judicial Restraint as a Romance Novel: A Populist Constitutional Reading**
Susan R. Burgess, *Ohio University*
 Overview: Explores popular culture and parody as a basis of a populist constitutional politics, suggesting that conservative judicial restraint can be understood as a romance novel, complete with all the possibilities and limitations that romance entails.

Paper **Legal Speech Acts**
Marianne Constable, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: This paper uses J.L. Austin's work on speech acts to explore such legal-linguistic utterances as declarations, warnings, and apologies.

Paper **Metaphor and the Declaration of War**

Jeremy Elkins, *Bryn Mawr College*
 Overview: Explores the uses of the metaphor war.

Paper **Going Continental?: on the "Post 9/11 Constitution" and the New Hermeneutics of the U.S. Federal Courts**

Penelope J. Pether, *Villanova Law School*
 Overview: This paper explores the paradox of a civilist federal judiciary increasingly reluctant to exercise common law constitutional review of governmental action while lacking the professional habitus that would keep it independent of government.

Disc. TBA

44-1 **TRUST, CULTURE, AND SOCIAL CAPITAL IN STATE POLITICS**

Room Parlor E, 6th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am
Chair **John L. Anderson**, *University of Nebraska, Kearney*
Paper **Trust in Communities where Democracy Works**
John L. Anderson, *University of Nebraska, Kearney*
Timothy J. Burkink
 Overview: This research analyzes the effects of social capital (trusting networks) in towns (pop. about 1,000) using a multi-method technique to help specify the actual relationship between civic life and economic success.

Paper	<p><u>One Level Over Another: An Analysis of Political Trust and Contextual Data</u> Erin K. Murphy, <i>Kent State University</i> Amber D. Hamilton, <i>Kent State University</i> Overview: Why does a person prefer the state government over the national government or vice versa? This has been attributed to party identification, but we show that party control within the state and nation impact this preference, as do demographics.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Policy Entrepreneurship and Performance-Based Teacher Compensation</u> Matthew G. Springer, <i>Vanderbilt University's Peabody College</i> Warren E. Langevin, <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Overview: This paper explores the role of policy entrepreneurs in adoption of performance-based teacher compensation programs. The authors employ multiple statistical tests to investigate political and economic determinants of state and local policy reform.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Changing Political Subcultures of the United States and the Utility of a New Cultural Measure</u> Joel Lieske, <i>Cleveland State University</i> Overview: This paper develops a new measure of American political subculture that does a better job in predicting social and political behavior at the state and county level than any other indicator, including a unidimensional measure of Elazar's typology.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Interest Groups and Policy Diffusion in Education Reform</u> Carl D. Snook, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: This paper considers whether and how interest groups affect the movement of education reform policy alternatives from the formal agenda of one state to another.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Political Culture in the Southeastern Water Wars: Elazar Revisited.</u> James A. Newman, <i>Idaho State University</i> Overview: This paper considers the role political culture plays in the development river basin compacts in the Southeast. This paper considers Elazar's work as a way of explaining the Southern water disputes.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Policy Punctuations and Performances</u> Peter B. Mortensen, <i>University of Aarhus</i> Simon C. Andersen, <i>University of Aarhus</i> Overview: This paper tests whether punctuated policies lead to a better outcome than policies reflecting a continuous adjustment of former decisions. The hypothesis is tested in a statistical analysis utilizing a large panel data set on Danish public schools.</p>
Disc.	<p>Martin Gruberg, <i>University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Variations in Charter School Preferences for Public Goals: A Typology</u> Chad J. d'Entremont, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: This paper presents a charter school typology for the purpose of further research into how state and local relationships with different charter school types influence innovation and the emergence of new models of public schooling.</p>
45-12	<p><u>GROWTH AND CHANGE IN CITIES AND REGIONS</u> Burnham 4, 7th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Mark Elliot, <i>University of Southern California</i></p>	Disc.	<p>Alisa Hicklin, <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Susan L. Moffitt, <i>Harvard University</i></p>
Room			
Chair			
Paper	<p><u>Custodians of Place: Trusteeship Governance and the City Corporate</u> Paul G. Lewis, <i>Arizona State University</i> Max Neiman, <i>Public Policy Institute of California</i> Overview: Despite being the level of government "closest to the people," municipal growth policymaking is often seen as relatively insulated. We discuss how the physical closeness of city governance might be reconciled with its policymaking insulation.</p>	50-9	<p><u>COOPERATIVE MANAGEMENT IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT</u> PDR 7, 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Richard Wandling, <i>Eastern Illinois University</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>On the Existence of a Centrum</u> Allen B. Brierly, <i>University of Northern Iowa</i> Overview: In this analysis, a town centrum is shown to exist for an abstract formulation of urban settlement. Given a community equilibrium exists, these findings unify four models of town planning into a general theory of location decisions.</p>	Room	
Paper	<p><u>Metropolitan Fragmentation as an Evolutionary Process</u> Richardson Dilworth, <i>Drexel University</i> Overview: Paper presents an historical institutionalist model of metropolitan fragmentation in order to provide a new explanation of constraints to the local policy process.</p>	Chair	
Paper	<p><u>City Growth: Is It Creative Class or Political-Cultural Institutions</u> Michele M. Hoyman, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Christopher Faricy, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: We posit that cultural institutions and networks, of a religious and educational nature may be more important to growth in m.s.as than the influx of creative individuals, as Richard Florida suggests. We test these empirically.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Strength of Weak Ties in Predicting Interlocal Service Cooperation</u> Kelly LeRoux, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: Studies of service cooperation have been disconnected from theory in failing to assess interpersonal ties. This paper tests a series of "weak tie" influences in predicting interlocal contracting while controlling for economic and contextual factors.</p>
Disc.	<p>Barbara McCabe, <i>Arizona State University</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Exploring Responsiveness Strategies to Neighborhood Councils in Los Angeles</u> Thomas A. Bryer, <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: This paper considers responsiveness strategies employed by Los Angeles bureaucrats in a collaborative setting with neighborhood council representatives.</p>
46-1	<p><u>THE POLITICS OF ADOPTING SCHOOL REFORMS</u> PDR 6, 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am Suzanne M. Leland, <i>University of North Carolina, Charlotte</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Adapted Cities and Local Public Finance: Lessons from Michigan</u> Jered B. Carr, <i>Wayne State University</i> Shanthi Mohankumar, <i>Wayne State University</i> Overview: We use data on charter provisions from 263 cities in Michigan to assess the utility of the "Adapted City" categories of local government structure proposed by Frederickson, Johnson, and Wood (2004) for understanding differences in revenue and expenditure</p>
Room		Paper	<p><u>Political Institutions and Inter-governmental Cooperation</u> Christopher V. Hawkins, <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: An empirical test of that factors that lead to local government cooperation with a focus on how local government political institutions influence the formation of joint ventures for economic development.</p>
Chair		Disc.	<p>Richard A. Wandling, <i>Eastern Illinois University</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Legislative Activity on Charter Schools: The Beginning of Policy Change?</u> Ramona S. McNeal, <i>University of Illinois, Springfield</i> Lisa J. Dotterweich, <i>Kent State University</i> Overview: Drawing on agenda setting theory, this study explores legislative interest in charter schools. Cross-sectional time series analysis and 50-state data will be used to examine why some states are embracing this policy alternative.</p>	51-2	<p><u>PARTIES AND THE PRESIDENCY</u> PDR 8, 3rd Floor, Thur at 8:00 am William M. Leiter, <i>California State University, Long Beach</i></p>
		Room	
		Chair	
		Paper	<p><u>Third Parties, the Modern Presidency and Political Change</u> Evan Spencer Jones, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: Like other scholars of third parties, I assume an electoral incentive exists for major party office holders to co-opt the issue positions of third parties, and expect that the office</p>

holders most threatened by third parties have the most incentive to co-opt.

Paper **JFK and the Cold War: The Role of Narratives in Political Decision-Making**

Gregg D. Lindskog, *University of Virginia*

Overview: This paper argues that presidents construct narratives that share numerous traits with analogical and heuristic devices. I show how narratives structure diverse political choices and policy outcomes in the context of the JFK presidency.

Paper **Rethinking the Revolt Against Speaker Cannon: The Constitutional Determinants of this Legislative Reorganization**

Gisela Sin, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Overview: Interchamber dynamics explain the timing and character of the legislative reorganization that followed the Cannon revolt. In contrast to existing theories, I argue that the central figure in the revolt is not Joseph Cannon, but William Howard Taft.

Disc. **Matthew J. Dickinson**, *Middlebury College*

William M. Leiter, *California State University, Long Beach*

53-8 **RELIGION AND AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR**

Room Parlor C, 6th Floor, Thur at 8:00 am

Chair **Erika Seeler**, *Duke University*

Paper **The Trust Between Us: Effects of Trust on Political Participation**

Caroline M. Nordlund, *Dickinson College*

Overview: This paper examines the effects how political trust is built within local churches and the effects that it has on individual congregant political behavior.

Paper **Macro-Religiosity and Cultural Policy Mood**

Ken Mulligan, *Southern Illinois University*

Tobin Grant, *Southern Illinois University*

Overview: We introduce concepts and measures of macro-religiosity and cultural policy mood. We show that increasing secularization in the U.S. has coincided with growing liberalism in cultural policy mood.

Paper **Reversing the Causality: Considering the Impact of Politics on Religion**

Ariane Zambiras, *University of California, Berkeley/LaSSP/IEP Toulouse*

Overview: Our paper employs anthropological approaches to shed light on the issue of religion and politics in the United States, analyzing characterizations of atheists, opinions about the death penalty, and church shopping behavior.

Paper **Faith Matters: Religion and American Civic Life**

David E. Campbell, *University of Notre Dame*

Robert D. Putnam, *Harvard University*

Overview: This paper will report findings from a major new survey of Americans designed to uncover the links between different dimensions of religiosity and various measures of civic engagement, including indicators of social capital.

Disc. **Stephen T. Mockabee**, *University of Cincinnati*

Thursday, April 12 – 9:50 am – 11:25 am

- 1-1** **INNOVATIONS IN THE STUDY OF VOTER TURNOUT (Co-sponsored with Political Participation and Turnout and Methodology, see 26-1 and 35-15)**
- Room** Salon 5, 3rd Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Chair David Darmofal, *University of South Carolina*
Paper **The Bayesian Voter's Turnout Decision in International Perspective**
Christopher H. Achen, Princeton University
 Overview: This paper derives a simple Bayesian model for turnout data. In various national and international datasets, the implied new statistical estimator, "double probit," outperforms conventional methods and has a simpler theoretical interpretation.
- Paper** **The Costs of Voting Over Time: Disruption and Transportation Effects**
Henry E. Brady, University of California, Berkeley
John McNulty, Binghamton University
 Overview: In elections from 2002-2006, Los Angeles County's alternation between 5000 and 2000 polling places amounted to experiments where polling place location was manipulated--thus affording a chance to observe the impact on turnout of these changes.
- Paper** **The Genetic Basis of Voter Turnout**
James H. Fowler, University of California, San Diego
 Overview: Matching public voter turnout records to an adult twin registry, we show that the decision to vote is primarily determined by genetic factors, suggesting that biological evolution has played an important role in the development of political cooperation.
- Paper** **Research Frontiers in Field Experimentation**
Alan S. Gerber, Yale University
Donald P. Green, Yale University
 Overview: We use recent field experiments to demonstrate that the method has important advantages over the traditional alternatives, illustrate how its application has expanded beyond political mobilization, and show how field experiments can be used.
- Disc.** **Jake Bowers, Harvard University**
Elisabeth R. Gerber, University of Michigan
- 1-112** **ROUNDTABLE: MENTORING ROUNDTABLE ON PUBLISHING WITH COLLEAGUES AND PUBLISHERS (Co-sponsored with Midwest Women's Caucus, see 57-103)**
- Room** Red Lacquer, 4th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Chair Brigid C. Harrison, *Montclair State University*
Panelist Susan Gluck Mezey, *Loyola University, Chicago*
 Chuck Myers, *Princeton University Press*
 Monica Eckman, *McGraw-Hill Publishers*
 Joan Catapano, *University of Illinois Press*
 Overview: This roundtable mentoring session will provide practical advice from both colleagues and publishers on publishing journal articles, academic trade books, and scholarly works in political science.
- 2-301** **POSTER SESSION: POLITICS AND POLICY IN INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES**
- Room** Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Presenter **The Politics of Technology Transfer in the Oil Industry: British and Norwegian Policies in Transition, 1969-1986**
 (Board 1)
Rafael J. Balderrama, University of Texas, Pan American
 Overview: How effective is technology transfer in integrating large oil enclaves into a domestic economy? The study shows strong disparities depending on how the host states defined the risks and complexity of the process and its overall expected benefits.
- Presenter** **Minority Governments and Legislative Rules in Parliamentary Democracies**
 (Board 2)
Sang-Jung Han, University of Michigan
 Overview: This paper examines variation on the frequency of minority governments across parliamentary democracies by

focusing on the role of legislative rules and procedures as a key consideration in government formation.

- Presenter** **Towards A New Politics of Food: Shifting Food Regimes**
 (Board 3)
Jennifer G. Rutledge, University of Minnesota
 Overview: This paper explores a new politics of food by concentrating on the rapid growth of organic agriculture in the OECD countries. I argue that the demand for organic products represents an important shift in food regimes towards 'new agrarianism'.
- Presenter** **Predicting Female Political Representation in OECD Countries**
 (Board 4)
Matthew E. Weiss, University of Iowa
 Overview: This paper utilizes regression analysis to examine the effects of political, cultural, and socio-economic variables in explaining the variance of the percentage of women elected national legislatures in highly developed OECD democracies.
- 3-1** **CLIENTELISM**
- Room** Salon 2, 3rd Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Chair Frances Hagopian, *University of Notre Dame*
Paper **Public Employment as Redistribution in China: Fiscal Games, Mass Clientelism, or Risk Management?**
Yuen Yuen Ang, Stanford University
 Overview: This paper assesses the competing effects of federal, clientelist, and external pressures in driving public employment distribution in China. Findings from this paper lend an empirical basis for exploring how private rents in the form of public jobs become institutionalized within a single-party system of rule.
- Paper** **Decentralization and Poverty Reduction: The Case of Authoritarian Enclaves**
Elda L. Becerra Mizuno, Duke University
 Overview: This paper will study the preservation of local authoritarian enclaves in the case of Mexico as a result of this country's federalist arrangement, and the effect of these inequalities on the welfare of the poor.
- Paper** **Vote-Buying and Education in India: When Textbooks Buy Political Support**
Mary Breeding, American University
 Overview: Do elected representatives utilize education as a mechanism of buying citizens' votes? I observe one case in which politicians' utilize direct rents to households and benefits to school neighborhoods in public education to buy political support.
- Paper** **Do Poverty Relief Programs Strengthen or Undermine Democracy?**
Ana L. De La O, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
 Overview: This paper empirically examines the effects of Progreso, a Mexican poverty relief program, on political behavior of voters and parties. Analysis of a randomized experiment suggests that the program strengthened Mexican democracy.
- Paper** **Clientelism and MNC-State Bargains in Developing Countries**
Mona M. Lyne, University of South Carolina
 Overview: The paper presents a model of clientelist politics to explain political leaders' assent to what are apparently detrimental bargains with MNCs.
- Disc.** **Frances Hagopian, University of Notre Dame**
Luis Fernando Medina, University of Virginia
- 3-201** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: FREE TRADE ZONES**
- Room** State, 4th Floor, Table 1, Thur at 9:50 am
Presenter **Highway to the Danger Zone: The Effect of Free Trade Zones on Political Participation**
Chris Markl, University of Colorado
 Overview: Through trade agreements like NAFTA and the GATT/WTO, nations have opened 'free trade zones' to attract foreign direct investment. Missing from the analysis of free trade zones is the study of these areas on political participation.

Presenter **Subnational Political Economy of Infrastructure and Regulation: SEZs in India**

Eric M. Jepsen, *University of South Dakota*

Overview: The proposed research attempts to move beyond the existing literature on the politics of economic development by focusing on the political economy of special economic zones (SEZs) at the sub-national level in India.

3-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND PROTEST**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 2, Thur at 9:50 am

Presenter **Finding Black Power in Postcolonial Africa**

Robin J. Hayes, *Northwestern University*

Overview: This paper draws from archival and interview data to examine how direct encounters between activists in newly decolonized African nations facilitated transnational exchanges between African liberation movements and black power organizations.

Presenter **The Impact of Participatory Processes on Popular Protest: Evidence from Brazil**

Maureen M. Donaghy, *University of Colorado*

Overview: Examining evidence from Brazil, this paper seeks to explain whether participatory governance processes reduce or increase popular protest, addressing questions as to the viability of these mechanisms for formalizing protest in the political system.

4-1 **DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA (Co-sponsored with Latin American and Caribbean Politics, see 8-18)**

Room PDR 4, 3rd Floor, Thur at 9:50 am

Chair **Peggy Scranton**, *University of Arkansas, Little Rock*

Paper **Democracy and Crime Victimization in Latin America**

Orlando J. Perez, *Central Michigan University*

Overview: Using data from a series of national probability surveys conducted in 2006 in 17 countries of Latin America by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) at Vanderbilt University, this paper seeks to study the relation of crime victimization.

Paper **Neoliberal Reforms and Democracy: Recent Developments in Argentina**

Lia K. Roberts, *Mount St. Mary's College*

Diane E. Johnson, *Lebanon Valley College*

Overview: The effects of neoliberal reform and the Washington Consensus on democracy are still hotly debated. This paper examines this evolving relationship in light of popular responses to economic crisis in Argentina from 2001 to the present.

Paper **The Democratization Game: Taming the Right and Consolidation in Chile**

Virginia W. Snodgrass, *University of Texas, Austin*

Overview: For the first 8 years of democracy, the Right in Chile opposed all significant reforms to the military government's constitution. This paper explores why the Right changed its position and eventually supported a sweeping constitutional reform.

Paper **Peru 2006: Populism as Catalyst for a Re-Emerging Party System?**

Gregory D. Schmidt, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: In contrast to most analyses of the 2006 Peruvian general election, this paper argues that fear of the populist outsider, Ollanta Humala, opened a new window of opportunity for the re-emergence of the traditional party system.

Disc. **Lynda K. Barrow**, *Coe College*

5-2 **INSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE**

Room Salon 4, 3rd Floor, Thur at 9:50 am

Chair **Clemente Quinones**, *University of Alabama, Huntsville*

Paper **Solving the Gordian Knot: The Federalism Commission and the Reform of the Federal System in Germany**

Gunther M. Hega, *Western Michigan University*

Overview: Comparing historical-institutional, rational, and sociological explanations for institutional change, the paper assesses the work of the "Federalism Commission" in Germany

from 2003 to 2004 and the final adoption of its reform proposals in May 2006.

Paper **Historical Institutionalism and Institutional Change**

Zeki Sarigil, *University of Pittsburgh*

Overview: The most significant criticism against Historical Institutionalism (HI) is that HI is unable to explain 'change'. By analyzing Turkish legislative changes in the cultural rights issue, this study provides some suggestions on how to improve it.

Paper **Voter Turnout in Recently Democratized Countries**

James M. Siira, *Louisiana State University*

Caroline L. Payne, *Louisiana State University*

Overview: We examine the effects of electoral systems on voter turnout in newly democratized countries using pooled cross-sectional time-series data.

Disc. **Cheng-Lung Wang**, *National University of Singapore*

Clemente Quinones, *University of Alabama, Huntsville*

6-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POLITICAL TOLERANCE**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 3, Thur at 9:50 am

Presenter **Political Institutions and Political Tolerance**

Marc L. Hutchison, *University of Kentucky*

Overview: Using multi-level statistical techniques to control for alternate explanations, I show how certain domestic political institutions affect political tolerance levels across 33 countries.

Presenter **Education, Cognitive Flexibility and Tolerance: Evidence from Russia**

Robert A. Hinckley, *University of California, Santa Barbara*

Overview: This study tests the novel hypothesis that tertiary-level Soviet education fostered tolerance by routinely exposing students to novel problem solving exercises and, as a consequence, activating individual dispositions to cognitive flexibility.

6-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION (Co-sponsored with Public Opinion, see 25-202)**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 4, Thur at 9:50 am

Presenter **Deal or no Deal: Crises and Cooperation in Mexico**

Jennifer Ramos, *University of California, Davis*

Travis Coan, *Claremont Graduate University*

Jennifer Merolla, *Claremont Graduate University*

Elizabeth Zechmeister, *University of California, Davis*

Overview: Using experimental data, we investigate how conditions of crisis, including terrorist attacks and economic recessions, affect citizens' stances on international cooperation and whether these effects vary by type of crisis.

7-2 **BEYOND THE NATION STATE: SUB AND SUPRANATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN EUROPE**

Room Sandburg 7, 7th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am

Chair **Rob Mickey**, *University of Michigan*

Paper **Empowered to Define the Nation: the Implications of Increasing Sub-national Power for Immigrant Integration Policy**

Fiona C. Barker, *Harvard University*

Overview: Does the decentralization of power over migrant integration policy to the sub-national level further the struggle of "nations against states" in Flanders, Quebec, Scotland and Catalonia?

Paper **Wales' National Assembly and Local Government. Partnership to Conflictual Governance**

Felicia Owusu Fofie, *Cardiff University*

Overview: It sets out to investigate the impact of devolution on the operation of Welsh local politics and local government in Wales. It investigates in detail the relationship between the National Assembly and the 22 unitary local authorities in Wales.

Paper **Domestic Opportunities and Supranational Activities**

Lori M. Poloni-Staudinger, *Northern Arizona University*

Overview: This paper asks when and why environmental groups bypass national level activity to target activity at the supranational level (European Union) by focusing on opportunities and constraints in the domestic opportunity structure.

Paper	<u>Contagion as an Omitted Variable: Explaining the Spread of Sub-National Movements in Western Europe</u> Seth K. Jolly , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: In previous quantitative and qualitative work on sub-national movements, in the form of political parties or social movements, scholars use a variety of factors to explain the growth and success of sub-national political movements.	11-302	<u>POSTER SESSION: POLITICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST II</u>
Disc.	Sara B. Wallace , <i>Georgetown University</i>	Room	Exhibit Hall, 4 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
8-2	<u>MEASURING IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS AND PARTISAN PREF</u>	Presenter	<u>How Does the Arab and the U.S. Media Depict the Clash of Civilizations?</u> (Board 6) Gregory N. Schroeder , <i>Central Michigan University</i> Overview: This longitudinal study utilizes content analysis to determine how the most influential media of the Arab Middle East and the United States convey the clash of civilizations theory to their audiences.
Room	Sandburg 6, 7 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am	13-2	<u>POST-COMMUNIST ELECTION AND PARTIES</u>
Chair	Scott Morgenstern , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i>	Room	Sandburg 4, 7 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Paper	<u>Ideology or What? Ideal Point Estimation in the Brazilian Legislature</u> Cesar Zucco , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper uses survey data to estimate ideological positions of Brazilian legislators, as well as their "affinity" towards the president, and compares these measures with roll call voting patterns.	Chair	Carol S. Leff , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i>
Paper	<u>Dimensions of Conflict in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies, 1904-1955</u> Sebastian M. Saiegh , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: I examine 1,712 roll call votes taken in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies between 1904 and 1955 and reveal the main dimensions of conflict and whether legislators voted in unchanging blocs at all times.	Paper	<u>The Serbian Radical Party and the 2004 Local Elections</u> Andrew Konitzer , <i>Austin College</i> Overview: Drawing upon a quantitative analyses of Serbia's 160+ municipalities, interviews and media publications, this study examines the factors which contributed to the success of the Serbian Radical Party (SRS) during Serbia's 2004 local elections.
Paper	<u>Estimating Policy Dimensions and Partisan Positions: A Multi-Method Approach</u> Eduardo Aleman , <i>University of Houston</i> Ernesto Calvo , <i>University of Houston</i> Mark P. Jones , <i>Rice University</i> Overview: This study utilizes several distinct methodologies and sources of data to assess the nature and extent of the issue dimensions that structure parliamentary politics in Argentina.	Paper	<u>Structuring Cooptation: 'Parties of Power' in Comparative Perspective</u> Ora John E. Reuter , <i>Emory University</i> Overview: Why have some leaders in the former Soviet Union sought to build a relatively strong state party while others have opted to rule through charisma and bureaucracy alone.
Disc.	Scott Morgenstern , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i>	Paper	<u>The Party is Dead, Long Live the Party! Hegemonic Parties in Transition</u> Tatiana P. Rizova , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: How do parties that sustained single party dictatorships reorganize after surviving democratization? I argue that organizational changes were one of the keys to these parties' survival and electoral success in competitive multi-party elections.
9-2	<u>ELECTORAL POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONS IN THE ASIAN CONTEXT</u>	Paper	<u>Voting Determinants in Young Democracies: Party Identification and Leader Effects in the 2005 Albanian Election</u> Altin Ilirjani , <i>University of North Carolina</i> Overview: This paper analyzes and compares the importance of party identification and leader effects in voting behavior in Albania, using data from the first national election study ever conducted in Albania.
Room	Sandburg 5, 7 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am	Paper	<u>Post-Soviet Development of Political Parties and Electoral Behavior in Republic of Moldova</u> Petru Culeac , <i>University of Wyoming</i> Overview: Moldovan politics are lately dominated by a "left-right" hybrid government. The paper analyzes the causes of this phenomenon through the perspective of the post-Soviet Moldovan electorate's characteristics and political parties' development.
Chair	Shyam K. Sriram , <i>Georgia State University</i>	Disc.	David O. Rossbach , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Paul E. Sum , <i>University of North Dakota</i>
Paper	<u>Towards Free and Fair: India's Election Commission in a Comparative Context</u> Samrat Sinha , <i>University of Delaware</i> Overview: The paper examines the political processes arising of electoral governance by examining the case of India's National Election Commission and the causes of its increased activism in South Asian politics.	14-301	<u>POSTER SESSION: INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY</u>
Paper	<u>Testing the Selectorate Theory: Economic Policymaking in Post-War East Asia</u> Jonathan K. Hanson , <i>University of Michigan</i> Mary Gallagher , <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: This paper tests the selectorate theory (Bueno de Mesquita et al., 2003) using comparative analysis of economic policymaking in East Asian countries, with particular attention to the measurement of key concepts.	Room	Exhibit Hall, 4 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Disc.	TBA	Presenter	<u>From Empire Back to the Nation-Empires?</u> (Board 7) Mehmet A. Okur , <i>Gazi University</i> Burcu Bostanoglu , <i>Gazi University</i> Overview: Based on the premise that security is not a neutral or rational term but is dependent on the particular context in which it is adopted and accepted and that economic and political certainties of the recent history have been replaced.
11-301	<u>POSTER SESSION: POLITICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST I</u>	Presenter	<u>Preservation of Cultural Heritage and Revitalizing a Mining Town in Mexico: The Case of Cerro de San Pedro</u> (Board 8) José G. Vargas-Hernandez , <i>Instituto Tecnológico de cd. Guzman</i> Overview: The aim is to analyze the importance it has to rescue, defend and promote the historic and cultural heritage of Cerro de San Pedro. and in revitalizing a mining town in San Luis Potosi, México.
Room	Exhibit Hall, 4 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am		
Presenter	<u>The "Institutionalization" of the Lebanese Republic, 1920-1946</u> (Board 5) Talal S. Hattar , <i>University of Washington, Seattle</i> Overview: This paper argues that "institutionalization" is not a process whereby institutions gain legitimacy and stability. Rather, it is the process by which organizational procedures become path dependent and lead neither to legitimacy nor stability.		

Presenter **Corruptible Inspectors and Air Pollution in Europe**
(Board 9)
Kate Ivanova, *Vanderbilt University*
Overview: The study focuses on collusion between an environmental inspector and a firm to underreport pollution levels. It determines whether the overall level of corruption may provide insights on a country's actual compliance with environmental regulations.

Presenter **Anchor's Away: Factor Mobility, Globalization and Global Shipping**
(Board 10)
Kellie Greene, *University of Southern Mississippi*
Overview: This paper explores the effects of globalization and increasing shipping rates on low cost producers by examining how domestic politics and policies are linked to export performance.

Presenter **Tax System Reform in Latin America: Domestic and International Causes**
(Board 11)
Omar Sanchez, *Iowa State University*
Overview: This article aims to elucidate the main domestic and international forces that have fostered the reform of tax systems throughout Latin America.

15-301 **POSTER SESSION: DOMESTIC POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Presenter **Ethnicity, Conflict and Extended Deterrence**
(Board 12)

Tracy L. Long, *Texas A&M University*
Overview: This paper tests Russett's hypothesis that potential Client nations will court deterrence using economic ties. The findings suggest that deterrence in former Soviet nations is determined by the needs of ethnic groups to balance against one another.

Presenter **Getting What We Want: Foreign and Domestic Politics of the United States**
(Board 13)
Brooke M. Rogers, *Charleston Southern University*
Overview: This paper examines what domestic factors influence the policy substitutions concerning the initial level of military force in militarized disputes initiated by the United States.

16-2 **THE POLITICS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY**
Room Salon 6, 3rd Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Chair **Wallace J. Thies**, *Catholic University of America*
Paper **The European Security and Defense Policy: A View from the "New Europe"**
Adrian Florea, *Iowa State University*
Overview: The purpose of this study is to examine the determinants that underlie the position embraced by Romania and Poland vis-a-vis the envisaged European Security and Defense Policy.

Paper **The Divide Over European Security**
Christopher D. Van Aller, *Winthrop University*
Overview: Security interpretations differ between Western and Central Europe. Europe appears united against the Iraq war, detainee policy, and missile defense. However, newer NATO members have both participated in and defended American operations.

Paper **Coming Together, Falling Apart: Alliance Cycles Since 1815**
Jeffrey M. Cavanaugh, *Bradley University*
Overview: This paper examines cycles of aggregate alliance formation and dissolution in the interstate system since 1815 in order to establish what system-level criteria facilitate or hinder cooperative ventures like interstate military alliances.

Paper **State Preferences and the Explanation of the Variation in Regional Security Institutions: NATO and ARF Compared**
Min-hyung Kim, *University of Washington*
Overview: Arguing against conventional wisdom such as structural realism and constructivism, this paper develops a state preference-based theory for the explanation of the variation in regional security institutions in Western Europe and East Asia.

Disc. **Tatsuya Nishida**, *Harvard University*
Wallace J. Thies, *Catholic University of America*

17-17 **CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND SETTLEMENT IN CIVIL WAR**

Room Sandburg 8, 7th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Chair **Martin Slann**, *Macon State College*
Paper **The Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands Dispute: Why Settlement Has Not Been Attempted**

Krista E. Wiegand, *Georgia Southern University*
Overview: I explain why China and Japan have not attempted to settle the dispute over the Senakaku/Diaoyu Islands despite access to potential oil deposits. Both states use the dispute as bargaining leverage to gain concessions on other disputed issues.

Paper **Institutional Incentives in Structuring the Conflict-Resolution Process**

Irina Khmelko, *Georgia Southern University*
Krista E. Wiegand, *Georgia Southern University*
Overview: The paper is a cross-regional study of the influence of institutional mechanisms and structures associated with peaceful or violent conflict resolution, compared to the role of past legacies.

Paper **Complex Power-Sharing: Macedonia and the Ohrid Framework Agreement**

Mary Frances R. Lebamoff, *Loyola University, Chicago*
Overview: This paper examines the first half of the 10-year period of the 2001 Ohrid Framework Agreement in Macedonia, analyzing the OFA's complex power-sharing nexus related to societal security, particularly given socio-ethno-political cleavages.

Paper **Can Diasporas Be a Source of Moderation of Divided Societies?**

Maria V. Koinova, *Harvard University/University of Massachusetts, Amherst*
Overview: Diasporas originating from forced migration are often considered agents for perpetuation of conflict in homeland divided societies. My paper explores the conditions under which such diasporas exert a moderating effect.

Disc. **Christine M. Sixta**, *University of South Carolina*

18-10 **U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IN ASIA**

Room Salon 1, 3rd Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Chair **William D. Anderson**, *Western Illinois University*
Paper **The Mouse that Roared? Clinton's Foreign Policy towards North Korea**
Jane Kim, *University of Essex*

Overview: The paper uses the diplomatic history method in order to explore the reasons why there was a change from conflict to cooperation in U.S. foreign policy towards North Korea during the Clinton administration.

Paper **Revisiting Balance of Power: U.S. Foreign Policy in Asia**

Rabia Akhtar, *Fatima Jinnah Women University*
Overview: This paper analyzes U.S. foreign policy in Asia. Lessons from Soviet-Afghan war need to be drawn whereby U.S. helped create Taliban as a byproduct resulting in 9/11. It is repeating history by helping 'create' a giant India in desire to contain China.

Disc. **William D. Anderson**, *Western Illinois University*

19-3 **THE PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

Room Clark 10, 7th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Chair **Erik Voeten**, *George Washington University*
Paper **Transnational Advocacy and Human Rights in Perspective**
Feryal M. Cherif, *University of California, Riverside*

Overview: In recent years, constructivism has grown in influence among human rights' scholars and activists. Despite suggestive evidence and testimonials, there is reason to be guarded in our optimism and to give more consideration to these explanations.

Paper	<u>Rewarding Human Rights: The Effects of State Behavior on the Allocation of Development Aid</u> Richard A. Nielsen, <i>Brigham Young University</i> Overview: I examine how protection of human rights affects the allocation of bilateral and multilateral development aid.	Paper	<u>Studying the Role of Social Class Identity in Political Understanding: A Proposed Method</u> Katherine C. Walsh, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: This paper uses preliminary data to develop a feasible method for studying the role of social class identity in processes of political interpretation that take place during interpersonal conversation.
Paper	<u>Enabling Betterment? The Impact of HRO Presence on Human Right Practices</u> Amanda M. Murdie, <i>Emory University</i> Overview: Drawing on human rights and NGO theoretical literatures, I use econometric methods to examine the relationship between changes in the number of HROs with members within a state and the human rights practices of the state over time.	Paper	<u>Relational Outcomes of Civic Engagement</u> Amy Lang, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: This paper argues for attention to the relational outcomes of civic and political participation. Interview data from 59 participants in the British Columbia Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform are used to develop these arguments.
Paper	<u>What Do International Observers Do? Effects on Leaders' Tenure in Office</u> Susan D. Hyde, <i>Yale University</i> Nikolay Marinov, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: Do international observers influence the tenure of governments in office? This paper tests whether holding fraudulent elections which are condemned by international observers has direct or indirect effects on leaders' tenure.	Paper	<u>Political Socialization and School Organization in K-12 Virtual Schools</u> Arnold F. Shober, <i>Lawrence University</i> Meghan Condon, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: Virtual charter schools try to make public schools more inclusive and effective. We show how students in virtual schools compare to those in traditional ones on political socialization and civic engagement, two presumed benefits of public schools.
Disc.	Cosette D. Creamer, <i>Harvard University</i> Erik Voeten, <i>George Washington University</i>	Paper	<u>The Influence of National Identity and Civic Norms on Political Involvement</u> Nadia Khatib, <i>University of Arizona</i> Overview: This study uses multiple methods of inquiry to develop valid measures of patriotism and national identity and experimentally examine the political consequences of national attachments on civic norms, political engagement, and participation.
20-1	<u>IDENTITY AND CONFLICT: NEW COMPARATIVE EVIDENCE</u>	Disc.	Gregory A. Petrow, <i>University of Nebraska, Omaha</i>
Room	Suite 9-142, 9 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am		
Chair	Jason Larson, <i>Southern Illinois University</i>		
Paper	<u>National Identity versus International Organizations</u> Emanuel E. Coman, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the role of certain International Organizations (IO) in the prevention of ethnic conflicts in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) through the push for policy chngestowards ethnic minorities.	22-2	<u>RELIGION AND POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS (Co-sponsored with Religion and Politics, see 53-14)</u>
Paper	<u>Identity and Control in Israel: The Case of Israel's Arab Citizens</u> Sherry R. Lowrance, <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: This paper illuminates the content and uses of identity in Israel, a Jewish-nationalist state, based on survey data and qualitative, semi-structured interviews among Israeli Arabs in 2001 and 2005.	Room	Salon 8, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Paper	<u>Nationalist Conflict and Media Manipulation in Serbia and India</u> Lisa Kissopoulos, <i>University of Cincinnati</i> Overview: In ethnic conflict, elites gain power through manipulation, both in the media and their speeches. The cases of Kosovo in Serbia from 1989-1999 and Gujarat in India in 2002, show how elites used history and culture for political gain.	Chair	Bethany L. Albertson, <i>University of Washington</i>
Paper	<u>Identities and Civil Unrest in Europe</u> Jessica L. McGary, <i>University of Arizona</i> Ruth A. Alminas, <i>University of Arizona</i> Overview: This research examines the ethnic and nationalist causes of domestic unrest using the Integrated Data for Events Analysis (IDEA) data bank combined with data from the European Social Surveys.	Paper	<u>A Study of Christian Right Horticulture: Grassroots Activism in a Republican Primary Campaign</u> Paul A. Djupe, <i>Denison University</i> Jacob R. Neiheisel, <i>Denison University</i> Overview: In this paper, we map the social network, identity, and agenda connections Ohio Republican primary voters had with the Christian Right movement as they went to the polls in 2006.
Paper	<u>Sources of Ethnic Tensions in East-Central Europe</u> Sergey Rymarenko, <i>Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies</i> Overview: The focal point is to investigate a real source of ethnic tensions and conflicts i.e. "ethnic manipulation".	Paper	<u>Political Cues, Religious Celebrities, and Young Christian Voters</u> Brian R. Calfano, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Do young Christian voters perceive and accept political cues from local pastors, religious celebrities, and the Christian media? This project sheds light on those young voters on which the future of Christian political conservatism is based.
Disc.	Lena M. Surzhko-Harned, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Douglas R. Woodwell, <i>University of Indianapolis</i>	Paper	<u>The Conditional Impact of Moral Values: The 2006 Ohio Gubernatorial Election</u> Herbert Weisberg, <i>Ohio State University</i> Dino Christenson, <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: The Ohio gubernatorial election of 2006 provided a unique opportunity to investigate the impact of moral values on the vote. We test the electoral impact of moral values across a heterogeneous electorate.
21-9	<u>CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: THE ROLE OF IDENTITY AND EMOTION</u>	Disc.	Bethany L. Albertson, <i>University of Washington</i>
Room	Salon 12, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 9:50 am	23-101	<u>ROUNDTABLE: THE FUTURE OF EXIT POLLING</u>
Chair	Darren W. Davis, <i>Michigan State University, East Lansing</i>	Room	Adams, 6 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Paper	<u>Emotion, Efficacy, and Political Participation</u> Nicholas A. Valentino, <i>University of Michigan</i> Eric Groenendyk, <i>University of Michigan</i> Krysha Gregorowicz, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: This study reveals the impact of campaign-specific emotions on political efficacy. These effects suggest that efficacy may not be the stable predictor of participation that others have assumed.	Chair	Daron Shaw, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i>
		Panelist	John Gorman, <i>Opinion Dynamics</i> Arnon Mishkin, <i>Mishkin and Associates</i> Charles H. Franklin, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: Members of the news networks' decision teams discuss the mechanics and future of exit polls in American elections.

25-2 **THE MEASUREMENT, DETERMINANTS AND EFFECTS OF POLITICAL TRUST**
Room Salon 9, 3rd Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Chair Christopher Wlezien, *Temple University*
Paper **Barn Burners and Burn Out: The Effects of Competitive Elections on Efficacy**
Matt A. Barreto, *University of Washington*
Matthew Streb, *Northern Illinois University*
 Overview: Do competitive elections increase accountability and efficacy, or do the constant attack ads during close campaign drive down efficacy and trust? Do voters like hard fought campaigns or landslide victories? We explore this using NES data 1950-2004.

Paper **Covering Congress: Media Effects on Evaluations of the Legislative Branch**
Tyler Johnson, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: This paper examines how the content, tone, and substance of media coverage of the legislative branch shape approval of and trust in Congress and its members over time.

Paper **In Divisiveness We Distrust: Party Polarization and Trust in Government**
Scott C. O'Brien, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
 Overview: This paper examines the relationship between trust in government and polarization. I find that the more polarized citizens see political institutions (i.e. parties, Congress), the more likely these citizens are to distrust government.

Paper **Presidential Leadership and Government Trust: Toward a General Theory**
Kisuk Cho, *Ewha Womans University*
 Overview: This paper investigates the relationship between the elements of presidential leadership and government trust based on an analysis of Reagan and Clinton of the United States, and Roh of Korea.

Disc. **Gabriel S. Lenz**, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
Christopher Wlezien, *Temple University*

26-4 **LATINO/A PARTICIPATION**
Room Clark 9, 7th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Chair Rodolfo Espino, *Arizona State University*
Paper **Unconventional Political Participation has a New Face**
Daniel Q. Gillion, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: Contrary to popular belief, this paper shows that it is the majority population rather than the racial and ethnic minority who are currently more likely to engage in unconventional political behavior, also known as protest activity.

Paper **The Different Movers in a Social Movement: The May 1 Rallies in Los Angeles**
Kim Y. Dionne, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Michael Suk-Young Chwe, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Michael Stone, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Elizabeth Carlson, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Darin D. DeWitt, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Ryan D. Enos, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: Using original survey data collected during the May 1st immigration rallies, this paper questions several claims regarding participation in the rallies and presents ideas on the characteristic differences between first-time and repeat protesters.

Paper **Other Hispanics: An Analysis of U.S. Honduran Political Participation**
Maximo G. Martinez, *West Virginia University*
 Overview: Studies conducted on Latino immigrants and political participation primarily focuses on their large population groups such as Puerto Ricans, Cubans and Mexicans. Hero, Garcia, Garcia, Pachon (2000) show Latino political party support as non-partisan.

Paper **How Social Contexts Influence Voting Turnout of Latinos and Asian Americans**
Seung-Jin Jang, *Columbia University*
 Overview: The paper tests the role of social contexts and group characteristics in voting turnout of Latinos and Asian Americans. Contextual factors matter for minority groups by influencing their racial consciousness and perceptions of group-level benefits.

Disc. **Rodolfo Espino**, *Arizona State University*
Matthew B. Platt, *University of Rochester*

27-2 **CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING**
Room Salon 7, 3rd Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Chair Jeffrey F. Kraus, *Wagner College*
Paper **"Negative" in Negative Advertising: Definitions, Research and Implications**
Stephen C. Brooks, *University of Akron*
Rick D. Farmer, *Oklahoma House of Representatives*
Joahua J. Peterson, *University of Akron*
 Overview: This paper explores definitions of "negative advertising" used in research by documenting their historical development, examining their influence on the understanding of negative advertising and suggesting how to improve the definition of "negative."

Paper **Who Said What? Issue Ownership and the Effectiveness of Campaign Ads**
Shanto Iyengar, *Stanford University*
Kyu S. Hahn, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: We use evidence from an experimental study relying on a representative sample of voters during the 2006 mid-term election to examine the extent to which issue ownership moderated the effectiveness of campaign issue ads.

Paper **Candidate Gender and Political Ads: An Experimental Assessment**
Robert J. Slagter, *Birmingham-Southern College*
Adam Israel, *University of Alabama*
Natalie Davis, *Birmingham-Southern College*
 Overview: This paper tests hypotheses regarding campaign advertisement tone and candidate gender on intention to vote, candidate choice and elements of candidate image in an experiment utilizing a simulated election.

Paper **Free Advertising: How the Media Amplify the Effect of Negative Ads**
Travis N. Ridout, *Washington State University*
Glen Smith, *Washington State University*
 Overview: How often do the media magnify the importance of a political ad? And are they more likely to do so with negative ads? To investigate these questions, we examine 20 U.S. Senate races from 2004.

Disc. **Michael G. Hagen**, *Temple University*

27-18 **POLITICS ON TV AFTER 11 (10 CENTRAL)**
Room Clark 1, 7th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Chair John P. Forren, *Miami University of Ohio*
Paper **Calming the Storm: Late Night Comedy and Hurricane Katrina's Aftermath**
Josh Compton, *Southwest Baptist University*
 Overview: Research has explored how late night comedy broaches serious sociopolitical topics—including disease, religion, and even Osama bin Laden. This project surveys late night humor about Hurricane Katrina and governmental responses.

Paper **Political Culture Jamming: The Dissident Humor of The Colbert Report**
Jamie Warner, *Marshall University*
 Overview: The Colbert Report jams the seamless transmission of dominant political brand messages by parodying their unproblematic dissemination by the news media, broadcasting dissident political messages that can open up space for questioning and critique.

Paper **Enemies of the State? 'The Colbert Report,' 'The O'Reilly Factor,' Cynicism and Youth**
Jody C. Baumgartner, *East Carolina University*
Jonathan S. Morris, *East Carolina University*
 Overview: Previous research has found the political humor—a form of “soft news,” or “infotainment”—lowers trust in political institutions and political leaders among young adults.

Paper	<u>Presentation Style and Political Attitudes: The Daily Show vs. Network News</u> Glory E. Koloen, Indiana University Overview: A comparative analysis of the impact of mediated political information presentation style on political attitudes; particularly internal and external efficacy and cynicism.	30-1	<u>TOPICS IN ANCIENT POLITICAL THOUGHT</u> Dearborn 1, 7 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Disc.	Jocelyn D. Shadforth, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse	Room	Stephen Lange, Morehead State University
28-9	<u>WOMEN AND PUBLIC POLICY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE</u> Clark 7, 7 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am	Chair	<u>Eros and Freedom; Thucydides on the Fatal Contradiction of Politics</u>
Room	Mona Lena Krook, Washington University	Paper	Borden Flanagan, American University Overview: For Thucydides, it is through political life that we seek to protect our material interests, yet it is also through political life that we seek to transcend and achieve freedom from those interests.
Chair	<u>Gender Gap, Welfare Spending and Democracy</u>		
Paper	Eunju Kang, Claremont Graduate University Overview: This paper explains the size of welfare spending in democracies.	Pper	<u>Friendship, Temporality and Identity: Corinth and Corevra in Thucydides I</u> Rachel M. Templer, Georgetown University Overview: The debate between Corinth and Corevra in Thucydides discussed as a debate between ascribed and achieved friendships as models of political identity. This points to problems of solidarity and temporal depth in liberal models of citizenship.
Paper	<u>Democracy and Household Organization: Single Mothers, Economic Decisions and Political Values</u> Tassili M. Pender, Claremont Graduate University Overview: The size and organization of the average family is changing dramatically in developed democracies. This research investigates the relationship between domestic market forces and recent changes in household organization.	Paper	<u>Ages and Straw Dogs: A Study of Political Violence in the Laozi</u> Rick Parrish, West Texas A&M University Overview: A reinterpretation of the Laozi's Daoist sage ruler through Isaiah Berlin's typology of liberty, Nietzsche's master and slave moralities, and Derrida's economy of violence.
Paper	<u>States and Sex Equality: Why do Governments Promote Women's Rights?</u> S. Laurel Weldon, Purdue University Mala N. Htun, New School University Overview: This paper offers a new theoretical explanation for when and why governments adopt women's rights policies in thirteen specific policy issue-areas. The paper applies this approach in an analysis of an original dataset covering 70 countries.	Paper	<u>To The Memory Of Socrates: Moral Philosophy In Plato's Laws</u> Kyong Min Son, Cornell University Overview: This paper argues that Plato's Laws, often regarded as his departure from philosophy towards institutional design and theology, is actually a refined defense of Socratic moral philosophy.
Paper	<u>The European Union and Gender Advocacy in the Accession Process</u> Celeste M. Montoya, Southern Illinois University Overview: This paper explores the Europeanization of gender equality policy through the accession process by focusing on membership requirements as well as local and transnational advocacy efforts.	Paper	<u>Thucydidean Answers to Nietzschean Questions: Das Religiöse Wesen</u> Benjamin P. Newton, University of Maryland, College Park Overview: Questions of nature's role in politics--what constitutes a people, justice, necessity--thread together into a singular significant problem: what is religious? Within the framework of religiosity we can better understand nature's place in politics.
Paper	<u>Gender Dimension of EU-Turkey Relations</u> Zeynep Sahin, University of Southern California Overview: Turkey's aspiration for EU has forced Turkish state to introduce gender equality related legislative and institutional changes with the contributions of the women's organizations.	Disc.	James T. Fetter, University of Notre Dame James M. Colman, Ashland University
Disc.	Adriana M. Crocker, University of Illinois, Springfield Mona Lena Krook, Washington University	32-13	<u>DELIBERATION, COMMUNICATION, AND REPRESENTATION</u> LaSalle 1, 7 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
28-201	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: GENDER AND PUBLIC POLICY IN KOREA AND TAIWAN</u> State, 4 th Floor, Table 5, Thur at 9:50 am	Room	Stephen P. Chilton, University of Minnesota, Duluth
Room	<u>Empowering Women: The Use of Quotas</u>	Chair	<u>Communicative Rationality Revisited: Creative Imagination and the Politics of Intercultural Understanding</u>
Presenter	Jeeseon Jeon, Seoul National University Overview: This paper examines the impact of gender quotas in non-western context, focusing on South Korea's local elections. I will show that gender quotas enhance women's political participation, contrary to doubts about its impact in developing countries.	Paper	Mihaela Czobor-Lupp, Georgetown University Overview: In the Liberating Power of Symbols, Habermas correctly points out that political conflicts are nowadays "increasingly defined from a cultural standpoint" and thus "intercultural understanding" becomes a task to be achieved.
28-202	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF GENDER AND HUMAN RIGHTS</u> State, 4 th Floor, Table 6, Thur at 9:50 am	Paper	<u>What Makes Representation Democratic?</u> Joseph P. Lampert, Yale University Overview: This paper develops a normative framework for democratic representation that improves upon prevalent contemporary perspectives, and which recasts the practices and institutions of democratic representation beyond the conventional legislative arena.
Room	<u>Comparative Analysis of Gender and Human Rights</u>	Paper	<u>Beyond Facts and Norms: How Greater Transparency Improves Deliberative Democracy</u> Arthur Lupia, University of Michigan Overview: I dissect the logic of Habermas' "Between Facts and Norms" to clarify when deliberation can generate beneficial outcomes. My findings critique and extend his classic work by incorporating key attributes of participants' perceptions and expectations.
Presenter	Myra Y. Irizarry, University of Texas, Dallas Overview: Human rights indicators are not universal and in some cases may not include gender or women's rights. This paper will discuss the most common human rights indicators applied today, databases and data collection, and the absence of gender and women's rights.	Disc.	Danny Postel, Open Democracy Magazine

33-17 SOVEREIGNTY, EMPIRE, AND POST COLONIALISM

Room Dearborn 2, 7th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am

Chair Brian A. Weiner, *University of San Francisco*

Paper Undoing the Colonial? Decolonizing Coloniality in Postcolonial Studies

Subir K. Kole, *University of Hawaii, Manoa*

Overview: Is the preoccupation of postcolonial studies with decolonization one of the prominent signs of its continued colonization? How can one undo the coloniality embedded in postcolonial discourse? Can one really escape from such an inherent trajectory?

Paper Pathologies of Sovereignty: History and (Post)Colonial Domination

Tanner J. McFadden, *University of Chicago*

Overview: An investigation of history as a persistent and problematic source of legitimacy in colonial states as well as the postcolony, leading to a rethinking of the authority of experience.

Paper Diplomacy, Cultural Difference, and the Politics of Sovereign Agency

Robert E. Watkins, *Columbia College, Chicago*

Overview: Building on critique of sovereign agency developed by Butler and Markell, paper defends a conception of cultural pluralism at the level of global politics through a comparison of Berlin's cultural pluralism and Burke's critique of empire.

Paper Historical Justice, Sovereignty, and Native Hawaiian Nationhood

Brian A. Weiner, *University of San Francisco*

Overview: Hawaii is the site of a set of political and legal contestations testing how far the United States government is willing and able to accommodate minority nationalism within its sovereign borders.

Disc. Henry T. Edmondson, *Georgia College & State University*

33-101 AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: THE CONCEPT OF CONSTITUENCY BY ANDREW REHFELD

Room Parlor B, 6th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am

Chair Peter Stone, *Stanford University*

Panelist David Canon, *University of Wisconsin*

Michael James, *Bucknell University*

Andrew Rehfeld, *Washington University*

Melissa Williams, *University of Toronto*

Overview: A discussion of Andrew Rehfeld's book "The Concept of Constituency". The panel will discuss such themes as institutional design, descriptive representation, and the role of random selection in democratic theory.

34-1 POLITICAL PARTIES

Room Sandburg 2, 7th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am

Chair Justin Buchler, *Case Western Reserve University*

Paper Effective Parties in a Model of Repeated Legislative Interaction

Justin Fox, *Yale University*

Randall Calvert, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Overview: We examine the conditions under which legislative parties are able to induce members to vote contrary to their short term interests in the context of a model of repeated bargaining.

Paper Open Primaries and Crossover Voting

Insun Kang, *Duke University*

Overview: We develop a two stage election game where first there are open primaries and then, there is a general election. By analyzing the model, we examine what types of strategic crossover voting occur in equilibrium and under what circumstances they occur.

Paper Long Coalitions Under Electoral Uncertainty: Zero Sum Conflict and the Electoral Origins of Political Parties

Kathleen Bawn, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Hans C. Noel, *Georgetown University*

Overview: We model the formation of parties as long coalitions in an electoral characterized by a high level of uncertainty about voter behavior. We find that some zero sum conflict is necessary for two party competition to occur in equilibrium.

Paper Policy Divergence due to Primary Elections in the Downsian Model

Gilles Serra, *Harvard University*

Overview: We build a model where both parties hold competitive primaries, and then study three extensions of empirical relevance: an incumbent candidate; a dogmatic candidate; and precandidates who collude to avoid a divisive primary campaign.

Paper An Endogenous Model of Political Leadership

Eric S. Dickson, *New York University*

Overview: The paper presents a formal model of political leadership, in which individuals are endogenously partitioned between (1) strategic elites and (2) masses that exhibit less-than-fully-rational equilibrium behavior in response to elite appeals.

Disc. Jeffrey Grynaviski, *University of Chicago*

35-2 TOPICS IN POLITICAL METHODOLOGY I

Room Montrose 2, 7th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am

Chair Jong Hee Park, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Paper Why VAR?

Regina M. Baker, *University of Oregon*

Overview: I reevaluate common objections to Vector Autoregression in light of recent work on lagged dependent variables. I conclude that standard objections are readily addressed through careful interpretation of results, including impulse-response functions.

Paper A Latent Class Analysis of Latino National Identity

Gia Barboza, *Michigan State University*

Overview: In this paper, I demonstrate latent class analysis by using IEM software to analyze several categorical indicators of national identity among Latino subgroups in the United States.

Paper Electoral Competitiveness: Toward a Universal Measure

Mark A. Kayser, *University of Rochester*

Drew A. Linzer, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: We propose a mixture distribution method of measuring electoral competitiveness in multi-party systems that overcomes the short-comings of earlier techniques.

Disc. Patrick T. Brandt, *University of Texas, Dallas*

36-1 SOCIAL NETWORKS AND COMMUNICATIONS NETWORKS

Room Montrose 7, 7th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am

Chair Alan Rosenblatt, *Internet Advocacy Center*

Paper Online Communities, Youth, and Politics

Jessica L. Beyer, *University of Washington, Seattle*

Overview: In this project I focus on internet posting boards and other online social networking forums in an attempt to understand the ways in which the conversations online reflect youth engagement in society and politics in a way that we have not noticed.

Paper Online Nationalism, National Identity and Digital Diasporas

Sheng Ding, *Bloomsburg University*

Overview: Online Nationalism, National Identity and Digital Diasporas: Comparing the Domestic and Overseas Chinese Web Communities

Paper The Impact of Online Communities on Social Capital and Participation

James S. Krueger, *University of Iowa*

Scott Cody, *St. Louis Community College, Meramec*

Overview: Bridging and bonding in cyberspace are examined through survey data of MMOG participants. Multiple measures of participation, social capital, awareness, and activism are utilized.

Paper Virtual Strong Ties: Internet-based Political Linkages Over Time

John C. Scott, *Cornell University*

Overview: I track the structure of Internet links among social movement actors over time in order to test whether weak groups use virtual strong ties. These links are compared to the ties among lobbyists as well as perceived links of the movement activists.

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

Kevin J. Wallsten, *University of California, Berkeley*

37-2	<u>THE WORKINGS OF INTEREST GROUPS</u>			Paper	<u>Survey-Based Preference Estimates and Conditional Party Government</u>
Room	LaSalle 2, 7 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am				James S. Battista, University of North Texas
Chair	Clyde Brown, Miami University				Overview: This paper examines the core contention of conditional party government -- the connection between leadership power and the distribution of preferences -- by using anonymous survey data of state legislators to estimate legislator preferences.
Paper	<u>A Nonprofit Accountability Framework and Empirical Test</u>			Paper	<u>Does Constituency Heterogeneity Affect Trade Policy Preferences? Evidence from the U.S. Senate</u>
	Kara R. Neymeyr, Rhode Island House of Representatives				David Karol, University of California, Berkeley
	Gaylord G. Candler, Indiana University, South Bend				Overview: Focusing on the U.S. Senate, I use three measures of constituency diversity, the traditional "Sullivan Index" and two new indices of economic diversity to assess claims that heterogeneity is highly correlated with size and that it predicts support for trade.
	Georgette E. Dumont, Northern Illinois University			Disc.	Jonathan Woon, Carnegie Mellon University
Paper	Overview: A framework is developed for non-profit accountability, contrasting to whom and for what dimensions. The framework is then tested on a sample of fifteen nonprofit organizations in Rhode Island and Massachusetts.				Antoine Yoshinaka, University of California, Riverside
	<u>Public Goods and a Theory of Groups: The Importance of Increasing Returns</u>			40-9	<u>INCUMBENTS AND CHALLENGERS IN CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS</u>
	McGee W. Young, Marquette University			Room	LaSalle 3, 7 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Paper	Overview: This paper draws on the new endogenous growth theory in economics to offer an alternative theoretical framework for explaining the mobilization of interest groups. Contra Olson it emphasizes the value of non-rival, partially excludable public goods.			Chair	Walter J. Stone, University of California, Davis
	<u>Moving up the Ladder: Saliency and its Effect on Interest Group Hierarchy</u>			Paper	<u>District Complexity and Congressional Incumbency Advantage</u>
	Justin H. Kirkland, Appalachian State University				Michael J. Ensley, Indiana University
Paper	Overview: This paper will examine the effects of saliency on institutional dominance in the interest group ecosystem. It will also attempt to create an interest group hierarchy and track the changes in the hierarchy against changes in saliency.				Michael Tofias, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
	<u>Nonprofit Networks: Uncovering the Web of Money and Issues</u>			Paper	Overview: Using data on Senate Elections (1988-1992) and House Elections (2000), we examine if the complexity and diversity of public opinion in a district increases or decreases the advantages of incumbency.
	Suzanne M. Robbins, George Mason University				<u>The Post-War II Incumbency Effect: A Reassessment</u>
Paper	Overview: In this paper, I investigate the interconnectedness of nonprofit advocacy using Social Network Analysis.				Jeffrey M. Stonecash, Syracuse University
	<u>The Social and Political Context of Interest Group Density</u>			Paper	Overview: Examines the ability of incumbents to increase their vote percentage with successive years in office, 1900-2006. Finds that ability has declined since the 1940s.
	Jessica C. Gerrity, Indiana University				<u>Quality Still Counts More Than Quantity</u>
	Maryann Barakso, American University				Brendan P. Toner, Southern Illinois University
	Brian F. Schaffner, American University				Overview: An extension of previous work (Lublin 1994) that examines which type of politicians and which set of conditions lead to a successful challenge of a U.S. Senate incumbent.
Disc.	Overview: We examine how measures of the public's political ideology, philanthropy, and social capital affect interest group density in over 300 metropolitan areas in the United States.			Paper	<u>The Impact of Candidate Race on Electoral Outcomes</u>
	Paul J. Culhane, Northern Illinois University				Michiko Ueda, California Institute of Technology
38-101	<u>ROUNDTABLE: TULIS'S RHETORICAL PRESIDENCY AT TWENTY</u>				Tetsuya Matsubayashi, Texas A&M University
Room	Parlor F, 6 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am				Overview: We estimate the impact of candidate race on election outcomes by exploiting variations in the presence of minority candidates across different offices and also the fact that congressional districts often contain multiple state legislative districts.
Chair	Nicole Mellow, Williams College			Disc.	Walter J. Stone, University of California, Davis
Panelist	Jeffrey Tulis, University of Texas				Thomas F. Schaller, University of Maryland, Baltimore County
	Bryan Garsten, Yale University			41-16	<u>HOW COURTS SHAPE BUREAUCRATIC, CONGRESSIONAL, AND LOWER COURT POLICY-MAKING</u>
	Susan Herbst, SUNY, Albany			Room	Burnham 1, 7 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
	Paul Quirk, University of British Columbia			Chair	Stephen L. Wasby, University of Albany
	Diane Rubenstein, Cornell University			Paper	<u>The Supreme Court and Congress Interactions: Judicial Influence and Legislative Behavior</u>
	Overview: A roundtable dealing with the impact on the study of American politics of Jeffrey Tulis's - The Rhetorical Presidency -, published in 1987.				Roman Ivanchenko, Ohio State University
39-1	<u>NEW MEASURES OF LEGISLATOR AND CONSTITUENT PREFERENCES</u>			Paper	Overview: This paper examines the effect that the threat of judicial invalidation has on congressional efforts in producing policies that are suitable for the existing state of the world.
Room	Montrose 1, 7 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am				<u>State Legislative Responses to Kelo v. New London (2005)</u>
Chair	Jonathan Woon, Carnegie Mellon University				Chad M. King, University of Texas, Dallas
Paper	<u>State Legislator Ideology and State Interest Group Scores</u>				Euel Elliot, University of Texas, Dallas
	Lilliard E. Richardson, University of Missouri				Overview: We model state level legislative reactions to the Supreme Court's Takings Clause decision in Kelo v. New London (2005) decision as a function of the political, economic, and demographic characteristics of the states.
	Anthony Bertelli, University of Georgia				
Paper	Overview: Interest group scores have been used to measure state legislative ideology, but such measures have many limitations. We develop a measurement strategy that uses constituency, party, and personal characteristics to capture state legislator ideology.				
	<u>District Preferences and Legislative Voting in the Russian Duma</u>				
	Tanya G. Bagashka, University of Rochester				
	Overview: Using party PR district vote as a measure of constituency ideological preferences, I apply a random effects ideal point estimation method to investigate whether constituency preferences are represented in voting behavior.				

Paper	<u>Bureaucratic Decision Making: SEC Enforcement and the Lower Federal Courts</u> John Sivoletta , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: The paper tests whether the Securities and Exchange Commission considers the ideological composition of federal courts when deciding strategically whether to file enforcement actions in court or in administrative proceedings.	44-2 Room Chair Paper	<u>STATE LEGISLATIVE POLITICS</u> Parlor E, 6 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am Harvey J. Tucker , <i>Texas A&M University</i> <u>Taking Care of Business: The Impact of Occupation on Part-Time Legislators</u> Adam H. Hoffman , <i>University of Maryland</i> Overview: This paper examines whether the occupation of part-time legislators impact how they vote on business-backed legislation.
Paper	<u>District Court Discretion Under Mandatory and Non-Mandatory Constraints</u> Lydia B. Tiede , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: I test how the U.S. Sentencing Guidelines affect district court decisions before and after the U.S. Supreme Court decision in <i>United States v. Booker</i> (2005), converting the guidelines from mandatory to non-binding constraints on judges' discretion.	Paper	<u>Estimating National Common Space Ideal Points for State Legislators</u> Boris Shor , <i>University of Chicago</i> Christopher Berry , <i>University of Chicago</i> Nolan McCarty , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: Attempts to extend ideal point analysis to states have been stymied by the lack of data and an inability to compare scores. Using new data, we exploit the presence of legislators who go on to serve in Congress to generate truly comparable scores.
Paper	<u>Probing Judiciary-Bureaucracy Relations: Politics and Anticipatory Agencies</u> Patrick C. Wohlfarth , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: I investigate the political relationship between the bureaucracy and Supreme Court over time and argue that federal agencies formulate policy in anticipation of Court preferences, thereby signifying judicial constraint on bureaucratic action.	Paper	<u>Working Together in the Texas Legislature</u> Harvey J. Tucker , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Legislators must cooperate to pass bills. This paper asks which members are more likely to work together and which teams are more successful. The sessions of 1995 and 2005 are compared.
Disc.	Robert M. Howard , <i>Georgia State University</i> Stephen L. Wasby , <i>University of Albany</i>	Disc.	Ronald E. Weber , <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Nancy Martorano , <i>University of Dayton</i>
41-101	<u>AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: LAWRENCE BAUM, "JUDGES AND THEIR AUDIENCES" (2006, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS)</u> Monroe, 6 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am Chair Panelist	45-1 Room Chair Paper	<u>EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF INTERLOCAL COOPERATION</u> Burnham 4, 7 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am Skip Krueger , <i>University of North Texas</i> <u>Modeling State-Level Constraints on Interlocal Cooperation</u> Skip Krueger , <i>University of North Texas</i> Ethan Bernick , <i>University of North Texas</i> Overview: Utilizing a hierarchical linear modeling specification and a nationwide dataset on financial flows between local governments, we model the impact of state-level institutional arrangements on interlocal cooperation.
Room		Paper	<u>Interlocal Cooperation on Public Safety: Lessons from Michigan</u> Jered B. Carr , <i>Wayne State University</i> Kelly LeRoux , <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: We use data on service arrangements from 387 municipal governments in Michigan to examine patterns of interlocal cooperation in the delivery of police and fire services.
Chair		Paper	<u>Regional Governance Organizations and Inter-local Cooperation for Local</u> Sung-Wook Kwon , <i>Florida State University</i> Richard Feiock , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: This study investigates how regional governance organizations facilitate service cooperation by reducing transaction costs in interlocal service contracting.
Panelist	Lee Epstein , <i>Northwestern University</i> Howard Gillman , <i>University of Southern California</i> Herbert Kritzer , <i>University of Wisconsin</i> Jeffrey Segal , <i>Stony Brook University</i> Lawrence Baum , <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: Commentary by leading scholars on Baum's <i>Judges and Their Audiences</i> (2006, Princeton University Press).	Paper	<u>Institutional Ties, Interlocal Contractual Arrangements, and the Dynamic of Metropolitan Governance</u> Simon A. Andrew , <i>University of North Texas</i> Overview: This paper examines cooperation in terms of contractual arrangements between local governments in four Florida metropolitan areas between 1988 and 2003 using a network specialized software called SIENA.
43-1	<u>RETHINKING INTERNATIONAL LAW</u> Clark 5, 7 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am Chair Paper	Paper	<u>A Transaction Cost and Social Exchange Explanation for Interlocal Service</u> Manoj Shrestha , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: A model of the impact of transaction characteristics and inter-organizational trust on interlocal cooperation is tested on a sample of U.S. cities.
Room		Disc.	Michael Pagano , <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i>
Chair	Mark E. Wojcik , <i>John Marshall Law School</i>		
Paper	<u>Not Quite International: Western Just War Theory and the Laws of War</u> Valerie O. Morkevicius , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This paper critiques the international law of war as hegemonic. Outlining the relationship between Christian just war theory and the emergence of international law, it considers the ethical and political issues of a Western-Centric law of war.		
Paper	<u>Why Should Peace be Considered Utopian?</u> Rui B. Romão , <i>University of Beira Interior</i> Overview: In this paper I shall tackle with the problem of the utopian nature of those projects of universal and perpetual peace that were conceived of in the Early Modern Period by Enlightenment philosophers, envisaged from the perspective of our times.		
Paper	<u>Military Occupations and the Rule of Law - 1945-2000</u> Carmela Lutmar , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: The purpose of this paper is to investigate empirically the quality of governments that emerge once foreign military occupations end in a large cross-section of countries in the post-1945 period.		
Paper	<u>Official History in Modern Democracies: an International Perspective</u> Karim Medjad , <i>HEC Paris</i> Overview: Building on a recent French law requiring history teachers to stress the positive aspects of French colonialism, this paper discusses the nature and function of official history in modern democracies and its potential international implications.		
Disc.	Kathy Purnell , <i>DePaul University</i> Mark E. Wojcik , <i>John Marshall Law School</i>		

46-2	<u>THE DYNAMICS OF WELFARE POLICY</u>		Paper	<u>U.S. Health Social Movements and Public Policy: Autism and Alzheimer's</u>
Room	PDR 6, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 9:50 am			<u>Gertrude A. Steuernagel, Kent State University</u>
Chair	<u>Saundra K. Schneider, Michigan State University, East Lansing</u>			<u>Irene J. Barnett, Kent State University</u>
Paper	<u>Race to the Bottom?: Evidence from Korean Welfare Spending</u> <u>Doo-Rae Kim, University of Seoul</u> Overview: This study examines two prominent hypotheses in the welfare literature, race-to-the bottom and electoral dynamics, in the context of local welfare spending in Korea.			Overview: This is a comparative study of the autism movement and the Alzheimer's movement as two health social movements (HSMs) attempting to impact public policy. Focus is placed on the grass roots origins of the movements, including their strategies and goals.
Paper	<u>An Experimental Test of the Effects of Target Groups on Public Opinion</u> <u>Eric D. Lawrence, George Washington University</u> <u>Robert Stoker, George Washington University</u> <u>Harold Wolman, George Washington University</u> Overview: With a survey experiment, we test Schneider and Ingram's social construction typology by systematically varying target group and policy domain in a nationally representative survey.		Disc.	<u>Bertram Johnson, Middlebury College</u> <u>Suzanne Mettler, Syracuse University</u>
Paper	<u>Welfare Spending and Social Outcomes in the American States</u> <u>Patrick J. Flavin, University of Notre Dame</u> <u>Benjamin Radcliff, University of Notre Dame</u> Overview: Do increased welfare expenditures lead to more desirable outcomes? Using pooled time-series data from the fifty United States, we examine the relationship between social spending and suicide rates, mental health indicators, and violent crime levels.		50-2	<u>MANAGEMENT AND PERFORMANCE IN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (Co-sponsored with Public Policy, see 46-12)</u> PDR 7, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Paper	<u>Discretion, Second-Order Devolution and the Implementation of TANF Sanction</u> <u>Byungkyu Kim, University of Kentucky</u> Overview: I examine how second-order devolution influences the implementation of sanctions by expanding the discretion of case managers and giving more authority in designing and implementing sanctions to local governments in Kentucky, Ohio and Florida.		Room	<u>Shannon Davis, University of Arkansas</u>
Paper	<u>Welfare Reform and Medicaid: An Empirical Study, 1993 to 2004</u> <u>Kyoungdon Park, SUNY, Albany</u> Overview: The probabilities of receiving Medicaid for welfare recipient families are measured by logistic regressions and simulations with a longer time frame of 1993 - 2004 in order to examine unintended consequences of welfare reform in 1996.		Chair	<u>Education Accountability Policy: Leaving Children Behind by Definition</u> <u>Randall Davies, Indiana University, South Bend</u> Overview: Current educational policy mandates that schools be held accountable to ensure all students perform at grade level. This paper argues that the methods used to determine grade level proficiency by definition preclude the attainment of this standard.
Disc.	<u>Saundra K. Schneider, Michigan State University, East Lansing</u>		Paper	<u>Attempting to Reduce the Education Gap Related to Exit Examinations</u> <u>Giovanna Brasfield, Brasfield & Associates Marketing</u> Overview: The purpose of this panel is to identify and discuss the organizational management practices and strategies that public administrators in selected school districts have used to assist students pass exit examinations.
47-3	<u>DOES PARTICIPATION AFFECT POLICY?</u>		Paper	<u>Accountability in Higher Education</u> <u>Corey L. Farrar, Beloit College</u> <u>Alisa Hicklin, Texas A&M University</u> Overview: The issue of accountability has sparked a rise in the use of performance measures for evaluating public agencies. This analysis will examine how the implementation of performance measures affects higher education systems in the United States.
Room	PDR 5, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 9:50 am		Paper	<u>Managing Undocumented Students: Does Illegal Immigration Affect Performance</u> <u>Gregory C. Hill, Boise State University</u> <u>Daniel Hawes, Texas A&M University</u> Overview: This paper tests the effects of undocumented students on student performance in public schools. The analysis builds upon the public management literature, asking and addressing the question: Does management matter?
Chair	<u>Comparative Feminist Movements</u> <u>Shauna L. Shames, Harvard University</u> <u>Kristin Goss, Duke University</u> Overview: Our study explores differences between the issue priorities of the feminist movements in the U.S. and in a range of nations to deduce a new comparative theory of women's movement policy priority development.		Disc.	<u>Shannon Davis, University of Arkansas</u> <u>William Howell, University of Chicago</u>
Paper	<u>Maryland Takes On Wal-Mart: The New Role of Business in Antipoverty Policy</u> <u>Nicole D. Kazee, Yale University/Brookings Institution</u> Overview: American antipoverty policy increasingly targets the working poor, which has implications for the businesses that employ them. This study uses the case of Maryland to ask about the new role these employers are playing in state welfare policymaking.		50-17	<u>THE CIVIL SERVICE: CAREERS, MOTIVATIONS, AND REFORM</u> Clark 3, 7 th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Paper	<u>Policy Innovations from Below</u> <u>Heidi J. Swarts, Rutgers University, Newark</u> Overview: In a hostile national context for national redistributive policies, two styles of grassroots community organizing have originated striking policy innovations and redistributed billions of dollars to programs that serve poor and working people.		Room	<u>Vicente C. Reyes, Centre for Research in Pedagogy and Practice-National Institute of Education</u>
			Chair	<u>Civil Service Reforms in the U.S.: A Strategic Analysis</u> <u>Ali Farazmand, Florida Atlantic University</u> Overview: Sheds light on the political economy of CSRs in the US administrative history, and now globalization.
			Paper	<u>Leaving the Hill: Congressional Staff Member Patterns of Career Change</u> <u>Jennifer M. Jensen, SUNY, Binghamton</u> Overview: There has been little research on why House of Representatives staff members exit the workplace as quickly as they do. Using a survey of staffers in personal offices in Washington, I analyze the basic career trajectories of congressional staff.
			Paper	<u>Impact of Education on Clients' Expectations of Ghanaian Bureaucrats</u> <u>Christine N. Lokko, West Virginia University</u> 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 **Ambition, Opportunity, and Bureaucratic Policy Innovation**
Manny Teodoro, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: Bureaucrats' career opportunities affect their policy goals. Administrators in careers where advancement requires changing employers push more professionally fashionable policies than those for whom advancement occurs within a single organization.

Paper **Public Sector Values in Denmark**
Karsten Vrangbaek, *University of Copenhagen*
 Overview: The paper analyzes survey data from public managers at all levels of the Danish public administration in order to create public value profiles. Variations in value profiles and potential erosion of traditional public sector values are discussed.

Disc. **Enamul Choudhury**, *Miami University*
Vicente C. Reyes, *Centre for Research in Pedagogy and Practice-National Institute of Education*

51-1 **INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC POLICIES**
Room PDR 8, 3rd Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Chair **Cal Jillson**, *Southern Methodist University*
Paper **Science Gatekeepers: Federal Bureaucrats as Consumer Advocates**
Steve Bernardin, *Harvard University*
 Overview: The paper seeks to recall the evolution of boundaries between social activism and bureaucratic practices. It thus relates the current criticism of pro-consumer practices to the genesis of federal agencies in the 1960s.

Paper **The Crystallization of an Organizational Reputation: France Kelsey, Thalidomide and Consumer Protection**
Daniel Carpenter, *Harvard University*
 Overview: How can an organizational reputation be measured? How can one write its history, document its movements? I study the organizational reputation of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) for consumer protection in the area of prescription pharmaceuticals.

Paper **Race, Citizenship and Territoriality: Lake Mohonk Conferences, Puerto Rico and American Political Development, 1900-1917**
Carlos Figueroa, *New School for Social Research*
 Overview: This paper explores the role of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and other Dependent Peoples (LMC) in its attempts to promote progressive reforms regarding U.S. * Puerto Rico affairs in the context of competing notions of citizenship and democracy on the one hand, and imperialist commitments on the other, in the years between the passage of the Foraker Act (1900) and the Jones Act (1917).

Paper **The Origin of Employment Protection in Germany and the United States**
June Park, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: In this comparative historical study, I demonstrate that two countermajoritarian political institutions, competitive federalism and the strong judiciary, constrain the rise of government restrictions on employers' freedom of layoff.

Paper **Making Higher Education Affordable: Policy Design in Post-War America**
Patricia Strach, *SUNY, Albany*
 Overview: This paper examines how previous policies shape subsequent design in the same policy area by examining three major federal interventions to make higher education more affordable: the GI Bill of 1944, Pell Grants in 1972, and the Hope Scholarship of 1996.

Disc. **Edmund F. Wehrle**, *Eastern Illinois University*
Cal Jillson, *Southern Methodist University*

51-4 **INSTITUTIONAL FOUNDATIONS OF ANTI-DISCRIMINATION POLITICS AND POLICIES**
Room Parlor C, 6th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Chair **Scot Schraufnagel**, *University of Central Florida*
Paper **Summer of '54: Frank Lausche and the Politics of Race**
William D. Angel, *Ohio State University, Lima*
 Overview: Paper examines Ohio's 1954 gubernatorial campaign. Analysis concentrates on the candidates' efforts to exploit African-American votes while ignoring expectations of black voters following Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. the Board of Education*.

Paper **Black Politics Before the Vote**
Angelique Douyon Jessup, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: This paper is precisely concerned with local African American political strategies and modes of mobilization prior to the Voting Rights Act and Civil Rights Movement in the non-northern states.

Paper **Democracy at Home: Mexican Americans and the Origins of Anti-Discrimination Policy, 1941-1964**
Matthew Gritter, *New School for Social Research*
 Overview: Through a case study of Mexican Americans and anti-discrimination policy during World War II, this paper provides a fresh look at the origins of civil rights policy.

Paper **Presidential Leadership and Housing Segregation**
Charles M. Lamb, *SUNY, Buffalo*
Adam W. Nye, *SUNY, Buffalo*
 Overview: This paper surveys early federal fair housing policy from the Truman through the Kennedy administrations, integrates those findings with prior research from the Johnson through the Clinton administrations, and develops a model of presidential leadership.

Paper **Early Twentieth Century Race Discrimination Cases in State Supreme Courts**
Francine S. Romero, *University of Texas, San Antonio*
 Overview: Examines the record of state supreme courts in responding to plaintiffs' claims of race discrimination by public and private parties in the period from 1907-1934.

Disc. **Shamira M. Gelbman**, *University of Virginia*
Patrick S. Roberts, *Virginia Tech University*

53-1 **RELIGION AND POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA**
Room Sandburg 1, 7th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Chair **Maurice Eisenstein**, *Purdue University, Calumet*
Paper **Latin American Evangelicals' Attitudes about the U.S. Role in the World**
Ruth M. Melkonian-Hoover, *Gordon College*
Dennis R. Hoover, *Institute for Global Engagement*
 Overview: This paper investigates the attitudes of Latin American evangelicals about the U.S. role in the world, utilizing the 2002 Pew Global Attitudes Survey data and testing the impact of evangelical religion alongside demographic and globalization variables.

Paper **Reverse Mission: Transnational Religion and American Foreign Policy**
Timothy A. Byrnes, *Colgate University*
 Overview: There is a tension between states and transnational entities that stake claims of authority that challenge the very foundation of state-based politics. This paper examines these tensions within the context of communities of Catholic priests and nuns.

Disc. **Maurice Eisenstein**, *Purdue University, Calumet*

53-12 **ISLAM IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**
Room Parlor H, 6th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Chair Emilia Powell, *Georgia Southern University*
Paper **The Place Attributed to Islam in Turkish Nationalism on the Party Level**
Alper Bilgili, *Sabanci University*
Nazli C. Sahin, *Sabanci University*
 Overview: The place of Islam in Turkish nationalism is not simple to search for. While Islam has always been a crucial aspect of this feeling of nationalism, the official Republican ideology has tried hard not to save any place for it within this ideology.

Paper **Religiopolitical Issues and Participation in Contemporary Indonesia**
Jennifer L. Epley, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: This paper will examine the relationship between individual-level political participation and different aspects of Muslim religious identity in Indonesia during the post-1998 period. Supporting data comes from a mixed-methods approach.

Paper **When Does Religion Become Politically Salient in Sub-Saharan Africa?**
John F. McCauley, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: This study explores the conditions that make religion an important cleavage in African politics. Religious segregation along geographical lines, rather than individual religiosity or choice of religion, emerges as the critical factor.

Disc. **Rebekah Tromble**, *Indiana University*
Emilia Powell, *Georgia Southern University*

59-2 **PUBLIC OPINION IN THE CONTEXT OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION**
Room Suite 9-128, 9th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Chair Patrick J. Egan, *Princeton University*
Paper **Contact, Context, and Support for an Anti-Gay Rights Referendum**
Jay Barth, *Hendrix College*
Scott H. Huffmon, *Winthrop University*
Marvin Overby, *University of Missouri*
 Overview: Our study examines how various forms of personal contact and community context affect public attitudes toward the 2006 South Carolina referendum to alter the state constitution to ban same sex marriage.

Paper **Crisis Management in the Mark Foley Scandal**
Robert L. Dion, *University of Evansville*
 Overview: Just before the 2006 elections, the Foley scandal caused a media feeding frenzy. This paper examines the content of that coverage by studying the language and frames used by journalists and political elites in defining this unfolding issue.

Paper **Public Opinion on Homosexuality: Differences in Behavior vs. Identity**
Shawn R. Schulenberg, *University of California, Riverside*
 Overview: Public opinion on homosexuality has gradually warmed, but differences may exist depending on the questions framing. Do responses differ between the person vs. the sex act? This paper will examine this question, its causes, and implications.

Paper **Gender, Sexual Orientation, and Torture in the Global War on Terror**
Janelle Wong, *University of Southern California*
Dara Strolovitch, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: This paper examines public attitudes toward the use of sexual humiliation in the interrogation methods deployed in the Global War on Terror (GWOT).

Disc. **Doug Strand**, *University of California, Berkeley*

63-2 **IMMIGRATION AND LATINO POLITICS**
Room Parlor J, 6th Floor, Thur at 9:50 am
Chair Rene R. Rocha, *University of Iowa*
Paper **Militarization and the Criminalization of Transnational Migrants in the U.S., Mexico and El Salvador**
Alfonso Gonzales, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: Paper presents a case of study of state-elite discourse on immigrants during the debate over H.R. 4437. Case study is part of a larger dissertation project that looks at how state rationalize the production of violence against transnational (im)migrants.

Paper **Immigrant and U.S. Born Latino Empowerment**
Jose D. Villalobos, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: I consider whether immigrants feel less empowered than their U.S. born compatriots because of a disconnect in representational linkages or if group dynamics help to decrease feelings of alienation.

Paper **Mexican Immigrants' Political Suitcases: Partisanship and Democratic Values**
Sergio C. Wals, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: Using survey data, this paper tests the imported socialization theory (Wals 2006) on Mexican immigrants. It shows that Mexican party ID and prior views on democracy are key to understanding these immigrants' political behavior once in the US.

Disc. **Julia Albarracin**, *Western Illinois University*

Thursday, April 12 – 12:45 pm – 2:20 pm

1-113 ROUNDTABLE: HAVING AND DOING IT ALL: ACHIEVING A WORK-LIFE BALANCE (Co-sponsored with Midwest Women's Caucus, see 57-102)

Room Red Lacquer, 4th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair **Christina Wolbrecht**, *University of Notre Dame*
Panelist **Lynne E. Ford**, *College of Charleston*
Trudy Steuernagel, *Kent State University*
Michael Brintnall, *American Political Science Association*
Lisa Baldez, *Dartmouth University*
 Overview: This roundtable will discuss strategies for successful balance of professional and personal goals and responsibilities.

2-2 CORPORATE GOVERNANCE AND VARIETIES OF CAPITALISM

Room Salon 1, 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair **Ronald Rogowski**, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Paper **The Labor Market Determinants of Corporate Governance Reform**
Roger M. Barker, *Oxford University*
David Rueda, *Oxford University*
 Overview: This paper analyses how change in labor markets impacts on corporate governance, and the interaction of any such change with partisanship

Paper **The Business of Backlash: The Peculiar Counterattack on Post-Enron Corporate Governance and Accounting Reforms**
John W. Ciotti, *University of California, Riverside*
 Overview: Business elites have attacked post-Enron corporate governance and accounting reforms as inefficient. Contrary to the rhetoric, the business backlash was triggered by anti-regulatory ideology and interests in preserving managerial power.

Paper **Why Do People Pay More Under Proportional Systems? Electoral Systems, Corporate Governance and Price**
Jaekwon Suh, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: This paper explains cross-national variation of competitive price levels measured by purchasing power parity (PPP). The theoretical contribution of the paper is to show firm's price-asking behavior in a certain political environment.
Disc. **Ronald Rogowski**, *University of California, Los Angeles*

3-2 CORRUPTION AND RENT-SEEKING

Room Salon 2, 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair **Jorge Bravo**, *Duke University*
Paper **Corruption in Latin America: Political, Economic, and Institutional Causes**
Lauren V. Biddle, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
 Overview: This paper examines the political, economic, structural, and institutional variables that affect perceptions of governmental corruption in modern Latin America using a statistical analysis of pooled cross-sectional time series data.

Paper **How Does Vote Buying Affect Voters' Perceptions of Political Corruption? A Cross-National Study Among Developing Countries**
Tetsuya Fujiwara, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: This paper examines the impact of vote buying on voters' perceptions of political corruption. When benefits transfer from politicians to voters, it is hard to see how those benefits influence corruption perceptions. I try to clarify this ambiguity.

Paper **Rent-Seeking and the Search for Political Stability**
Susanne D. Michalik, *University of Konstanz*
Laura Seelkopf, *University of Konstanz*
 Overview: This study looks at the interaction of the two main goals of politicians, staying in office and rent-seeking.

Paper Rethinking Political Power in Political Economy of Partial Reforms

Qi Zhang, *Northwestern University*
Mingxing Liu, *Peking University*
 Overview: Given reforming policies from the center, local officials only implement those which benefit them and oppose those which reduce their rent-seeking capacity. Our hypothesis is confirmed by empirical evidence by examining partial reform in rural China.
Disc. **Daniel Gingerich**, *Princeton University*
Jorge Bravo, *Duke University*

3-17 POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

Room Salon 4, 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair **Lauren M. Duquette**, *University of Chicago*
Paper **Democracy and Child Mortality: An Indirect Effect**

John A. Doces, *University of Southern California*
 Overview: This paper studies the impact of the size of the winning coalition on the under-five mortality rate. The results indicate that as the size of the winning coalition increases child mortality drops.

Paper **Red Carpets or Iron Gates? The Political Economy of FDI Regulation**
Sinziana P. Dorobantu, *Duke University*

Overview: The paper investigates the political determinants of national policy frameworks governing the entry and operations of foreign-owned companies in developing countries.

Paper **Logic of Financial Regulatory Reform in Mexico and South Korea**

Heon Joo Jung, *University of Pennsylvania*
 Overview: This paper examines institutional design and change of financial regulatory systems as responses to economic crises in Mexico and South Korea by taking seriously the interaction between international forces and public attention.

Paper **State-Business Conflict and the Role of Reputation**

Nimah Mazaheri, *University of Washington*
 Overview: This paper examines state-business conflict during economic development programs by focusing on the role that reputation plays in the context of informal economic institutions.
Disc. **Lauren M. Duquette**, *University of Chicago*

3-26 TO SERVE AND PROTECT? THE POLITICAL ECONOMY

Room PDR 4, 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair **Irfan Nooruddin**, *Ohio State University*
Paper **Political Violence: Can It Explain Africa's Development?**
Cristina Bodea, *Michigan State University*

Ibrahim A. Elbadawi, *The World Bank*
 Overview: This paper assesses whether various types of organized political violence (wars, coups, violent protest) have a differential impact on growth and overall human development, and whether and how the African continent is different in this regard.

Paper **Collateral Damage: War, Infrastructure, and Public Health**
Zaryab Iqbal, *University of South Carolina*

Overview: This paper investigates the effect of violent conflict on the health achievement of states, and shows that a substantial fraction of the overall health impact of war can be attributed to its destructive potential.

Paper **Insurgency and Credible Commitment in Autocracies and Democracies**

Philip Keefer, *The World Bank*
 Overview: This paper argues that political actors' inability to commit credibly to broad segments of society makes conflict more likely. Empirical tests indicate the importance of institutionalized political parties for dampening the threat of conflict.

Paper	<u>Government Response to Crisis: Risk Propensities and Social Protection</u> Irfan Nooruddin , <i>Ohio State University</i> Joel W. Simmons , <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: Exposure to world markets increases developing country risk. Why do governments choose to accept such risk and how do they protect citizens from it? Arguments are tested using cross-national time-series data.	and to recommend methods for democratizing the U.S. federal election system.
Paper	<u>Famine Mortality and Rational Political Inactivity</u> Thomas Plumper , <i>University of Essex and Max-Planck Institute of Economics</i> Eric Neumayer , <i>London School of Economics and Political Science</i> Overview: This paper develops a theory of famine mortality, arguing politically rational governments, democratic or not, will remain inactive in the face of potential famine mortality if action would lead to greater loss of political support than inaction.	Presenter <u>Legal Aspects of Harmonization of Provere and Public Interests in Russia</u> (Board 7) Marina Victorovna Nemytina , <i>Interregional Public Organization "Legal Reform Project Center"</i> Overview: The report deals with tendencies of legal development of Russia. A concept of harmonization of private and public interests is suggested. The author singles out stages of this process.
Disc.	Carew Boulding , <i>University of California, San Diego</i>	Presenter <u>Path to Democracy in Central Asia</u> (Board 8) Sherzod A. Abdukadirov , <i>George Mason University</i> Overview: Authoritarianism in the Central Asian states is as much a result of their clan-based political structure as of presidential system. A shift to a parliamentary system and electoral rules promoting strong parties would counter authoritarian tendencies.
4-301	<u>POSTER SESSION: TRANSITIONS TO DEMOCRACY</u>	Presenter <u>Evaluating Opportunity Structures in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan Opposition</u> (Board 9) Andrew M. Akin , <i>University of Alabama</i> Overview: This paper evaluates the opportunity structures of opposition movements in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan in light of their divergent paths in transition following the Tulip Revolution in Kyrgyzstan and violent crackdown in Uzbekistan.
Room	Exhibit Hall, 4 th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm	Presenter <u>Oil, Politics and Justice on Sakhalin Island</u> (Board 10) Graeme P. Auton , <i>University of Redlands</i> Jeremy Tasch , <i>University of Alaska, Anchorage</i> Overview: Sakhalin Island in Russia's Far East is a case study of the incompatible demands of democratization and economic development, with cross-cutting dynamics of globalization, oil politics, relations with Moscow, and environmental concerns.
Presenter	<u>Islam and Politics: Attitudes towards Democracy in Muslim World</u> (Board 1) Dilshod Achilov , <i>University of Arizona</i> Shakhnoza Kayumova , <i>Daisy Education Corporation</i> Overview: Does Islam hinder or promote democracy? Is Islam a deterring factor to a path towards democratization, or to the contrary, a stimulant to build a free society? Current empirical study seeks to answer these rather salient questions in world politics	Presenter <u>Post-Civil War Democratization: Does Negotiated Settlement Lead to Institutionalized Democracy?</u> (Board 11) Madhav R. Joshi , <i>University of North Texas</i> Overview: This study questions to what extent the negotiated settlement of civil war leads to promotion of institutionalized democracy in post-civil war states.
Presenter	<u>The Future of Freedom: Is Tertiary Female Education Contributing to Liberalization in Arab Countries?</u> (Board 2) Bozena C. Welborne , <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Overview: This paper outlines how the institutionalization of female education in a subset of Muslim Arab countries may be contributing to greater equality in the political realm.	Presenter <u>Political Democracy, Governance and the Quality of Democracy</u> (Board 12) Krystin Krause , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: This paper seeks to add to the discussion of the quality of democracy by investigating the relationship between political democracy and governance, arguing that high levels of governance are a necessary but not sufficient condition for high levels of the government.
Presenter	<u>The Media Feeding on the Social Cleavage Discourse Constructed by the State</u> (Board 3) Nazli C. Sahin , <i>Sabanci University</i> Alper Bilgili , <i>Sabanci University</i> Overview: Analyzing the data from surveys already performed across the country, the main aim is to show that the frequently mentioned social cleavage— and even conflict according to some— between the secularists and Islamists in Turkey is a constructed one.	Presenter <u>The Spread of Freedom and Democracy: How and Why</u> (Board 13) Robert M. Sanders , <i>University of West Georgia</i> Overview: Since freedom is the single most important element of an advanced society, this paper examines the philosophical grounds for the promulgation of free societies and a course by which this goal may be accomplished.
Presenter	<u>Symbolic Gestures and Government Evaluations in New Democracies</u> (Board 4) Katsuo A. Nishikawa , <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: I examine data from an imbedded panel/cross-sectional survey experiment (N=1921) conducted in Baja California that measure the effect of symbolic gestures by the state development office on assessment of government performance	Presenter <u>Parallel Political Authorities and Democratization in Ghana</u> (Board 14) Jasper Ayelazuno , <i>York University</i> Overview: Based on the Weberian concept of the state, some transitologists have made some generalizations on the progress of democratization in Ghana. But the existence of authoritarian parallel traditional political institutions belies these prepositions.
Presenter	<u>Party On: Politicians and Opportunists in a Mexican State</u> (Board 5) Lynda K. Barrow , <i>Coe College</i> Overview: While democratization has made electoral choices more significant, frequently changing party allegiances even among elected officials renders these choices less meaningful. Partisan shifts within the state congress of Morelos illustrate this point.	
Presenter	<u>Think Globally Act Locally: Comparison of Overseas Federal Election Voters</u> (Board 6) Victoria A. Doyon , <i>Overseas Vote Foundation</i> Overview: Survey results provide insightful evidence to examine affects of variation in state-level policies on voter enfranchisement, categorize and explain comparative differences,	

7-3 **MISSION IMPOSSIBLE? A COMMON FOREIGN POLICY FOR EUROPE**
Room Sandburg 7, 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair Madeleine O. Hosli, *Leiden University*
Paper **Civilian Power or EUTOPIA? An Analysis of the EU's Foreign Policy Discourse**
Christian Burckhardt, Oxford University
 Overview: The European Union's foreign policy is frequently portrayed in the literature as driven by ideational dynamics. The paper conducts a discourse analysis to find out whether this view is actually shared by EU officials.

Paper **Institutional Failure or Commitment Mechanism? EU Foreign Policy and Russia**
Irina M. Busygina, MGIMO
 Overview: The paper argues that unanimity with "constructive abstention" is a method of preserving commitment of all members of the EU when they deal with the most important challenges of foreign policy. The EU policy toward Russia illustrates the argument.

Paper **Member State Preferences Matter: Foreign Policy Gridlock in the EU**
Matthew P. Cherry, University of Iowa
 Overview: This research systematically addresses the question of why the EU has found it difficult to develop a common foreign policy.

Paper **Causes of Consensus in CFSP: Preference Convergence or Strategic Selection?**
Leanne C. Powner, University of Michigan
 Overview: Is the lack of dissensus in EU foreign policy cooperation the result of preference convergence, as constructivists suggest, or a rationalist selection mechanism?

Paper **News Framing and Public Support for a Common Foreign and Security Policy**
Claes H. DeVreese, University of Amsterdam
Anna Kandyla, University of Amsterdam
 Overview: A study of how news media framing can affect public support for a CFSP. Results are discussed in the light of the EU's legitimacy problems.

Disc. **Claes H. DeVreese, University of Amsterdam**

8-3 **INSTITUTIONAL INSTABILITY IN LATIN AMERICA**
Room Sandburg 6, 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair Gretchen Helmke, *University of Rochester*
Paper **Presidential Crises and Popular Protest in Latin America**
Anibal Perez-Linan, University of Pittsburgh
 Overview: An analysis of executive-legislative crises after the third wave of democratization shows that popular mobilization has consistently tipped the balance against the Executive branch.

Paper **The Durability of Constitutions in Changing Environments: A Study on Constitutional Stability in Latin America**
Gabriel L. Negretto, CIDE, Mexico
 Overview: A survival model of the determinants of constitutional durability in Latin America from 1946 to 2000 shows that institutional design and political conflict are the most important factors affecting the lifespan of constitutions.

Paper **The Institutional Instability Trap: A Game Theoretic Approach to Inter-Branch Conflict in Latin America**
Gretchen Helmke, University of Rochester
 Overview: A fundamental feature of institutional instability is that tends to recur. To explain this apparent institutional instability "trap," the paper develops and tests a game theoretic model of inter-branch crisis.

Paper **Veto Players, the Policymaking Process, and Policy Stability in Latin America**
Carlos Pereira, Michigan State University
Shane P. Singh, Michigan State University
 Overview: This study builds a model that predicts policy stability as a function of veto players' tenure in office. While the existence of certain veto players leads to stability the duration of veto players also negatively affects the level of policy stability.

Disc. **Mark Jones, Rice University**
Barbara Geddes, University of California, Los Angeles

9-301 **POSTER SESSION: FRONTIERS OF ASIAN POLITICAL RESEARCH**
Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Presenter **South Korea's New Passion for Free Trade Agreements**
 (Board 15)
Jung In Jo, Lee University
 Overview: This paper investigates how different factors contribute to South Korea's rush to conclude Free Trade Agreements.

Presenter **China's Political Participation Decline and Institutional Transformation**
 (Board 16)
Diqing Lou, Texas A&M University
 Overview: This paper examines the decline in China's urban political participation in the past decade, and we found this participation decline can be explained by the institutional transformation brought by current economic reform and development.

Presenter **Muslim Participation in Indian Democracy**
 (Board 17)
Jane Menon, University of Michigan
 Overview: Are Islam and democracy compatible? Given recent events on the world stage, the willingness of Muslims to embrace democracy has been openly challenged. To answer this question more fully, I propose a study of Muslim participation in Indian democracy.

10-1 **AFRICA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**
Room Sandburg 5, 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair Leslie O. Omoruyi, *East Carolina University*
Paper **The Horn of Africa: Laboratory for Regressive Political Choices**
Tseggai Isaac, University of Missouri, Rolla
 Overview: For more than thirty years, the Horn of Africa has experienced political violence claiming millions of lives. The worrisome aspect of this violence is that it seems to grow worse at every decade. Sustained intervention by such powers as the European Union.

Paper **Characteristics of Least Developed Country Investment**
Ryan J. Gibb, University of Kansas
 Overview: My project investigates the characteristics of firms investing in Least Developed Countries within the regions of South and East Africa. Using firm-level analysis, I examine the qualities of LDC public and private ownership.

Paper **U.S.-African Energy Security: The Impact of Human Security and Governance**
Joshua D. Swartzel, United States Military Academy
 Overview: How will African human security and political governance issues impact the U.S.'s ability to gain access to African energy resources? What strategy should the U.S. implement to ameliorate these factors that could threaten U.S. energy access?

Paper **Environmental Critics of Globalization and Local Processes in Africa**
Ngeta Kabiri, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
 Overview: This study uses local level case studies to examine the proposition that globalization has aided biodiversity conservation in more ways than it has undermined the same (the question of whether this has been by default or design notwithstanding).

Disc. **Sue J. Nahm, Columbia University**

11-1 **AUTHORITARIAN RULE AND PROSPECTS FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST**
Room Sandburg 4, 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair Debra L. Shulman, *Yale University*
Paper **Why do Authoritarians Hold Elections?: Theory and Evidence from Egypt**
Lisa Blaydes, University of California, Los Angeles
 Overview: I argue that semi-competitive elections in Egypt provide a myriad of functions for the authoritarian regime, only some of which have been previously described and many of which have been underemphasized or empirically untested.

Paper	<u>Durable Authoritarianism in Jordan and Kuwait: The Role of External Actors</u> Sean L. Yom, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This paper explains the durability of authoritarianism in Jordan and Kuwait by investigating the role of international powers in supporting the incumbent regime during periods of domestic crisis.				distributes aid based on economic and international factors while the World Bank distributes aid based on domestic political factors.
Paper	<u>EU Leverage in the Implementation of Human Rights Reforms in Turkey</u> Aziza Khatoon, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: I will critically analyze Turkey's human rights reforms while simultaneously assess the role the European Union has played in bringing about progressive change within Turkey's human rights policy.				Presenter <u>Religious Attachment and Political Participation in Post-Communist Europe</u> (Board 19) David O. Rossbach, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Alexander Pacek, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper examines the effects of religious identification on political participation in Eastern Europe and argues that the effects depend on the relationship of the Church to the former regime and the role it played in the transition to democracy.
Paper	<u>The Effect of Liberalization on Public Opinion Towards Democracy in Algeria</u> Michael D. H. Robbins, <i>University of Michigan</i> Mark Tessler, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: We examine the effect of political liberalization on beliefs and attitudes in society in Algeria using panel data from 2002-2006.				Presenter <u>Neo-Liberal Supra-Territoriality in Central and Eastern Europe</u> (Board 20) Petia Kostadinova, <i>University of Florida</i> Overview: A study of the interactions between neo-liberal economic policies and supra-territorial globalization in six post-communist countries, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Slovakia.
Paper	<u>Public Religion: Burden or Blessing for Democracy in the Muslim World?</u> Mojtaba Mahdavi, <i>University of Alberta</i> Overview: The relocation of religious institutions from state to civil society is required for democracy but should not be interpreted as the privatization of religion. A civil public religion can contribute to democratization of religion and politics.	14-13			<u>POLITICAL ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT</u> Sandburg 2, 7 th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Room Chair Daniel L. Nielson, <i>Brigham Young University</i> Paper <u>Economic Development and Sectarian Violence in India</u> Krishna Manek, <i>University of Cincinnati</i> Overview: One of the major challenges facing the economic reforms and growth initiated in India is sectarian violence. This paper will attempt to study the aspect of sectarian violence in India and its probable impeding impact towards the economic growth.
Disc.	Matt Evans, <i>Northwestern University</i>				Paper <u>Primary Commodities and State Extractive Capacity in Sub-Saharan Africa</u> Cameron G. Thies, <i>University of Missouri</i> Overview: I examine the effect of primary commodities on state tax revenue extraction in ethnically fragmented societies. I find evidence of both the resource curse and the stimulative effect of resource-based internal challenges on state revenue extraction.
12-1	<u>THE 2004 AND 2006 CANADIAN ELECTIONS</u> Parlor H, 6 th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Room Chair Laura B. Stephenson, <i>University of Western Ontario</i> Paper <u>Competition, Campaign Finance, and Turnout</u> James W. Endersby, <i>University of Missouri</i> Steven E. Galatas, <i>Stephen F. Austin State University</i> Overview: This paper investigates the effects of campaign expenditures on voter turnout in the 2004 and 2006 Canadian federal elections. Constituency-level expenditures more closely related to mobilization (canvassing) are more strongly related to turnout.				Paper <u>Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative: Are Policy Reforms Helpful?</u> Moye G. Bongyu, <i>Jackson State University</i> Overview: Many developing countries have been suffocating under the debt burden to the extent that they cannot satisfy the basic needs of the citizens. Substantial efforts have been made to disentangle these poor countries from the vicious debt-poverty trap.
Paper	<u>The Canadian Federal Election of 2006: The Agenda-Setting Battle</u> Catherine Cote, <i>University of Ottawa</i> Overview: We shall evaluate the Canadian federal election campaign of 2006 using a three-dimensional approach based on the three phases of communication. What message did the parties want, how was this transmitted, and how was it perceived?				Paper <u>Economic Inequality from Political Economy Perspective</u> Aticha Suebsawangkul, <i>University of Missouri, St. Louis</i> Overview: The paper will answer what economic inequality is. How and why is it important? What can be the evidence for and against the proposition that it affects politics? What the government should do and what kind of public policy should be implemented?
Paper	<u>Linguistic and Aboriginal Representation in Canada</u> David I. Lublin, <i>American University</i> Antoine Yoshinaka, <i>University of California, Riverside</i> Overview: In this paper we uncover the factors that lead to the election of linguistic and aboriginal minority candidates in Canada. We show that the socioeconomic and demographic makeup of ridings affect the fortunes of minority candidates.				Disc. Julia C. Gray, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i>
Paper	<u>Non-Results and a Few Results from Exit Polling in Canada, January 2006</u> Tony L. Hill, <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Overview: Exit polling is established in the U.S. but largely unknown in Canada. This paper explores the limited results of an exit poll in Canada in 2006 and the impediments that keep exit polling from revealing much about Canadian electoral behavior.	15-2			<u>DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS</u> Salon 5, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Room Chair Darren Hawkins, <i>Brigham Young University</i> Paper <u>Domestic Enforcement of Human Rights Treaties via International Action</u> Emily H. Ritter, <i>Emory University</i> Overview: When ratifying human rights treaties, a state signals to the populations of other states that it respects human rights, which uses this to support or oppose critical interaction in economic gain or security with the ratifying state.
Disc.	Laura B. Stephenson, <i>University of Western Ontario</i>				Paper <u>Transnational Networks and National Human Rights Institutional Changes</u> Dongwook Kim, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: I seek to explain the global diffusion of national human rights institutions from 1978 to 2005. What explains the process and the timing of country adoption of government institutions that are designed to protect and promote human rights in society?
13-301	<u>POSTER SESSION: POST-COMMUNIST POLITICS</u> Exhibit Hall, 4 th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Room Presenter <u>Aid Distribution from the World Bank and EBRD to the Postcommunist States</u> (Board 18) Jennifer Romine, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: My paper compares factors of aid distribution from the World Bank and EBRD to the postcommunist states. The EBRD				

Paper **Workers and Democracy: Labor Rights and International Institutions in South Korea**
Susan L. Kang, *University of Minnesota, Twin Cities*
 Overview: In the paper, I argue that despite lack of strong enforcement powers, international institutions were able to influence the South Korean government to better protect and codify basic labor rights.

Paper **International Influences on Domestic Decisions of Transitional Justice**
Sara E. Dahill-Brown, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Leigh A. Payne, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Courtney J. Hillebrecht, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Tricia D. Olsen, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Andrew G. Reiter, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: This paper measures the impact of international civil society on the domestic transitional justice decisions. Specifically, it seeks to understand the relationship between INGOs and the adoption of particular transitional justice mechanisms.

Disc. **Darren Hawkins**, *Brigham Young University*

15-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE DOMESTIC POLITICS OF INTELLIGENCE REFORM**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 1, Thur at 12:45 pm

Presenter **Understanding the Cyclical Relationship Between the President and the Intelligence Community**
Elizabeth Grimm, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: The Intelligence Community has vacillated between a symbiotic relationship with the policy-making arm of the executive branch to an adversarial rapport. This study develops a model of this rapport to understand the junctures of executive influence.

Presenter **The Politics of Intelligence: The Politicization of Intelligence Since 9/11**
Robert D. Stacey, *Regent University*
 Overview: This paper examines three cases to help establish and understand the awkward and sometimes debilitating relationship between the professional intelligence community and the more political decision makers in the United States in the post-9/11 era.

15-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: RELIGION, POLITICS, AND FOREIGN POLICY**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 2, Thur at 12:45 pm

Presenter **US Catholic Clergy and the War in Iraq**
Benedict E. DeDominicis, *Wright State University, Lake Campus*
 Overview: The study examines American nationalism and the increasing religiosity of American politics in the form of identification with religious communities while examining Ohio politics as a campaign battleground state.

Presenter **Christian Zionism, Ideology, and American Foreign Policy**
Robert O. Smith, *Baylor University*
 Overview: How does American Christian Zionism inform and influence US Middle East policy, especially post-9/11? The movement's ideology taps deep currents of American experience and offers a unique supplement to traditional pro-Israel lobbies.

16-3 **SECURITY NORMS AND TABOOS**

Room Salon 6, 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair **Andrew C. Richter**, *University of Windsor*

Paper **When Norms Matter and U.S. Sanctions Against Strategic Partners**
Charles W. Walldorf, Jr., *Auburn University*
 Overview: When do norms matter? This paper offers a nuanced constructivist explanation to answer this question in the context of U.S. relations with South Africa, Greece, and Turkey during the Cold War.

Paper **Losing Afghanistan: Unlearned Lessons of Past Wars**
Jacob F. English, *InterMedia: Global Research*
 Overview: International military forces have made mistakes that closely reflect those of past conflicts. This study tracks changes in public sentiment, strength of insurgents, and the phenomenon of defining success in terms of body count in the war on terror.

Disc. **Olga Bogatyrenko**, *University of California, Davis*

17-3 **MEDIATION AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT**

Room Sandburg 8, 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

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

Paper **The Power to Enforce? International Organizations and Conflict Management**
Megan Shannon, *University of Mississippi*
 Overview: I investigate the ability of international organizations to mitigate commitment problems surrounding conflict management. Using data on territorial claims, I explore if the active involvement of IOs helps disputants reach and comply with agreements.

Paper **Who's Using Whom? Strategic Bargaining and Civil War Mediation**
Richard W. Frank, *SUNY, Binghamton*
 Overview: In contrast to recent research, I argue that the occurrence and timing of mediation is driven more by the conflicting parties than the external mediator. I incorporate lessons from the interstate bargaining literature in creating a bargaining theory.

Paper **Third Party Mediation: Which States Get Invited?**
Jaclyn D. Streitfeld, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
Shweta Moorthy, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: This paper will look at the 'demand-side' of conflict mediation and seeks to find what criteria disputants use to select certain third party mediator state(s) for a conflict.

Paper **An Integrated Model of International Mediation: Who Mediates, and How?**
Bernd Beber, *Columbia University*
 Overview: How do mediators become involved in international conflicts, and how does this affect mediator effectiveness? This paper presents an integrated game-theoretic model of both the selection and the implementation stage of mediation.

Disc. **Resat Bayer**, *Koc University*

17-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ISRAEL/PALESTINE CONFLICT**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 3, Thur at 12:45 pm

Presenter **The Internal Politics of Insurgency: Reflections from the Palestinian Case**
Wendy Pearlman, *Harvard University*
 Overview: Most appreciate that a national movement's unity affects its success. This essay theorizes how it shapes its methods as well. A study of the Palestinian case, it reconceptualizes political fragmentation and its impact on conflict processes.

17-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LEARNING TO BE A TERRORIST**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 4, Thur at 12:45 pm

Presenter **Reading, Writing and Arithmetic: Understanding Terrorist Group Learning**
William J. Josiger, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: How can law enforcement, intelligence professionals and policy makers exploit a greater understanding of terrorist group learning to disrupt these groups and prevent future attacks?

Presenter **Volatile Breeding Grounds: The Origins of Terrorist Tactics in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood**
Christine M. Sixta, *University of South Carolina*
 Overview: Why did the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood digress from a social movement to a terrorist organization? This case study is the first chapter in a dissertation that seeks to understand why social movements resort to the use of terrorist tactics.

18-3 **MANAGING THE RISE OF CHINA**

Room Salon 7, 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair **Vincent Wei-cheng Wang**, *University of Richmond*

Paper **Resisting U.S. Pressure: Changes and Continuity of China's Exchange Rate Policy**
Tun-jen Cheng, *College of William and Mary*
Dan Maliniak, *College of William and Mary*
 Overview: This paper contends that China's astute deployment of trade benefits to key players in the U.S. and China's ability to frame the issue in neo-liberal terms neutralized exchange rate policy hawks in the U.S.

Paper	<p><u>Managing Challenges to China's Grand Strategy: Korea, Taiwan, and the South China Sea</u> Yuan-Kang Wang, <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: This paper shows that China has been crafting a grand strategy that combines elements of internal balancing and external "soft balancing" to counter American preponderance of power.</p>	23-2	<p><u>INTEREST GROUPS AND CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS</u> Salon 8, 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Room Chair Clifford W. Brown, <i>Union College</i> Paper <u>Independent Spending in the 2004 Presidential Election</u> Margaret Carne, <i>Rhodes College</i> Overview: This paper examines how interest groups used independent expenditures in the 2004 presidential campaign, comparing it to 527 campaign activities, and why groups would greatly increase their independent expenditures following the BCRA reforms.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Changes in Japan's Security Policies: Riding the Third Image</u> Daniel Unger, <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: This paper identifies institutional, normative and structural determinants of the changing Japanese security policies.</p>		
Paper	<p><u>Gazing Eagle, Hiding Dragon: The Transparency Discourse in Contemporary U.S.-China Relations</u> James J. Marquardt, <i>Lake Forest College</i> Andrea Petre, <i>Lake Forest College</i> Overview: Transparency is the world of the moment in international relations. This paper is a textual analysis of American and Chinese official statements on the importance of "greater openness and transparency" in this bilateral relationship.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Hidden Reform: How PACs Mobilized a New Breed of Mass Contributor</u> Philip H. Pollock, <i>University of Central Florida</i> William J. Claggett, <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: Using NES data, we compare the social and political characteristics of PAC contributors and other types of campaign contributors. Preliminary analyses suggest that PAC contributors differ in important ways from other contributor types.</p>
Disc.	<p>Yongwook Ryu, <i>Harvard University</i> Vincent Wei-cheng Wang, <i>University of Richmond</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Corporate Contributions Post-BCRA: A Reassessment</u> Susan Clark Muntean, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: This study evaluates changes in the political behavior of the business and financial community following passage of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002. I find that contributions from corporate interests to 527 organizations are understated.</p>
19-2	<p><u>THE DETERMINANTS OF INSTITUTIONALIZED COOPERATION</u> Clark 10, 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Room Chair Brett V. Benson, <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Paper <u>Encompassing Institutions and International Public Goods</u> William T. Phelan, <i>Middlebury College</i> Overview: This paper proposes an explanation for costly international cooperation by rationalist, egoist states without hegemony or specific reciprocity, relying instead on the encompassing nature of internal political organization of participating states.</p>		
Paper	<p><u>The Determinants of Institutionalization in International Relations</u> Sebastian Rosato, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Robert T. Brathwaite, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: This paper provides a competitive test of three major approaches (realist, liberal, and constructivist) to explaining variation in the depth and scope of international institutions in the modern period (1750-2000).</p>	Paper	<p><u>Competition and Contributors</u> Dave Wiltse, <i>Hacettepe University</i> Overview: The role of political competition in modeling individual monetary contribution behavior has been largely overlooked. Utilizing NES data, the relationship between political competition and the likelihood of a financial contribution will be gauged.</p>
		Disc.	<p>Arthur Sanders, <i>Drake University</i></p>
		24-3	<p><u>MINORITY AND WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE</u> Salon 12, 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Room Chair Donald P. Haider-Markel, <i>University of Kansas</i> Paper <u>The Impact of Women's Representation on Political Engagement</u> Jeffrey A. Karp, <i>University of Exeter</i> Susan A. Banducci, <i>University of Exeter</i> Overview: Electoral systems are known to have an impact on the representation of women (Rule 1984). Less is known about what effects, if any, such representation has on political engagement. Although women appear to be less interested and less engaged in politics.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Depth, Compliance, and the Design of Regional Trade Institutions</u> Douglas M. Stinnett, <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: This paper seeks to account for the diversity of institutional arrangements governing regional trade integration using an original data set of agreements formed between 1957 and 2003.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Issue of Minority Representation: Jurisprudence and Political Considerations</u> Pearl K. Ford, <i>Johnson C. Smith University</i> Overview: This paper will assess the impact of the Supreme Court ruling in <i>Georgia v. Ashcroft</i> (2003) on not only African Americans and the pursuit of substantive representation but the ability to elect the African American politician.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Politics of River Cooperation</u> Jaroslav Tir, <i>University of Georgia</i> John T. Ackerman, <i>Air Command and Staff College, United States Air Force</i> Overview: We investigate determinants of entry into river-managing treaties. Results reveal that economic development, democracy, and IGO membership increase treaty chances, while the lack of common security interests and balanced power reduce them.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Marginalized Minorities? Examining the Empirical Reality of Electoral Exclusion</u> Rachel K. Cremona, <i>Flagler College</i> Overview: This paper uses a process of two-step inference – from excluded parties to excluded party supporters – to explore whether developed democratic government facilitates the exclusion of distinct, cohesive societal minorities.</p>
Disc.	<p>Brett V. Benson, <i>Vanderbilt University</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Election Rules and the Supply of Latino Candidates for Local Office</u> Eric J. Gonzalez Juenke, <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Overview: The paper challenges the traditional votes/seats electoral literature. I examine the effects of electoral rules on the supply of Latino candidates for local office to test a theory of candidate emergence in different electoral environments.</p>
22-101	<p><u>ROUNDTABLE: THE AMERICAN VOTER REVISITED</u> Adams, 6th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Room Panelist Russell Dalton, <i>University of California, Irvine</i> Michael Lewis-Beck, <i>University of Iowa</i> William Jacoby, <i>Michigan State University</i> Herbert Weisberg, <i>Ohio State University</i> John Aldrich, <i>Duke University</i> Patricia Hurley, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Laura Stoker, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: A discussion of a project, "The American Voter Revisited," which replicates and updates The American Voter with present-day election studies.</p>	Disc.	<p>Michiko Ueda, <i>California Institute of Technology</i></p>

25-3 HURRICANE KATRINA: PUBLIC AND POLITICAL REACTIONS (Co-sponsored with Race, Class, and Ethnicity, see 29-23)

Room Salon 9, 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Kimberly Gross, *George Washington University*

Paper **Who's Responsible? Federalism and Hurricane Katrina**

Lonna R. Atkeson, *University of New Mexico*

Cherie D. Maestas, *Florida State University*

Overview: Who do citizens think is more responsible for the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans? And, perhaps, more importantly, how do they form these judgments? This is a complex question for citizens because power in America is shared.

Paper **Attributing Blame: The Public's Response to Hurricane Katrina**

Neil Malhotra, *Stanford University*

Alexander G. Kuo, *Stanford University*

Overview: We designed a survey experiment in which we manipulated information about public officials involved with the response to Hurricane Katrina. We find that partisanship biases whom individuals blame, but that this bias is mitigated by several factors.

Paper **The Effects of Katrina: Far Beyond the Storm**

Gloria Simo, *DePaul University*

Overview: The effects of Hurricane Katrina go far beyond the physical damage to buildings and infrastructure. This paper examines the more personal effects of this tragedy and how recovery still varies by neighborhood in the city of New Orleans.

Paper **The 2006 New Orleans Mayoral Election**

Baodong Liu, *University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh*

Overview: The 2006 New Orleans Mayoral election exhibited a change of heart on both white and black voters. The paper analyzes the racial voting patterns pre and post Katrina. We use EI and its extended model to estimate racial voting.

Paper **Race, Poverty and Responsibility in the Wake of Hurricane Katrina**

Jamila D. Celestine-Michener, *University of Chicago*

Overview: Using data analysis of public opinion surveys and content analysis of newspapers and governmental reports, this paper explores the theme of responsibility attribution in media, mass and governmental responses to Hurricane Katrina.

Disc. Kimberly Gross, *George Washington University*

27-3 ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Room Clark 1, 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Lilly J. Goren, *Carroll College*

Paper **The Impact of Consumer Marketing Techniques on the 2006 Midterm Elections**

Kenneth Cosgrove, *Suffolk University*

Overview: This paper will examine the ways in which both parties did or did not make use of consumer marketing techniques like branding, positioning and differentiation techniques during the 2006 Congressional election campaign.

Paper **What do the Media do for a Bipolar, 50-50 Nation?**

Hyun J. Yun, *University of Florida*

Lynda L. Kaid, *University of Florida*

Overview: This study focuses on the relationship between political information availability and individuals' political attitudes in battle- and non-battleground states, and finds that people in information-rich battleground states hold flexible attitudes.

Paper **From Potential Cleavage to Active Cleavage: Media and Campaigns**

Junghwa Lee, *Oregon State University*

Overview: This paper demonstrates the 'not-so-minimal' effect of media coverage of a potentially decisive issue on the electoral returns, using both quantitative and content analyses of 4 major Korean newspaper articles that span 40 years.

Paper **Messages Received? The Effects of Ads and Local TV News on the Public**

Erika Franklin Fowler, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Overview: Drawing on systematic evidence on messages aired over the nation's airwaves along with survey data from multiple election cycles, I find that advertising has a more consistent effect on citizen attitudes, knowledge and behavior than local news.

Disc. Stephen C. Brooks, *University of Akron*

28-10 WOMEN AND PUBLIC POLICY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE II

Room Clark 7, 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Lee Ann Banaszak, *Pennsylvania State University*

Paper **International Human Rights and the Feminization of International Migration**

Josphine J. Dawuni, *Georgia State University*

Overview: This paper seeks to answer the research question, what international law mechanisms exist for protecting and enforcing the rights of migrant women, be they legal or illegal migrants?

Paper **Mapping Domestic Policy Change: Policies against Domestic Violence, the UN, and Government (In)action**

Olga A. Avdeyeva, *University of Louisville*

Overview: This article focuses on the impact of international human rights law on the adoption of national policies and human rights practices in the area of domestic violence. Specifically, the author examines to what degree governments implement the provisions.

Paper **Power and Transnational Advocacy Networks**

Lauren A. McCarthy, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Overview: This paper explores the power dynamics within transnational advocacy networks using questionnaire responses from a small sample of Russian women's organizations working on sex trafficking.

Paper **Intersectional Analysis of Immigration Policy**

Meng Lu, *Purdue University*

Overview: This paper proposes the importance to re-think immigration policy as women-friendly, race-friendly, egalitarian (class-based) and intersectional-based policies targeting at marginalized immigrant women (domestic work and sweatshop policy).

Paper **The Politics of Childbirth: Variance in Obstetrics among OECD Countries**

Beate Sissenich, *Indiana University*

Overview: "Medical rationality" meets state structures: This paper presents the design and preliminary findings of a new research project on cross-national institutional divergence in maternal health policies.

Disc. Celeste M. Montoya, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
Rosemary Nossiff, *Marymount Manhattan College*

29-3 IMMIGRANT POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF AMERICA

Room PDR 5, 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair Christina M. Greer, *Columbia University*

Paper **Immigration, Segregation, and Latino Participation in Ethnic Politics**

Rodolfo Espino, *Arizona State University*

Rene R. Rocha, *University of Iowa*

Overview: This paper examines the way in which immigration and differing structural patterns of residence among Latinos influences their support for ethnic political causes.

Paper **Beyond the Urban Core: Immigrants, Migrants and the New American Suburb**

Lorrie A. Frasure, *Cornell University*

Overview: I use data from five separate focus group discussions with Black, Chinese, Iranian, Korean, and Latino groups to examine three topics: suburban residential selection; neighborhood interactions; and perceptions of local government responsiveness.

Paper	<p><u>Challenging Inequality, Demanding Citizenship: Multi-Ethnic Immigrant Labor Organizations and City Politics</u> Armando Xavier Mejia, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: This paper explores the politics of two multi-ethnic immigrant labor organizations in metropolitan Los Angeles. It examines how such organizations have contested workplace inequalities, developed enduring coalitions, and impacted urban policy.</p>	32-16 Room Chair Paper	<p><u>BRINGING RELIGIOUS POLITICS TO AN END</u> LaSalle 1, 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Paul Ulrich, <i>Carthage College</i> <u>More and Locke on Toleration</u> Gabriel Bartlett, <i>University of Toronto</i> Overview: This paper contrasts Sir Thomas More and John Locke on the issue of toleration with a view to highlighting the political ambition and aims of the latter.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Immigrants in the Media: Civic Visibility in the United States and Canada</u> Els de Graauw, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Irene Bloemraad, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Rebecca Hamlin, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Karthick Ramakrishnan, <i>University of California, Riverside</i> Overview: We examine the civic visibility of immigrants in the United States and Canada through content analysis of four local mainstream newspapers. We document variation in the extent and nature of immigrants' civic visibility between the two countries.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Hume's Critique of Religious Parties</u> Philip Bretton, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: In this paper Hume's critique of the politics of "religious parties" is interpreted as an indication of his liberalism. Hume faults religion not with extremism simply but with a tendency to blur the distinction between spiritual and political goods.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The New African American Polity: African Immigrants and U.S. Politics</u> Ramla M. Bandele, <i>Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis</i> Overview: The diversity in the U.S. black population is underestimated. African immigration has grown since 1989 and U.S.census records suggest that they total 2 million. Many live in metro areas, the traditional strongholds in African American politics.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Hobbes, Locke and Montesquieu on the Separation of Church and State</u> Christopher Nadon, <i>Claremont McKenna College</i> Overview: This paper looks at how the presuppositions underlying early modern state of nature teachings serve to justify the separation of church and state.</p>
Disc.	Karen Kaufmann , <i>University of Maryland</i>	Disc.	Svetozar Minsk , <i>Roosevelt University</i>
29-18	<p><u>CHANGING CONTEXTS AND BLACK POLITICAL ATTITUDES</u> Suite 9-128, 9th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Leniece Davis, <i>University of Chicago</i> <u>Explaining Attitudes Toward Immigration Among African Americans</u> James C. Garand, <i>Louisiana State University</i> Betina C. Wilkinson, <i>Louisiana State University</i> Stella Rouse, <i>Louisiana State University</i> Kim Nguyen, <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: The purpose of this paper is to develop and test a model of African Americans' attitudes toward legal and illegal immigration.</p>	33-1 Room Chair Paper	<p><u>CLASSIC TEXTS, POSTMODERN READINGS</u> Dearborn 2, 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Constance Hunt, <i>Michigan State University</i> <u>Melville's Bartleby as the American Messiah</u> Oona Eisenstadt, <i>Pomona College</i> Overview: Deleuze calls Melville's Bartleby the American messiah. I examine the argument in an attempt to understand how several contemporary continental thinkers -- Blanchot, Derrida, Agamben and Deleuze -- see America.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Explaining African-American Attitudes Toward Immigration</u> Maruice Mangum, <i>Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville</i> Overview: I examine the determinants and competing explanations of African American support and opposition to immigration. It focuses on the attitudes of African Americans and other dimensions never or rarely examined regarding immigration.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Postmodern Readings of Literature</u> Folke Lindahl, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: An investigation of the virtues and vices of postmodern interpretation, to articulate the contribution but also the limits of this cluster of approaches for understanding literature.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Old Wine in New Bottles? Black Attitudes Toward Immigration Policy</u> Tatishe M. Nteta, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: What are the key predictors of black attitudes toward immigration? Using content analysis of leading black newspapers I test the hypothesis that determinants associated with previous generations of blacks predict the attitudes of blacks today.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Jihad Against Modernity in Melville's Clarel</u> Eric S. Petrie, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: Melville's epic poem Clarel examines a variety of characters who lament modern times, especially the decline of revealed religion. One of those characters in particular, the American exile named Ungar, is a religious fanatic who sells his military skills.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Race in Context: African Americans' Racial Trust in Their Social Environments</u> Shayla C. Nunnally, <i>University of Connecticut</i> Overview: Lower levels of social trust among African Americans deserve further explanation. This paper analyzes how African Americans' trust varies across social contexts and the race of actors in those contexts.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Reading The Merchant of Venice with Adorno</u> Zdravko Planinc, <i>McMaster University</i> Overview: An interpretation of The Merchant of Venice as a depiction of the origins of modern capitalism, showing its complete transformation of economy, society, polity, religion and culture.</p>
Disc.	Janelle Wong , <i>University of Southern California</i>	Disc.	Constance Hunt , <i>Michigan State University</i>
32-201 Room Presenter	<p><u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: HEGEL</u> State, 4th Floor, Table 5, Thur at 12:45 pm <u>Hegel and Epistemology: Hegelian Responses to Postmodern Criticisms</u> Timothy C. Luther, <i>California Baptist University</i> Overview: The paper discusses Hegel's philosophical conception of reconciliation and defends it against postmodern critics. It further argues that Hegel can help us with modern philosophical and political dilemmas.</p>	33-18 Room Chair Paper	<p><u>CROWDS AND CONSPIRACIES: POWER, RIGHTS, AND RESPONSIBILITY IN MASS DEMOCRACY</u> Clark 9, 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Jason Frank, <i>Cornell University</i> <u>Democracy, Wikipedia, and the Wisdom of Crowds</u> Helene E. Landemore, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This paper explores the phenomenon of the wisdom of crowds exemplified by Wikipedia in relation to the argument that democracy is partially justified because many heads are better than one (Aristotle).</p>
		Paper	<p><u>Political Representation and the Protection of Minority Rights</u> Mary McThomas, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: Drawing from original survey research and theories of political ethics, I examine the role of majority opinion in limiting the protection of unpopular lifestyle choices. I discuss the implications for political representation and minority rights.</p>

Paper **Deliberation, Power, Conspiracy, and Political Culture**
Philip T. Neisser, SUNY, Potsdam
 Overview: Conspiracy theory and the overly voluntaristic notions of power that typically inform it function together as major sources of disagreement failure, and thus as obstacles to deliberative democracy.

Paper **Political Manipulation and Collective Responsibility**
John M. Parrish, Loyola Marymount University
 Overview: To what extent are democratic citizens responsible for the outcomes of public choices that have been subject to manipulation? Manipulated publics, this paper argues, may bear more responsibility collectively than manipulated individuals would.

Disc. **Andrew Rehfeld, Washington University**

34-14 **BARGAINING AND SEPARATION OF POWERS**
Room Dearborn 1, 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair **Krishna Ladha, University of Mississippi**
Paper **Modelling Complex Negotiations: An Agent-Based Expected Utility Model**
Andreas K. Warntjen, London School of Economics and Political Science
 Overview: The paper presents several results of an agent-based model based on Bueno de Mesquita's expected utility model. The focus is on the relationship between the initial main parameters (i.e., preferences, salience, capabilities) and decision outcomes.

Paper **A Model of Endogenous Government Formation**
Anna Bassi, New York University
 Overview: Government formation is analyzed as a bargaining process in which the formateur is endogenously determined in a model where legislators are assumed to care about both the allocation of cabinet portfolio and the content of the government policy.

Paper **Bargaining Over a New Welfare State - FDR and Congress in the 1930s**
Kaj M. Thomsson, Yale University
Alessandro Bonatti, Yale University
 Overview: We develop a model of President-Congress bargaining during the New Deal period. We use the model to estimate a "New Deal objective function" - i.e. the objectives that determined the distribution of funds across regions of the country.

Paper **Managing Expectations: When Can Candidates Profitably Under-Report Competence?**
Rene Lindstaedt, SUNY, Stony Brook
Jeffrey K. Staton, Florida State University
 Overview: It is unclear why some candidates appear to undersell themselves. We develop a model in which a rational candidate interacts with a boundedly rational donor, the aim of which is to explain when underselling quality is plausible.

Disc. **John T. Gasper, Carnegie Mellon University**

35-13 **SPATIAL COMPETITION**
Room Montrose 2, 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair **Guy Whitten, Texas A&M University**
Paper **Candidate Proximity Models in Spatially Weighted Regression**
Kyle W. Leiker, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
 Overview: This paper uses ideological proximity in a locally weighted regression to examine variation in the importance and meaning of political issues across the ideological spectra.

Paper **Specification of Proximity Models: Non-Euclidean Distances and Weighting**
Kyle W. Leiker, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Min Ye, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
 Overview: This paper explores the dimensional and contextual natures of policy spaces by specifying and testing the performance of non-Euclidean distance measures against traditional measures, using universal (aspatial) and spatially weighted regressions.

Paper **Estimating a Political Space**
Melvin J. Hinich, University of Texas, Austin
Alia Carkoglu, Sabanci University
 Overview: I will present an improved version of my MAP program to estimate the dimensionality of a political space and the location of candidates and voters in that space.

Paper **Vote: Analyze Vote Behavior**
Joan Serra, University of Chicago
 Overview: This paper introduces vote, a package to analyze vote behavior. It computes the impact of the different factors that affect the choice of voters from among two or more candidates and abstention, be demographic, candidate, or abstention specific.

Disc. **Dean P. Lacy, Dartmouth College**

37-1 **MINOR PARTIES, THIRD PARTIES: THEIR IMPACT ON THE ELECTORAL PROCESS**
Room LaSalle 2, 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair **Robin Kolodny, Temple University**
Paper **The Prohibition Party, the 1884 Election, and the Minor Party Question**
Lisa M. Andersen, University of Chicago
 Overview: The peculiar results of the 1884 election made the role of third parties a problem for debate among political thinkers and inspired an exciting investigation of the relationship between party organization and democracy.

Paper **Election Laws or Cooptation: The Decline of American Third-Parties Over the Twentieth Century**
Bernard Ivan Tamas, Illinois State University
Matthew Dean Hindman, University of Minnesota
 Overview: Using interrupted time-series regression, we analyzed the decline of electoral support for third-parties by state. We argue that third-parties declined in support primarily because of cooptation and marginalization, not because of changes in election law.

Paper **Issue Fragmentation and Third Party Support in U.S.**
Gizem Arikan, Stony Brook University
Eser Sekercioglu, Stony Brook University
 Overview: We argue that emergence of 3rd party candidates in presidential elections is the result of issue fragmentation rather than major party deterioration. Using candidate fractionalization in primaries as a proxy, we predict support for 3rd party candidates.

Paper **A Historical Look at the Agenda-Setting Role of American Minor Parties**
Eric D. Russell, Ohio State University
 Overview: This paper systematically studies the flow of policy positions and ideas between major and minor parties over the course of American history from 1840 to 2004 in an effort to test several new theories about the agenda-setting role of third parties.

Disc. **Leon Halpert, Siena College**

38-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: FOREIGN POLICY IN PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES**
Room State, 4th Floor, Table 6, Thur at 12:45 pm
Presenter **Foreign Policy Content in Presidential Debates: From Cold War to Post-9/11**
Adam Joyce, New School for Social Research
 Overview: How has the political debate changed from Cold War to post-9/11? This paper tracks presidential debates from 1980-2004 to determine foreign policy content, how foreign and domestic policy are linked, and the number of foreign policy topics raised.

38-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: 9/11-ICIZING POLITICS**
Room State, 4th Floor, Table 6, Thur at 12:45 pm
Presenter **9/11-izing Politics: Separated Powers and the State of Exception**
Dan Muszynski, University of Toledo
 Overview: This presentation investigates the state of the American separation of powers regime in the post 9/11 world. Specifically, I argue that the unprecedented power of the modern executive exists not in spite of this system, but because of it.

39-2	<u>CONSEQUENCES OF PARTISAN POLARIZATION</u>	Paper	<u>Equal Representation? Race and Legislators' Support for Civil Rights</u>
Room	Montrose 1, 7 th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm		Jeffrey W. Ladewig , <i>University of Connecticut</i>
Chair	Robert P. Van Houweling , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i>		Michelle M. Dube , <i>University of Connecticut</i>
Paper	<u>Partisanship in One Minute Speeches in the 108th Congress</u> Kathryn Pearson , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Wendy Rahn , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Logan Dancy , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: In a content analysis of one-minute speeches on the House floor, we demonstrate through members' words that partisanship is social and emotional, in addition to strategic, in the 108th Congress.	Disc.	Overview: An examination of the effects of constituents' and legislators' demographic characteristics on their support for civil rights legislation. Wendy Schiller , <i>Brown University</i>
Paper	<u>Partisanship without Ideology: Using Votes to Shape Party Reputations for Competence</u> Frances E. Lee , <i>University of Maryland</i> This paper analyzes the parties' use of the roll-call record to improve their own collective reputations on "good government" causes (and to undermine their opposition's reputation for competence or uprightness).	41-2	<u>DECIDING TO DECIDE: GRANTING CERT ON THE SUPREME COURT</u>
Paper	<u>Polarization and the Congressional Agenda</u> Laurel M. Harbridge , <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: I examine how elite polarization in Congress has translated into the level of partisanship in the congressional agenda and how institutional features of Congress temper agenda partisanship.	Room	Montrose 7, 7 th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Paper	<u>Legislative Conflict and Policy Productivity in Congress, 1873-2004</u> Lawrence C. Dodd , <i>University of Florida</i> Scot D. Schraufnagel , <i>University of Central Florida</i> Overview: Congress's capacity to enact landmark legislation confronts a central dilemma: too much intra-institutional conflict inhibits landmark productivity -- but so does too little conflict. Moderate levels of conflict foster landmark productivity.	Chair	Sara C. Benesh , <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i>
Paper	<u>Party, the Distribution of Preferences, and Bill Passage Length in Congress</u> Andrew J. Taylor , <i>North Carolina State University</i> Overview: I test partisan and partyless hypotheses about bill passage length in Congress using survival analysis. I show that a partisan understanding of the distribution of member preferences helps explain bill passage length, but a chamber one does not.	Paper	<u>The Will of the Minority: The Rule of Four on the United States Supreme Court</u> Jason M. Roberts , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Timothy R. Johnson , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Songying Fang , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: In this paper we develop a formal model that seeks to explain why a majority of justices are willing to allow a minority to determine the Court's agenda. We then use data from the 1946-1985 to test the predictions of our model.
Disc.	Kevin A. Roust , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Robert P. Van Houweling , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i>	Paper	<u>Litigant Status and Agenda Setting on the U.S. Supreme Court</u> Ryan C. Black , <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Christina L. Boyd , <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: We test whether litigant status affects the likelihood of granting discretionary review by the U.S. Supreme Court.
39-15	<u>CONGRESSIONAL POLICY MAKING IN MULTIPLE DOMAINS</u>	Paper	<u>U.S. Supreme Court Certiorari Votes: A Social Choice Explanation</u> Quan Li , <i>University of Central Florida</i> Danette Brickman , <i>John Jay College of Criminal Justice</i> Overview: This paper examines Supreme Court justices' choices between sophisticated voting and sincere voting in certiorari decisions as a result of uncertainty generated by the Court's group context.
Room	Suite 9-142, 9 th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm	Paper	<u>Strategic Opinion-Minded Justices During Certiorari</u> Ehud N. Sommer , <i>SUNY, Stony Brook</i> Overview: My research question - to what extent justices' potential future influence on the opinion writing process guides the vote they cast on Cert?
Chair	Wendy Schiller , <i>Brown University</i>	Paper	<u>Litigant Status and the Certiorari Decision</u> Wendy L. Watson , <i>University of North Texas</i> Overview: This paper considers the effect of petitioners' in forma pauperis status and pro se status on the U.S. Supreme Court's decision to accept petitions for review in criminal cases.
Paper	<u>U.S. Defense Budget Allocations for Weapons Production from 1904-2006</u> Rebecca U. Thorpe , <i>University of Maryland</i> Overview: This project assesses whether U.S. Defense budget allocations convey increasing levels of spending for weapons contracts at the expense of standard military operations.	Disc.	Sara C. Benesh , <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Harold Spaeth , <i>Michigan State University</i>
Paper	<u>Explaining Bipartisanship in Foreign Policy: Spectacles Revised</u> Jianying Wang , <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Overview: This paper explains how domestic economy situation changes the bipartisan presidential support in the House in economy-related foreign policies. The observation period is from 1953 through 1998.	41-15	<u>COURTS AND PUBLIC OPINION II: SUPPORT FOR THE COURTS (Co-sponsored with Public Opinion, see 25-23)</u>
Paper	<u>Playing the Field: Committee Referrals of Abortion-Related Proposals</u> Scott Ainsworth , <i>University of Georgia</i> Thad E. Hall , <i>University of Utah</i> Overview: Our work focuses on how the legislative strategies employed by members have evolved over time. With attention to the members' internal and external environments, we ask: Under what circumstances are abortion related measures introduced.	Room	Burnham 1, 7 th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Paper	<u>A Congressional Politics Theory of the Size of Government</u> Robi Ragan , <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: This paper incorporates three models of Congressional policy making into a larger model of the size of the redistribution system in the U.S., and then empirically tests the implications of these models.	Chair	Elliot E. Slotnick , <i>Ohio State University</i>
		Paper	<u>The Supreme Court, Foreign Law, and its Consequences for Public Support</u> Brett Curry , <i>Georgia Southern University</i> Banks Miller , <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: We employ an experimental design to investigate the extent to which the U.S. Supreme Court's reliance of foreign law impacts public support for the Court and its decisions.
		Paper	<u>U.S. Supreme Court Nominations, Legitimacy Theory, and the American Public: A Dynamic Test of the Positivity Bias Hypothesis</u> James L. Gibson , <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Gregory A. Caldeira , <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: Based on a three-wave nationally representative panel survey, the purpose of this paper is specifically to test hypotheses about the causes of changes in attitudes toward the United States Supreme Court.

Paper	<p><u>Is Race Relevant? Descriptive Representation and Support for the Courts</u> Nancy Scherer, <i>Wellesley College</i> Brett Curry, <i>Georgia Southern University</i> Overview: Utilizing an experimental design, we survey the general population--including an oversample of African Americans--to investigate the impact that increased racial diversity on the federal bench plays in shaping public support for the courts.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Coingate Effect: The Impact of a Scandalous Year on the Public Opinion of State Government Officials in the State of Ohio</u> Nancy Martorano, <i>University of Dayton</i> Overview: What happens when a major and well publicized scandal occurs? Do citizens change their tune and start to view their state government politicians as negatively as they view federal politicians? This proposed paper will explore these questions.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Religious Conservatives and the Courts</u> Amy Steigerwalt, <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: This paper assesses whether religious conservatives view the federal courts more negatively than other Americans, perhaps in response to religious conservative attacks on the federal courts.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Popular Tyranny? Minority Rights under Direct Democracy Institutions</u> Daniel C. Lewis, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: This paper addresses the issue of minority rights under direct democracy institutions by examining whether states with direct democracy institutions pass anti-minority policies at a higher rate than other states.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Public Opinion and the Dynamics of Supreme Court Institutionalization</u> Joseph D. Ura, <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: This paper examines the link between public support for the Supreme Court and the institutionalization of the Court, understood as the Court's ability to exercise its institutional prerogatives.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Discontents of Federalism and Comity in Felon Disenfranchisement Policy</u> Daniel M. Katz, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: The paper defines, across a range of relevant parameters, each states' disenfranchisement regime. Next, it explores the recognition rule each state employs to referee the comity disputes created by the interstate variance in state level policy.</p>
Disc.	<p>Thomson W. McFarland, <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Elliot E. Slotnick, <i>Ohio State University</i></p>	Disc.	<p>Thomas M. Carsey, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> John A. Grummel, <i>University of South Carolina, Upstate</i></p>
42-13	<p><u>WHITHER AMERICAN RELIGIOUS PLURALISM? (Co-sponsored with Politics and Religion, see 53-16)</u> Clark 5, 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Thomas Engeman, <i>Loyola University, Chicago</i></p>	45-2	<p><u>POLITICAL INCENTIVES IN INTERLOCAL COOPERATION</u> Burnham 4, 7th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Jered Carr, <i>Wayne State University</i></p>
Room Chair Paper	<p><u>Government Money, Government Speech, and the Establishment Clause in the Supreme Court</u> Thomas C. Berg, <i>University of St. Thomas</i> Overview: A discussion of how, and a defense of why, Supreme Court jurisprudence on the Establishment Clause has changed from prohibiting government funding of religious organizations to prohibiting government sponsorship of religious messages.</p>	Room Chair Paper	<p><u>Politics, Economics, and Regionalism in American Transportation Policy</u> Elisabeth R. Gerber, <i>University of Michigan</i> Clark C. Gibson, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: We develop and test a model of intergovernmental cooperation that emphasizes both economic and political factors. Preliminary analysis finds that political incentives explain substantial variation in cooperative outcomes across regions.</p>
Paper	<p><u>From Civil Religion to Culture Wars: Tocqueville on the Politics of Faith</u> Joseph Hebert, <i>St. Ambrose University</i> Overview: This paper will seek to relate Tocqueville's analysis of nineteenth century American religious politics to our contemporary situation and consider what responses might be salutary in light of that analysis.</p>	Paper	<p><u>State Rules, Local Boundaries, and Intergovernmental Cooperation</u> Megan Mullin, <i>Temple University</i> Overview: This paper investigates how state control over local boundary flexibility influences patterns of conflict and cooperation among local governments.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Whither American Religious Pluralism? Is the Separation of Church and State Discrimination Against Religion?</u> Thomas Powers, <i>University of Minnesota, Duluth</i> Overview: Recently, some (mainly conservatives) have developed a new approach to questions about religion framed in terms of equality and modeled on civil rights politics. An outline of Supreme Court doctrinal shifts here will be followed by some consideration.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Decisions to Horizontal Corporations-Interlocal Service Agreement Work?</u> Jun Yi Hsieh, <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: This research intends to test horizontal cooperative relationships because of interlocal service agreements (ISAs). Our findings do not confirm ISAs result from scale economies but from political influences or geographical factors in local practices.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Wages of Equality: The Demise Of The Religion Clauses As Specific Constitutional Guarantees</u> Marc Stern, <i>American Jewish Congress</i> Overview: An exploration of the growing influence of equality approaches to religion/state law since the early 1980's.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Will They Negotiate? Annexation and Michigan's Land Transfer Agreement</u> Eric S. Zeemering, <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: This comparative case study evaluates how negative perceptions of intergovernmental partners impact the negotiation of a conditional land transfer; and, the paper cautions about dependent variable truncation when studying inter-local agreements.</p>
Disc.	<p>Paul Griffiths, <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i></p>	Disc.	<p>Jered Carr, <i>Wayne State University</i></p>
44-3	<p><u>ELECTORAL CONCERNS IN THE STATES</u> Parlor E, 6th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Thomas M. Carsey, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i></p>	46-3	<p><u>THE POLITICS OF CRIME POLICY</u> PDR 6, 3rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm Joseph N. Patten, <i>Monmouth University</i></p>
Room Chair Paper	<p><u>Management of Voter Lists in Illinois</u> Scott D. McClurg, <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Kim Nelson, <i>Northern Illinois University</i> John Jackson, <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Overview: Despite all the attention given to the administration of elections after the 2000 election, we know very little about the important issue of how registration lists are maintained. We gain leverage on the maintenance of these lists.</p>	Room Chair Paper	<p><u>Who Gets Executed</u> John McAdams, <i>Marquette University</i> Overview: Using a dataset that includes all death row inmates since 1977, we model who gets executed (as opposed to getting off death row). In general, the biases that prevail with regard to getting onto death row also apply when the issue is execution.</p>

Paper	<u>De-Mobilizing Citizens: Interest Groups in State and Local Crime Politics</u> <i>Lisa L. Miller, Rutgers University</i> Overview: This paper compares the representation of interest groups in crime control politics across local and state legislative venues and pays particular attention to the balance of representation between citizen groups and bureaucratic interests.	Paper	<u>Who Decides? Policy Rights under Coalition Government</u> <i>Lucy M. Goodhart, Columbia University</i> Overview: I use the logic implicit in rational partisan theory to let economic outcomes signal which political party in coalition government controls macro-economic policy and specifically to test the hypothesis of ministerial discretion.
Paper	<u>Racial/Ethnic Disparities in CA's 3-Strikes: Evidence from Inmate Data</u> <i>Elsa Y. Chen, Santa Clara University</i> Overview: This study measures racial and ethnic disparities in the application of California's "Three Strikes and You're Out" law, using individual data on 171,000+ prison inmates. Outcomes for different offense types and counties are compared.	Disc.	<u>William R. Keech, Carnegie Mellon University</u> <u>Jonathan K. Hanson, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</u>
Disc.	<u>Grant W. Neeley, University of Dayton</u>	49-1	<u>ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES AND PUBLIC OPINION</u>
47-1	<u>EDUCATION REFORM: POSSIBILITIES AND PITFALLS</u> Parlor B, 6 th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm <u>Matthew G. Springer, Vanderbilt University's Peabody College</u> <u>Decentralization and Policy Experimentation Education</u> <i>Jennifer M. Wallner, University of Toronto</i> Overview: I test the hypothesis "decentralized systems should demonstrate high levels of experimentation translating into significant policy variation" on the CDN K-12 education sector. Results contradict the hypothesis revealing a process of convergence.	Room	LaSalle 3, 7 th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Room		Chair	<u>Carol L. Silva, Texas A&M University</u>
Chair		Paper	<u>The ELF and Revolutionary Ecology</u> <i>Sean M. Parson, University of Oregon</i> Overview: Critics and supporters often categorize the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) as a deep ecological movement in the vein of Earth First!. However, the group is not as cohesive and monolithic as is often assumed.
Paper	<u>A Small Lever: Federal Funding and State Compliance to No Child Left Behind</u> <i>Bryan T. Shelly, Wake Forest University</i> Overview: This paper examines how the federal government was able to ensure implementation of almost all of No Child Left Behind's provisions despite providing a relatively small share of total K-12 public education funding.	Paper	<u>Environmental Concerns and Confidence in Political Institutions</u> <i>Nicholas P. Guehlstorf, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville</i> <i>Myunghee Kim, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville</i> Overview: By using data from the 1999-2001 World Values Survey, this paper examines the impact of environmental concerns on confidence in political institutions among NAFTA member countries.
Paper	<u>The Impact of Competition: Charter Schools and Public Schools in Texas</u> <i>Gregory R. Weiher, University of Houston</i> <i>Amy Brandon, University of Houston</i> Overview: This research examines student outcomes for public schools exposed to competition from charter schools and peer schools not exposed to competition. It finds little evidence of improvement on the part of the public schools facing competition.	Paper	<u>The Coming Storm: Voter Polarization and the Rise of Environmentalism</u> <i>Daniel J. Coffey, University of Akron</i> <i>Patricia Hallam, University of Akron</i> Overview: Using the 2000 NES, we show that environmental issues fit neatly into a liberal-conservative schema. Greater salience of environmental issues should further polarize the electorate along partisan lines and influence voting behavior in elections.
Disc.	<u>Rachel A. Fulcher Dawson, Michigan State University</u> <u>Andrew Karch, University of Texas, Austin</u>	Paper	<u>Changing Climates: Young Republicans and Global Warming Perceptions</u> <i>Aimee E. Barnes, Columbia University</i> <i>Sean R. Mandel, Columbia University</i> <i>Emily A. Gaskin, Columbia University</i> <i>Adam C. Raphaely, Columbia University</i> <i>Ross A. MacWhinney, Columbia University</i> <i>Shannon R. Binns, Columbia University</i> <i>Samuel R. Wade, Columbia University</i> Overview: Our paper seeks to understand which factors are most important in determining how young Republicans perceive climate change, focusing specifically on college-enrolled, politically active Republicans in California.
48-1	<u>ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE</u> Parlor F, 6 th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm <u>William R. Keech, Carnegie Mellon University</u> <u>Patterns of Job Growth in the U.S. and the EU</u> <i>Philipp Rehm, Duke University</i> <i>John D. Boy, City University of New York</i> Overview: Are we witnessing growth of low- or high-quality jobs? Using a new data-set, we describe the different job growth patterns in the U.S. and EU countries. We also explore the determinants and implications of the observed differences across countries.	Paper	<u>Robert O'Connor, National Science Foundation</u>
Room		53-2	<u>AUGUSTINE, SECULAR POLITICS AND THE SACRED</u>
Chair		Room	Parlor C, 6 th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Paper	<u>Corruption, Lobbying, and Economic Development</u> <i>Sven Feldmann, Northwestern University</i> <u>David D. Lassen</u> <u>Morten Bennedsen</u> 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.	Chair	<u>Leonard R. Sorenson, Assumption College</u>
Paper	<u>Tolerance for Failure, Entrepreneurship, and Economic Performance</u> <i>David Primo, University of Rochester</i> <u>William S. Green, University of Miami</u> Overview: We study the connections among a society's tolerance for failure, entrepreneurship, and economic performance, using variability in U.S. state laws.	Paper	<u>Austine, Geno Baroni, and Postmodern America</u> <i>Eugene J. Halus, Immaculata University</i> Overview: An exploration of Augustine's thinking regarding his conception of the two cities through the thought and actions of Monsignor Geno Baroni, a Roman Catholic priest who served as an undersecretary at HUD during the Carter Administration.
		Paper	<u>Ideology, Belief, and Political Corruption: The Lesson of the Two Cities</u> <i>Aaron D. Hoffman, Bellarmine University</i> Overview: This paper explores whether purity in ideology or belief creates the conditions for political corruption and negates the practice of politics whose essence is the ability to make the compromises required by temporal life and institutions.
		Paper	<u>Ernest Fortin's Augustine: The Saeculum and Politics</u> <i>Steven P. Millies, University of South Carolina, Aiken</i> Overview: Seeking particularly to apply Fortin's "philosophic Christianity" to contemporary political arrangements, this paper

	aims at a sensible idea of the saeculum that addresses the dilemmas raised by church/state questions in liberalism.		
Paper	<u>A Genealogy of Republicanism in Christian Thought</u> Jim S. Josefson , <i>Bridgewater College</i> Overview: I explore the influence of republicanism on Christian political thought from Augustine to the Reformation. I identify a tension within Christian thought between idealism and a republican concern for communal practices.	Paper	<u>Bridging Politics and Psychology in an Internet Course on Hate</u> Paul Kriesie , <i>Indiana University, Richmond</i> Randall E. Osborne , <i>University of Texas, San Marcos</i> Overview: Our proposal attempts to develop a common language for bridging the gap between political science and psychology. Given the visibility given by the media to hatred, hate crimes, and terrorist activities, more people than ever before are aware of such atrocities.
Disc.	Joanna V. Scott , <i>Eastern Michigan University</i>	Disc.	Steven Jones , <i>Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis</i> Johnny Goldfinger , <i>Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis</i>
54-2	<u>GLOBALIZATION, BORDERS, IDENTITIES: ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES</u>	59-1	<u>THE HRC-HUNTER DATA ARCHIVE: FIRST RESULTS</u>
Room	Sandburg 1, 7 th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm	Room	PDR 8, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Chair	Cyrus E. Zirakzadeh , <i>University of Connecticut</i>	Chair	Che Tabisola , <i>Human Rights Campaign</i>
Paper	<u>The Absorption Differences of Russian and Ethiopian Immigrants in Israel</u> Allison P. Sheren , <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: Immigrants are absorbed differently depending on their area of origin. The state policy under which an immigrant is absorbed is unequivocally the most important factor leading to successful absorption.	Paper	<u>A Comparative Study of Counter-Mobilization: The Responses to Judicial Policy-Making in Same-Sex Marriage in the United States and Canada</u> Scott E. Lemieux , <i>Hunter College, CUNY</i> Shauna Fisher , <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: An examination of whether changes in policy resulting from judicial action produce a greater backlash than policy-making by other institutions.
Paper	<u>Globalizing Culture: Thick Description of a Tahitian Dance-form in Hawaii</u> Subir K. Kole , <i>University of Hawaii, Manoa</i> Mamta Panwar , <i>East West Center</i> Overview: How globalization affects culture? We examine Tahitian dance as a site of globalization that is eroticized, sexualized and commoditized to meet the neoliberal capitalist interest of drawing tourists for sustaining the political economy of the State.	Paper	<u>You Can Choose Your Friends...But Can You Change Their Minds?</u> Kenneth Sherrill , <i>Hunter College, CUNY</i> Patrick J. Egan , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: HRC and Hunter College have entered into a partnership to analyze over 120 surveys and private polls on the subject of Americans' opinions toward LGBT-related issues. This paper analyzes the first results of this project.
Paper	<u>When Nationalists Are Not Separatists: Discarding and Recovering Academic Theories while Doing Fieldwork in the Basque Region of Spain</u> Cyrus E. Zirakzadeh , <i>University of Connecticut</i> Overview: This paper explores how scholarly preconceptions can both impede and enrich anthropological research in general and the firsthand study of grass-roots/local politics in particular. The case revolves around the phenomena of Basque nationalist activists.	Paper	<u>Public Opinion Trends: Don't Ask, Don't Tell and Gays in the Military</u> Charles Tien , <i>Hunter College and the Graduate Center, CUNY</i> Overview: Using the HRC-Hunter College database, this paper describes trends in public opinion about gays in the military, with a focus on the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy.
Disc.	Dvora Yanow , <i>Vrije Universiteit</i>	Paper	<u>Some Longitudinal Trends in Attitudes Toward LGBT Issues</u> Jason Young , <i>Hunter College, CUNY</i> Overview: The HRC-Hunter College data archive provides a rich opportunity to examine patterns of attitudes toward various LGBT issues from 1987 to 2006. This study explores how attitudes toward some of these issues have changed over time, especially in light of different political administrations in Washington.
55-1	<u>BIAS AND ACTIVISM IN THE CLASSROOM</u>	Paper	<u>Race, Religiosity, and Opposition to Same-Sex Marriage</u> Michael Philip Fisher , <i>Hunter College-CUNY/ Rutgers the State University of New Jersey</i> Overview: TBA
Room	PDR 7, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm	Disc.	Doug Strand , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i>
Chair	Bruce E. Caswell , <i>Rowan University</i>	62-1	<u>POLITICAL PARTICIPATION</u>
Paper	<u>Teaching Politics in Political Science Classes: Problem or Propaganda? A Survey of Undergraduate Political Science Chairs</u> Joseph Losco , <i>Ball State University</i> Ione DeOllos , <i>Ball State University</i> Overview: This paper presents the results of a survey administered to political science chairs at primarily undergraduate institutions of higher education regarding the extent to which they believe political bias in the classroom is a problem.	Room	Parlor J, 6 th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm
Paper	<u>Just How Dangerous Are We? : Political Science and Academic Freedom</u> Christopher D. DeSante , <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Tyler J. Zimmer , <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Overview: Where would political bias affect teaching more than our political science classrooms? Nowhere. This poster presentation examines the Academic Freedom movement and David Horowitz's book "The Professors, the 101 Most Dangerous Academics in America."	Chair	James R. Simmons , <i>University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh</i>
Paper	<u>Assessing the Impact of Curricular Strategies on Student Political Activism</u> Robert C. Bradley , <i>Illinois State University</i> Erik Rankin , <i>Illinois State University</i> Overview: This analysis, which is based on 'pre' and 'post' 2006 election surveys given to around 1000 respondents, will examine the impact of different curricular tactics on college students' levels of political interest, efficacy, and involvement.	Paper	<u>Publishing in Public Administration: The Representation of Women</u> Donna M. Handley , <i>University of Alabama, Birmingham</i> Kamna Lal , <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i> Overview: This study evaluates the representation of the women publishing in Public Administration. A 10 year study helps to characterize how women "fit" into the research, and how their role is evolving in mentorship, publications, and allied academic areas.
		Paper	<u>Gay Marriage: The Evolution of an Issue in Massachusetts</u> John C. Berg , <i>Suffolk University</i> Overview: The evolution of the gay marriage debate from the Goodridge decision in 2003 through the current attempts to overturn the court decision by amending the state constitution, considered as a case study of state action leading public opinion.

Paper **Labor Union Revitalization: The Missing Dimension in Models of Unionization**
Susan E. Orr, *University of Florida, Daytona Beach*
 Overview: This paper creates a more complex model of unionism, than the extant dominant theories provide. In addition to external factors, I argue that attention to internal mechanisms that foster democratic accountability would aide union revitalization.

Paper **What Price Equality? Women in the United States Military**
Mary Lou Kendrigan, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: Women are playing an increasingly important role in the Armed Services. Will they achieve increased political equality as a result of their experiences? To answer this question, we must better understand equality and political equality.

Paper **Civics 101: Political Engagement at the University**
James R. Simmons, *University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh*
 Overview: This paper will examine the extent to which contemporary American colleges and universities add to or subtract from their students' understanding of political institutions and promote active engagement with politics.

Disc. **David M. Jones**, *University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh*

64-102 **ROUNDTABLE: SETTING AN AGENDA FOR THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE PRESIDENCY (Co-sponsored with Presidency and Executive Politics, see 38-102)**

Room Monroe, 6th Floor, Thur at 12:45 pm

Chair **Bert A. Rockman**, *Purdue University, West Lafayette*

Panelist **Brandice Canes-Wrone**, *Princeton University*
David E. Lewis, *Princeton University*
Terry M. Moe, *Stanford University*
Andrew Rudalevige, *Dickinson College*
Richard W. Waterman, *University of Kentucky*
 Overview: TBA

Thursday, April 12 – 2:35 pm – 4:10 pm

1-107 ROUNDTABLE: THE POLITICAL BAGGAGE OF POLITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY (Co-sponsored with Political Anthropology, see 54-101)

Room Red Lacquer, 4th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Chair Myron J. Aronoff, *Rutgers University*
Panelist Timothy Pachirat, *Yale University*
 Dorian T. Warren, *Columbia University*
 Lisa Wedeen, *University of Chicago*
 Claire Wilkinson, *University of Birmingham*
 Dvora Yanow, *Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam*
 Overview: We engage the political dimensions of political ethnography - the historical/epistemological/ontological/ethical baggage that as often as not accompanies ethnographers, without notice, unexamined, into the field, despite efforts to travel light.

2-5 THE POLITICS OF CHEAP LABOR

Room Salon 1, 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Chair Gary Freeman, *University of Texas, Austin*
Paper Political Foundations of Low Pay Inequality
 Pablo Beramendi, *Syracuse University*
 Overview: The negative association between pre-tax inequality and redistribution constitutes an important puzzle in political economy.

When There is No Cop on the Beat: Community Unionism and Labor Market Regulation

Paper Janice Fine, *Rutgers University*
 Overview: Civic actors have stepped into the breach left by ineffectual government enforcement and monitoring of the Fair Labor Standards Act in low wage industries.

The Free Economy and the Jacobin State, or How Europe Can Cope With the Coming Immigration Wave

Paper Randall Hansen, *University of Toronto*
 Overview: Europe is facing a severe demographic shortfall. In the absence of substantial increased immigration, Europe's population will age and decline, placing intolerable pressure on European welfare states.

The New Politics of Cheap Labor in Industrial Democracies

Paper Desmond King, *Oxford University*
 David Rueda, *Oxford University*
 Overview: In this paper we aim to return labor (particularly the most vulnerable members of the labor market) to the core of comparative political economy of advanced democracies. We formulate a framework with which to conceptualize cheap labor.
Disc. Gary Freeman, *University of Texas, Austin*

3-3 DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT: POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Room Salon 2, 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Chair Irfan Nooruddin, *Ohio State University*
Paper Party System Institutionalization, Participation and Distribution: African Democracies in Comparative Perspective
 Rachel Beatty Riedl, *Princeton University*
 Overview: This paper addresses the institutional variation in party systems across African democracies in relation to the consequences for economic distribution and political participation.

Political Institutions, Social Heterogeneity, and Development Outcomes

Paper Jonathan Hanson, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: This paper examines the performance of different democratic and non-democratic institutional forms under varying levels of social heterogeneity.

Ethnicity, Electoral Competition, and Public Spending in Kenya

Paper Andy Harris, *Harvard University*
 Overview: This paper explores how ethnicity affects electoral competition and public spending in Kenyan local governments.
Paper Bounded Conflict and Investment in "Invisible" Public Goods
 Alison Post, *Harvard University*
 Overview: This paper explains variation in the distributional effects and longevity of privatization in the Argentine water

sector. In doing so, it outlines a theory of regulatory politics applicable to countries with weak institutional environments.

Worlds Apart: A Comparative Analysis of Social Development in India

Paper Prerna Singh, *Princeton University*
 Overview: This paper explains variations in levels of social development among Indian states through a theory of substate nationalism.
Disc. Irfan Nooruddin, *Ohio State University*

3-25 THE STATE AND DEVELOPMENT

Room Salon 4, 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Chair Mary Breeding, *American University*
Paper Hours of Work in the Developing World: A Race to the Top?
 Jeffrey P. Crean, *Marquette University*
 Overview: At comparable stages of development, work hours in newly industrializing countries in East Asia were and are uniformly lower than hours were in older industrializing countries in Europe. As development spreads, the mills become less satanic.

Business Organization and Economic Statecraft: Evidence from Latin America

Paper Marco A. Hernandez, *University of Oxford*
 Overview: This paper explores the political organization of business and presents a model of collective bargaining to explain cross-national differences in business centralization. Case studies from Latin America are used to test the implications of the model.

Logic of Financial Regulatory Reform in Mexico and South Korea

Paper Heon Joo Jung, *University of Pennsylvania*
 Overview: This paper examines institutional design and change of financial regulatory systems as responses to economic crises in Mexico and South Korea by taking seriously the interaction between international forces and public attention.

Is this Downsizing? Privatization and the State in Brazil

Paper Christina Schatzman, *Arizona State University*
 Overview: Does privatization promote state shrinking in developing countries? One of the many expected benefits of privatization is its impact on the role of the state in the economy, promoting a withdrawal of state involvement in the economy.
Disc. Nimah Mazaheri, *University of Washington, Seattle*
 Mary Breeding, *American University*

4-2 PERSPECTIVES ON MEXICO'S TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY I

Room PDR 4, 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Chair Orlando J. Perez, *Central Michigan University*
Paper National and Subnational Political Development Divergence in Mexico

Jonathan T. Hiskey, *Vanderbilt University*
 Paloma Bauer, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: Through analysis of electoral, socioeconomic, and attitudinal data covering the period of 1990 to 2006, we offer an assessment of the different political development trajectories at the state and national level over the past 15 years in Mexico.

Pluralism, Social Inclusion and Democratic Transition in México

Paper Fernando R. Castañeda Sabido, *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*
 Overview: The strength of the old Mexican Political System (PRI System) was based on a hierarchical but flexible form of inclusion. This form of inclusion allowed the old system to negotiate with the Indian Cultures and to recognize their own normative system.

Authoritarian Durability and Democratic Transition in Mexico

Paper Elyssa A. Van Osten, *University of Virginia*
 Overview: I argue that the PRI's ability to resolve intra-elite conflict in a manner which included rural and labor incorporation explains both the ancient regime's durability and the event and quality of Mexico's eventual transition to democracy.
Disc. Elizabeth Zechmeister, *University of California, Davis*

5-3	<u>ORGANIZING REPRESENTATION</u>	
Room	Salon 5, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm	
Chair	Mikhail Filippov, <i>Binghamton University</i>	
Paper	<u>The Impact of Political Decentralization on Voter Engagement in Western Europe</u> Bonnie M. Meguid, <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: Political actors often justify political decentralization as a means to bring government back to the people. This paper examines how this institutional change has affected levels of voter engagement – attitudes and behavior – in Western Europe.	
Paper	<u>Exacerbation or Amelioration: Decentralization and Autonomy Mobilization</u> Dan Miodownik, <i>Hebrew University</i> Britt A. Cartrite, <i>Alma College</i> Overview: Theories evaluating political decentralization and regional autonomy mobilization generate opposing expectations. Using computer simulation and European cases, we demonstrate that decentralization can reconcile regional demands with state stability.	
Paper	<u>Procedural Cartelization in the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, 2000-2006</u> Raul C. Gonzalez, <i>Rice University</i> Overview: Does procedural cartelization in the Mexican Chamber of Deputies occur given that legislators cannot pursue reelection, and legislative parties rarely enjoy a majority? This analysis will determine whether such cartels form.	
Paper	<u>The Rival Partners' Finance Game: Electoral Institutions, Competition, and Campaign Finance in Chile</u> Joel W. Johnson, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: This paper examines campaign income and expenditure to show how Chilean electoral institutions cause legislative candidates and parties to both cooperate with and compete against their running mates.	
Paper	<u>Tearing Down the Fortress: Decentralization Politics in Japan and Korea</u> Yooil Bae, <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: This paper aims to provide a holistic account of recent response to global economy through decentralization reform in Japan and Korea by using an ideational framework.	
Disc.	Mikhail Filippov, <i>Binghamton University</i> Ivy Hamerly, <i>Baylor University</i>	
6-2	<u>EXPLAINING POLICY PREFERENCES</u>	
Room	Sandburg 7, 7 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm	
Chair	David Breaux, <i>Mississippi State University</i>	
Paper	<u>Refining the Terms of Relief: Explaining State Choices Under TANF</u> John C. Morris, <i>Old Dominion University</i> David A. Breaux, <i>Mississippi State University</i> Rickey L. Travis, <i>Mississippi State University</i> Overview: This paper extends the earlier work of Soss, et al (2001), among others, by examining additional explanations of the choices states make when deciding the requirements for assistance under TANF.	
Paper	<u>How Do Social Contexts and Individual Social Networks Determine Policy Preferences: An Empirical Study of Racial Attitudes in Singapore</u> Cheng-Lung Wang, <i>National University of Singapore</i> Overview: Using data from a national election survey in Singapore, this paper studies how individual racial attitudes were shaped by broader community contexts and specific individual social networks.	
Paper	<u>The Reproductive Rights Century: Explaining Global Abortion Policies</u> Mitchell Brown, <i>Auburn University</i> Victor Asal, <i>SUNY, Albany</i> Overview: In this paper we examine the economic, cultural and political opportunity structures that facilitate and constrain women's right to abortion in the 20th century. To test this, we examine empowerment and structural components globally.	
Paper	<u>Lobbying Coalitions in Tanzania: Effects on Policy Outcomes</u> Ginger L. Elliott-Teague, <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i> Overview: Public interest groups in Tanzania rely on coalitions to influence policy outcomes. A coalition's success or failure depends on its political behavior and the acceptability of its argument to government policy-makers. Four cases are studied.	
Paper	<u>Threat Perceptions, Out-Group Antipathy and Anti-Immigrant Policy Goals</u> James R. Smerbeck, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: A cross-national study examining whether perceived economic or demographic threat by native Europeans towards immigrants, together with ingrained outgroup antipathy, translates into preferences for anti-immigrant policies.	
Disc.	Kirsten K. Loutzenhiser, <i>Barry University</i>	
7-4	<u>IMMIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE</u>	
Room	Sandburg 6, 7 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm	
Chair	Cara Wong, <i>University of Michigan</i>	
Paper	<u>Exclusive States, Inclusive Identities: Migration Strategies in the EU-15</u> Sara B. Wallace, <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: This paper compares citizenship and immigration policies among the traditional EU-15 member-states, focusing specifically on the unique, emerging typology of restrictive immigration and liberal citizenship policies.	
Paper	<u>Citizenship and Integration: The Enduring Legacy of National Definitions</u> Jessamyn Blau, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: This paper takes a theoretical approach to citizenship and integration in the European Union, showing – contrary to contemporary post-national models – traditional national self-definitions remain truly salient political concepts.	
Paper	<u>Attitudes Toward Immigration and Preference for Redistribution</u> Henning Finseraas, <i>NOVA</i> Overview: This paper identifies different dimensions of attitudes toward immigrants and explore how the dimensions are related to preference for redistribution.	
Paper	<u>Immigration and Radical Right Party Support in Eastern and Central Europe</u> Onawa P. Lacewell, <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Overview: I examine why radical right parties have failed to form at expected levels in East/Central Europe. I use a multi-level model to test whether lower immigration rates in East/Central Europe lead to a decrease of radical right parties in the region.	
Paper	<u>Attitudes Towards Immigration: A Longitudinal Study of the Case of Germany</u> Basak Yavcan, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: The purpose of this paper is to reveal where German attitudes towards immigration come from. With a dynamic model incorporating longitudinal data, the role of prejudice and ideology is tested against utilitarian models of preference formation.	
Disc.	Helma G. E. de Vries, <i>University of Maryland, College Park</i>	
8-4	<u>BUSINESS AND LABOR IN LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS</u>	
Room	Sandburg 5, 7 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm	
Chair	Clive S. Thomas, <i>University of Alaska</i>	
Paper	<u>What Is Old and What Is New in Business Groups' Strategies in Argentina?</u> Diego Finchelstein, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: This paper will help to explain how Argentine business groups build new strategies under globalization. These strategies can only be understood after an analysis of the historical challenges presented by unstable economic and political scenarios.	
Paper	<u>Exit versus Voice and Both Them versus Loyalty</u> Ridvan E. Peshkopia, <i>University of Kentucky</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the relationship between labor unions' voice and loyalty in transitional periods. Unions strike against their parties' government even when they continue to maintain some loose ties with these parties.	

Paper **The Peruvian Business Elite and Economic Policy Change in Peru**
Alba Hesselroth, Lewis University
 Overview: This paper explores if the conditions implied by the interest group approach – the business elite's relative strength and access to state power, and the enactment of policies that benefit this interest group – were present in Peru's case of economic reform initiated in 1990.

Disc. **Paul W. Posner, Clark University**

9-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE POLITICS OF ECONOMIC REFORM IN ASIA (TRADE, LABOR, BANKING)**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 1, Thur at 2:35 pm

Presenter **Political Economy of Banking Reforms in Indonesia, Korea, and Thailand**
Sawa Omori, University of Tokyo
 Overview: This paper examines what makes the pace and the degree of banking reforms vary in Indonesia, Korea, and Thailand. Not only the IMF's influence but also the number of veto players matter in explaining banking reforms in these three countries.

Presenter **Two Durable Shifts of Political Institutions and China's Uneven Development**
Qiang Yan, University of Missouri, St Louis
 Overview: In this paper I will analyze how the two durable shifts of Chinese political institutions shaped the way of China's uneven development.

9-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POLITICAL COALITIONS IN LABOR MARKET DEREGULATION IN JAPAN AND KOREA**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 2, Thur at 2:35 pm

Presenter **Political Coalition in Labor Market Deregulation in Japan and Korea**
Jiyeoun Song, Harvard University
 Overview: This paper attempts to analyze diverse patterns of political coalitions toward labor market deregulation, focusing on Japan and Korea.

14-15 **GLOBALIZATION AND THE STATE**

Room Sandburg 2, 7th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm

Chair **Thomas B. Pepinsky, Yale University**

Paper **What Governments Maximize and Why: The View From Trade**
Kishore Gawande, Texas A&M University
 Overview: Tariff data on 50 countries are used to determine the political economy objectives pursued by those governments.

Paper **Adjusting to Globalization: Political Economy of Inclusion and Exclusion**
Moonhawk Kim, University of Colorado, Boulder
 Overview: Why do states' political leaders pursue different economic adjustment strategies? The choice reflects the changing extent of the state's engagement in the globalizing economy and how that change affects the trade-off between stability and efficiency.

Paper **Economic Structure and State Size**
Patrick J. McDonald, University of Texas, Austin
 Overview: Drawing on the new institutionalism in economics, this paper explores how the economic structure of local industries influence the size of states.

Paper **Who Follows the Leaders? Foreign Economic Policy Diffusion, 1978-2004**
Christian W. Martin, University of Hamburg
Gerald Schneider, University of Konstanz
 Overview: Models foreign economic making as interaction between country specific liberalization costs and policies in focal countries. Data on foreign economic policies for 140 countries from 1978 to 2004 match the predicted liberalization patterns.

Paper **The Costs of Risk: Examining the Missing Link Between Globalization and Social Insurance**
Stephanie J. Rickard, Pennsylvania State University
 Overview: Here, I argue that the relationship between globalization and income insurance is conditional on key characteristics of countries' labor markets.

Disc. **Cristina Bodea, Michigan State University**
Thomas B. Pepinsky, Yale University

14-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: EU EXPANSION**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 3, Thur at 2:35 pm

Presenter **Bilateral or Biregional? European Union's Approach in Free Trade Agreements' Negotiations with Developing Countries**
Giulia Pietrangeli, London School of Economics
 Overview: The paper analyses the EU preference for bi-regional FTAs' negotiations with SADC countries. It argues that bi-regionalism is not aimed at freeing international trade; rather it is used when/where EU commercial interests are not very strong.

Presenter **Do the Trade Effects of EU Membership and Overcome Corruption?**
Nicholas Horsewood, University of Birmingham
Anca M. Voicu, Rollins College
 The direction of exports of selected countries, including new EU entrants, is examined using a gravity trade model augmented by variables to capture the cost of communication, of distribution of goods, regional trading agreements and corruption.

14-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ECONOMIC SANCTIONS**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 4, Thur at 2:35 pm

Presenter **An Empirical Inquiry of the Humanitarian Consequences of Economic Sanctions**
Dursun Peksen, University of Missouri, Columbia
 Overview: Using socio-demographic, health, and economic data, this paper examines whether imposed economic sanctions have direct negative humanitarian effects on civilians in the target countries.

15-3 **THE POLITICS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY**

Room Salon 6, 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm

Chair **Courtney Hillebrecht, University of Wisconsin**

Paper **The Democratic Lens: Human Rights Abuses and the American Response**
Shyam S. Kulkarni, Indiana State University
Samuel S. Snideman, Indiana State University
 Overview: Our study is an analysis of American foreign policy responses during the Post Cold War era with regard to human rights violations by illiberal polities. Our results indicate that democracy is an important factor contributing to American criticism.

Paper **Human Rights: Accounting for Concern**
Michelle Allendoerfer, University of Michigan
 Overview: To understand why states respond to human rights violations in other states, I consider why domestic constituencies demand human rights friendly foreign policy. Using survey data, I test two explanations for individual concern about human rights.

Paper **Executive Action and Judicial Independence Under International Constraint**
Susan Navarro Smelcer, Emory University
Emily Ritter, Emory University
 Overview: This paper presents a formal model of human rights policymaking under international legal constraints. We argue that accepting an international court's jurisdiction encourages the design of independent judiciaries and constrains human rights policy.

Paper	<p><u>Socioeconomic Rights as Human Rights: The Issue of Legitimacy in International Relations Theory</u> Benjamin W. Lampe, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: This study shows one way that the international society can maintain the stability of the state system. In an era of evolving state institutions and globalizing forces, states' ability to adapt to social pressure have become crucial for legitimacy.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Rioting Along?! Explaining and Interpreting the Harlem Riots of 1935 and the Complexity of Black-Jewish Relations</u> Christian Davenport, <i>University of Maryland</i> Overview: Uses data gathered in an NSF-funded project to probe the participation in the 1935 New York Harlem riot.</p>
Disc.	<p>Courtney Hillebrecht, <i>University of Wisconsin</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>The Contextual Basis of Mobilization</u> Ronald A. Francisco, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: I explore the limiting contexts of mobilization in Europe and in Illinois in the United States.</p>
16-4	<p><u>MARITIME AND AIRLINE TERRORISM</u> Salon 12, 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm</p>	Paper	<p><u>A Comparative Model for the Formation of Insurgencies</u> Jeffrey S. Schroeder, <i>Iowa State University</i> Jessica A. Maves, <i>Iowa State University</i> Overview: Analyzing institutional access, international support and the locations where insurgencies form indicates that policies addressing these variables are likely to be more effective than military action after the insurgency is established.</p>
Room	<p>Kevin E. Grisham, <i>Victor Valley College</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>War in the Balkans: Cross Border Spillovers and the Puzzles of FYROM and BiH</u> George A. Vassilev, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: Yugoslavia of the 1990s: did the stagnant economy or asymmetric political entitlements spark the series of violent conflicts? Why did war not touch some republics? A spillover hypothesis considers geopolitical, foreign and communitarian factors.</p>
Chair	<p><u>Cat's Out of the Bag: El Al Airline Passenger Profiling Secrets Revealed</u> Julie B. Raines, <i>Northern Kentucky University</i> Overview: El Al Airlines is reputed to have the safest security in the world attributing part of their success to keeping their security techniques a secret. These security techniques have never been published or shared with the public until now.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Substitution and Complementarity in Terrorism</u> Lindsay Heger, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Aaron Clauset, <i>University of New Mexico</i> Maxwell Young, <i>University of New Mexico</i> Kristian S. Gleditsch Overview: Substitution between attack modes and targets is an important phenomenon in contemporary global terrorism. While previous work emphasizes the impact of particular interventions, we consider a larger set of possible strategies.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Terrorism and the Maritime Shipment of Nuclear Materials</u> Ronald C. Smith, <i>University of Waikato</i> Overview: This paper will assess security provisions for the maritime shipment of nuclear materials (especially those in dedicated ships) in the context of the wide range of terrorist assault scenarios that may be envisaged.</p>	Disc.	<p>Alan Stam, <i>Dartmouth College</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Protecting our Ports: Efforts to Enhance International Security Cooperation</u> Suzette R. Grillot, <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Rebecca J. Cruise, <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: This paper analyzes containerized freight and port security policies domestically and abroad. It explores motivations behind the U.S. advancement of global standards, and seek to understand the development of international cooperation on port security.</p>	19-301	<p><u>POSTER SESSION: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION</u></p>
Disc.	<p>Jeff G. Bramlett, <i>United States Military Academy</i></p>	Room	<p>Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm</p>
17-4	<p><u>MARKETS, CARROTS, AND STICKS</u> Sandburg 4, 7th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm</p>	Presenter	<p><u>Factors that Determine Membership on the International Criminal Court</u> (Board 1) Michelle Keck, <i>Texas Tech University</i> Overview: In order to explain why disparity in International Criminal Court membership exists among states, this paper seeks to examine the factors that determine membership on the International Criminal Court.</p>
Room	<p>Cameron Thies, <i>University of Missouri, Cameron</i></p>	Presenter	<p><u>International Energy Agency: Evaluation of Rational Design and Institutional Control</u> (Board 2) Katherine A. Verleger, <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: Further evaluation of the rational design framework, particularly the third rational design control conjecture (V3) in analysis of the design characteristics of the International Energy Agency.</p>
Chair	<p><u>Unifying Conflict Initiation and Expansion in Interstate Disputes</u> Aysegul Aydin, <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Ying Lu, <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Overview: I explain conflict initiation and expansion as causally and strategically related processes through economic interdependence and show that states with significant economic ties are less likely to be targeted by aggressors.</p>	21-301	<p><u>POSTER SESSION: POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY</u></p>
Paper	<p><u>Trade and the Origins of Major Power Rivalry</u> Benjamin O. Fordham, <i>SUNY, Binghamton</i> Overview: Some scholars have argued that competition for international markets has led to political-military rivalry between states. This paper tests this claim using data on major powers during the 19th and 20th centuries.</p>	Room	<p>Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm</p>
Paper	<p><u>Economic Threats as Signals of Resolve</u> Katja B. Kleinberg, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: Sanctions are costly to the sender state. Domestic political implications of sanctions threats provide a mechanism for signaling resolve in interstate bargaining. The availability of costly threats conditions the link between trade and conflict.</p>	Presenter	<p><u>Speakers as Leaders: What Made Newt Gingrich Shut Down the Government</u> (Board 3) Laurence Horton, <i>University of Essex</i> Overview: Analogical reasoning provides insight into Republican decision-making in the budget shutdowns of 1995/6. Pushing cognitive approaches to decision-making beyond a foreign-policy domain and questioning rational choice approaches to House leadership.</p>
Disc.	<p>Alex Weisiger, <i>Columbia University</i></p>	17-18	<p><u>WHO STARTED IT?: CONTEXT AND MOBILIZATION</u> Sandburg 8, 7th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm</p>
Room	<p>Alan Stam, <i>Dartmouth College</i></p>	Chair	<p><u>Why Presidents Fall: Explaining the South American Anamoly</u> Kathryn Hochstetler, <i>University of New Mexico</i> Overview: Study examines institutional, economic, corruption and protest/policing data to explain why mostly South American presidents fall.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Why Presidents Fall: Explaining the South American Anamoly</u> Kathryn Hochstetler, <i>University of New Mexico</i> Overview: Study examines institutional, economic, corruption and protest/policing data to explain why mostly South American presidents fall.</p>		

Presenter **The Politics of Threat: The Effect of Media on Foreign Policy Attitudes**
(Board 4)
Shana K. Gadarian, Princeton University
Overview: I designed a survey experiment that varies the threat level in news content and presentation to explore the effect of imagery and framing on threat perception. I predict that as increased threat perception leads to more hawkish attitudes.

22-14 **MEXICO'S CONTESTED 2006 ELECTIONS (Co-sponsored with Latin American and Caribbean Politics, see 8-19)**

Room Salon 8, 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm

Chair **Joseph L. Klesner, Kenyon College**

Paper **Sophistication and Partisanship in the 2006 Mexican Presidential Elections**

Luis Estrada, Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México

Overview: Pre-electoral surveys either overestimated López Obrador or underreported Calderón's supporters. I argue that the outcome of the election had to do with the likelihood of independents of turning out, based on their level of political sophistication.

Paper **The Mandate from Mexico's 2006 Presidential Election**

Francisco Flores-Macias, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Overview: This paper will explore why people who voted for Calderón supported him and what they expected to get in return. It will discuss what the election tells us about what Mexican voters want from their next government, and what they don't want.

Paper **Thinking Regionally, Voting Nationally: George W. Bush, Fidel Castro, Hugo Chávez and Preferences in Mexico's 2006 Presidential Election**

James A. McCann, Purdue University

Overview: Contrary to conventional wisdom, analysis of panel survey data suggests that foreign policy preferences shaped presidential preferences in the 2006 Mexican presidential election to a highly significant degree.

Paper **The Religious Vote in Mexico: Analysis of the 2000 and 2006 Presidential Elections**

Alejandro Moreno, Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México

Alejandro Diaz, Tribunal Electoral del Distrito Federal

Overview: Multivariate analysis of survey data from several polls indicates that religiosity matters significantly in Mexico's evolving party system but that it does not systematically favor one party over another in every context.

Paper **Polls and Pesos: the Effect of Mexico's Election on Bond and Peso Markets**

Allyson Lucinda Benton, Centro de Investigacion y Docencia Economicas

Overview: Analysis of polling data during the Mexican presidential campaign shows that shifts in reported voting intention during the course of the Mexican presidential campaign affected Mexican bond and currency markets.

Disc. **Guillermo Rosas, Washington University**

22-301 **POSTER SESSION: VOTING BEHAVIOR**

Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm

Presenter **Self-interest, Political Sophistication and Reasoning Voter**
(Board 5)

Seoyoon H. Choi, University of Texas, Austin

Overview: I examine when self-interest is involved, how voter's political sophistication affects his political participation and the perception of party's policy position. I analyze the case of senior citizens regarding Social Security policy in the 1980s.

Presenter **Rethinking the Theories of Primary Elections: The 2004 Democratic Primaries**

(Board 6)

Gizem Arikan, Stony Brook University

Overview: Data from 2004 primary exit polls suggest that electability rather than viability has emerged as the primary factor in candidate chances in 2004 elections.

Presenter **Vote Choice in the 2004 Presidential Election**

(Board 7)

Heather K. Barton, Indiana University

Overview: This paper evaluates the influence of "moral values," specifically the influence of opinions about abortion and homosexuality, on vote choice relative to competing factors in the 2004 presidential election.

Presenter **Seven Days of Marching and Some Rams' Horns: Binomial MLE and Voter Turnout**

(Board 8)

Nathan D. Griffith, Belmont University

Overview: Rational choice and resource models use institutional- and individual-level variables, respectively, frustrating interlocation. Binomial MLE may allow integrating aggregated individual-level data in relation to the outcome of voting trials.

Presenter **The Analyses of Voting Patterns in Veto Games: An Experimental Study**

(Board 9)

Hankyoung Sung, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy

Overview: This paper analyzes the voting pattern in Veto and Control games in the lab experiment with human subjects. This focuses on the following analyses. First, this examines stochastic dominance in the empirical cumulative density functions of shares accepted.

Presenter **Scandal and Religiosity: A Case Study from the PA's 10th**
(Board 10)

Jonathan Williamson, Lycoming College

Overview: This paper considers the effect of voter's religiosity on the connection between scandal and voting behavior. A survey was conducted of voters in the 2006 congressional election in Pennsylvania's 10th district.

23-301 **POSTER SESSION: TURNOUT AND THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE**

Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm

Presenter **Does the Electoral College Depress Voter Turnout?**
(Board 11)

Damon M. Cann, University of Georgia

Bryan Cole, University of Georgia

Overview: The electoral college leads presidential candidates to allocate resources to battleground states. We show that the strategic electoral environment results in systematically lower voter turnout than one would find under alternative systems.

25-4 **IMMIGRATION: CONCEPTIONS AND PERCEPTIONS (Co-sponsored with Political Psychology, see 21-15)**

Room Salon 9, 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm

Chair **John E. Transue, Duke University**

Paper **Conceptions of National Identity and Attitudes Toward Immigration in Europe**

Laura N. Potter, University of Michigan

Overview: I analyze ESS data to test how civic conceptions of national identity affect attitudes toward immigration differently than ethnic conceptions.

Paper **How Differing Conceptions of National Identity Influence Attitudes Towards Immigrants: Evidence from the U.S.**

Jennifer E. Byrne, University of Arizona

Overview: In this paper, I examine how different conceptions of what it means to be an American influence attitudes towards immigrants and how these definitions change over time and in response to politically salient events.

Paper **Latino Attitudes on Healthcare and Public Opinion on Immigration**

Jason E. Kehrberg, University of Kentucky

Sara L. Manning, University of Kentucky

Overview: This project extends immigration opinion to the Latinos to determine the degree and determinants of support for immigration. We suggest that social motivators play an important role in shaping opinions on immigration policies among Latinos.

Paper	<u>Priming the Quantity and Identities of Immigrants</u> John Sides , <i>George Washington University</i> Jack Citrin , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: We present the results of a series of survey experiments that exposed respondents to information about the quantity and identities of immigrant in the U.S.	Paper	<u>Left Out: How Party Polarization is Affecting Who Votes</u> Michael H. Murakami , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: I investigate how party polarization is affecting turnout in U.S. Presidential elections over the past 50 years and find that pure Independents and increasingly atypical partisans are less likely to vote over time.
Disc.	John E. Transue , <i>Duke University</i>	Paper	<u>An Aggregate Analysis of Negative Campaigning and Voter Participation</u> William W. Franko, Jr. , <i>Kent State University</i> Overview: This study uniquely tests the effects of negative campaigning on voter participation at a larger level than is possible with random survey responses. My findings suggest that negative ads do demobilize the electorate.
25-18	<u>POLITICAL IDEOLOGY</u> Salon 7, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm	Disc.	John E. McNulty , <i>SUNY, Binghamton</i> Daniel C. Reed , <i>University of Georgia</i>
Room	Zoe M. Oxley , <i>Union College</i>		
Chair	<u>Political Sophistication and Ideological Self-Placement</u> Judd R. Thornton , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: We seek to explain why individuals misidentify their own ideological self-placement. We hypothesize that it is political sophistication not value conflict which explains misplacement.	27-1	<u>EFFECTS OF THE INFORMATION ENVIRONMENT ON THE PUBLIC (Co-sponsored with Public Opinion, see 25-22)</u> Parlor F, 6 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Paper	<u>Ideological Partisanship in Two Dimensions of Political Attitudes and Values</u> Brendon Swedlow , <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: Democratic voters are generally more liberal than communitarian, but also conservative and libertarian. Except for those who vote mostly Republican, Republicans are almost equally conservative, libertarian, and communitarian.	Room	Michael G. Hagen , <i>Temple University</i>
		Chair	<u>Issue Publics, News Interest, and the Information Environment</u> Jennifer Jerit , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: This study examines how changes in the amount of media coverage influence patterns of news attention among issue publics and the electorate at large.
Paper	<u>Constrained Conservatism: The Impact of Group Consciousness on Black Ideology</u> Tasha S. Philpot , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: A great deal of variance in the ideological expressions of African-Americans is masked by a sense of group consciousness. The higher their level of group consciousness, the more black conservatives will mirror their liberal counterparts.	Paper	<u>Uncertain Information, Beliefs, and Opinions</u> Jason Barabas , <i>Florida State University</i> Betsy McGraw , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: Political knowledge studies focus on questions with undisputed answers, but facts are often unclear or unknown. Natural and survey-based experiments show that variations in information certainly affect factual beliefs and foreign policy opinions.
Paper	<u>The Reciprocal Effects of Ideology and Issue Positions</u> Jeremy F. Duff , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: A wealth of research has been written on how ideological identification helps form opinions about political issues. I argue that for some people the relationship works in reverse, with issues playing a role in determining ideological identification.	Paper	<u>Who Moves Presidential Approval? The Impact of News Coverage on Individual-Level Opinion Dynamics</u> Scott L. Althaus , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: This paper sheds light on why individuals change their approval of the president over time, and how these individual changes drive aggregate shifts in job approval, with a novel quasi-experimental survey design.
Paper	<u>Mass Public Opinion: Attitudes, Non-Attitudes, Stability and Change</u> James W. Lamare , <i>Florida Atlantic University</i> Overview: An examination of opinion change and stability as detected in a panel study conducted in New Zealand during the 1990s. The findings suggest that views are real responses to political stimuli. Non-attitudes are not affecting change or stability.	Paper	<u>The Social Roots of Evaluations of Fairness</u> Jennifer Wolak , <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Overview: I investigate the individual and contextual forces that influence appraisals of the fairness of election outcomes.
Disc.	Zoe M. Oxley , <i>Union College</i>	Disc.	Benjamin I. Page , <i>Northwestern University</i>
26-11	<u>RE-EXAMINING THE COSTS AND BENEFITS OF VOTING</u> Clark 9, 7 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm	27-4	<u>ENDORSEMENTS, EDITORIALS, AND NEWS</u> Clark 1, 7 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Room	John E. McNulty , <i>SUNY, Binghamton</i>	Room	Julio Borquez , <i>University of Michigan, Dearborn</i>
Chair	<u>Turnout and Competitiveness in Space and Time</u> John S. Matthews , <i>Queen's University</i> Richard Johnston , <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> Amanda Bittner , <i>University of British Columbia</i> Overview: This paper examines the impact of electoral competitiveness on federal voter turnout in Canada, using measures of competitiveness at multiple geographical levels (riding, province, nation) and time points (current election, previous election).	Chair	<u>Non-Presidential U. S. Newspaper Endorsements, 2002, 2004, and 2006</u> Mark D. Harmon , <i>University of Tennessee</i> Overview: The author sampled twenty large newspapers, tallying candidate endorsements in the 2002 and 2004 general elections. In 2002 newspapers endorsed more Republicans; in 2004 more Democrats. In 2004 newspapers endorsed incumbents by a six-to-one ratio.
Paper	<u>Katrina's Voters: Floods and Representation</u> Betsy Sinclair , <i>California Technical College</i> Overview: Using voter history files, flood data, and census information, we evaluate the consequences of Hurricane Katrina on the propensity of voters to participate in the 2006 mayoral election in New Orleans.	Paper	<u>Examining Institutional Influences on Editorial Slant in Campaign News</u> Johanna Dunaway , <i>Sam Houston State University</i> Overview: This work addresses the following research question: In what ways does the institutional structure of media outlets affect the degree to which editorial preferences are reflected in campaign news coverage?
Paper	<u>Electorate Size and Turnout</u> Sloane Kuney , <i>George Washington University</i> Garry Young , <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: Using a natural experiment based on the 1960s one person, one vote redistricting, we examine whether changes in electorate size affect voter turnout in U.S. House elections.	Paper	<u>Newspapers and Public Policy: Legislators Read and Heed Editorials</u> Steven M. Hallock , <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i> Overview: This study uses a survey of all Illinois state legislators to analyze the effects of newspaper editorials on issues of public policy.

Paper **Who Says What? Local Newspapers, House Members, and Source Information**
Brian J. Fogarty, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*
 Overview: In this paper, I consider how local newspapers use source information in stories concerning local House members outside of the election season.

Disc. **Kenneth Cosgrove**, *Suffolk University*
Jan P. Vermeer, *Nebraska Wesleyan University*

28-1 **UNDERSTANDING THE BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES I**

Room Clark 7, 7th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Chair **Julie Dolan**, *Macalester College*
Paper **Running Against a Woman: Do Female Opponents Shape Male Candidate Behaviors**
Kathleen Dolan, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
 Overview: Using campaign websites, I examine whether male candidates shape their personal image or campaign issues in reaction to a woman opponent. Male candidates with a female opponent will be compared to a sample of male candidates with male opponents.

Paper **The Primary Aspect of the Problem: Congressional Primaries and Women's Under-Representation**
Jennifer L. Lawless, *Brown University*
 Overview: Based on data from 1958 – 2004, I find that women fare as well as men in congressional primaries, but women in both parties face more primary competition than men. Gender neutral victory rates are not the result of a gender neutral primary process.

Paper **What Next? Term Limits, Gender, and New Offices Sought**
Kathryn A. DePalo, *Florida International University*
Susan A. MacManus, *University of South Florida*
 Overview: The advent of state legislative term limits has provided an exciting line of inquiry into legislator career paths. Many members run for other elective offices, both higher and local office. This study assesses gender differences in the decision calculus.

Paper **Gender Differences in Candidate Media Coverage: A Comparative Perspective**
Miki C. Kittilson, *Arizona State University*
Kim Fridkin, *Arizona State University*
 Overview: Through systematic comparison of news coverage of political candidates across four countries we examine differences in the portrayal of male and female candidates by the media, and the manner in which the political context shapes these differences.

Disc. **Ethan M. Bernick**, *University of North Texas*
Julie Dolan, *Macalester College*

28-203 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF EMOTION AND THEIR INFLUENCES ON IRAN-USA**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 5, Thur at 2:35 pm
Presenter **The Cultural Politics of Emotion and Their Influences on Iran-USA**
Fatemeh Masjedi, *Illinois State University*
 Overview: My abstract accepted last year but I did not attend the conference because I was not in the USA.

28-204 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE POWER OF DUALITY: THE PROTEST OF “CHECKPOINT WATCH” MOVEMENT IN ISRAEL**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 6, Thur at 2:35 pm
Presenter **The Power of Duality: The Protest of “Checkpoint Watch” Movement in Israel**
Daniela Mansbach, *New School University*
 Overview: Implementation of two distinct practices - watching that challenges the traditional gender norms and intervention that appears to adopt patterns of care - enables this women's movement to undermine both gender and political orders in Israeli society.

29-4 **TRENDS IN MINORITY POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR**

Room PDR 5, 3rd Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Chair **Maruice Mangum**, *Southern Illinois University*
Paper **Cognitive Resources, Organizational Affiliations, and Protest Activism Among African Americans**
Randall D. Swain, *Morehead State University*
 Overview: Research project assesses the impact of race consciousness and organizational affiliations have on the unconventional political activities of Black Americans.

Paper **A Political Climate Theory of the Race Gap in Political Interest**
Ray Block, Jr., *Florida State University*
 Overview: This paper analyzes racial differences political interest levels by 1) pooling data from the 1952 - 2004 NES, 2) extending Danigelis' (1977) concept of “political climate” from behavioral to psychological involvement, and 3) using Stimson's (2004).

Paper **Racial Differences in the Application of Religiosity and Liberalism**
Tony E. Carey, Jr., *SUNY, Stony Brook*
 Overview: The study examines the influence of both religiosity and liberalism on whites' and blacks' attitudes towards social and economic policies using pooled data from the 2000 and 2004 National Election Studies as well as the 2001 Religion and Public Life Survey.

Paper **What's Going On? Trends in Black Public Opinion on the Welfare State**
Katherine Tate, *University of California, Irvine*
 Overview: Public opinion trend data from the 1970s show a shift in Black opinion away from strong support for government welfare programs. In this paper, I argue that Black attitudes toward welfare programs are based on the transformation of Black political leader.

Paper **Ethnic Diversity and Charitable Giving at the Local Level in the U.S.**
Michael J. Tweed, *Fort Hays State University*
 Overview: Is charitable giving less generous in ethnically diverse communities than in relatively homogeneous ones? What social policy implications can be drawn from this effect? This study challenges the Ethnic Nepotism Theory.

Disc. **Toni-Michelle Travis**, *George Mason University*
Ron Brown, *Wayne State University*

30-101 **ROUNDTABLE: LEO STRAUSS: HIS PHILOSOPHY AND HIS POLITICS**

Room Adams, 6th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Panelist **Arlene Saxonhouse**, *University of Michigan*
Steven B. Smith, *Yale University*
Leora F. Batnitzky, *Princeton University*
Nathan Tarcov, *University of Chicago*
Dana Villa, *University of Notre Dame*
Kim Sorensen, *University of Adelaide*
Michael P. Zuckert, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: The proposed roundtable will be composed of the authors of four recent books on the thought of Leo Strauss and two commentators.

32-3 **MILL**

Room LaSalle 1, 7th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Chair **Kyle A. Scott**, *Miami University*
Paper **Marx and Mill: Recognition and Sympathy**
Daniel Brudney, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: I compare the work of J.S. Mill and the early Marx on the themes of recognition and sympathy. Mill puts greater weight on sympathy, Marx on recognition. I argue that political arrangements that are feasible for human beings should stress both themes.

Paper **Modern Officiu: Is Mill's Considerations Indebted to Cicero's De Officiis?**
Alexandra E. Hoerl, *Rutgers University*
 Overview: Ciceronian duty and Mill's Considerations can be used to answer criticisms of liberal institutions. Mill's text can provide

	a vehicle for modernizing Cicero and placing duty in civil society to help create social networks and more robust citizens.				
Paper	<u>Mill in Defense of Moral Legislation: Democracy and the Limits of Liberty</u> Steven A. Kelts, <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: Contrary to all conventional wisdom, Mill's task in On Liberty is not to argue for unfettered individual freedom, but to delicately separate the domain of personal control (individual morality) from the domain of democratic control (social morality).		33-21	<u>FREEDOM, CONSCIENCE, AND RELIGION</u> Clark 10, 7 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm	
			Room	Bill Curtis, <i>University of Vermont</i>	
			Chair	<u>Liberty of Conscience and Discursive Control</u>	
			Paper	Andrew F. Smith, <i>Stony Brook University</i>	
Paper	<u>The Hierarchical Conception of the Self in On Liberty</u> Sujith S. Kumar, <i>London School of Economics</i> Overview: The paper uses a hierarchical conception of the self in On Liberty to reconcile the high levels of social influence individuals are to experience with the psychological demand for a sphere of negative liberty.		Paper	Overview: Chandran Kukathas argues that the defense of liberty of conscience should be a political priority in diverse and open societies. I argue that this position is defensible only if we reconceive liberty of conscience in discursive terms.	
Disc.	Amel F. Ahmed, <i>Swarthmore College</i>			<u>Coercion, Religious Neutrality, and Same-Sex Marriage</u> Emily R. Gill, <i>Bradley University</i>	
				Overview: In this paper, I will argue that the noncoercive establishment of religion advocated by some is actually coercive in its distinction between insiders and outsiders, using the controversy over same-sex marriage to exemplify this point.	
32-17	<u>THE MODERNS ON SCIENCE, MORALITY, AND POLITICS</u> Clark 3, 7 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm		Paper	<u>The End of Tradition: A Theologico-Political Consideration</u> Phillip W. Gray, <i>Texas A&M University</i>	
Room	Noah Dauber, <i>Harvard University</i>			Overview: In this paper, I explore why tradition has become such a difficult concept. I argue that the reason is historical and theological. Our very way of discussing tradition presupposes religious modes of interpretation.	
Chair	<u>On the Political Lessons of Francis Bacon's New Organon</u>		Disc.	Bill Curtis, <i>University of Vermont</i>	
Paper	Natalie Elliot, <i>University of North Texas</i> Overview: Alongside the foundational scientific teaching of his New Organon, Francis Bacon lays down a series of political lessons that illuminate his views on the proper relation between modern science and political life.				
Paper	<u>Hobbes' Rhetorical Legacy: 'Scientism' and Political Philosophy</u> Laura Field, <i>University of Texas</i> Overview: This paper discusses the possibility that much of Hobbes' human science, especially as it is presented in Leviathan, was intended rhetorically. What might this mean for the discipline today?		34-301	<u>POSTER SESSION: FORMAL MODELING</u> Exhibit Hall, 4 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm	
			Room	<u>The Formation of Social Capital: A Comprehensive Mathematical Model</u> (Board 12)	
Paper	<u>A Hill Not to be Commanded: On Francis Bacon's 'Of Truth'</u> James Guest, <i>University of Dallas</i> Overview: This explication of Bacon's "Of Truth" inquires into the implications of Bacon's division of philosophic and theological truth from the truth of civil business as well as his silence concerning the truth of his scientific method.		Presenter	Jonathan C. Young, <i>West Virginia University</i> Overview: This paper seeks to understand the formation of social capital, construct a logical framework from the available literature, then develop and test a comprehensive mathematical model using these concepts.	
Disc.	Tobin Craig, <i>James Madison University</i>			<u>Simulating a Rising Power: Comparing Realism and Power Transition Theory</u> (Board 13)	
			Presenter	Andrew W. Bausch, <i>Villanova University</i> Overview: This paper sets the parameters of Bueno de Mesquita's theory of the Expected Utility of War according to the prescriptions of Offensive Realism, Defensive Realism, and Power Transition theory and simulates how each theory deals with a rising power.	
33-2	<u>LOCKE AND CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS IN LIBERALISM</u> Dearborn 2, 7 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm				
Room	John M. Parrish, <i>Loyola Marymount University</i>		35-4	<u>TEXTS AS DATA (Co-sponsored with Information Technology and Politics, see 36-7)</u> Montrose 2, 7 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm	
Chair	<u>Locke and the Excess of Punishment</u>		Room	Phil Schrod, <i>University of Kansas</i>	
Paper	Andrew Dilts, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This paper rereads Locke's Second Treatise to argue that the foundation of civil society is essentially about managing punishment's inevitable excessive character making punishment a possibility to be realized rather than enforced.		Chair	<u>Automated Text Classification of Senatorial Speech</u>	
Paper	<u>Observations and Problems Concerning the Cartesian Foundations of Locke's Concept of Property</u> Russell Ford, <i>Elmhurst College</i> Overview: This paper looks at the suppositions in Descartes' "natural light" (from the Meditations) with an eye toward the effect that the presuppositions contained in that term have on John Locke.		Paper	Jean-Francois Godbout, <i>Northwestern University</i> Daniel A. Diermeier, <i>Kellogg School of Management</i> Bei Yu, <i>Kellogg School of Management</i> Stefan Kaufmann, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: Speech and Ideology - Automated Text Classification of Senatorial Speech in the 101st-108th Congresses for Ideological Vocabulary Extraction and Position Prediction.	
				<u>U.S. Congressional Bill Titles as a Proxy for Bill Content</u> Stephen Purpura, <i>Harvard University</i> John Wilkerson, <i>University of Washington</i> Dustin Hillard, <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: Statistical analysis of the text of the Bills of the U.S. Congress provides insights into the effectiveness of Bill titles as an abstract.	
Paper	<u>Political Knowledge and Risk in Locke's Political Thought</u> Emily Nacol, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This paper explores problems of political knowledge and the calculus of risk in the political and epistemological writings of John Locke, arguing that risk is the other side of the trust coin in his theory of political order.		Paper	<u>Extracting Systematic Social Science Meaning from Text</u> Daniel J. Hopkins, <i>Harvard University</i> Gary King, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: We propose a novel approach to computer content analysis that accurately estimates the proportion of documents in each category of any well-specified categorization scheme, for any set of textual documents.	
Disc.	John M. Parrish, <i>Loyola Marymount University</i>				

Paper **Legislative Rhetoric and Heresthetics**
Burt L. Monroe, *Pennsylvania State University*
Kevin Quinn, *Harvard University*
Michael Colaresi, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: We evaluate heresthetical maneuvers by political oppositions using new data on legislative speech and new techniques for the statistical analysis of such speech.

Disc. **Will E. M. Lowe**, *Nottingham University*

38-2 **THE PRESIDENT, THE LAW, AND THE CONSTITUTION**

Room LaSalle 2, 7th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Chair **Nancy Kassop**, *SUNY, New Paltz*
Paper **Incapacitation in the Oval Office: Presidential Disability**
Kevin G. McQueeney, *Rutgers University*
 Overview: Incapacitation has affected 28 of 43 presidents. Yet, only twice has power properly been transferred to the vice president. This paper examines when and why this has happened and why conditions now make it likely for transfer to take place.

Paper **Presidents as Agents of Constitutional Change: Article V and Presidential Leadership**
Helen A. Erler, *Kenyon College*
 Overview: This paper examines the president's involvement in the constitutional amendment process. It seeks to explain how the president has come to assume this Congressional function and the consequences of this for legislative-executive relations.

Paper **Chaining the Dog of War: The Constitution and the War Powers**
Peter Schultz, *Assumption College*
 Overview: This paper will investigate how the Founding Fathers attempted to "chain the dog of war" with a focus on the Constitution and on Alexander Hamilton's interpretation of presidential responsibility as that is found in his Pacificus essays.

Paper **George Bush and the Imperial Presidency: The Constitution Adrift**
David G. Adler, *Idaho State University*
 Overview: This paper examines George Bush's perpetuation of the Imperial Presidency, which has laid waste to constitutional principles and republican values, and means for recovering constitutional government.

Disc. **Nancy Kassop**, *SUNY, New Paltz*

39-3 **CONGRESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY MAKING FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

Room Suite 9-142, 9th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Chair **Gerald Gamm**, *University of Rochester*
Paper **Squatters and the Development of the American Welfare State**
Ilia Murtazashvili, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: Antebellum land policy benefiting squatters represents the initial welfare program in the US. I develop a theory of squatter organizational capacity in order to analyze contentious votes on land policy in the House between 1840 and 1860.

Paper **Chinese Exclusion in the Gilded Age: Strategic Position Changes in Congress**
Jungkun Seo, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: I examine why and how radical Republicans came to support Chinese exclusion in the 1880s. I argue that the desire to retain the presidency, a valuable party source in the Gilded Age, led the party of Lincoln to forgo their support of civil rights.

Paper **Voting at the Constitutional Convention: A Re-examination of Sixteen Votes**
Keith L. Dougherty, *University of Georgia*
Jac C. Heckelman, *Wake Forest University*
 Overview: This paper re-examines sixteen votes on delegate voting at the Constitutional Convention, originally inferred by McDonald (1958) and later analyzed by McGuire (1988, 2003) and McGuire and Ohsfeldt (1984, 1986).

Paper **Historical Evidence on the Origins of the House Committee System, 1789-1828**
Thomas H. Hammond, *Michigan State University*
Nathan W. Monroe, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: This paper qualitatively tests various theories -- informational, partisan, social-choice, workload, and multi-institutional -- advanced to explain the origins of the standing committee system of the House of Representatives from 1789 to 1828.

Disc. **Timothy P. Nokken**, *University of Houston*
Gerald Gamm, *University of Rochester*

39-21 **LOBBYING CONGRESS (Co-sponsored with Political Parties and Interest Groups, see 37-14)**

Room Montrose 1, 7th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Chair **Kevin M. Esterling**, *University of California, Riverside*
Paper **Does Grassroots Lobbying Work?: Results from a Field Experiment**
Daniel E. Bergan, *Yale University*
 Overview: The analysis in this paper circumvents methodological problems that plague existing studies on the effects of lobbying by randomly assigning legislators to be contacted by a grassroots email lobbying campaign.

Paper **Hearing from the Usual Suspects: Public Advocacy in Congressional Testimony**
Matt J. Grossmann, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: I explain how and why some advocacy organizations are invited to testify in Congressional hearings. Using interview materials and new data on 1,600 organizations, I demonstrate that structure, rather than ideology or strategy, determines involvement.

Paper **Policy Changes, Industry Characteristics, and U.S. Business Lobbying, 1981-2004**
Henry E. Brady, *University of California, Berkeley*
Lee Drutman, *University of California, Berkeley*
Kay L. Schlozman, *Boston College*
Sidney Verba, *Harvard University*
 Overview: Using a new database on Washington lobbying by all 1100 firms in Standard & Poor's 500 list from 1981 to 2004, we examine the impacts of firm characteristics and the changing political environment on lobbying efforts.

Disc. **Kristina Miler**, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
Kevin M. Esterling, *University of California, Riverside*

40-6 **CANDIDATE POSITIONING IN CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS**

Room LaSalle 3, 7th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Chair **Tracy Sulkin**, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
Paper **Moderation and the Electoral Connection in the U.S. House**
Jeremiah J. Garretson, *Vanderbilt University*
 Overview: Using Bayesian ideal-point estimates, I show that legislators in the U.S. House moderate strategically when in electoral danger. Unfortunately for the legislator, the more they moderate, the fewer votes they receive on Election Day.

Paper **Out of Step Is Different from Stepping Out**
George Rabinowitz, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
Stuart E. Macdonald, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
 Overview: To what extent does extremity from Congress members lead to reduced electoral success? Assuming valence advantage for incumbents and applying the directional theory of voting, a set of paradoxical predictions are made and then empirically tested.

Paper **Candidate Divergence from a Threat of Third Party Entry**
Daniel Lee, *Duke University*
 Overview: This paper analyzes spatial competition between two major parties under the threat of third party entry. Major party divergence increases as the threat of entry increases. This result is supported in an analysis of the 1996 U.S. House elections.

Paper	<u>Explaining the Increased Polarization in the U.S. Congress</u> Daniel M Butler , <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: I model candidates facing the choice between mobilizing their base or persuading swing voters. I test the model both cross-sectionally and over time and show how changes in the two parties' bases have led to increased congressional polarization.	42-2	<u>COMPARATIVE LAW, LEGITIMACY, AND CONSTITUTIONAL DESIGN (Co-sponsored by Comparative Politics: Industrialized Countries, see 2-16)</u>
Paper	<u>Candidate Valence and Ideological Positioning in U.S. House Elections</u> Walter J. Stone , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Elizabeth Simas , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Cherie D. Maestas , <i>Florida State University</i> L. Sandy Maisel , <i>Colby College</i> Overview: The purpose of our paper is to explore the relationships between candidate's valence-based strategies and positioning on the left-right scale in U.S. House elections.	Room Chair Paper	Clark 5, 7 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm Rhonda L. Evans-Case , <i>East Carolina University</i> Constitution, Legitimacy, and Democracy in Turkey M. F. Bilgin , <i>Sakarya University</i> Overview: In this work, I develop a notion of constitutional legitimacy vis-à-vis the idea of democracy and apply this notion to Turkey.
Disc.	Tracy Sulkin , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Robert Jackson , <i>Florida State University</i>	Paper	<u>National Human Rights Institutions in the Courts: A Comparative Study</u> Rhonda L. Evans Case , <i>East Carolina University</i> Overview: This paper examines the role of National Human Rights Institutions in the institutionalization of human rights principles at the national level and explores the ways in which NHRIs can be consequential politico-legal actors through the courts.
41-3	<u>RESPONDING TO PRINCIPALS AND PRECEDENTS (Co-sponsored with Public Law, see 42-16)</u>	Paper	<u>Tuning: Constitutional Emplotment under the Confucian Rule of Ritual</u> Jin-Ha Kim , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: Can the pursuit of power promote ethical personality, which retains elective affinity with civic virtues? This paper examines the Confucian ecomusical principle of 'Tuning' and the Chosen Korean case of ritual constitutionalism.
Room	Burnham 1, 7 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm	Paper	<u>Whose Community? Same-Sex Jurisprudence in the U.S., Germany and South Africa</u> Jeremy H. Rabideau , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Richard Ledet , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: The comparative jurisprudences of the United States, Germany, and South Africa in the domain of same-sex rights are analyzed and reflected back to Thomistic notions of natural law.
Chair	Paul M. Collins , <i>University of Houston</i>	Paper	<u>Quality of the Judiciary vs. Corruption Perception: A Comparative Analysis</u> Raul A. Sanchez Urribarri , <i>University of South Carolina</i> Overview: This work discusses the impact of judicial quality on corruption perception, within a worldwide cross-section sample of countries. It addresses theoretical questions with respect to this relationship, and uses a quantitative model to explore it.
Paper	<u>Supreme Court Monitoring Via GVRs</u> Sara C. Benesh , <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Jennifer K. Luse , <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Amanda Schaefer , <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Nicole Simmons , <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Overview: In this paper, we consider use of Grant, Vacate, and Remand dispositions by the U.S. Supreme Court as a cost effective means by which it can monitor its agents (the lower courts).	Disc.	David M. Speak , <i>California Polytechnic University, Pomona</i>
Paper	<u>Comparing the Influence of the Courts on NLRB Rulings</u> Robert M. Howard , <i>Georgia State University</i> Cole Taratoot , <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: Examining cross sectional time series data from 2000 until 2000 we analyze the influence of the Supreme Court and Courts of Appeals on Administrative Law Judge Rulings on the NLRB.	42-14	<u>RIGHTS, INTERNATIONAL LAW, AND CONTEMPORARY CRISES</u>
Paper	<u>Dynamic Deference in the Judicial Hierarchy</u> Maxwell H. Mak , <i>Stony Brook University</i> Overview: Using the principal-agent framework, I examine the relationship between Supreme Court and Circuit Court liberalism. I test whether the circuit courts are sensitive to Court liberalism and to what degree that sensitivity exists in judicial hierarchy.	Room Chair Paper	Dearborn 1, 7 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm Emilia Powell , <i>Georgia Southern University</i> <u>What Happens When Institutions Attempt To Quash Habeas Corpus?</u> Dana R. B. Adams , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: Why did the number of federal habeas corpus cases spike following enactment of the AEDPA? I offer a predictive model to solve this puzzle. Implications of AEDPA data for habeas in the War on Terror are discussed.
Paper	<u>The U.S. Supreme Court As Agent: Rethinking Court Hierarchy</u> Charles A. Smith , <i>University of Miami</i> Overview: The Supreme Court is configured as the Agent and the lower courts Principals, supported by a theoretical argument, empirical data, and a formal model.	Paper	<u>Judicial Ambiguity and Asylum Law in the United States Canada and Australia</u> Rebecca Hamlin , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Domestic legislative context and administrative structure shape and constrain the way that international refugee law is interpreted by courts in the United States, Canada and Australia, leading to more ambiguity in some nations than in others.
Paper	<u>Deference or Defiance: Explaining Court of Appeals Decision Making During the Rehnquist Era</u> Nathaniel R. Vanden Brook , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Mark S. Hurwitz , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Ashlyn K. Kuersten , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Overview: Current research does not account for the long leash given to the circuit courts upon the elevation of William Rehnquist to Chief Justice. During Rehnquist's tenure as Chief, the number of cases from the appellate courts that were granted cert diminished.	Paper	<u>Globalization and the Future of Constitutional Law</u> David S. Law , <i>University of San Diego & University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: This paper explores the thesis that international competition for capital and skilled labor, self-interested emulation of the constitutional policies of hegemonic states, and pressures to conform to the norms and expectations of world culture are driving.
Disc.	Paul M. Collins , <i>University of Houston</i> Chad Westerland , <i>University of Arizona</i>		

Paper	<u>Presidential Power in the Post-HAMDAN World</u> H. L. Pohlman , <i>Dickinson College</i> Overview: HAMDAN V. RUMSFELD was a pivotal decision. It cut back on presidential power at the same time it invited Congress to address a number of important issues. At this point, it seems very likely that Congress will respond by enacting The Military Commission.	46-15	<u>POLICY AGENDAS AND ADOPTION</u>
Disc.	Lynda Dodd , <i>American University</i>	Room	Suite 9-250, 9 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
		Chair	Melissa J. Scheier , <i>Georgetown College</i>
		Paper	<u>School Responses to Perceived Competition under Universal School Choice</u> Elif Erisen , <i>Stony Brook University</i> Gregory Elacqua , <i>Princeton University</i> Jack Buckley , <i>Teachers College</i> Overview: This paper investigates school responses to competition that are non-academic such as promotional activities. It examines the dimensions of competition based on principal surveys and employs a new competition measure in its models of school behavior.
45-3	<u>RACE, CLASS, AND CITY SERVICES</u>	Paper	<u>Achieving Sustainability through Disaster Resistance</u> Allison F. Houlihan , <i>University of Louisville</i> Overview: This paper examines current approaches towards sustainable development in the U.S. and argues that disaster resistance is a critical and neglected component. It identifies the necessary steps to incorporate disaster resistance into policy agendas.
Room	Burnham 4, 7 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm		
Chair	Paul Lewis , <i>Arizona State University</i>	Paper	<u>Re-examining Policy Diffusion: The Case of State Lotteries</u> Joshua L. Mitchell , <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Overview: Policy diffusion has been studied frequently in political science. I update the Berry & Berry (1990) data and examine whether policy diffusion is still a function of geographic proximity and internal state characteristics.
Paper	<u>When Money Matters: Black Mayors and Social Service</u> Carla Jackson , <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: What role do Black mayors play in helping to increase the health of their cities? I analyze the local budgets of 125 cities with respect to schools, aide to the poor, health and housing services.	Disc.	Christopher W. Larimer , <i>University of Northern Iowa</i> Paul J. Culhane , <i>Northern Illinois University</i>
Paper	<u>Perceptions of the Consequences of City-County Consolidation</u> Thomas Longoria, Jr. , <i>Texas Tech University</i> Susan Keim , <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: This study examines racial differences in the perceptions of the consequences of consolidation in terms of responsiveness, representation, ethics, and efficiency in the case of the Kansas City, Kansas/Wyandotte County consolidation in 1997.	48-2	<u>FISCAL POLICY</u>
		Room	Parlor E, 6 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
		Chair	Markus Stierli , <i>University of Zurich</i>
		Paper	<u>The Market for Regional Convergence: Parties, Institutions, and Policies</u> Tobias Hofmann , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: Modeling and testing interactions between regional integration and the national demand for and supply of policy change, I explain how political institutions constrain convergence of fiscal policies in Regional Integration Agreements.
Paper	<u>Does Empowerment Matter? Biracial Employment Allocation in Municipal Private Jobs</u> Chung-li Wu , <i>Academia Sinica</i> Overview: This study examines the impact of political empowerment on employment opportunities in the private sector for black-and-white allocation in 2002.	Paper	<u>Political Weight of Voters and Size of Governments</u> Slava Mikhaylov , <i>Trinity College, Dublin</i> Overview: Paper proposes operationalisation of voters' political weight in models of government size, and provides empirical analysis of resulting model with emphases on international constraints, endogeneity of political weight term and its measurement error.
Disc.	Paul Lewis , <i>Arizona State University</i> Brady Baybeck , <i>University of Missouri, St. Louis</i>	Disc.	Markus Stierli , <i>University of Zurich</i>
46-4	<u>APPLICATIONS OF PUNCTUATED EQUILIBRIA</u>	49-2	<u>ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS IN A COMPARATIVE CONTEXT</u>
Room	PDR 6, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm	Room	Montrose 7, 7 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Chair	Jeff S. Worsham , <i>West Virginia University</i>	Chair	Guy Whitten , <i>Texas A&M University</i>
Paper	<u>Policy Entrepreneurship and Policy Change: A Critique of Punctuated Equilibrium Theory</u> Gordon Shockley , <i>Arizona State University</i> Overview: This paper critiques Baumgartner and Jones' punctuated equilibrium theory by exploring the relationship between policy entrepreneurship and policy change in their model. It finds that policy entrepreneurship is at best incidental in PET.	Paper	<u>Can Trade Green China? Participation in the Global Economy and the Environmental performance on Chinese Firms</u> Phillip B. Stalley , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: Research on trade and the environment leads one to anticipate that integration into the international economy enhances the environmental behavior of developing country firms. This paper tests this proposition by exploring how interaction with foreign companies and markets influences the environmental practices of Chinese firms.
Paper	<u>A Real Gusher: The Birth and Maturation of the Petroleum Subsystem, 1914-2006</u> Jeff S. Worsham , <i>West Virginia University</i> Overview: This study, which tracks the birth and evolution of the petroleum subsystem, is the final part of a larger study that examines the interplay of positive and negative feedback mechanisms in the maintenance of institutionally induced policy equilibria in U.S.	Paper	<u>The Impact of Democracy on International Environmental Commitment</u> Joel R. Carbonell , <i>University of California</i> Overview: This study provides evidence that certain democratic institutional arrangements may increase a state's compliance to international environmental agreements and treaties.
Paper	<u>Up and Down: Punctuated Equilibria and Issue-Attention Cycling in the News</u> Amber E. Boydston , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Overview: Based on all NYT front-page articles, 2000 to 2006, this paper demonstrates punctuated equilibrium in agenda-setting dynamics, illustrates the issue-attention cycle, and discusses when coverage does and does not track real world policy concerns.		
Paper	<u>Material and Symbolic Variations in Punctuated Equilibrium</u> Michael S. Givel , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: Sometimes, sharp punctuations to a policy system are largely symbolic rather than material. This paper examines recent symbolic punctuated state tobacco policy making to assess possible future directions in policy process analysis and theory.		
Disc.	Michael J. Licari , <i>University of Northern Iowa</i>		

Paper	<u>Is Convergence of Environmentally Sustainable Policy Possible?</u> Zbigniew Broniszewski , <i>West Virginia University</i> Overview: This comparative analysis of Brazil, Germany, and the United States will enhance the understanding of the complex nature of the domestic policymaking processes that make convergence of environmentally sustainable policy more difficult.	Paper	<u>Network Structure and Contract Management Tools: What Community-Based Care (CBC) Tell Us</u> Bok-Tae Kim , <i>Florida State University</i> Frances S. Berry , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: This research studies how different network structure affects the choice of contract management tools within CBC networks. The paper synthesizes Transaction Cost Economics (TCE) and social network theory to explore this relationship.
Disc.	Lori M. Poloni-Staudinger , <i>Northern Arizona University</i>	Paper	<u>The Ties That Bind: Managerial Networking Under Legal Influence</u> Christine B. Ledvinka , <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: Research shows that increased management networking yields higher organizational performance. I use O'Toole and Meier's public management model to test the impact of managerial networking with actors who hold legal authority over the organization.
50-4	<u>REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY AND ORGANIZATIONAL REALITIES</u>	Paper	<u>The Dynamics of Environmental Management</u> Stephen A. Sargent , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This work uses large-n data and presents the concepts of internal and external networking as a framework for understanding how network management contributes to improved organizational performance.
Room	PDR 7, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm	Disc.	<u>Wendy Xinfang Gao</u> , <i>Florida State University</i> John T. Scholz , <i>Florida State University</i>
Chair	Geralyn M. Miller , <i>Indiana University Purdue University, Fort Wayne</i>		
Paper	<u>Belonging, Believing, Behaving: The Religious Character of Public Servants</u> Patricia Freeland , <i>University of Tennessee</i> David Houston , <i>University of Tennessee</i> Overview: What is the religious character of public servants and how does it compare to those that have not pursued a career in public service? Data from various General Social Surveys are examined using multinomial and ordinal logistic regression.		
Paper	<u>Representative Bureaucracy: Attitudes and Active Representation</u> David M. Konisky , <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Overview: I examine representative bureaucracy in the context of environmental regulation, using data from the State Environmental Managers Survey and the MIT PORTL Pilot Study.		
Paper	<u>Representative Bureaucracy, Hierarchy, and Policy Tools: An Analysis of Ethnic Representation</u> David Pitts , <i>Georgia State University</i> Christine Roch , <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: This paper uses Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) to test the effect of ethnic representation at multiple organizational levels on the types of policy tools used by organizations to achieve their goals.	52-1	<u>SOCIALIZATION TO POLITICAL SYSTEMS</u>
		Room	PDR 8, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
		Chair	Alan Gitelson , <i>Loyola University</i>
		Paper	<u>The Social Origins of Authoritarian Values: Economic Inequality and Political Culture in the Advanced Democracies</u> Frederick Solt , <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Overview: Why do the citizens of some countries express more respect for authority? This paper uses multilevel models and WVS data to test the hypothesis that inequality increases authoritarianism against economic-modernization and cultural explanations.
Paper	<u>How Social Status and Official Position Influence Administrators' Authority</u> Shannon K. Portillo , <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: As more women and minorities gain positions of authority in public agencies, the question of how authority is exercised becomes increasingly important. I explore the influence of social status and official position on administrators' use of authority.	Paper	<u>A Year in the Life of a Soldier: A Survey of Foreign Military Officers</u> Carol Atkinson , <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: This paper reports findings from a recent survey of foreign military officers attending a U.S. military staff college. The survey assessed development of cross-cultural ties, attitudes, and values as part of a wider study of democratic socialization.
Paper	<u>Understanding Religious Involvement and Public Service Motivation</u> Roger P. Rose , <i>Benedictine University</i> Overview: This paper argues that higher levels of involvement in religious organizations tends to discourage public service, especially among those from evangelical and fundamentalist religious denominations.	Paper	<u>The Political Re-Socialization of Immigrants</u> Stephen E. White , <i>University of Toronto</i> Neil H. Nevitte , <i>University of Toronto</i> André Blais , <i>Université de Montréal</i> Elisabeth Gidengil , <i>McGill University</i> Patrick Fournier , <i>Université de Montréal</i> Overview: Using pooled election study data in an immigrant rich country, Canada, and focusing on political engagement and participation, this paper explores how immigrants adjust their political orientations and behaviour to their new host political system.
Disc.	Gene A. Brewer , <i>University of Georgia</i> Manny Teodoro , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i>	Paper	<u>Partisanship of Young Voters: 9/11 as a Catalyst for Preadult Socialization</u> Andrea R. Vieux , <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: This research uses the NES Panel Data from 2000-2004 to test the theory of political events as catalysts for preadult socialization of partisanship. It examines the influence of the events of 9/11 on the partisanship of younger people.
50-15	<u>NETWORKING: IMPLICATIONS FOR AGENCY BEHAVIOR</u>	Paper	<u>Positive Tolerance and Gay and Lesbian Marriage and Adoption</u> Stephen W. Moore , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Gregory A. Petrow , <i>University of Nebraska, Omaha</i> Joel Hebrink , <i>University of Nebraska, Omaha</i> Victoria Lee , <i>University of Nebraska, Omaha</i> Overview: We begin the empirical study of positive tolerance: an obligation people feel to help disliked groups. We develop a scale to measure it. We find it leads people prejudiced against gays and lesbians to support gay and lesbian marriage and adoption.
Room	Parlor B, 6 th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm	Disc.	Philip Habel , <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i>
Chair	John T. Scholz , <i>Florida State University</i>		
Paper	<u>A Successful Model of Network Management in Overlapping Health and Human Service Delivery Networks</u> Curt H. Wood , <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: The purpose of this paper is to test social network and complexity/chaos theory by mapping and evaluating four human and health intersectoral service implementation social network structures in DuPage County, Illinois.		
Paper	<u>Collaboration and Competition: Strategic Behaviors of Charter Schools</u> Heath A. Brown , <i>Roanoke College</i> Thomas Holyoke , <i>California State University, Fresno</i> Overview: This paper seeks to integrate theories on the strategic behaviors of non-profits by examining the interplay between 1) organizational participation in political coalitions and 2) cooperation in the operational partnerships.		

53-4 **RELIGION AND U.S. ELECTIONS**
Room Sandburg 1, 7th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Chair **Kimberly H. Conger**, *Iowa State University*
Paper **When Religion is an Issue: Mitt Romney's Campaigns in Massachusetts**
Reed L. Welch, *West Texas A&M University*
Ric W. Jensen, *Northwestern State University*
 Overview: Examines Mitt Romney's handling of questions about his religion in previous campaigns to better understand how candidates should manage these kinds of questions and to gain insight into how Romney might deal with his religion in a presidential run.

Paper **Affect, Identity, and Image in the Religious Rhetoric of Presidential Candidates**
Christopher B. Chapp, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: This paper uses content analysis to examine religious rhetoric in presidential campaign speech. I identify several modes of religious discourse that may play an important role in candidate evaluation and ultimately vote choice.

Paper **Religion and the 2006 Vote**
Stephen T. Mockabee, *University of Cincinnati*
 Overview: This paper uses data from a variety of national- and state-level surveys to examine the influence of religion on voting behavior in the 2006 elections.

Disc. **Laura R. Olson**, *Clemson University*
Mary Segers, *Rutgers University*

55-4 **STRATEGIES FOR IMPROVING EDUCATION**
Room Parlor H, 6th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Chair **Don Racheter**, *Public Interest Institute*
Paper **Active Learning Strategies in the Teaching of Research Methods**
John W. Williams, *Principia College*
 Overview: Active learning, especially the techniques of project learning, has been central to the teaching of research methods at Principia College. This paper documents the strategies that make the course so successful—strategies that are easily replicable.

Paper **Connecting Student Outcomes to Exam Preparation Strategies**
Steve Vanderheiden, *University of Minnesota, Duluth*
Janet Donovan, *University of Minnesota, Duluth*
 Overview: We examine pre- and post-exam surveys of student learning strategies in two introductory courses, distinguishing effective from ineffective strategies based in student self-reflection and correlations between identified strategies and outcomes.

Paper **WAC: Working Across the Curriculum?**
Michelle C. Boomgaard, *Muskingum College*
 Overview: This paper tests the effectiveness of Writing Across the Curriculum (WAC) techniques in an introductory political science class by comparing final exam results and surveying students in classes taught by the same professor.

Paper **Revising the Classics**
Miriam S. Wilson, *University of Toledo*
 Overview: Teaching students to be critical consumers of the seminal work in Political Science and Public Administration is more meaningful when they are required to revise classic literature.

Disc. **S. Suzan J. Harkness**, *University of District of Columbia*
Don Racheter, *Public Interest Institute*

58-1 **LITERATURE AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY**
Room Parlor J, 6th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Chair **Warner Winborne**, *Hampden-Sydney College*
Paper **Shakespearean Poetry as an Approach to Political Philosophy**
Morton J. Frisch, *Northern Illinois University*
 Overview: The English history plays represent a modest effort in the direction of political thought within which political lessons can be learned from Shakespeare's dramatic presentations.

Paper **Domestic Housewives vs. Women Monarchs**
Megan N. Kerr, *Northern Illinois University*
 Overview: According to Shakespeare, should political regimes encourage women to be directly involved in political affairs or to refrain from exerting any significant political influence?

Paper **Aristotle, Aesop, and Animals**
Edward W. Clayton, *Central Michigan University*
 Overview: This paper uses Aristotle's understanding of animals to examine the conception of animals in Aesop's Fables. I argue that reading the fables in the context of Aristotle's conception of animals reveals political meanings not evident on the surface.

Paper **Politics and Cosmic Realignment in Sophoclean and Euripidean Drama**
Erik W. Kuiler, *George Mason University*
Connie L. McNeely, *George Mason University*
 Overview: Engaging a dramaturgical frame to examine problems of political and social conflict, we employ selected works of Sophocles and Euripides to discuss how the polis copes with the threat of disorder.

Disc. **Carson Holloway**, *University of Nebraska, Omaha*
Warner Winborne, *Hampden-Sydney College*

59-101 **ROUNDTABLE: SAME-SEX MARRIAGE LITIGATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE (Co-sponsored with Public Law, see 42-104)**
Room Monroe, 6th Floor, Thur at 2:35 pm
Chair **Kathleen Hale**, *Auburn University*
Panelist **Ellen Andersen**, *Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis*
Jason Pierceson, *University of Illinois, Springfield*
Daniel R. Pinello, *City University of New York*
Daniel R. Pinello, *City University of New York*
Gerald Rosenberg, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: This roundtable examines the effectiveness of same-sex marriage litigation in the U.S. in achieving social change in the area of relationship equality.

Thursday, April 12 – 4:25 pm – 6:00 pm

1-114 ROUNDTABLE: THE POLITICS OF THE JOB MARKET

Room Red Lacquer, 4th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm

Chair Julie Novkov, *SUNY, Albany*

Panelist Larry Bartels, *Princeton University*

Paul A. Beck, *Ohio State University*

Susan Burgess, *Ohio University*

John Huber, *Columbia University*

Paula McClain, *Duke University*

Kay L. Scholzman, *Boston College*

Overview: Panelists will provide professional advice about the job market.

1-117 AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: POLITICS IN THE LABORATORY

Room Monroe, 6th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm

Panelist Gary M. Segura, *University of Washington, Seattle*

Ira H. Carmen, *University of Illinois*

J. David Singer, *University of Michigan*

John Hibbing, *University of Nebraska*

Dianne Pinderhughes, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: Author Meets Critics: "Politics in the Laboratory: The Constitution of Human Genomics" by Ira Carmen.

2-6 SUBCONSTITUENCY REPRESENTATION: EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES

Room Salon 1, 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm

Chair Martin Gilens, *Princeton University*

Paper Dynamic Representation in European Democracies: Who do Political Parties Represent?

James Adams, *University of California, Davis*

Lawrence Ezrow, *Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam*

Overview: TBA

Paper The Subconstituency Politics Theory of Representation

Benjamin Bishin, *University of California, Riverside*

Overview: TBA

Paper Dynamic Correspondence versus Dynamic Representation: Do Parties Respond to their Supporters or to the Median Voter?

Erica Edwards, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Marco Steenbergen, *University of North Carolina*

Catherine E. De Vries, *Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam*

Overview: TBA

Paper Party Polarization and Representation

John Griffin, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: TBA

Paper Electoral Politics and Poverty Relief: How Changing Electoral Incentives Can Help the Poor

Karen Long Jusko, *University of Michigan*

Overview: TBA

Disc. Martin Gilens, *Princeton University*

3-21 REGIME STABILITY

Room Salon 2, 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm

Chair Gilles Serra, *Harvard University*

Paper Democracy and Quality of Government in Latin America: An Empirical Analysis

Guillermo M. Cejudo, *Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas*

Overview: I argue that the quality of government in Latin America is improved by the introduction of political constraints on the Executive and a free press, which have a greater impact than other components of democracy such as competition and participation.

Paper Thailand Institutions and the 2006 Coup: Decentralization and Empowerment

Jeanne-Marie Col, *City University of New York*

Overview: The 2006 politico-military coup in Thailand, unlike past coups, confronted newly empowered citizens as a result of recent governance programs, such as decentralization, people participation, and performance management.

Paper Democratic Stability in Divided Societies: An Empirical Examination

Cengiz Erisen, *SUNY, Stony Brook*

Overview: This study elaborates on the question of why divided societies face particular obstacles in maintaining democracy through an empirical examination of political institutional settings in 142 countries.

Paper One Man, One Vote, One Party: The Democratic Dominance of the BDP and ANC

John M. French, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

Overview: Using institutional analysis of government performance as well as survey data, this paper argues that the lack of political turnover in Botswana and South Africa does not indicate that their democracies are either unstable or unconsolidated.

Paper Transitional Conflicts in South Africa and South Korea

G. Jiyun Kim, *University of Michigan*

Overview: I analyze the nature and the timing of political stabilization in five episodes of transitional conflicts in South Africa and South Korea.

Disc. Gilles Serra, *Harvard University*

3-301 POSTER SESSION: COMPARATIVE POLITICS: DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm

Presenter Who Needs DINGOS: Developmental INGOs and Economic and Human Development

(Board 1)

Amanda M. Murdie, *Emory University*

Jakub Kakietek, *Emory University*

Overview: We examine the impact of International Developmental NGOs on different economic and human development indicators.

Presenter From "Mass Campaign" to "Fire-Alarm": Explaining the Emergence of Administrative Litigation in China

(Board 2)

Yi Zhao, *Grand Valley State University*

Overview: The paper argues that the administrative litigation was initiated in China as part of the effort to introduce what Mathew McCubbins and Thomas Schwartz call "fire-alarm" mechanism to supervise bureaucracy.

Presenter The Exaggeration of Muslim Clerical Leadership

(Board 3)

Julie E. Taylor, *Princeton University*

Overview: I argue that clerical leadership has been exaggerated due to poor case selection, inaccurate motive imputation, and the tendency for clerics to trigger bandwagoning.

Presenter Coercion, Capital and Insurgency

(Board 4)

Derek M. Glanz, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Overview: Insurgencies and states are often compared, but few systematic studies of their likeness exist. This paper examines the benefits and limitations of the conceptualization of insurgencies as 'aestates' using small-N data.

4-3 PERSPECTIVES ON MEXICO'S TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY II

Room PDR 4, 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm

Chair Jonathan T. Hiskey, *Vanderbilt University*

Paper Elections, Social Public Spending and Institutions in Mexico 2000-2006

Gabriela Perez-Yarahuán, *Universidad Iberoamericana*

Overview: This paper explores the evolution of social public spending in Mexico in a time of democratic transition and high electoral competition. The data base used is annual municipal level data for a variety of social programs.

Paper Diffuse Violent Crime and Democracy: Mexico in Comparative Perspective

John J. Bailey, *Georgetown University*

Gustavo A. Flores, *Georgetown University*

Overview: Democratic transitions in Latin America and elsewhere coincided with sharp increases in violent crime. Fragile democracies were poorly prepared to cope with criminal violence, which—in many cases—contributed to an erosion of popular support for regime.

Paper **Accountability at Risk: The Ability to Sanction Bureaucratic Agencies**
Alejandra Rios-Cazares, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: Political competition shapes legislators' incentives to control bureaucratic agencies and affects the organization and resources of auditing institutions. Problems legislators face to enforce sanctions are explained.

Paper **The Long Road to Democracy: The Political Logic of Bureaucratic Reform in Mexico**
Jeeyang R. Baum, *University of California, San Diego*
Alejandra Rios-Cazares, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: Why do dominant presidents cede power by opening up their bureaucracies? Using Mexico as a case study, we argue that they do so to enhance their control over recalcitrant bureaucrats.

Paper **The Party's Over: Citizen Disenchantment in Mexico's Emerging Democracy**
David Crow, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: Some five years after the watershed 2000 Mexican elections, the "democratic fiesta" has fizzled out. Based on an original, NSF-funded survey from June, 2006, this paper explores the causes and consequences of Mexican disenchantment with democracy.

Disc. **Jonathan T. Hiskey**, *Vanderbilt University*

7-7 **COMMITTEES AND COUNCILS: POLICYMAKING IN THE EU**
Room Sandburg 7, 7th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Chair **Andreas K. Warntjen**, *London School of Economics*
Paper **The EU Comitology System: Intergovernmental Bargaining or Deliberation?**
Jens Blom-Hansen, *University of Aarhus*
 Overview: In the 2-300 comitology committees the EU member states monitor the EU Commission. Are the committees characterized by intergovernmental bargaining or supranational deliberation? Data from a survey of all comitology committees provides an answer.

Paper **Committee Governance in EU Information Society Policy**
Alison J. Harcourt, *University of Exeter*
 Overview: The academic debate on EU committee governance is investigated with specific case study: the EU's information society policy. The paper investigates the legitimacy and effectiveness of committee governance as a "soft" form of regulation.

Paper **The Impact of Potential Ratification Failure on Intergovernmental Negotiation Processes**
Hartmut Lenz, *Oxford University*
 Overview: The article analyzes the impact of possible ratification failure on the intergovernmental negotiation process. I develop a formal model based on a "Nash variable threat model", which allows to account for the consequences of a ratification failure.

Paper **The Practice of Consensus in the EU Council of Ministers**
Stephanie J. Novak, *Harvard University*
 Overview: In the Council of the EU, most of the decisions which should be made by qualified majority voting are actually made by consensus. I will attempt to explain this phenomenon and to show how consensus differs from unanimity decision.

Paper **Divesting Power - EC Comitology and GMO Approvals**
Marko Papic, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: This paper seeks to explain why Member States of the EU abdicate their "control" over the Commission when making regulatory decisions regarding the approval of Genetically Modified Organisms.

Disc. **Tobias Schulz**, *University of Zurich*
Daniel Finke, *German University of Administrative Science*

8-5 **CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN LATIN AMERICA**
Room Sandburg 6, 7th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Chair **David H. Richards**, *Texas Lutheran University*
Paper **The Cutting Edge of Civility: Civil Society and Rule of Law in Rural Peru**
Luis F. Mantilla, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: This paper uses data regarding social conflicts in rural Peru to analyze the role played by local, voluntary associations in

checking governmental authority in an environment characterized by weak rule of law.

Paper **Decentralization, Citizenship and Democracy: The Lev de Participacion Popular in Bolivia**
Françoise Montambeault, *McGill University*
 Overview: The paper develops a theoretical framework for analyzing the social construction of citizenship at the local level in Latin America. It argues that decentralization at the city level provides new formal spaces for the development of civil society.

Paper **Countering Hegemony: The Salvadoran Popular Movements' Resistance Strategies**
Hector Perla, *Ohio University*
 Overview: Countering Hegemony: U.S. Foreign Policy & the Salvadoran Popular Movements' Contentious Resistance Strategies.

Paper **Cuba in the Post-Soviet Era: Policy Decentralization and Social Networks**
Melissa Scheier, *Georgetown College*
 Overview: This paper explores agricultural policy decentralization in Cuba as a possible avenue to economic liberalization. Special focus is placed on the effect of policy decentralization on the formation of economic (social) networks.

Disc. **Eduardo Frajman**, *Saint Xavier University*

9-3 **EXPLORATIONS INTO THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENTAL STATE**
Room Sandburg 5, 7th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Chair **Lichao He**, *University of Georgia*
Paper **Legacy of Developmental States: Institution, Interests, and Ideas**
Haeran Lim, *Seoul National University*
 Overview: This study is designed to explore the transformative process of developmental states, by comparing various transformation processes and explaining causes of path-dependent characteristics of industrial policy in Korea and Taiwan, even in IT period.

Paper **Chinese Techno-Nationalism and the Three-Note Chord**
Evan C. McKay, *DePaul University*
 Overview: This paper examines Chinese techno-nationalism within three components of the national innovation system: research and development, technology diffusion, and standards setting.

Paper **Determinants of Policy Perception: The Case of Regulatory Reform of South Korea**
Jin-Wook Choi, *Korea University*
Jun Koo, *Korea University*
Tae-eun Kim, *Korea University*
 Overview: Applying the rational choice theory to the regulatory policymaking and implementation processes, this paper examines what determines the level of policy perception centering on the regulatory reform process in Korea since the 1990s.

Disc. **Alexander C. Tan**, *University of Canterbury*

10-2 **TRUST AND SOCIAL CAPITAL IN AFRICA**
Room Sandburg 4, 7th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Chair **Carolyn Logan**, *Michigan State University, East Lansing*
Paper **A Vicious Circle of Corruption and Trust in State in sub-Saharan Africa: A Micro-level Analysis**
Wonbin Cho, *Michigan State University*
Matthew F. Kirwin, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: Using Afrobarometer survey data, this study investigates how corruption and trust in state are related to each other. It argues that corruption and mistrust feed each other, producing vicious circles.

Paper **The Trust Gap: Attitudes Toward Ruling and Opposition Parties in Africa**
Carolyn Logan, *Michigan State University*
Robert Mattes, *University of Cape Town*
 Overview: Using public opinion data collected by the Afrobarometer in 18 African countries, this papers seeks to explain variations in the aggregate, country-level "gaps" between positive attitudes toward ruling and opposition parties.

Paper	<u>Islam, Education, Trust and Ethnic Politics: The Case of Senegal</u> Michelle T. Kuenzi , <i>University of Nevada, Las Vegas</i> Overview: This paper examines the relationship between different types of education, ethnicity and trust in religious leaders and Muslims orders in Senegal.	15-4	<u>THE DOMESTIC IMPETUS TO INTERNATIONAL WAR</u>
Paper	<u>The Influence of Political and Economic Opportunism:</u> Godfrey K. Wachira , <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: The paper will explore and investigate empirically the relationship between political allegiance and perception towards extent of corruption, while taking into consideration contextual factors in sub-Saharan Africa.	Room Chair Paper	Salon 5, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm Randall J. Blimes , <i>University of Colorado</i> <u>Diversionary War and the Sword of Democles: Domestic Demands in Relation to Conflict Initiation in the Middle East</u> Ellen Lust-Okar , <i>Yale University</i> Gaye B. Muderrisoglu , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: This paper presents a re-examination of the diversionary theory of war, focusing on how the nature and extent of opposition demands affects the probability of conflict initiation with other states.
Disc.	Carolyn Logan , <i>Michigan State University, East Lansing</i>	Paper	<u>The Threat of Diversionary Force: Testing Strategic Conflict Avoidance</u> Jamil Sewell , <i>University of Kentucky</i> Overview: Examines the assumptions of strategic conflict avoidance by potential target states in response to incentives by other states to employ diversionary uses of force, then tests for the influence of strategic conflict avoidance in crisis behavior.
11-2 Room Chair Paper	<u>THE EVOLUTION OF ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS</u> Parlor H, 6 th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm Husam A. Mohamad , <i>University of Central Oklahoma</i> <u>Hizbollah: A Proletarian Party with an Islamic Manifesto</u> Imad Salamey , <i>Lebanese American University</i> Fred Pearson , <i>Wayne State University</i> Overview: This paper provides a sociopolitical analysis of the phenomena of Islamist politics while focusing on the experience of Hizbollah in Lebanon.	Paper	<u>Utility to Use Force: Regime Type and the Source of Domestic Instability</u> Cigdem Sirin , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper argues that the source of instability in a country (be it economic downturn, government instability, and/or socio-political unrest) determines the utility of external use of force and takes into account the differences across regime types.
Paper	<u>Evolving Modern Shi'i Political Movements in Iraq, Lebanon, and Iran</u> Christopher Anzalone , <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i> Overview: Shi'i political thought in Iran, Iraq, and Lebanon has evolved following largely nationalist paths and political activists have challenged the traditional hierarchy of authority bringing in the question of whether it can adapt in order to survive.	Paper	<u>Peace at What Price? Domestic Politics, Settlement Costs and War Termination</u> Sarah E. Croco , <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: This paper examines how different types of settlement costs factor into a leader's war termination decision.
Paper	<u>Democratic Islamic Yuppies: Post-Islamism or Another Islamism?</u> Ashraf N. El Sherif , <i>Boston University</i> Overview: This paper will analyze the new democratic profiles of the Islamic movements in Egypt, Turkey and Morocco discussing the ideational, contextual and organizational dynamics behind the democratization of those Islamic movements.	Disc.	Randall J. Blimes , <i>University of Colorado</i>
Disc.	Gunes Murat Tezcur , <i>Loyola University</i> Sherry R. Lowrance , <i>University of Georgia</i>	17-5 Room Chair Paper	<u>DEMOCRATIC PEACE RESEARCH</u> Sandburg 8, 7 th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm Benjamin O. Fordham , <i>Binghamton University</i> <u>Audience Costs: An Empirical Assessment</u> Mark A. Souva , <i>Florida State University</i> David J. Lektzian , <i>University of New Orleans</i> Overview: Accountability theories of the democratic peace assume that democratic leaders experience higher audience costs than autocratic leaders for backing down in a dispute. We investigate this claim by analyzing cases in which a leader has backed down.
13-4 Room Chair Paper	<u>CORRUPTION: WHAT, WHERE, AND WHY?</u> Sandburg 2, 7 th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm Alan R. Cordova , <i>Monterey Institute of International Studies</i> <u>External Factor in the Settlement of the Transnistria Conflict</u> Vitalie I. Diaconu , <i>Monterey Institute of International Studies</i> Overview: The paper will analyze the role of international community in reaching a peaceful solution for the Transnistria conflict between the central government of Moldova and the separatist regime from the left bank of the Dniestr River.	Paper	<u>Dynamic Regime Difference and Democratic Peace</u> Alex Weisiger , <i>Columbia University</i> Erik Gartzke , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: We advance a dynamic theory of the democratic peace: joint regime type is particularly effective in facilitating peace when the type of government in question is scarce, implying that the democratic peace will weaken as democracies spread.
Paper	<u>How Does Corruption Vary Across Regions in China?</u> Jiangnan Zhu , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: China has seen deterioration of corruption in past years. This paper is interested in examining regional differences of corruption in China. It searches for proper measurement of corruption and explanation to the cross-region variations.	Paper	<u>Regime Change in Rivalries as Critical Tests of the Democratic Peace</u> Bann-Seng Tan , <i>City University New York</i> Yu-Sung Su , <i>City University New York</i> Overview: Does the rivalry between two states end when they are both democratic? The paper seeks to conduct critical tests of explanations of the democratic peace using two conceptions of enduring rivalries and strategic rivalries.
Paper	<u>Corruption and Internal Party Organization: Bulgaria and Romania</u> Sebastian Burca , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: The paper explains the different corruption levels present in Bulgaria and Romania in the 1996-2001 period, during the rule of reformist parties. Internal party characteristics are central to understanding the different outcomes.	Paper	<u>Peace, Power, and Democracy: Identifying the Reversed Causation of the Democratic Peace</u> Dongsoo Kim , <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: The explanation of the democratic peace is not complete until the reversed causation is considered. This study aims to identify the reversed causal relationship of the DP proposition and to examine the impact of international conflict on democracy.
Disc.	Cristina Corduneanu-Huci , <i>Duke University</i>	Disc.	David L. Clark , <i>Binghamton University</i>

18-102 ROUNDTABLE: PUBLIC OPINION AND THE IRAQ WAR: NEW DIRECTIONS IN RESEARCH

Room Parlor F, 6th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Panelist **Bethany Barratt**, *Roosevelt University*
Richard Sobel, *Harvard University*
Wilhelm Vosse, *International Christian University*
Christopher Whitney, *Chicago Council on Foreign Relations*
 Overview: Rarely has a single foreign policy event spawned as much interest in "international public opinion" as has the war in Iraq. Yet what does the Iraq War tell us about the extent to which public opinion influences the decisions of foreign policy leaders?

20-2 IDENTITY POLITICS UNDER DEMOCRACY: BEFORE AND AFTER CONFLICT

Room Salon 6, 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Chair **Rebecca E. Blanton**, *City University of New York*
Paper **The Role of the Median Voter in Fragmented Nationalist Movements**
Devashree Gupta, *Carleton College*
 Overview: This paper examines how rival nationalist organizations maximize their public support by locating themselves near the ideal policy preferences of the "median nationalist," and explores the consequences of this strategy for the movement and its goals.

Paper **Determinants of Ethnic Voting: The Case of the Russian Minority**

Holley E. Hansen, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: Using regional-level data on parliamentary elections, this paper compares the Russian minority in 10 former Soviet republics and focuses on how socioeconomic status, ethnic competition, group resources, and electoral laws impact ethnic voting.

Paper **The Learning of National Identity in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia**

Naomi Levy, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: This paper employs structural equation modeling to assess the effects of school organization and curriculum on the national identities of secondary school students in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

Paper **A Mutual Advantage Theory of Democracy For Multiethnic Contexts**

Paul Aarons Ngomo, *New York University*
 Overview: I develop a normative account of the institutional conditions of the workability of democracy in multiethnic contexts. I refer primarily to the operation of democracy over time and the stabilizing prospects of its procedures in multiethnic polities.

Paper **Contention in the Kalahari: Indigenous Rights and Democracy in Botswana**

Danielle E. Resnick, *Cornell University*
 Overview: This paper examines how the treatment of the San jeopardizes the legitimacy of Botswana's democracy and demonstrates how conflict within the San social movement over how to frame grievances against the state has been an asset rather than hindrance.

Disc. **Brian D. Shoup**, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

21-6 INFORMATION CONTEXT

Room Salon 12, 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Chair **Lori M. Weber**, *California State University, Chico*
Paper **The Dynamic Formation of Candidate Evaluation**
Dona-Gene Mitchell, *University of Illinois*
Jeffery J. Mondak, *University of Illinois*
 Overview: Online processing offers a depiction of information acquisition over time but past tests have been inherently static. We develop a more appropriate test via experiments that include a dynamic element with respect to the distribution of information.

Paper **How Predictive Appeals Shape Policy Opinions**

Jennifer Jerit, *Florida State University*
 Overview: This study reports the results of two survey-based experiments that examine how rhetoric about a policy's

consequences shapes peoples' opinions and their willingness to support policy change.

Paper **Choosing Sides: The Influence of Prominent Opinions on Policy Preferences**

Stacey L. Pelika, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: This paper investigates the influence of the opinions of prominent groups and individuals on public opinion in three policy areas: NAFTA, school vouchers, and immigration reform.

Paper **The Automatic Activation of Political Metaphors**

Todd K. Hartman, *Stony Brook University*
 Overview: The purpose of this study is to investigate the cognitive and affective associations that are created through the use of political metaphors. I test these questions in an experimental design using reaction time measures.

Paper **Political Judgment, Informational Asymmetries, and Influence Among Citizens**

Robert Huckfeldt, *University of California, Davis*
T. K. Ahn, *Florida State University*
John B. Ryan, *University of California, Davis*
 Overview: Informational asymmetries occur frequently and systematically within political communication networks, and this paper focuses on the implications for the quality and confidence of political judgments, as well as political influence among citizens.

Disc. **Neil Malhotra**, *Stanford University*

22-3 THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF VOTING LAWS

Room Salon 8, 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Chair **Charles H. Stewart**, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
Paper **Conflicts on the Agenda?: Voter Registration and Political Participation**

Kathleen Hale, *Auburn University*
Ramona McNeal, *University of Illinois, Springfield*
 Overview: This paper uses agenda setting theory to explain the impact of variation in voter registration and other election practices across the states. Multivariate statistical analysis over time tests factors that impact policy choice and voter turnout.

Paper **Voter Identification Requirements and Turnout**

Delia Bailey, *California Institute of Technology*
Jonathan N. Katz, *California Institute of Technology*
 Overview: This paper utilizes data from 2000-2006 federal elections to estimate the impact of voter identification requirements on turnout. Modern statistical techniques such as hierarchical modeling and empirical Bayes estimators are employed.

Paper **Turning out Newly Registered Voters: The Effects of Election Day Vote Centers**

Robert M. Stein, *Rice University*
Gregory Vonnahme, *Rice University*
 Overview: This study proposes to analyze the effects of election day vote centers on individual voter turnout, particularly among newly registered voters.

Paper **Voting Decision During Transition from Authoritarian Regime to Democracy**

Qi Zhang, *Northwestern University*
Mingxing Liu, *Peking University*
 Overview: We argue in transition country whether electoral rules are consistent with the expectation of electorates affects their evaluation of election and their decision to vote. Our hypothesis is confirmed by a survey data collected in 2004 in rural China.

Paper **Implications of Delegation of Voting Rights for Measuring Voting Behavior**

Jessica Trounstone, *Princeton University*
Rebecca Morton, *New York University*
Anna Bassi, *New York University*
 Overview: Most analyses of felon disenfranchisement assume that laws are implemented as written but voters and officials are often misinformed about who is eligible. We re-estimate the effect on elections when we take this disjuncture into consideration.

Disc. **Charles H. Stewart**, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

23-3 INTERNET AND NEW CAMPAIGNING TECHNOLOGIES

Room Salon 7, 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm

Chair Margaret Carne, Rhodes College

Paper Campaigning on the Internet

Joe L. Gaziano, Lewis University

Laurette Liesen, Lewis University

Overview: This paper examines how statewide campaigns are conducted over the Internet. It analyzes how this form of campaigning is similar to and different from the traditional model of campaigning.

Paper Financing Primaries 1980-2008: Hosting Fundraisers, Web-Hosted Fundraising

Christopher C. Hull, Georgetown University

Overview: Have new money-gathering tools transformed, or just improved, presidential primary campaign fundraising? This paper analyzes dollar flows from Bush vs. Reagan in 1980 bout through Dean vs. Kerry in 2004, with a peek into 2008 fundraising as well.

Paper The Rise of Consumer-Based Campaigns

Richard J. Semiatin, American University

Overview: Campaigns are changing from being candidate-driven races to being consumer-driven races. Technology is permanently changing campaigns.

Paper Electronic Grassroots: Measuring the Impact of the Internet on the Campaign

Kevin M. Wagner, Florida Atlantic University

Jason Gainous, University of Louisville

Overview: Using a sample of U.S. Congressional districts, we estimate both the quality and quantity of the campaign's Internet presence for the incumbent and challenger and correlate those measures with electoral success.

Disc. Donald A. Zinman, Grand Valley State University

24-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND REPRESENTATION

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 1, Thur at 4:25 pm

Presenter The Green Machine: Environmental Constituents and Congressional Voting

Sarah E. Anderson, Stanford University

Overview: This paper finds that Members of Congress respond to district membership in environmental groups by voting more pro-environmental. It assesses whether polarization has had an impact on how moderates respond to their constituency.

Presenter Descriptive Representation in Congressional Offices

Curt Zinzel, University of California, Riverside

Overview: Racial demographics of the district are a better indicator of Congressional staff racial demographics than Members' of Congress own race, party, or ideology. This has important implications for the measurement of representation in Congress.

24-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: REPRESENTATION IN U.S. STATES

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 2, Thur at 4:25 pm

Presenter Who Leads, Who Follows? The Nature of Representation in California, 1996-2006

Delia Bailey, California Institute of Technology

Betsy Sinclair, California Institute of Technology

Overview: We examine roll call data from the California state assembly and election returns on state ballot propositions to explore the relationship between constituency preferences and legislative behavior and to test hypotheses about the nature of representation.

Presenter Who State Legislators Represent: Lessons From Three States

Justin T. Gollob, Temple University

Overview: Evidence from a three state mail survey of state legislators shows that representation is not as confined to district boundaries as once thought, and that previous explanations of extra-district areal orientations (geo-political foci) are incomplete.

25-5 THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF INCOME INEQUALITY

Room Salon 9, 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm

Chair Joe Soss, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Paper On the Determinants of Social Trust in the United States

Christian Bjornskov, University of Aarhus

Overview: This paper explores the determinants of trust in 48 U.S. states across three periods. The results show support for the detrimental effects of income inequality but no or little support for alternative theories.

Paper The Effect of Income Inequality on Political Attitudes and Behavior

James C. Garand, Louisiana State University

Kim Nguyen, Louisiana State University

Overview: We explore how income inequality affects turnout, political efficacy, and political trust. We consider direct and interaction effects of income inequality using data from the 2000 American National Election and state estimates of income inequality.

Paper Perceiving Inequality: Examining Contextual Influences on Public Opinion

Amber M. Wichowsky, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Overview: Linking data from the 2002 ANES and the U.S.

Census, this paper examines community-level contextual influences, including racial and class composition, economic heterogeneity and religious diversity, on public opinion towards income inequality.

Disc. Joe Soss, University of Wisconsin, Madison

David C. Wilson, University of Delaware

26-5 POLITICAL HABIT AND POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY: WHY CITIZENS PARTICIPATE

Room Clark 9, 7th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm

Chair Christopher F. Karpowitz, Brigham Young University

Paper Persistence in Political Participation

Marc N. Meredith, Stanford University

Overview: Discontinuities imposed by voting age restrictions are used to identify the effects of past turnout on individuals' participation decisions. The analysis reveals the effects of voting age restrictions persist when they are no longer binding.

Paper Repeated Turnout as a Habit

Jacob M. Montgomery, Duke University

John H. Aldrich, Duke University

Wendy Wood, Duke University

Ashley Taylor, Duke University

Overview: Why are some people repeat voters? Using data from the 1972-1976 ANES panel study, we demonstrated that the strength of voting habits—established through frequent past voting in a stable context—can account for some instances of repeated voting.

Paper The Nexus of Political Efficacy and Political Learning: An HLM Analysis of the Development of Political Engagement

Elizabeth Beaumont, University of Minnesota

Jeff Greene, University of Maryland

Judith Torney-Purta, University of Maryland

Overview: Explores relative influence of SES, civic background, and other individual characteristics vis-à-vis contextual peer effects and political learning experiences on development of internal efficacy, then examines how these factors predict participation.

Paper Do Happier People Participate More? Life Satisfaction and Civic Engagement

Michael J. Keane, University of Notre Dame

Patrick J. Flavin, University of Notre Dame

Overview: Are citizens who are happier with their lives more involved in politics and community affairs? We examine the relationship between subjective life satisfaction and civic engagement as mediated through traditional predictors of participation.

Disc. Casey A. Klobstad, University of Miami

Evan Parker-Stephen, University of North Carolina

27-5 THE Pervasiveness of Partisanship

Room Clark 1, 7th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm

Chair Brian Kisida, *University of Arkansas*

Paper **Partisan Bias in Economic News: Evidence on U.S. Newspapers**

Riccardo Puglisi, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
Valentino Larcinese, *LSE*

James M. Snyder, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Overview: We study the agenda-setting behaviour on economic news of a large sample of U.S. newspapers over the last decade. We match coverage of economic news with endorsement data.

Paper **Evaluating Economic Cues in Newspaper Reporting**

David J. Hendry, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Overview: Both the two major political parties and the mass media make choices about which indicators of economic performance to address. These choices may combine to create biases in coverage under particular economic circumstances.

Paper **The Conditional Echo Chamber: Partisan Issue Framing and Public Opinion**

Michael W. Wagner, *University of Delaware*

Overview: Using time-series analyses of a content analysis of media coverage of four issues (abortion, taxes, energy policy, and Iraq) from 1975-2004, I demonstrate the conditions under which competitive, partisan issue framing affects public opinion.

Paper **Partisan Polarization in Economic Perceptions, 1980-2004**

Robert K. Goidel, *Louisiana State University*

Connor Best, *Louisiana State University*

Overview: We use NES data to investigate the polarization of economic perceptions from 1980 to 2004. We find two elections - 1984 and 2004 - are notable in the extent to which economic perceptions were polarized and that differences are best explained as a function.

Disc. Mark D. Harmon, *University of Tennessee*

Matthew A. Gentzkow, *University of Chicago*

28-2 UNDERSTANDING THE BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES II

Room Clark 7, 7th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm

Chair Pamela M. Fiber, *California State University, Fullerton*

Paper **Gender and Judicial Elections**

Jennifer C. Lucas, *St. Anselm's College*

Overview: This study examines state election results from across the U.S. to study gendered voting patterns in low-information judicial elections. We also examine voting patterns within the context of non-partisan and partisan elections.

Paper **Public Attitudes Towards Gay and Lesbian Candidates: The Dynamics of**

Doan E. Doan, *University of Kansas*

Donald P. Haider-Markel, *University of Kansas*

Overview: We explore the role of religion and gender in shaping public attitudes towards gay and lesbian candidates for political office as well as beliefs about such candidates.

Paper **The Experiences of Women and Men in "Female" Elected Offices**

Ethan M. Bernick, *University of North Texas*

Overview: Building on research that has studied the under-representation of men in female professions, this research posits that men experience certain advantages in female dominated elected offices that help to enhance their careers in and out of politics.

Paper **The Effect of Political Sophistication on the Use of Gender Stereotypes**

Susan M. Miller, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

Onawa P. Lacewell, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

Overview: We assess whether gender stereotypes are accurate reflections of candidates' ideological positions. We then test whether respondents with high or low political sophistication are more likely to rely on gender stereotypes when forming perceptions of candidates.

Disc. Deirdre M. Condit, *Virginia Commonwealth University*

Pamela M. Fiber, *California State University, Fullerton*

29-5 NEW APPROACHES TO STUDYING RACIAL ATTITUDES (Co-sponsored with Political Psychology, see 21-16)

Room Parlor B, 6th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm

Chair Ismail White, *University of Texas*

Paper **Heterogeneity in the Impact of Empowerment on Attitudes and Participation**

Marvin Overby, *University of Missouri*

Harvey Palmer, *University of Mississippi*

Overview: We use longitudinal ANES data (1978-2004) to examine differences in minority citizen empowerment under various conditions of representation by minority members of Congress and mayors.

Paper **Anger and Anxiety's Impact on Racial Attitudes and Ideology**

Antoine J. Banks, *University of Michigan*

Overview: Anger is the central mechanism that explains why whites' commit to negative racial attitudes and whites' identification with conservatism differs, in that anxiety is the driving force.

Paper **A Window Into the Racial Consciousness of White Anti-Racist Activists**

Tehama M. Lopez, *University of Chicago*

Overview: This analysis centers on the matter of recognizing racial privilege, and renders visible the hegemony of whiteness.

Paper **Whose Side Are You On? Explaining Perceptions of Competitive Racial Threat**

Vincent L. Hutchings, *University of Michigan*

Cara Wong, *University of Michigan*

James Jackson, *University of Michigan*

Ronald Brown, *Wayne State University*

Overview: We seek to elaborate on, and test the empirical implications of, the group position theory of racial attitudes. Specifically, we examine the determinants of racial group competition utilizing a national sample of multiple racial groups.

Paper **I Support School Integration, But: Sheff v. O'Neill Ten Years Later And No End In Sight**

Darryl L. McMiller, *University of Hartford*

Overview: In 1989, eighteen students sued the state of Connecticut, claiming that the state's failure to fix the problems plaguing Hartford's school system violated their constitutional rights.

Disc. Christopher S. Parker, *University of California, Berkeley*

29-19 RACE, MEDIA AND PUBLIC DISCOURSE IN AMERICAN POLITICS

Room PDR 5, 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm

Chair Paula Mohan, *University of Wisconsin, Whitewater*

Paper **It's Bigger Than Hip Hop: Black Ideology, Gender, and Rap Music**

Lakeyta M. Bonnette, *Ohio State University*

Overview: This paper examines the effect of rap music on the acceptance and support of Black Nationalist ideology while exploring the differences of this acceptance between Black women and Black men; using data from the 1993-1994 National Black Politics Study.

Paper **Uplifting the Race: Individual and Group in African-American Discourse**

Gayle McKeen, *University of the South*

Overview: Examines the current return to "self-help" language among African-American leaders in order to address the tension between the success of individual African-Americans and the advance of the race altogether.

Paper **Information Processing Biases: An Examination of Race, Media and Partisanship in the Formation of Political Evaluations**

Jeanette M. Mendez, *Oklahoma State University*

Overview: This study examines if people form evaluations based on actual media content, and if either biases from the media source affect this process, or if prior attitudes and race instead dominate the processing of political information.

Paper	<u>Allegiance to Race: The Politics of African American Academic Intellectuals</u> Rachael A. Murphey-Brown , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: The focus of this research is the nature of the interaction between racial identity and academic culture, and the extent to which such a relationship explains critically engaged political behaviors among African American academic intellectuals.	Paper	<u>Ambiguity and Theory: Class Consciousness in the Paris Commune and Beyond</u> Peter A. LaVenía , <i>SUNY, Albany</i> Overview: The Paris Commune of 1871 seemed to spring into existence out of thin air, as did the recent uprising in Oaxaca, Mexico. This paper will attempt to examine the development of class consciousness in two cities where there were never strong, dominant revolutionary parties prior to their anti-capitalist uprisings. What does this mean for Marx and later Marxists conceptions of class consciousness?
Disc.	Ramla M. Bande , <i>Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis</i> Patrick Rivers , <i>School of the Art Institute of Chicago</i>	Paper	<u>The Faculty of Reason in Marx and Rawls</u> James R. Noland , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: If we were to construe the model of moral reasoning Rawls presents in A Theory of Justice more broadly as a general model of the conditions for, and process of, free reasoning, we would find a model strikingly similar to that assumed and employed in Marx'.
31-1	<u>CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES IN MEDIEVAL POLITICAL THOUGHT</u>	Disc.	Sujith S. Kumar , <i>London School of Economics</i>
Room	Sandburg 1, 7 th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm	32-18	<u>THE LIMITS OF REPUBLICAN POLITICS IN THE THOUGHT OF MACHIAVELLI AND ROUSSEAU</u>
Chair	Shaojin Chai , <i>University of Notre Dame</i>	Room	Clark 3, 7 th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Paper	<u>Resistance in Christian and Muslim Political Thought</u> Bettina Koch , <i>Virginia Tech University</i> Overview: The paper compares John of Salisbury's, William of Ockham's, and Ibn's theories of resistance. All three authors argue for the subjects' right and duty to resist (under certain circumstances) political and religious authorities.	Chair	Daniel Kapust , <i>University of Georgia, Athens</i>
Paper	<u>Human Nature and Human Need in the Medieval Italian Republican Tradition</u> Mary Elizabeth Sullivan , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper examines how medieval republican thinkers conceived of human nature and how these conceptions shaped their beliefs on the origins and purposes of government.	Paper	<u>Machiavellian Necessity and the Founding of Republican Rome</u> Jacqueline R. Hunsicker , <i>University of Texas</i> Overview: This paper will explore the complicated interaction of the legal and extra-legal elements of foundations in Machiavelli's account of republican Rome by examining the role of the lawgiver, the character of the laws, and the education of the citizenry.
Paper	<u>Patterns of Kingship in a Late Byzantine Mirror of Princes</u> Florin Leonte , <i>Central European University, Budapest, Hungary</i> Overview: Manuel II Palaeologus' Mirror of Princes, reflects the intellectual complexity typical in late Byzantium. This paper gives an account of the of its peculiarities and the differences from other inherited models like that of Agapetus.	Paper	<u>The Legislator, the General Will, and the Limits of Enlightenment</u> Gregory A. McBrayer , <i>University of Maryland</i> Overview: This paper examines some of the anti-republican elements of Rousseau's thought, most notably the role of the Legislator. Nonetheless, I argue, Rousseau is a staunch proponent of republican politics.
Paper	<u>Councils and Communitarianism</u> Harvey Brown , <i>University of Western Ontario</i> Overview: An examination of ideas of representation in Conciliar writing and some lessons for modern thought.	Paper	<u>Family and Nation, Religion and the Self: Rousseau and the Transformations of Love</u> Rene M. Paddags , <i>University of Maryland</i> Overview: This paper examines how Rousseau uses love to circumscribe Republican politics, and how this understanding of love remains intrinsically limited.
Paper	<u>Images of Democracy in the Medieval Commentaries on Aristotle's Politics</u> Noah I. Dauber , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: The commentaries on the politics presented viewed democracy not as the rule of elected representatives but as the collective judgment of magnates in councils and the rule of the popolo in the Italian city-states.	Paper	<u>Unity, Equality, and the Common Good in Aristotle's Politics and Machiavelli's Discourses</u> Dwight Wilson , <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: Much discussion has centered on "situating" Machiavelli's thought; this paper places Machiavelli within an essentially classical framework, arguing that his concern with the common good shares much in common with Aristotelian political Science.
Disc.	Quentin Taylor , <i>Rogers State University</i>	Disc.	Ann Charney Colmo , <i>Dominican University</i> Daniel Kapust , <i>University of Georgia, Athens</i>
32-4	<u>ENGAGING MARX</u>	33-3	<u>REVISITING EMPIRE: POST-COLONIAL READINGS OF BURKE, MILL, AND TOCQUEVILLE</u>
Room	LaSalle 1, 7 th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm	Room	Clark 10, 7 th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Chair	Joyce M. Mullan , <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i>	Chair	Joanna V. Scott , <i>Eastern Michigan University</i>
Paper	<u>Reexamining Marx's Ontology Through Utopianism</u> Nivedita Bagchi , <i>University of Virginia</i> Overview: This paper examines Marx's view of human nature using the Marxist utopias by Edward Bellamy and William Morris. It concludes that the controversy over Marx's view of human nature is inevitable because it is inherent in Marx's conception of history.	Paper	<u>Tocqueville's Foreign Policy: Democracy and the Colonization of Algeria</u> Ewa Atanassow , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This paper situates Tocqueville's controversial defense of the colonization of empire in light of his more familiar critique of the problems of modern democracy.
Paper	<u>Sacrifice, Subjectivity, Sovereignty: Revisiting the Stirner – Marx Polemic</u> Banu Bargu , <i>Cornell University</i> Overview: This paper examines the role of sacrifice and its relation to sovereignty in Marx's thought. Through an analysis of materialist subjectivity and the contradictory meanings of politics, I show how sovereignty becomes a revolutionary paradox.	Paper	<u>Elder Brothers, Mother Countries, and Extended Families: J. S. Mill's Critique of the Imperial Father</u> Richard Boyd , <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: This paper argues that the ambiguities of Mill's commitment to the British Empire can only be understood in light
Paper	<u>Marx's Theory of Justice: A Non-Sociological Interpretation</u> Matthew D. Dickhoff , <i>University of Connecticut</i> Overview: This paper argues that Marx's conception of justice rests firmly within the eudemonist tradition and is predicated upon the existence of free, self-actualizing, emancipated labor; that is, labor within a communist society.		

	of gendered metaphors of family and motherhood that permeate them.		
Paper	<u>Burke on India: Prolegomenon to a Revisionist View</u> Daniel O'Neill , <i>University of Florida</i> Overview: This paper challenges the orthodox interpretation of Burke on empire – which portrays him as an anti-imperial defender of cultural pluralism and difference – by reconsidering his writings and speeches on India.	Paper	<u>Interaction and Malefaction</u> Daniel Rubenson , <i>Ryerson University</i> Richard Walker , <i>London School of Economics</i> Overview: Predation and interaction can be complementary activities. If this is the case, as in the model set out here, quite striking results can emerge. Greater interaction can lead to more antisocial behaviour; increased gains from trade can reduce welfare.
Paper	<u>The Mirror of India: A Burkean Theory of Imperial Power</u> Brandon P. Turner , <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: This paper argues against the view that Burke's conservative opposition to British involvement in India stems from his ability to identify sympathetically with the other and suggests instead that his critique stems from his understanding.	Paper	<u>Endogenous Resilience: How Institutions Influence Cultural Adaptability</u> Jenna L. Bednar , <i>University of Michigan</i> Scott E. Page , <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: We also show how populations have different degrees of adaptability based on past institutional choices. Thus, some cultures exhibit greater resilience in the presence of changing incentive structures while others are fragile.
Disc.	Joanna V. Scott , <i>Eastern Michigan University</i>	Disc.	Oleg Smirnov , <i>University of Miami</i>
33-19	<u>THEORY IN TIMES OF FEAR, CRISIS, AND TERROR</u>	35-3	<u>MANIFESTOS AND IDEOLOGY (Co-sponsored with Information Technology and Politics, see 36-6)</u>
Room	Dearborn 2, 7 th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm	Room	Montrose 2, 7 th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Chair	Sigal R. Ben-Porath , <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	Chair	Cheryl Schonhardt-Bailey , <i>London School of Economics</i>
Paper	<u>Flannery O'Connor and the War on Terror</u> Henry T. Edmondson , <i>Georgia College & State University</i> Overview: This paper explores the ways in which the Southern writer Flannery O'Connor's literature, correspondence and prose might provide insight into the perplexities of the war on terror.	Paper	<u>Political Parties in Time and Space</u> Jeremy J. Albright , <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: This paper applies Bayesian simulation techniques to Comparative Manifestos Project data to estimate the ideological positions of political parties. The approach allows for the estimation of both ideal points and corresponding credible intervals.
Paper	<u>What Has Kant To Do With Terrorism?</u> Thomas Albert Gilly , <i>ERCES</i> Overview: Both Kant's Science of Law and the validation of morally relevant norms of action by means of universalization (Kant/Habermas) are highly relevant issues both with regards to the theoretical and practical terrorism debate.	Paper	<u>A Poisson Scaling Model for Estimating Policy Positions from Texts</u> Jonathan B. Slapin , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Sven-Oliver Proksch , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: We develop a new scaling technique to estimate ideal points based on word frequencies in political texts using a poisson process. We believe our approach is the first which produces party position estimates which can be used accurately as time-series data.
Paper	<u>Intersectional Privilege and Oppression in the Discourse on "Endangered" Black Men</u> Keisha N. Lindsay , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: Texts that cast black men as endangered reject established understandings of intersectionality by revealing how intersectional theorizing can be anti-feminist and that interlocking social categories often privilege and oppress the same social actors.	Paper	<u>Correcting the Error in the Comparative Manifesto Project Estimates</u> Kenneth R. Benoit , <i>Trinity College, Dublin</i> Slava Mikhailov , <i>Trinity College, Dublin</i> Overview: The Comparative Manifesto Project contains an unknown level of error. We measure this error and use the estimates to suggest a time-series correction to the data when used in subsequent models as an independent variable.
Paper	<u>The Politics of Fear and Lincoln's "Covenanted Patriotism"</u> James E. Roper , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: The administration invokes fear of terrorists to justify weakening our basic rights and liberties. Lincoln argued for a "covenanted patriotism" based on the promise to defend the unique principles of political liberty found in the Constitution.	Paper	<u>Reconstructing Wordscores</u> Will E. M. Lowe , <i>Nottingham University</i> Overview: This paper attempts the statistical reconstruction of the Wordscores method of content analysis in a latent variable framework derived from item response theory in order to avoid problematic features of the method such as prediction rescaling.
Disc.	Burke Hendrix , <i>Cornell University</i>	Disc.	Burt Monroe , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i>
34-5	<u>CULTURE AND COOPERATION</u>	36-4	<u>E-GOVERNMENT (Co-sponsored with Public Administration, see 50-20)</u>
Room	Dearborn 1, 7 th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm	Room	Montrose 7, 7 th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Chair	Howard Margolis , <i>University of Chicago</i>	Chair	Brian S. Krueger , <i>University of Rhode Island</i>
Paper	<u>Political Science's Structure: Modeling Specialties as Field and Network</u> James G. Ennis , <i>Tufts University</i> Overview: Analyzes division of labor among political scientists via social network techniques. Extending recent work mapping knowledge domains, it examines clusters and cleavages among specialties. Empirical contrasts with sociology, economics. implications.	Paper	<u>Adoption and Implementation of Open Source Software by Four European Cities</u> Mark Cassell , <i>Kent State University</i> Overview: The paper which uses a comparative case-study approach to investigate the experiences of four European cities as they migrate from propriety software to open source alternatives.
Paper	<u>Uncertainty and Institutional Development</u> Scott Moser , <i>Carnegie Mellon University</i> Overview: We examine the role of information in institutional development. We find situations in which agents may have a collective interest in remaining uninformed about the environment.	Paper	<u>Images of Citizenship: A Content Analysis of Local Government Websites</u> Michael J. Jensen , <i>University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: This paper analyzes local government websites with respect to the modes of citizenship communicated to website users. We find that websites tend to treat users as consumers rather than participants in the political process.
Paper	<u>Ascriptive Versus Universalistic Norms</u> Nathan A. Collins , <i>Stanford University</i> Jonathan Bendor , <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: We study how ascriptive norms, which favor one's own social group over others, and universalistic norms survive in different information environments. We find, intuitively, that ascriptive norms fair better when individuals know less about outsiders.		

Paper	<u>When Do Individuals Perceive The Government Monitors Their Behavior?</u> Brian S. Krueger , <i>University of Rhode Island</i> Overview: This paper examines how the characteristics of political behavior influence individual perceptions of the likelihood of government monitoring.	39-4	<u>DELIBERATION AND TRANSPARENCY IN CONGRESS</u> Suite 9-142, 9 th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm Room Chair Lawrence C. Dodd , <i>University of Florida</i> Paper <u>The Effect of Television on Senate Deliberations</u> Thomas R. Laehn , <i>Louisiana State University</i> Angela C. Miceli , <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: Anecdotal evidence suggests that Senate deliberative quality is in decline. We develop a measure of deliberative quality to test the assertion that the televising of Senate proceedings is associated with a decline in Senate deliberations.
Paper	<u>Factors Associated with Use of Public and Private Sector Health Websites</u> Edward Alan Miller , <i>Brown University</i> Darrell M. West , <i>Brown University</i> Overview: This study examines the frequency with which Americans access health information from public (governmental) and private (non-governmental) websites, and identifies similarities and differences characteristics associated with use of each type.	Paper	<u>Deliberation in Congress: An Institutional Impossibility?</u> Joseph M. Gardner , <i>Northern Arizona University</i> Overview: This paper presents the results of an interview-based study exploring whether Congress can and does deliberate. The results indicate that Congress is failing as a deliberative body because it fails to provide necessary deliberative conditions.
Paper	<u>E-Government and Organizational Performance: Testing a Political Model</u> Sanjay K. Pandey , <i>Kansas University</i> Eric W. Welch , <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i> Overview: Does e-government technology, indeed, improve organizational performance as indicated by improvements in service quality and the effectiveness with which an agency achieves its mission? In this paper, we propose a model of organizational performance.	Paper	<u>Connecting to Congress: Improving Deliberation in the Information Age</u> Kevin M. Esterling , <i>University of California, Riverside</i> David M. Lazer , <i>Harvard University</i> Michael A. Neblo , <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: Current members of the U.S. Congress and random samples of their constituents participated in online field experiments as a means to assess how Congress can best use the Internet to foster deliberation in an emerging digital democracy.
Disc.	G. Robert Boynton , <i>University of Iowa</i> Adrian S. Petrescu , <i>University of Texas, Brownsville</i>	Paper	<u>Video-Based Measures of Congressional Voting</u> Robert X. Browning , <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: Roll call votes in the United States Congress have been a staple in congressional research. The advent of televised coverage of the House and Senate and the video archive of those proceedings offer new opportunities to analyze roll call votes.
37-3 Room Chair Paper	<u>PARTIES AND PARTISANSHIP ACROSS TIME</u> LaSalle 2, 7 th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm Hans Noel , <i>Georgetown University</i> <u>Presidential Elections and Electoral Realignments: 1900–2006</u> Jeffrey M. Stonecash , <i>Syracuse University</i> Mark D. Brewer , <i>University of Maine</i> Overview: Analysis of role of presidential candidates in creating change in electoral alignments, 1900 - 2006.	Disc.	DeWayne L. Lucas , <i>Hobart and William Smith Colleges</i> Lawrence C. Dodd , <i>University of Florida</i>
Paper	<u>Party Images and Presidential Vote</u> Mark D. Brewer , <i>University of Maine</i> Overview: This paper examines the party images held by Americans, how these images have changed over time, and how citizens' images of the parties affect their presidential vote choice.	39-16 Room Chair Paper	<u>BUILDING COALITIONS IN CONGRESS</u> Montrose 1, 7 th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm C. Lawrence Evans , <i>College of William and Mary</i> <u>Moderate Coalitions in a Polarized Congress</u> Sean M. Theriault , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Jungkun Seo , <i>University of Texas</i> Overview: This paper examines the rationale members provide for joining moderate coalitions in the House and Senate. Furthermore, it systematically examines the characteristics of members who belong to these coalitions.
Paper	<u>The Enduring Duopoly</u> Patricia M. Crotty , <i>East Stroudsburg University</i> Overview: The Republican and Democratic parties have succeeded in maintaining power at both the state and national levels. This study examines the methods these parties use to stay in power and suggests how states can begin to reverse this phenomena.	Paper	<u>Discharge Petitions: Circumventing Congressional Norms from 1929-1974</u> Kathryn Pearson , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Eric Schickler , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: We present new data on discharge petitions from the 1929-1974 to provide insight into the committee system, agenda control, coalitional dynamics, and norms of restraint. We analyze the impact of party, region, ideology, and committee membership.
Paper	<u>The Effects of Direct Democracy on State Party Systems, 1980-2004</u> Zachary D. Greene , <i>University of Iowa</i> Amanda M. Frost , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: Using pooled data for the fifty states from 1980-2004, we model the effect of the number of initiatives on state ballots on measures for party strength. We expect states with frequent use of initiatives will have 'weakened' traditional party systems.	Paper	<u>Cohorts in Congress: Understanding the Influence of Electoral Classes</u> Matthew N. Green , <i>Catholic University of America</i> Overview: This project examines the influence of electoral cohorts in congressional politics, including floor voting, the introduction and sponsorship of legislation, the selection of party leaders, and institutional change within Congress.
Paper	<u>Mugwumps and Goo-Goos: American Democracy and 19th Century Anti-Partisanship</u> Zachary C. Courser , <i>Claremont McKenna College</i> Overview: A study of the development of a Northern anti-partisan movement after the Civil War, its anti-democratic origins, and its contribution to diminishing political participation in contemporary American politics.	Paper	<u>The Urge to Surge: Pre- and Post-conference Roll Call Shifts in Congress</u> Michael C. Brady , <i>Duke University</i> Overview: This paper applies traditional theories of the development of Congress to investigate changes between pre- and post-conference roll call votes such as the magnitude, proportion, and composition of surges in support.
Disc.	William Crotty , <i>Northeastern University</i> Hans Noel , <i>Georgetown University</i>		

Paper **Constitutional Theory of Legislative Organization: Directionality of Institutional Changes in the House**
Gisela Sin, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: I show that changes in the President and Senate's preferences alter the bargaining power of House members and that their new relative position with respect to those of House members determines the directionality of the institutional changes that occur.

Disc. **Glen S. Krutz**, *University of Oklahoma*
C. Lawrence Evans, *College of William and Mary*

39-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: A PROPERTY RIGHTS APPROACH TO LEGISLATIVE ORGANIZATION**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 3, Thur at 4:25 pm

Presenter **A Property Rights Approach to Legislative Organization**
Blair Williams, *United States Military Academy*
 Overview: This paper presents a unified framework, combining elements of transaction-cost economics and contract theory, to explain the organizational structure of the U.S. House of Representatives.

41-4 **THE JUDICIAL POWER: INSULATION, INTERACTION, AND INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY**

Room LaSalle 3, 7th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm

Chair **Lee D. Walker**, *University of South Carolina*

Paper **Strategic Anticipation in a Judicial Hierarchy**
Kirk A. Randazzo, *University of Kentucky*
 Overview: I examine whether appellate judges strategically anticipate actions taken later by the Supreme Court when they decide current cases.

Paper **The Determinants of Judicial Independence: A Study of Latin America, 1950-2002**
Julio Rios-Figueroa, *CIDE, Mexico*
 Overview: I analyze the conditions under which and the reasons why politicians delegate authority to judges and/or the judiciary in Latin American countries from 1950 to 2002.

Paper **Gender, Ideology and Corruption: Explaining Attitudes Toward Judicial Separation in Latin America**
Lee D. Walker, *University of South Carolina*
 Overview: I develop and explain an attitudinal measure of judicial separation across 17 Latin American countries. Gender, political ideology and corruption attitudes are factors in citizen's decision to separate the judiciary from political society.

Disc. **Jeffrey Staton**, *Florida State University*
Lee D. Walker, *University of South Carolina*

41-22 **JUDICIAL DECISION MAKING DURING TIMES OF WAR**

Room Burnham 1, 7th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm

Chair **Cynthia L. Ostberg**, *University of the Pacific*

Paper **The Dynamic Effects of War on Supreme Court Liberalism**
Naser L. Javaid, *Stony Brook University*
 Overview: This paper seeks to examine the effects of war on Supreme Court liberalism in cases involving civil rights or liberties claims.

Paper **The Tension Between Politics and Justice: German Courts and the 9/11 Suspect Trials**
Shawn M. Boyne, *University of Wisconsin*
 Overview: This paper examines how politics shaped the 9/11 suspect trials in Germany and led to charges that German courts chose to protect the defendant's rights at the expense of America's security concerns.

Paper **Courts and the Rights of Terrorists**
Michael R. Reinhard, *Millsaps College*
Amber Davids, *Millsaps College*
 Overview: Drawing on field work in Afghanistan and a range of historical examples, we argue that the expansion of courts and legal decision making at the expense of executive and military decision makers will result in less justice rather than more.

Disc. **Brett Curry**, *Georgia Southern University*
Tobias T. Gibson, *Monmouth College*

42-3 **REASONING, DECISION-MAKING, AND PRECEDENT**

Room Clark 5, 7th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm

Chair **Trenton Davis**, *Northern Illinois University*

Paper **Modes of Legal Reasoning and Justifying Legal Outcomes**
Anna O. Law, *DePaul University*
 Overview: In a legal opinion, judges need to justify their decisions. How do they do this? Do they cite legal doctrine or a legal principle like due process? Do they rubber stamp the decisions of Congress and the Executive?

Paper **The Federal Judicial Hierarchy and Reapportionment/Redistricting Cases**
John F. Ryan, *Bates College*
 Overview: This project investigates the federal judicial hierarchy (and competing explanations) by analyzing the uses of Supreme Court precedent by federal lower-court judges, in reapportionment/redistricting cases (1965-1993).

Paper **Rethinking Judicial Independence and Judicial Accountability**
Alan Tarr, *Rutgers University*
 Overview: This paper analyzes and critiques prevailing understandings of judicial independence and judicial accountability and offers a more defensible version of these aims and of how they might be achieved.

Paper **Assessing the "Rehnquist Revolution": Examining Lower Court Compliance with Lopez, Printz and Morrison**
Alan M. Tauber, *University of South Carolina*
 Overview: This paper examines whether the so-called "Rehnquist Revolution" in federalism was carried out in the Courts of Appeal.

Disc. **Carl M. Dibble**, *University of Michigan*

44-5 **TOPICS IN INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS**

Room Parlor E, 6th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm

Chair **Min-hyung Kim**, *University of Washington*

Paper **Indian Gaming and State-Level Constraints on Tribal Political Influence**
Steven A. Light, *University of North Dakota*
 Overview: Using a case study of recent events in Minnesota, this paper asks and answers two key questions concerning tribal-state intergovernmental relations today: How do tribes use gaming revenue to interact with state legal and political systems?

Paper **Provisional Liberty: The Evolution of Libertas in State Constitutions**
Sean R. Boutin, *Cornell University*
 Overview: This paper introduces a new method for cataloguing civil liberty provisions within state constitutions. It traces the temporal development for all 50 states from 1789-2006 and analyzes the categorical variance in visions of civil liberty.

Paper **The Land of Whose Father? The Politics of American Indian Land Settlements**
Anne F. B. Flaherty, *Duke University*
 Overview: How can small and institutionally powerless groups win concessions from the powerful? This paper explores this question in the context of American Indian land claims and explains why different tribal claims have had such varied settlement outcomes.

Paper **Strange Bedfellows: Interstate Cooperation, 1960-2000**
Neal D. Woods, *University of South Carolina*
Ann O. M. Bowman, *University of South Carolina*
 Overview: Using an original dataset, we test theories of interstate cooperation through pooled event count models of dyadic state participation in interstate compacts.

Disc. **Neal D. Woods**, *University of South Carolina*
Juliet F. Gainsborough, *Bentley College*

45-4	<u>DISTRIBUTIVE AND REDISTRIBUTIVE SPENDING BY LOCAL GOVERNMENTS</u>	49-3	<u>POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL AGREEMENTS</u>
Room	Burnham 4, 7 th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm	Room	Parlor C, 6 th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Chair	Kenneth Bickers , <i>University of Colorado</i>	Chair	Paul Rich , <i>The University of the Americas, Puebla</i>
Paper	<u>Deciding to Provide: Local Decisions on Providing Social Welfare</u> Michael C. Crow , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: Though fiscal federalism predicts a small role for local governments in social welfare, variations in tax base competition create opportunities for some local governments to provide and fund social welfare policies.	Paper	<u>Role of Lobbyists and Corruption in Environmental Treaty Ratification</u> Benjamin Y. Clark , <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: The paper demonstrates a link between corruption and lobbyists on the ratification of an environmental treaty. Additionally it demonstrates ratification is negatively influenced by past participation in environmental treaties and government.
Paper	<u>Redistributive Politics and Education in Times of Surplus</u> Kenann McKenzie-Thompson , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: Redistributive politics in a time of surplus and gentrification has a tone that differs that the traditional way of viewing redistributive politics. Factors such as race and class also confound the dynamics in old and new ways.	Paper	<u>The Dead Zones: Nitrogen, Public Policy, and International Agreements</u> Mary H. Morris , <i>University of Southern Indiana</i> Overview: The Baltic's international regime is one of the most successful examples of transnational environmental cooperation on record. What lessons can the U.S. learn from the Baltic Sea paradigm?
Paper	<u>Demand-side Explanations of Local Redistributive Spending</u> Josh M. Ryan , <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Overview: This paper investigates the demand-side components for redistributive spending at local levels taking into account constraints such as polycentricism and budgetary issues.	Paper	<u>Transboundary Coordination in North American Wildlife Management</u> Robert Pahre , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: The paper develops a formal model explaining variation between successful and unsuccessful transboundary cooperation in wildlife management. The outcomes depend on the interaction of agency mandates, policy instruments available, and the population biology.
Paper	<u>Beyond Distributive Politics</u> Howard A. Stern , <i>City of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: Through an expanded distributive politics model -- one that takes into account the form of government, size of city, geographical region, per capita income and poverty level of the jurisdiction -- better explains allocation decisions.	Paper	<u>Wildlife Smuggling in the EU: Risks for Candidate States During Expansion</u> Elizabeth E. Wheat , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Overview: Wildlife crime is worth \$6 billion/year. With EU expansion and states having profitable trafficking markets, new laws are needed. This paper evaluates CITES, criteria for an EU smuggling Directive, and approaches to improving legal detection.
Disc.	Kenneth Bickers , <i>University of Colorado</i> Megan Mullin , <i>Temple University</i>	Disc.	Eric A. Coleman , <i>Indiana University, Bloomington</i>
46-6	<u>IMPLEMENTING HEALTH POLICY</u>	50-5	<u>PRIVATIZATION AND PERFORMANCE</u>
Room	PDR 6, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm	Room	PDR 7, 3 rd Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Chair	Mary Schmeida , <i>Cleveland Clinic</i>	Chair	Laura Langbein , <i>American University</i>
Paper	<u>Comparing Regulatory Regimes to Reduce Smoking: Analyzing 13 OECD Countries</u> Michael J. Licari , <i>University of Northern Iowa</i> Overview: This paper examines the effectiveness of regulations used to reduce smoking in 13 OECD countries from 1970 on. It also assesses the impact of EU policies on smoking in those countries.	Paper	<u>Program Hybridization and Public Management: The Case of Quality Improvement</u> Colleen L. Croxall , <i>Eastern Michigan University</i> David H. Ready , <i>City of Palm Springs</i> Overview: Based on survey data as well as intensive longitudinal case studies from local units of government and hospitals that were early implementers of QI, this study assesses the life-cycle of QI efforts in the public sector.
Paper	<u>State Programs to Encourage Long Term Care Insurance: Worthwhile or Wasted?</u> David C. Nixon , <i>University of Hawaii</i> Overview: We examine cross-state variation in sales of long term care insurance across the 1990s, and estimate the impact that state income tax incentives and long term care partnership programs have in encouraging such sales.	Paper	<u>Examining Privatized Child Welfare System in Florida: Community Networks and Performance Assessment</u> Wendy Xinfang Gao , <i>Florida State University</i> Frances S. Berry , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: The research develops a theoretical framework to account for the relationship between the structural properties of community networks and service performance of the newly privatized child welfare system in Florida.
Paper	<u>Diffusion Spurred by Need?: State Health and High-Risk Pools</u> Nathan G. Myers , <i>University of Nevada, Las Vegas</i> Overview: This paper will examine whether a relationship exists between the health of a state's population as shown by leading health indicators and the diffusion of high-risk pools to cover medically uninsurable individuals.	Paper	<u>Pragmatism or Politics?: Privatization and Public Services in North Dakota</u> Dana Michael Harsell , <i>University of North Dakota</i> Robert Wood , <i>University of North Dakota</i> Overview: Using questionnaire data, the privatization levels of 64 public services are evaluated across North Dakota's 53 counties and largest 200 cities. Results help shed light on privatization use in sparsely populated, rural Midwestern municipalities.
Paper	<u>Health Equity and Neoliberal Macroeconomic Reforms in Chile and Argentina</u> Alexander W. Hertel-Fernandez , <i>Pan American Health Organization; Northwestern University</i> Overview: Argentina and Chile have pursued nation building paths characterized by social exclusion. This paper seeks to quantify the impact of neoliberal reform policies on health equity in both countries.	Paper	<u>Agency Power and Adaptation: Implementation of Competitive Sourcing</u> Maria Ernita T. Joaquin , <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: Theories of organizational adaptation and bureau power intersect in this study OMB Circular A-76 implementation, uncovering new themes on power, leadership, and congressional influences on bureaucratic response in the era of third-party governance.
Paper	<u>Cost Containment and Profit Maximization: Conflicting Goals of the Medicare Managed Care Program</u> Meg Comins , <i>University of South Florida</i> John Large , <i>University of South Florida</i> Overview: This paper analyzes Florida hospital financial data to explore how hospital fiscal policies evolve in reaction to changes in Medicare cost containment policies.		
Disc.	Mary Schmeida , <i>Cleveland Clinic</i> Thomas A. Birkland , <i>SUNY, Albany</i>		

Paper **City and County Commission Governance: Learning from the Private Sector**
Ruth A. Watry, *Northern Michigan University*
 Overview: Governance has become a hot topic in the private sector, due in part to events like the failures of companies such as Enron and Worldcom. This paper examines whether governance models used in the private sector are applicable to the public sector.

Disc. **Laura Langbein**, *American University*
Ali Farazmand, *Florida Atlantic University*

51-3 **INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**

Room PDR 8, 3rd Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Chair **Andrew J. Schlewitz**, *Albion College*
Paper **Declining Social Capital: The Importance of Institutions**
Kristi Andersen, *Syracuse University*
McGee Young, *Marquette University*
 Overview: Using historical data on civic associations, we link changes in the density and shape of associational life with the changes in political parties which resulted from 19th and 20th century Progressive reforms.

Paper **Institutions, Ideas and Learning in Welfare State Change**
Timo Fleckenstein, *University of Oxford*
 Overview: Addressing the stability bias of the path dependence theorem, the paper attempts to integrate policy learning conceptually into new institutionalism as a potential mechanism of knowledge-based institutional change in complex environments.

Paper **A Commitment to Principle: Popular Sovereignty and the Convention of 1787**
Jennifer A. Mogg, *Bridgewater State College*
 Overview: Employing a unique approach to Madison's Notes, this paper finds a general commitment to popular sovereignty at the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

Paper **State Formation at the Sub-National Level in the United States**
Jesse H. Rhodes, *University of Virginia*
 Overview: Drawing on theories of "sectionalism" and American Political Development and on models of comparative state formation, this paper develops and provides case-study evidence for a model of sub-national state formation and development in the United States.

Paper **The International System and the Making of the U.S. Constitution**
Robbie J. Totten, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: This paper explores the international dimension of the making of the U.S. Constitution, and it finds that a main reason the American state formed was because the thirteen states sought survival in an anarchic international system.

Disc. **Ariel I. Ahram**, *Georgetown University*
Andrew J. Schlewitz, *Albion College*

54-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: REVIEWING INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARDS**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 4, Thur at 4:25 pm
Presenter **Issues for Field Research**
Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, *University of Utah*
Dvora Yanow, *Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam*
 Overview: Are IRBs developing appropriate policies for the review of political ethnographic and other field research? We offer a critical assessment based on examination of the origins and development of federal policy in the U.S.

55-301 **POSTER SESSION: TEACHING POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Presenter **Making American Government Relevant to Teacher Education Students**
 (Board 5)
Aimee D. Shouse, *Western Illinois University*
 Overview: This paper looks at the rationale and practice of offering teacher education majors their own section of Introduction to American Government and Politics.

Presenter **Ford Foundation and Teaching Political Science in American Universities**
 (Board 6)
Riham Ahmed Khafagy, *Cairo University*
 Overview: Ford Foundation was an exemplary foundation attempting to impact political science research and teaching because the development of the American political science and its applications have coincided perfectly with the Foundation's goals and program.

57-101 **ROUNDTABLE: WOMEN FACULTY IN THE CLASSROOM: STRATEGIES FOR SUCCESS**

Room Adams, 6th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Chair **Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer**, *University of Mississippi*
Panelist **Michelle Dion**, *Georgia Institute of Technology*
Beth Leech, *Rutgers University*
Julie Dolan, *Macalester College*
Jodi Finkel, *Loyola Marymount University*
 Overview: Female instructors often face a different set of obstacles in the classroom than do male instructors. What challenges do women face and how can we overcome them? This roundtable will discuss women's strategies for success in the classroom.

60-3 **THEORIES AND THINKERS**

Room Parlor J, 6th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Chair **Shoup Brian**, *Indiana University*
Paper **Destructive Personalities: Hitler and Hirohito and the Problem of Regime Security in WWII**
John F. Daniel, III, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: This research will attempt to examine the phenomenon of state destruction from the perspective of great man/first image theory and rational choice using the cases of Germany and Japan in WWII.

Paper **From Dissidence to Political Power: Vaclav Havel and Che Guevara**
Heather R. McDougall, *Christopher Newport University*
 Overview: This paper explores the theoretical ideas of Vaclav Havel and Che Guevara and the distinctive approach to leadership that each took.

Paper **Elite Republicanism in Hamiltonian Thought and Practice**
Jonathon S. O'Hara, *Southern Connecticut State University*
 Overview: Alexander Hamilton is often thought of as that Constitutional framer and Federalist leader least affected by republican ideology. Hamilton was not egalitarian or populist. Nonetheless he was a legitimate articulator of republican thought.

Disc. **Shoup Brian**, *Indiana University*

61-301 **POSTER SESSION: EITM (EMPIRICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THEORETICAL MODELS)**

Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Thur at 4:25 pm
Presenter **An Empirical Test of Duncan Black's Median Voter Theorem**
 (Board 7)
Allen B. Brierly, *University of Northern Iowa*
 Overview: This study compares public opinion data with a simulation of the effects on support for candidates and political parties on the division of votes, partisan bloc voting, and the distribution of political views in Presidential elections.

Presenter **Making War Safe for Democracy: Technology, the Median Voter, and the Costs of Conflict**
 (Board 8)
Jonathan D. Caverley, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: A highly capitalized military reduces the costs of conflict for a democracy's median voter. This paper estimates the substitutability of capital for labor in the U.S. military and explores its effect on military preparation and aggressiveness.

Presenter **Modeling War Expansion**
 (Board 9)
Kyle A. Joyce, *Pennsylvania State University*
 Overview: In this paper I present an agent-based model of war expansion, derive empirical implications based on the emergent

behavioral patterns, and subject the empirical implications to empirical evaluation using several statistical techniques.

Presenter **The Road to Reconciliation: Avoiding False Conviction and False Acquittal**

(Board 10)

Monika Nalepa, *Harvard Academy of Scholars*

Overview: The paper uses new opinion poll data from a 2004 survey in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic to test several hypotheses about the determinants of TJ demand.

Presenter **Portfolio Allocation as Leadership Strategy: Bargaining Across Parties**

(Board 11)

Yoshikuni Ono, *University of Michigan*

Overview: Constructing a formal model and drawing on data of portfolio allocation among coalition parties in 14 European countries, I demonstrate that portfolio allocation is an instrument prime ministers use to handle intra-party and inter-party pressures.

Presenter **Congressional Politics in Political Economy**

(Board 12)

Robi Ragan, *University of Georgia*

Overview: This paper uses computational models to demonstrate the need for incorporating formal models of Congress within the political economy literature on policy formation.

Presenter **Why People Pay More Under Proportional System?: Electoral System, Corporate Governance and Price**

(Board 13)

Jaekwon Suh, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: This paper explains cross-national variation of competitive price level measured by purchasing power parity (PPP). The theoretical contribution of the paper is to show firm's price-asking behavior in a certain political environment.

Presenter **An Agent-Based Model of Atomistic Social Interaction and Preference Formation**

(Board 14)

Dominick E. Wright, *University of Michigan*

Overview: The paper is first in a series seeking to disentangle the web of endogenous preference formation processes within states and in the context of social issues.

Friday, April 13 – 8:00 am – 9:35 am

- 1-108** **ROUNDTABLE: THE POLITICS OF THE 110TH CONGRESS (Co-sponsored with Legislative Politics: Institutions, see 39-101)**
Room Red Lacquer, 4th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair **Barbara Sinclair**, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Panelist **Gary Jacobson**, *University of California, San Diego*
Bob Benenson, *Congressional Quarterly*
Frances Lee, *University of Maryland*
 Overview: This roundtable on the 110th Congress assesses the results of the 2006 midterm elections, the 110th Congress to date, and the political and policy outlook for the next two years.
- 2-3** **ELECTORAL CONSEQUENCES OF GLOBALIZATION**
Room Salon 1, 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair **Jude Hays**, *University of Illinois*
Paper **The Globally Discriminating Voter**
Raymond M. Duch, *University of Oxford*
 Overview: Empirical tests of a selection model of global context and vote choice employing a multi-mode cross-national research design.
- Paper** **Responsibility Attributions and Policy Efficacy in an Era of Globalization**
John Freeman, *University of Minnesota*
Timothy Hellwig, *University of Houston*
Eve Ringsmuth, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: We report results from an original experiment data on respondent appreciation of the policy room to maneuver under globalization. We examine how perceptions of the room to maneuver affect individual-level attitudes and identify sources of individual-levels.
- Paper** **Partisan Waves: International Sources of Electoral Choice**
Mark A. Kayser, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: Partisan vote intentions co-vary across countries.
- Paper** **How Globalization Affects the Strategy of National Political Parties in Western Europe**
Romain Lachat, *University of Zurich*
Hanspeter Kriesi, *University of Zurich*
 Overview: The impact of the new cleavage between winners and losers of globalization leads to a reinforcement of the cultural dimension of political conflict at the expense of the economic dimension.
- Disc.** **Kenneth Scheve**, *Yale University*
Jude Hays, *University of Illinois*
- 3-4** **DEMOCRACY, DICTATORSHIP, AND DEVELOPMENT**
Room Salon 2, 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair **Catherine Boone**, *University of Texas, Austin*
Paper **The Value of Political Office, Dictatorship and Democracy**
Alexander Baturo, *Trinity College, Dublin*
 Overview: Why are rulers more reluctant to leave office in the developing world than in the West? The value of political office is higher in poor countries, and the rulers try to stay in office as long as possible, which, in turn, affects democratic outcomes.
- Paper** **International Investors, Risk, and Popular Governments**
Zane M. Kelly, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
 Overview: I examine currency ratings across 14 Latin American countries from 1979-1997 to address the question of whether international investors view countries headed by populist leaders as greater investment risks than others.
- Paper** **The Determinants of Democracy in a State: An Ordered Logit Regression**
James M. McQuiston, *Kent State University*
 Overview: Literature from democratization studies lend variables to a comprehensive model that explains the level of democratization in a nation better than in previous studies. An ordered logit regression is used on the data to determine which variables reach states.

- Paper** **The Political Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment in Developing Countries**
Heiner Schulz, *University of Pennsylvania*
 Overview: This paper examines the political factors influencing the flow of FDI to developing countries. Results show that MNC investment decisions are driven by specific structural characteristics of a country's political system rather than regime type.
- Disc.** **Jennifer Gandhi**, *Emory University*
Catherine Boone, *University of Texas, Austin*
- 3-18** **POLITICAL PARTY COMPETITION AND ORGANIZATION IN DEVELOPING DEMOCRACIES**
Room Montrose 7, 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair **Anna Grzymala-Busse**, *University of Michigan*
Paper **Party Competition and Informal Institutions**
Scott Desposato, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: This paper investigates the relationship between electoral market types and patterns of party competition in Latin America.
- Paper** **Votes and Revolts**
Nahomi Ichino, *Harvard University*
Kimuli Kasara, *Columbia University*
 Overview: This paper examines how ethnic demography affects political stability in sub-Saharan Africa via a president's allocation decisions. We present a model that highlights the double-edged nature of transfers; that is, transfers to buy the support of the opposition may increase the opposition's capacity to overthrow the president through violent means. We test the implications of this model with a new dataset.
- Paper** **Why Primaries? An Empirical Investigation of Inter and Intra-Party Competition in American Presidential Elections**
Shigeo Hirano, *Columbia University*
Ozge Kemahlioglu, *Florida State University*
Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro, *Columbia University*
 Overview: Contrary to the recent empirical literature, we find evidence which suggests that parties hold primary elections to address intra-party conflicts rather than to gain some advantage in the general election.
- Paper** **Primary Elections versus Smoke-filled Rooms in Latin America**
Gilles Serra, *Harvard University*
 Overview: How does a party survive a confrontation among its leaders? We build a model that explains how a party fracture can be avoided if the party leaders agree to hold a primary election to nominate the party's candidates.
- Disc.** **Anna Grzymala-Busse**, *University of Michigan*
- 4-4** **CORRUPTION, RULE OF LAW AND DEMOCRATIC PERFORMANCE**
Room PDR 4, 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair **Peter A. Ferguson**, *University of Western Ontario*
Paper **Does Corruption-Enhancing the Role of Re-election Incentives?**
Carlos Pereira, *Michigan State University*
Marcus A. Melo, *Federal University of Pernambuco*
Carlos M. Figueiredo, *Federal University of Pernambuco*
 Overview: Why mayors would run for reelection if the crimes were made public? The extent to which citizens tend to reward corrupt practices when these are disclosed by watchdogs? Our findings lead to mixed conclusions about the quality of democracy in Brazil.
- Paper** **Democratization, Quality of Institutions and Economic Growth**
Vladimir V. Popov, *New Economic School*
 Overview: We consider how democratization (changes in the level of democracy in the 1970s-1990s as measured by increments of Freedom House political rights indices) influence economic growth controlling for law and order (order based on legal rules).

Paper	<u>Corruption and Anti-Corruption</u> Monica Dorhoi , <i>World Bank</i> Overview: How and why anti-corruption reforms vary across countries is still an open question. The paper will present results of the latest World Bank study of anti-corruption reforms in 77 countries from 5 continents.	Paper	<u>Social Pacts in Western Europe: Economic and Political Institutions</u> Kerstin Hamann , <i>University of Central Florida</i> John Kelly , <i>Birkbeck College</i> Overview: We identify the role of economic and electoral institutions to explain the presence or absence of social pacts. In particular, we look at the role of electoral competition to explain when governments prefer social pacts over legislative action.
Paper	<u>Bureaucratic Corruption, Judicial Independence, and Public Power</u> Gang Wang , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: Bureaucratic corruption is a product of a certain society with specific economic and political structures, and the judiciary, as an institutional arrangement to resist bureaucratic corruption, has to be independent to the government.	Disc.	Julia Gray , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i>
Disc.	Phil Keefer , <i>World Bank</i>	8-6	<u>CITIZEN PERCEPTIONS OF LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS</u>
5-10	<u>INSTITUTIONS AND POLITICAL CAREERS</u>	Room	Sandburg 6, 7 th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Room	Salon 4, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am	Chair	Moises Arce , <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i>
Chair	Andreas D. Kopp , <i>OECD</i>	Paper	<u>Presidential Approval in Good and Bad Times: The Peruvian Case</u> Julio F. Carrion , <i>University of Delaware</i> Moises E. Arce , <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Overview: We use an ARCH model that accounts for economic and political volatility to analyze the impact of economic performance and key political events on presidential approval in Peru for the 1985-2005 period.
Paper	<u>Electoral Institutions and the Internal Organization of Legislatures</u> Shane Martin , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Overview: Exploring the issue from a comparative perspective, I argue that the relationship between electoral ballot structure and committee system structure is dependent on how incumbents are expected to cultivate a personal vote - what I term the mechanisms.	Paper	<u>The Political, Social, and Economic Determinants of Presidential Approval in Latin America</u> Gregg B. Johnson , <i>SUNY, Buffalo</i> Sooh-Rhee Ryu , <i>SUNY, Buffalo</i> Overview: This paper uses a unique cross-national, time-serial dataset of presidential approval in 10 Latin American nations to determine the political and economic factors driving public support for and against presidents during the volatile 1990s and 2000s.
Paper	<u>Parliamentary Cycles, Legislative Party Switching, and the Midterm Effect</u> Carol Mershon , <i>University of Virginia</i> Olga Shvetsova , <i>Binghamton University</i> Overview: For Italy, Russia, Spain, and the U.S., we identify heightened party switching for office benefits, policy advantage, and vote seeking at distinct stages in the parliamentary cycle. We also find a midterm peak in switching in all four cases.	Paper	<u>Neoliberal Reformers and Trust: Voter Responses to Reform in Latin America</u> Lia K. Roberts , <i>Mount St. Mary's College</i> Overview: Neoliberal reformers have met with discontent in some countries and won re-election in others. Analyzing elections in Latin America, this paper shows that party characteristics and voter calculations of trust drive voter decisions.
Paper	<u>Career Goals and Legislative Behavior in the European Parliament</u> Dan Pemstein , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Steve Meserve , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> William Bernhard , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: We argue that career goals—whether to return home or stay in Brussels--affect legislative behavior in the European Parliament.	Paper	<u>Trust Them, Trust Them Not: Trust in Latin American Political Institutions</u> Ashley D. Ross , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Maria C. Escobar-Lemmon , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Using survey data from 5 Latin American cases we identify the role of socioeconomic status, education, and partisan identification in predicting an individual's trust in political institutions after accounting for level of democracy and wealth.
Paper	<u>Where Have All the Zoku Gone? Electoral Rules and MP Specialization in Japan</u> Benjamin Nyblade , <i>University of British Columbia</i> Ellis Krauss , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Robert Pekkanen , <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: Political career path analysis of MPs in Japan over the last 30 years shows that the 1994 adoption of a mixed electoral system increased specialization by PR-based MPs and decreased it by SMD-based MPs.	Paper	<u>The Micro-Economics of Corruption in Argentina</u> Luigi Manzetti , <i>Southern Methodist University</i> Overview: We analyze the relationship between individual level economic factors and perception of corruption in Argentina. We then look at the consequences of these perceptions for citizens' candidate evaluations, participation and vote choice.
Disc.	Andreas D. Kopp , <i>OECD</i> Juliana Bambaci , <i>Stanford University</i>	Disc.	Julio F. Carrion , <i>University of Delaware</i> Jana Morgan , <i>University of Tennessee, Knoxville</i>
7-6	<u>LABOR AND THE EUROPEAN STATE</u>	9-4	<u>FOREIGN POLICY IN THE PACIFIC REGION - DETERMINANTS</u>
Room	Sandburg 7, 7 th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am	Room	Sandburg 5, 7 th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair	Julia Gray , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i>	Chair	Yongwook RYU , <i>Harvard University</i>
Paper	<u>Institutional Constraints to a Streamlined EU Social Model: Childcare in Comparison</u> Katja E. Vermehren , <i>University of Colorado</i> Overview: This paper will analyze institutional constraints within the different welfare state systems on more streamlined childcare policies in the EU.	Paper	<u>Dilemma of Openness, Societal Forces in China's Japan Policy Making</u> Yufan Hao , <i>University of Macau</i> Overview: This article examines the increasing influence of various domestic factors such as academics, media, and public opinion, within the context of newly developed internet technology, on the making of China's Japan policy.
Paper	<u>The Politics of Retrenchment in the European Union: Why is It so Difficult to Reform the EU Agricultural Policies?</u> Isa Camyar , <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: In this project, I explore the prospects and possibilities of reforming the EU agricultural policies. Relying Pierson's new politics thesis, I claim that the EU agricultural policies have created client-based interest groups, which enjoy concentrated benefits.	Paper	<u>Reconciliation: Structure, Political Regime, Economics or Apology?</u> Yangmo Ku , <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: This paper examines various reasons why South Korea and Japan could not reach the level of reconciliation France and Germany achieved. The main cause derives from the absence of

democratic institutions and values in South Korea and the weaknesses of Japan.

Paper **The U.S.-India Nuclear Agreement: Consolidation of an Ethnic Lobby**
Jason A. Kirk, *Virginia Military Institute*
 Overview: This paper contributes to the literature on ethnic lobbies and U.S. foreign policy, tracing the efforts of Indian-American citizens groups to press members of Congress into supporting a major 2005 nuclear agreement by the Bush administration and India.

Paper **Power Structure in Multilateral Negotiation of the Six-Party Talks**
Phill Jo, *University of Oklahoma*
 Overview: The paper examines the dilemma that the multilateral structure to solve the North Korean nuclear crisis faces and evaluates how effective the structure is. It also discusses policy implications.

Paper **Emperor's New Clothes: South Korea's New Identity and its Changed Foreign Policy**
Susan M. Suh, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Realists reject the possibility that state identity can influence state behavior, yet recent events in South Korea challenge this premise. This paper takes a constructivist stance illustrating the importance of state identity driving its interests and policy.

Disc. **Yongwook RYU**, *Harvard University*

13-5 **HERE WE GO AGAIN: ECONOMIC REFORM IN COMMUNIST AND POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES**

Room Sandburg 4, 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair **Petia Kostadinova**, *University of Florida*

Paper **Economic Reform in North Korea: Myth or Reality?**
Patrick T. McEachern, *Louisiana State University*
 Overview: Has the DPRK undertaken economic reform? Do its strategic and institutional decisions since 2002 mirror those of transitioning governments. Has the DPRK empowered a post-communist bureaucracy? Have prices, exchange rates, and trade changed?

Paper **China's Privatization Debates in the Jiang Zemin Era (1993-2002)**
Yayoi Kato, *University of Southern California*
 Overview: The research attempts to detect and illuminate internal debates among China's national policy makers over private enterprise control policies in the Jiang Zemin era, via content analysis of nearly 650 articles from official policy-oriented journals.

Paper **Political Determinants of Privatization Effectiveness: Evidence from Russia**
Scott Gehlbach, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
David Brown, *Heriot-Watt University*
John S. Earle, *Upjohn Institute for Employment Research*
 Overview: We exploit comprehensive panel data on initially state-owned Russian manufacturing firms to investigate cross-regional variation in privatization effects.

Paper **Interest Groups in Russia's Economic Transformation**
Lynn D. Nelson, *Virginia Commonwealth University*
Irina Y. Kuzes, *Virginia Commonwealth University*
 Overview: The radical transformation of Russia's political and economic life since 1991 reflects the influence of divergent interests. This paper examines the evolving strategies of key interest groups through time and their implications for the future.

Paper **Technocratic Filters: Domestic Institutions and External Pressures in CEE**
Aleksandra J. Sznajder, *Columbia University*
 Overview: Paper examines comparatively the process in which domestic institutions filter various external pressures in four most-different East Central European countries, resulting in counterintuitive privatization of these countries' steel sector.

Disc. **Timothy M. Frye**, *Columbia University*
Christine Lipsmeyer, *Texas A&M University*

14-4 **DOMESTIC POLITICS AND FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT**

Room Sandburg 2, 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair **Pablo M. Pinto**, *Columbia University*

Paper **Foreign Direct Investment, Convergence Theory, and Income Inequality**
Feng Sun, *University of Alabama*
 Overview: This paper tries to reveal the long term effect of FDI on the host countries by revisiting the relationship between FDI and economic growth and income inequality using an updated panel dataset covering more countries and longer time span.

Paper **Policy Uncertainty in Hybrid Regimes: Evidence from Firm Level Survey**
Megumi Naoi, *University of California, San Diego*
Thomas Kenyon, *World Bank*
 Overview: Using the World Bank's firm-level survey data, this paper investigates why firms in hybrid regimes report higher levels of concerns over policy uncertainty than those in strict authoritarian regimes and established democracies.

Paper **Domestic and International Dimensions of U.S. Foreign Direct Investment Abroad**
Yoram Z. Haftel, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Overview: This paper examines the determinants of U.S. foreign direct investment (FDI) abroad from 1966 to 2000. It analyzes the extent to which interstate as well as domestic variables determine the outflow of American FDI.

Paper **Why Do Politicians Choose to Expropriate from Foreign Investors? Expropriation Acts and the Survival of Leaders**
Nathan M. Jensen, *Washington University*
Quan Li, *Pennsylvania State University*
 Overview: We explore how the exogenous factors affecting the survival of political leaders influences the incentives of leaders to expropriate from foreign investors.

Paper **The Political-Institutional Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment**
Nathan W. Freeman, *University of Georgia*
 Overview: Paper examines the interactive effects of domestic political institutions (i.e., regime type) and international legal commitments (i.e., bilateral investment treaties) on inflows of foreign direct investment (FDI) among developing countries.

Disc. **Pablo M. Pinto**, *Columbia University*

14-19 **PARTISANSHIP AND ECONOMIC POLICY (Co-sponsored with Economic Policy, see 48-7)**

Room Parlor H, 6th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair **Robert W. Walker**, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Paper **Partisanship, Institutions, and Government Bond Markets**
Hye Jee Cho, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: I examine how financial markets perceive the political power of the left. Left governments may have negative effects on their sovereign credit ratings, but they may improve their ratings by the help of institutions that reduce policy uncertainty.

Paper **Globalization, Government Ideology and Economic Policies**
Eunyoung Ha, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: This paper examines the impact of globalization and the ideological position of the government on welfare and tax policies using pooled time-series data analysis for eighty six countries from 1975 to 2005.

Paper **Partisanship and Central Bank Independence: Is there a Policy Ideology Tradeoff?**
William Davis, *Florida State University*
 Overview: Central bank literature often overlooks key questions of partisanship with regard to governments' central bank policy. This paper tests the relationship between partisan policy preferences as suggested in the literature and the empirical data.

Paper **Political Root of Interindustry Labor Mobility**
Qiang Zhou, *Columbia University*
 Overview: In this paper I propose and test a theory that argues partisanship of governments can determine the types and magnitudes of certain public policies that can have persistent and significant impact on levels of interindustry labor mobility.

Paper	<u>Monetary Institutions, Partisanship, and Inflation Targeting</u> David A. Singer, <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Bumba Mukherjee, <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: The adoption of inflation targeting -- a relatively new monetary policy rule -- reflects a political calculus based on partisanship and the institutional structure of the central bank. We offer a formal model and empirical tests.	Paper	<u>Soldiers, Statesmen and Strategy: The Impact of Preference Divergence on Decision-Making</u> Dessie P. Zagorcheva, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: This article analyzes how diverging civilian and military preferences on issues of foreign policy and national security affect the ability of a state to make and implement decisions on the use of force.
Disc.	Robert W. Walker, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i>	Disc.	David T. Burbach, <i>Naval War College</i>
15-5	<u>DOMESTIC AUDIENCE COSTS AND CONFLICT BEHAVIOR</u>	17-6	<u>IT TAKES TIME: RACING, RIVALRY, AND PROLIFERATION AS CONFLICT PROCESS</u>
Room	Salon 5, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am	Room	Sandburg 8, 7 th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair	Indridi H. Indridason, <i>University of Iceland</i>	Chair	Mark A. Souva, <i>Florida State University</i>
Paper	<u>(In)Credible Commitments: Re-evaluating Audience Costs in International Relations</u> Zachary M. Mears, <i>Ohio State University</i> C. James DeLaet, <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: This paper challenges the traditional argument regarding the relationship between audience costs (whether real or perceived) and the credibility of foreign policy commitments.	Paper	<u>Russia - United States: The Transformation an Interstate Rivalry</u> Brandon G. Valeriano, <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i> Vitaliy Voznyak, <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i> Overview: In this study we examine the Russian – United States rivalry focusing on relations since 1991 to the present time of 2005. The Russian – U.S. rivalry changed from a worldwide, geopolitical rivalry to a regional rivalry, but never terminated.
Paper	<u>Public Commitment in Crisis Bargaining</u> Bahar Leventoglu, <i>Duke University</i> Ahmer Tarar, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: We show how public commitments can be used instrumentally as a source of bargaining leverage, even in a complete information setting in which they have no signaling role.	Paper	<u>Proliferation and Coercion: An Ounce of Prevention or a Pound of Flesh?</u> David Sobek, <i>Louisiana State University</i> Dennis M. Foster, <i>Virginia Military Institute</i> Sam Robison, <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: Explores the complex relationship between efforts to procure or develop nuclear weapons and the conventional military targeting of such proliferators by other states.
Paper	<u>Non-democracies, Audience Costs, and Credible Commitment</u> Songying Fang, <i>University of Minnesota</i> Erica Owen, <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: How do non-democratic countries credibly commit to policies in front of domestic and international audiences? In this study, we argue that international institutions provide an important mechanism through which non-democracies could credibly signal their commitment.	Paper	<u>Rivalry, Issues, and the Onset of Conventional Arms Races</u> Toby J. Rider, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: I examine the role of conventional arms races within the context of rivalry relations. In doing so, I evaluate the issues driving disputes between rivals and the extent to which the type of issue impacts the probability of an arms race developing.
Paper	<u>Democratic Deception: A Pathology of Domestic Audience Costs</u> Yevgeniy Kirpichevsky, <i>Harvard University</i> Phillip Lipsey, <i>Harvard University</i> 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	<u>Go Big or Stay Home? Negotiated Settlements and The Recurrence of War</u> Jonathan E. Berohn, <i>University of Colorado</i> Overview: Why do states go to war with the same enemies more than once? Current theories of war cannot adequately explain why we see these recurring wars.
Disc.	Indridi H. Indridason, <i>University of Iceland</i>	Paper	<u>Armament Systems and Interstate Conflict: A Dyadic Analysis</u> Victor Marin, <i>Rice University</i> Overview: Armaments and weapons systems are the very means by which interstate conflict is executed. This paper seeks to investigate which types of arms are most associated with international conflict in the context of arms racing.
16-7	<u>MICRO AND MACRO CAUSES OF WAR</u>	Disc.	Charity K. Butcher, <i>Indiana University</i> Robert B. Packer, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i>
Room	Salon 6, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am		
Chair	Randall L. Schweller, <i>Ohio State University</i>		
Paper	<u>Advisors and War: Bargaining in the Inner Circle</u> Brent Strathman, <i>Dartmouth College</i> Overview: This study draws from psychological theories of advisors to examine the impact of advisors on bargaining behavior. In particular, results suggest theorists need to be cognizant of advisory effects in the interpretation of threats and promises.		
Paper	<u>Power Cycle Theory and the Development of Biases Favoring War</u> Ryan Crow, <i>Johns Hopkins University</i> Overview: Rapid shifts in sign and rate of relative power growth generate conditions under which national leaders may be subject to cognitive motivated biases that produce sub-rational decision-making leading to war. WWI and WWII serve as case studies.	18-2	<u>FOREIGN AID: CARROT OR STICK?</u>
Paper	<u>Trade Patterns in the Shadow of Major War</u> Arnd Plagge, <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: This paper revisits the discussion about the interplay of trade and conflict and provides a detailed examination of trade patterns on the eve of World War II. Special emphasis is put upon portraying the German experience from 1933 to 1941.	Room	Salon 7, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
		Chair	Julie Lantrip, <i>Georgetown University</i>
		Paper	<u>Competing Strategies: Comparing Foreign aid and Military Intervention</u> Paola Fajardo, <i>SUNY, Binghamton</i> Overview: This paper explores two mechanisms by which major powers influence other's domestic institutions: military intervention and foreign aid. Looking at U.S., this paper compares the impact that those strategies have had on democracy between 1945 and 2004.
		Paper	<u>Breaking the Habit: The Impact of Human Rights Abuse Spikes, Genocide, Mass Killings, and Adverse Regime Changes on U.S. Foreign Aid</u> Julie Lantrip, <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: This study tests whether spikes in human rights abuses, genocide, mass killings or adverse regime changes can overcome strategic interests and bureaucratic inertia and lead to major cuts in U.S. foreign aid.

Paper **Anticipating or Reacting? USAID Allocation and Civil War Onset**
Ellen Cutrone, *Binghamton University*
 Overview: Have U.S. policy makers tried to anticipate the possibility of civil war when making their decisions about foreign aid? This study investigates this question by examining USAID allocations to Africa and Latin America between 1945 and 2004.

Paper **Humanitarian or Political?: U.S.'s AIDS Funding to Sub Saharan Africa**
Youngsoo Kim, *Purdue University*
 Overview: Despite its significant contribution, U.S. has been criticized for not observing a humanitarian principle in its AIDS funding to sub-Saharan Africa. I attempt to figure out the U.S.'s criteria in its AIDS funding decisions through a regression analysis.

Disc. **Julie Lantrip**, *Georgetown University*

18-4 **MILITARY FORCE AND FOREIGN POLICY**
Room Parlor B, 6th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair **Bradley R. Gitz**, *Lyon College*
Paper **Instructing Soldiers for Their States: U.S. and International Military Training**
Martin J. Kifer, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: This project explains allocation strategies for U.S. training assistance to foreign militaries from the Cold War to the current policy era.

Paper **Casualty Avoidance and the Use of American Military Force**
Bradley R. Gitz, *Lyon College*
 Overview: The proposed paper will assess the increasingly influential argument that aversion to suffering casualties hampers the use of American military force.

Paper **Cross-Cultural Effects of Casualties on Foreign Policy Decision Making**
Nam Tae Park, *Texas A&M University, College Station*
Nehemia Geva, *Texas A&M University, College Station*
 Overview: In this study, I will examine the different perceptions and impacts of casualties on foreign policy decision-making in both South Korea and the U.S. Cross-national experimental design in South Korea and the U.S. will be employed.

Disc. **Donald D.A. Schaefer**, *Tulane University*
Martin J. Kifer, *University of Minnesota*

19-4 **COMMITMENT, MONITORING, AND ENFORCEMENT**
Room Clark 10, 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair **Susan Hannah Allen**, *Texas Tech University*
Paper **Nonverifiability and the Choice of International Institutions**
Brett V. Benson, *Vanderbilt University*
David Soskice, *Duke University*
 Overview: Why do states resist membership in some international organizations? We develop a framework that demonstrates the choice of institutions for resolving international cooperation problems depends upon the verifiability of players' actions.

Paper **Delegation of Informational Capacity to International Organizations**
Hyeran Jo, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: I offer a model that specifies the conditions under which states delegate different levels of informational capacity to international institutions.

Paper **Why Do States Commit to Human Rights Treaties? International Condemnation of Norm Violations Among Signatory States**
Nikolay Marinov, *Yale University*
 Overview: While the ineffectiveness of international human rights treaties is widely held, a key assumption - that there are no international costs to committing to a treaty and then violating it - has gone untested.

Paper **Legal Systems and Variance in the Design of Commitments to the International Court of Justice**
Emilia J. Powell, *Georgia Southern University*
Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: This paper explores the link existing between domestic legal systems and the design of commitments to the World Court.

Disc. **Susan Hannah Allen**, *Texas Tech University*

21-1 **EMOTION AND POLICY ATTITUDES**
Room Salon 12, 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair **Nadia Khatib**, *University of Arizona*
Paper **Emotions' Role on How People Reason about Political Events and Public Policy**
Cengiz Erisen, *SUNY, Stony Brook*
Milton Lodge, *SUNY, Stony Brook*
Charles S. Taber, *SUNY, Stony Brook*
 Overview: This paper focuses on a consequentialist model of decision making which posits that individuals make causal inferences when forming judgments. While testing this approach, we integrate emotion into the evaluation of anticipated consequences.

Paper **Fear Unchecked: How Democracies Curtail Civil Liberties after Terrorist Attacks**
Gabriel Rubin, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
 Overview: In this paper, I ask, 'What determines how the governments react with regard to civil liberties after terrorist attacks?' In response, I forward a theory of how executive threat-shaping, constrained by mass fears, yields civil liberty abridgements.

Paper **Emotion, Attribution, and Attitudes Towards Crime**
Erin C. Cassese, *Stony Brook University*
Christopher R. Weber, *Stony Brook University*
Milt Lodge, *Stony Brook University*
Charles Taber, *Stony Brook University*
 Overview: In this paper, we examine the way emotions influence attributions for criminal behavior and attitudes toward the criminal justice system.

Paper **Fear in the Illegal Immigration Debate: Where Do Anxious Citizens Get News?**
Shana K. Gadarian, *Princeton University*
Bethany Albertson, *University of Washington*
 Overview: Experimental subjects see campaign appeals about immigration. They have a chance to search for more information in a website that we designed. We predict that anxious citizens will seek information but will be attracted by threatening presentations.

Disc. **Tereza Capelos**, *Leiden University*

22-4 **CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS (Co-sponsored with Legislative Politics: Campaigns and Elections, see 40-10)**
Room Salon 8, 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair **Thomas L. Brunell**, *University of Texas, Dallas*
Paper **Constituency Knowledge of Roll Calls and its Electoral Consequences**
Joshua D. Clinton, *Princeton University*
Jeff Tessin, *Princeton University*
 Overview: We study possible mechanisms of constituency awareness regarding representative position-taking in the House of Representatives and their electoral consequences using a new survey of over 13,000 respondents.

Paper **Voting and Valence: Senators' Characteristics and Citizen Vote Choice**
Christian R. Grose, *Vanderbilt University*
Suzanne Globetti, *Vanderbilt University*
 Overview: I show that (1) the spatial distance between legislator and constituent and (2) a legislator's non-policy valence attributes affect a citizen's vote choice. However, this effect is conditional upon the voter's position along the ideological dimension.

Paper	<p><u>The New and Old Electoral Connection: Earmarks and Pork Barrel Politics</u> Diana Evans, <i>Trinity College</i> Kenneth N. Bickers, <i>University of Colorado</i> Robert M. Stein, <i>Rice University</i> Robert D. Wrinkle, <i>University of Texas, Pan American</i> Overview: This study examines the electoral impact of House members' credit claiming for traditional pork barrel projects, defined as categorical and discretionary grant awards, and legislative earmarks to congressional districts.</p>	25-6	<p><u>THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL STEREOTYPES</u> Salon 9, 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room Chair Jennifer Fitzgerald, <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Paper <u>The Role of Policy-Specific Information in Development of Welfare Attitudes</u> Susan M. Miller, <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Sean C. Nicholson-Crotty, <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Overview: This paper examines the influence of policy-specific information on welfare attitudes. We find that policy-specific information plays an integral role in shaping welfare attitudes and activating negative stereotypes in the formulation of these views.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Uncovering a Reform Dimension in the 2006 U.S. Congressional Elections</u> Daron R. Shaw, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Melvin Hinich, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: We posit that the preferences of American voters are currently structured by both left-right social welfare issue attitudes and reform/establishment perceptions. We develop an appropriate methodology from Cahoon-Hinich.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Gender, Race, and Deservedness: Why Americans Now Hate Bankruptcy Policy</u> Erin E. O'Brien, <i>Kent State University</i> Timothy Bowman, <i>Kent State University</i> Overview: Why are Americans starting to hate bankruptcy policy? This policy, after all, often protects average consumers from creditors. Yet, in the last decade, mass publics have increasingly come to disapprove of bankruptcy policy and those claiming its protection.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Incumbency and Realignment: Partisan Change in House Elections</u> Scott Basinger, <i>Stony Brook University</i> Helmut Norpoth, <i>Stony Brook University</i> Overview: It was not until 1994 that a "realignment" registered in House elections. We contend that congressional incumbency acted as a suppressor variable, delaying the realignment's manifestation in congressional elections.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Racial Progress: Thinking about Black Presidential Candidates</u> David C. Wilson, <i>University of Delaware</i> Overview: This research assesses racial progress in terms of the public's perceptions of prospective black presidential candidates.</p>
Disc.	<p>Thomas L. Brunell, <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Prospective and Practicing Teachers' Attitudes Toward Muslims</u> Robert Lucking, <i>Old Dominion University</i> Nichole Perron, <i>Old Dominion University</i> Overview: Using the Pew survey item slightly recast, this research study sought to identify over 200 U.S. prospective and practicing teachers' perceptions of the conflict between Muslim and Western societies.</p>
23-4	<p><u>THE PARTIES' ROLE IN CONTEMPORARY CAMPAIGNS</u> Parlor F, 6th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room Chair Danny Hayes, <i>Syracuse University</i> Paper <u>Political Parties and Strategic Campaign Behavior</u> Brian J. Brox, <i>Tulane University</i> Overview: This paper looks at the strategic allocation of resources by state political parties during campaigns from 1992 to 2002.</p>	Disc.	<p>Jennifer Fitzgerald, <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Campaign Mobilization Influence on Party in the Electorate</u> David C. Kershaw, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: Models of partisanship overlook the importance of electoral party activity for strengthening party-in-the-electorate. Panel data show campaign contact strengthens the link between partisans and their party and can increase the pool of partisans.</p>	26-101	<p><u>ROUNDTABLE: MISCALCULATING THE VOTES: ANALYSES OF TURNOUT IN VOTING RIGHTS DISTRICTS</u> Adams, 6th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room Panelist Zulema T. Blair, <i>Medgar Evers College</i> DeWayne Lucas, <i>Hobart and William Smith Colleges</i> Marcus D. Allen, <i>Wheaton College</i> Aldrin Bonilla, <i>City University of New York</i> Denese McArthur, <i>Binghamton University</i> Overview: This panel seeks to draw attention to the various components surrounding not only one's ability to communicate to voters, but also an analysis of the voters and how well they perceive the issues at stake in democratic primaries.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Campaign Intensity, Partisan Cues, and the Activation of Voters in the 2000 Presidential Election</u> Scott D. McClurg, <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Overview: Previous evidence shows that mobilization of partisans is key to understanding campaign success. This paper examines the mechanisms connecting partisan mobilization to campaigns. The evidence shows that the types of issues campaigns choose to emphasize.</p>	27-6	<p><u>ISSUES IN THE NEWS</u> Clark 1, 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Room Chair Robert K. Goidel, <i>Louisiana State University</i> Paper <u>Shaping the Debate: The Strategic Discourse of Washington Policymaking</u> Michael MacKuen, <i>University of North Carolina</i> Patrick J. McHugh, <i>University of North Carolina</i> Overview: Using data from recent political battles, we examine the contest for issue definition in Washington and in the national news media. We test theories about how strategic actors simplify policy debate and shape political outcomes.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Redistricting, Candidate Recognition, and Candidate Contacting</u> Seth C. McKee, <i>University of South Florida, St. Petersburg</i> Overview: This paper examines the effect of redistricting on candidate recognition and candidate contacting strategies.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Polls in the News: The Effects of Mobilization and Elite Dissensus</u> Jennifer Oats-Sargent, <i>University of Illinois</i> Overview: As elite dissensus and mobilization on an issue increase, the frequency of polls cited in news coverage of that issue will increase as well.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Changing State Legislative Campaign: Bringing the Parties Back In</u> Chapman Rackaway, <i>Fort Hays State University</i> Travis Lovelady, <i>Fort Hays State University</i> Cody Pierson, <i>Fort Hays State University</i> Overview: Survey of state legislative candidates on professionalism, tactics, and party involvement in campaigns.</p>		
Disc.	<p>Danny Hayes, <i>Syracuse University</i> Robert L. Dion, <i>University of Evansville</i></p>		

Paper **From Marginal to Mainstream?: Gay Marriage and the Living Wage**
Deva R. Woodly, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: By examining the content of mainstream discourse, official position-taking and public opinion I gauge the success of gay marriage and the living wage at stimulating public awareness, concern and commitment.

Paper **The Missouri Stem Cell Vote: An Examination of the Public's Role in Shaping Science Policy**
Marjorie Kruvand, *University of Missouri*
Lee Wilkins, *University of Missouri*
 Overview: This case study compares the framing of risk in news stories and persuasive messages about the November 2006 Missouri stem cell ballot initiative to voting results and church membership to gauge the impact of religious fundamentalism on voter choice.

Paper **What Went Wrong?: EU Constitutional Referendum in France**
Oya Dursun-Ozkanca, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: This paper focuses on the interaction between media coverage, public opinion, and the government policies vis-à-vis the issue of the EU Constitution in France, in an attempt to understand the French rejection of the EU Constitution.

Disc. **Robert K. Goidel**, *Louisiana State University*

28-3 **INSTITUTIONAL OBSTACLES AND FEMALE CANDIDATES**
Room Clark 7, 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair **Elizabeth A. Bennion-Turba**, *Indiana University, South Bend*
Paper **The Chosen Few: EMILY's List Endorsements, 2000-2004**
Jamie P. Pimlott, *University of Florida*
 Overview: While the number of Democratic women running for federal office has increased the number of women receiving EMILY's List support has declined. I conduct a pooled time series analysis to answer the question of what predicts Emily's List support.

Paper **Incumbency and Age in the VA House of Delegates: Locking Women out Early**
Deirdre M. Condit, *Virginia Commonwealth University*
Cliff Fox, *Virginia Commonwealth University*
Janet Hutchinson, *Virginia Commonwealth University*
 Overview: Using VA GeoStat (Geospatial & Statistical Data Center, UVA) data we examine demographic features of incumbency (age at first election and tenure length) to determine whether incumbent seats are gendered and so further locking women out early.

Paper **Examining Issue Explanations for Women's Representation at the State Level**
Katrina M. Running, *University of Arizona*
 Overview: I examine the relationship between the number of women running for state level offices with state policy priorities to test whether states that prioritize issues such as education and health care attract more women candidates for political office.

Paper **Women Candidates and Primary Election Law**
Pamela M. Fiber, *California State University, Fullerton*
 Overview: Using both case study and empirical data, this paper tests theories about female candidates likelihood of success under various primary election laws.

Disc. **Jeanette M. Mendez**, *Oklahoma State University*
Elizabeth Bennion Turba, *Indiana University, South Bend*

29-14 **RACE AND ELECTED REPRESENTATION**
Room PDR 5, 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair **Andra Gillespie**, *Emory University*
Paper **Representing Black Interests in the U.S. Senate**
Michael Minta, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: This paper examines the effect of the racial composition of the district on the substantive representation of minority interests in the U.S. Senate.

Paper **I Got Here First: Black Representation on City Councils and Boards**
Melissa J. Marschall, *Rice University*
Anirudh V. S. Ruhil, *Ohio University*
Paru Shah, *Macalester College*

Overview: Careful modeling of black representation on city councils and school boards in a large number of cities observed over several decades reveals why and how the relative power of district (versus at-large) elections has waned over time.

Paper **The Importance of Race and Ethnicity in Congressional Primary Elections**
Regina P. Branton, *Rice University*
 Overview: This paper provides a more comprehensive view of the impact of race and ethnicity in congressional elections by examining electoral competition and candidate emergence in primary elections as a function of candidate-level race and/or ethnicity.

Paper **Black Representation and the Mobilization of White Hate Groups**
Richard C. Fording, *University of Kentucky*
 Overview: In this paper, we expand the study of the effects of black descriptive representation by shifting the focus from electoral to non-electoral mobilization and examine the relationship between black representation and the mobilization of white hate groups.

Disc. **Jason Casellas**, *University of Texas, Austin*
Carla Jackson, *Ohio State University*

29-15 **IDENTITY, COMMUNITY, AND POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS OF LATINOS/AS IN THE UNITED STATES**

Room Clark 9, 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair **Sylvia Manzano**, *Texas A&M University*
Paper **Latino Aspirations, Expectations and Experiences in the U.S. Educational System**
Valerie Martinez-Ebers, *Texas Christian University*
 Overview: I explore the gap between educational achievement and parental aspirations by examining the effect of local context, social identity and parental experience.

Paper **Transnational Linkages, Generational Change, and Latino Political Engagement**
Gary M. Segura, *University of Washington*

Overview: Processes of assimilation and political incorporation are likely to be affected by the persistence of transnational connections. The effects of these connections on political orientations are explored across generations of U.S. Latinos.

Paper **Foundations of Latino Partisanship**
Luis Ricardo Fraga, *Stanford University*
 Overview: This paper explores the micro-foundations of partisanship among Latinos and distinguishes short-term, candidate specific effects from longer term trends in identity.

Paper **Coming to America: Latino Immigrants and the Adoption of Identity**
Michael Jones-Correa, *Cornell University*
 Overview: This paper explores the relationship between changes in formal status, from immigrant to naturalized citizen, and possible changes in self-identity.

Paper **States of Mind: Differentiation in Identities Adopted by Latinos Across States**
Rodney Hero, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: Previous work has demonstrated important variation in state policies as a consequence of demographic differences. In this paper, I explore whether this effect extends to the self-identity of Latinos living in the state.

Paper **Racial and Ethnic Identity among Latinos and Political Behavioral Connections**
John A. Garcia, *University of Arizona*
 Overview: I explore recent changes in the level and structure of pan-ethnicity, the degree to which Hispanics of various national origin groups see themselves as a collective identity.

Disc. **Sylvia Manzano**, *Texas A&M University*
Victoria Defrancesco, *Rutgers University*

30-2	<u>THE PRACTICE OF POLITICS</u>	
Room	Dearborn 1, 7 th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am	
Chair	Montgomery Brown, Earheart Foundation	
Paper	<u>Aristotle on the Orbit of Politics</u> Connie Hunt, Michigan State University Overview: This paper reminds us that Aristotle thinks the size of a political order is crucial to a political order's ability to fulfill its proper end.	Paper <u>Domination and Distributive Justice</u> Frank Lovett, Washington University, St. Louis Overview: This paper argues that a commitment to minimizing domination entails supporting an unconditional basic income.
Paper	<u>Democratic Virtue and Aristotle's Political Realism</u> Susan Collins, University of Houston Overview: Scholars today frequently look to Aristotle's thought in arguing for the virtues that support democratic life. This paper argues Aristotle's treatment of democratic virtue is grounded in political realism that rivals that of modern liberal thought.	Paper <u>Republicanism and the Market</u> Eric MacGilvray, Ohio State University Overview: The failure of contemporary republicans to come to terms with the central role that markets play in modern societies causes them to underestimate the obstacles standing in the way of their ideal of freedom.
Paper	<u>The Cycle of Politics</u> Lise van Boxel, St. John's College Overview: Nietzsche thinks political orders arise from each other in a cyclical manner. This cyclical movement is to be promoted, as it vitalizes the species. Such vitality constitutes human excellence, which in turn bestows meaning on human life.	Paper <u>Constant's Conception of Modern Liberty: Positive and Negative</u> Barry F. Murdaco, City University of New York Overview: The intellectual history of the concept of liberty particularly highlighting the conceptual dichotomy of liberty as discussed by Benjamin Constant in "Ancient Liberty v. Modern Liberty" and Isaiah Berlin's "Two Concepts of Liberty".
Paper	<u>The Cost of Civilization</u> Michael W. Grenke, St. John's College Overview: Parts of the soul are suppressed when a political order is established. Given this, it is unclear how politics can be understood as natural. This question will be explored through Lord Dunsany's <i>Up in the Hills</i> , a novel about the Irish.	Disc. Steven A. Kelts, George Washington University
Disc.	Eric Petrie, Michigan State University Alex Wall, Harvard University	
32-19	<u>POLITICS, NATURE, AND HUMANITY</u>	
Room	Clark 3, 7 th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am	
Chair	Tom J. Hoffman, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign	
Paper	<u>Covenantal Realism: Reclaiming the Possibility of Realist Social Contract Theory from the Ruins of Conventionalist and Voluntaristic Contractarianism</u> Paul R. DeHart, Lee University Paul DeHart, University of Texas Overview: Modern social contract theorists appeared to level classical justifications of the authority of the state leaving consent alone as viable basis for legitimate government. But modern social contract theory is has proven unworkable because of its nominalism.	33-4 <u>POLITICAL AGENCY IN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE</u> Room Suite 9-128, 9 th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Chair Leigh Jenco, University of Chicago Paper <u>The Active Democratic Memory: An Eastern European Contribution</u> Delia Alexandru, University of Colorado, Boulder Overview: This paper argues that the works of Vaclav Havel and other Eastern European dissidents offer contributions to liberal democratic theory, specifically with respect to the boundary between public and private spheres.
Paper	<u>Politics, Ethics, and Nature in Spinoza's Theological-Political Treatise</u> Adam Gannaway, The New School for Social Research Overview: For Spinoza, the notions of politics, ethics, and nature are entangled with one another and work together within Spinoza's conceptual framework to encourage a democratic system that encourages mutual aid, diversity, and agonistic pluralism.	Paper <u>On Antipolitics</u> D. Christopher Brooks, St. Olaf College Overview: This paper is an exploration of the concept of antipolitics as conceived initially by the prominent dissident intellectuals of East-Central Europe, with an eye to its rehabilitation as a radically democratic approach to politics in a post – 9/11 world.
Paper	<u>Smith, Hayek, Darwin, and the Private Sphere</u> Lauren K. Hall, Northern Illinois University Overview: This paper argues that evolutionary theory supports the concept of a private sphere as laid out by liberal thinkers like Smith and Hayek.	Paper <u>Beyond Public and Private: Zhang Shizhao's Revision of the Political</u> Leigh Jenco, University of Chicago Overview: This paper explores the inner-outer dichotomy that in Chinese reform discourses identifies potential sites for world-changing action, and how such a trope may enrich understandings of political action in democratic community.
Paper	<u>Politics of Human Rights</u> Soeonn Park, University of Washington Overview: The meaning and role of rights, as well as the referential range and meaning of the rights-bearing subject human, has been changed through hegemonic political struggles between different social groups.	Paper <u>'I speak therefore I am': Communication, Cosmopolitanism, and Political Agency in John Dewey's Political Thought</u> Sara Jordan, Texas A&M University Overview: By rediscovering the poetic in politics, Dewey advances a notion of political agency that is at once more "beautiful" and more democratic, as well as more cosmopolitanly fluid, than the stilted language of ideological politics in Progressive America.
Disc.	Steven M. DeLue, Miami University	Paper <u>Gandhi and the Politics of Androgynous Courage</u> S. Sara Rouhi, University of Wisconsin, Madison Overview: M.K. Gandhi's political thought reveals a new type of courage that deconstructs traditional understandings of courage. Its androgynous, nonviolent nature is rooted in spiritual ends and Gandhi's own upbringing within a gendered colonial discourse.
32-21	<u>REPUBLICANISM AND LIBERTY</u>	Disc. Benjamin F. Berger, Swarthmore College
Room	LaSalle 1, 7 th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am	
Chair	Thomas C. Ellington, Wesleyan College	
Paper	<u>Classical Republican Liberty and the Politics of the Irish Civil War</u> Gavin M. Foster, University of Notre Dame Overview: This paper challenges previous models of the political cleavage behind the Irish Civil War (1922 - 23) by arguing for an under appreciated strain of classical republicanism in the political culture of opponents of the Anglo-Irish Treaty.	33-20 <u>SUFFERING, HAPPINESS, AND OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO OTHERS</u> Room Dearborn 2, 7 th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Chair Larry M. Preston, Union Institute & University Paper <u>Ghosts of Prometheus: Sacrifice, Animal Rights and the Political</u> Stefan Dolgert, Duke University Overview: A critique of liberal social contract and animal rights theory, this paper argues that an understanding of the concept of sacrifice is necessary to comprehend the political relationship between human and non-human animals.

Paper **Suffering, Theory, and Politics**
Giunia Gatta, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: I observe that the activity of theorizing suffering sometimes contributes to, in George Kateb's words, "making the suffering absent." I pursue a mode of theorizing suffering that will avoid this pitfall.

Paper **Popper's Negative Utilitarianism and Hedonic Psychology**
William A. Gorton, *Alma College*
 Overview: My essay explores Karl Popper's concept of negative utilitarianism and its potential, when wedded to recent findings from the field of hedonic psychology, to offer an attractive approach for formulating public policy in liberal democracies.

Paper **Conscience as Responsibility**
Jennie Han, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: Using Arendt's texts, I theorize conscience as a specific arrangement of political relationships to argue that conscience, not moral principles or intersubjective relationships, should ground our understanding of ethical responsibility to the other.

Paper **Human Rights, Poverty, and a Discourse on Eudaimonia**
Connie L. McNeely, *George Mason University*
Erik W. Kuiler, *George Mason University*
 Overview: Engaging a discourse of human rights and eudaimonia, we elaborate a conceptualization of extreme poverty that emphasizes deontology as a guiding principle for developing a political dialogue and policy agenda on human poverty in the context of human rights.

Disc. **Larry M. Preston**, *Union Institute & University*

34-6 **COMPUTATIONAL MODELS**
Room Suite 9-142, 9th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair **Jenna L. Bednar**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Paper **Evolutionary Computation for Political Scientists**
Oleg Smirnov, *University of Miami*
 Overview: The paper introduces evolutionary computation (EC) for political scientists.

Paper **The Dynamics Of Deliberation And Coordination: An Agent-Based Approach**
Randall Calvert, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Stephen Haptonstahl, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: We use an agent-based computational model of an n-player Battle of the Sexes game with pre-game cheap talk coordination to explore the dynamics of political communication and the role it plays in political coordination.

Paper **Of Colonels and Generals: Understanding Asymmetry in the Colonel Blotto Game**
Michael Tofias, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
 Overview: I develop and extend a computational simulation based method to study the effects of resource asymmetry on competition in the Colonel Blotto Game. Using genetic algorithms (GA), I co-evolve good sets of strategies in order to estimate the mixed strategy.

Paper **Cooperate, Fight, Defect or Flight? An Game-Choice Experiment**
James E. Hanley, *Adrian College*
 Overview: Subjects are given the choice between entering a Prisoner's Dilemma or forcing a Hawk-Dove game, providing insight into humanity's propensity to favor either conflict or sociality.

Paper **The Emergence of Cooperation and Dynamic Networks: Choosing Your Neighbors**
Kai P. Spiekermann, *London School of Economics and Political Science*
 Overview: The paper presents an agent-based model to explore the emergence of cooperation on dynamic networks. Agents influence with whom they play. The social network of interaction changes over time, giving cooperators an advantage over defectors.

Disc. **Mikhail G. Myagkov**, *University of Oregon*

35-5 **CAUSAL INFERENCE**
Room Montrose 2, 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair **Jake Bowers**, *Harvard University*
Paper **Synthetic Control Methods for Comparative Case Studies**
Jens Hainmueller, *Harvard University*
Alexis Diamond, *Harvard University*
Alberto Abadie, *Harvard University*
 Overview: We present synthetic control methods for comparative case studies of aggregate interventions. Our method produces informative inference regardless of the number of units and time periods. We offer companion software to compute the proposed estimators.

Paper **Practical Sensitivity Analysis**
Kevin A. Clarke, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: This paper is intended to serve as a practical guide to sensitivity analysis in econometric research. I discuss a variant of sensitivity analysis that is useful for econometrics, provide computer code and an example.

Paper **Statistical Analysis of Randomized Experiments with Missing Outcomes**
Kosuke Imai, *Princeton University*
 Overview: I propose new identification strategies for estimating the average treatment effects in randomized experiments with missing outcomes. The methods are developed for randomized experiments with and without noncompliance.

Disc. **Jasjeet S. Sekhon**, *University of California, Berkeley*

37-4 **POLITICAL PARTIES AND WOMEN'S CANDIDACIES (Co-sponsored with Gender and Politics, see 28-16)**
Room LaSalle 2, 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair **Denise Baer**, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
Paper **The Strategic Use of Information Shortcuts: The Impact of Electoral Rules on Candidate Selection by Parties**
Melody E. Valdini, *Portland State University*
 Overview: We know that information shortcuts are frequently used by voters, but how does this affect party nomination behavior? Are parties trying to strategically activate cues through candidate selection, and if so, how does this behavior affect the types of candidates.

Paper **Stereotypes at the Gate: The Role of Party Rules in Women's Representation**
Angela L. Bos, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: This paper investigates whether state party rules which guide nominating conventions prime convention delegates' use of gender stereotypes in their decisions. Using survey data from 5 states I find that stereotype use is influenced by various rules.

Paper **The Effect of Electoral Context on When Parties Recruit Women**
Katherine W. Drake, *University of Michigan*
Katherine F. Gallagher, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: We explore the mediating effects of the electoral context and party executive composition on the role of centralized parties in increasing the number of women candidates using a comparative, cross-state dataset from the United States.

Paper **Candidate Characteristics as Policy Relevant Signals in PAC Decision Making**
Janna L. Deitz, *Western Illinois University*
 Overview: The effects of race and gender on receiving labor and corporate money are significantly conditioned by candidate status, party, and ideology—signals of policy-relevant information to these PACs. PAC discrimination may be rooted in these signals.

Paper **Exploring the Presentation of Women in Political Party News Releases**
Abby Gail LeGrange, *University of Florida*
 Overview: This study explored the way the political parties represent women in their news releases. Gender differences emerged as did differences between the two parties with regard to quantity and quality of coverage.

Disc. **Jennifer L. Lawless**, *Brown University*
Denise Baer, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

Overview: I examine the Solicitor General's amicus strategies in the Supreme Court and find that the SG files briefs in cases that he is predisposed to win, suggesting scholars have likely overstated the influence of the SG on the justices' decision making.

Paper **Solicitor General Success or Failure Before the Supreme Court: U.S. as a Party**
Rebecca E. Deen, *University of Texas, Arlington*
Joseph Ignagni, *University of Texas, Arlington*
James Meernik, *University of North Texas*
 Overview: Our research explores presidential influence on the Supreme Court by examining all cases before the Court in which the United States was a party, from 1953 to 2004.

Paper **The Executive Branch and the Use of Presidential Signing Statements**
Darryn C. Beckstrom, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: This paper seeks to analyze the effect of presidential signing statements and the constitutional challenges to these statements on judicial power.

Disc. **Amy Steigerwalt**, *Georgia State University*
Marcus E. Hendershot, *University of Florida*

42-15 **CRIMINAL PROCEDURE AND CONSTITUTIONAL DOCTRINE**
Room Clark 5, 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair **Kyle A. Scott**, *Miami University*
Paper **The Supreme Court's Application of Common Law in Cases of No-Knock Entry**
Kyle A. Scott, *Miami University, Oxford*
Matthew A. Kern, *Miami University, Oxford*
Jeremy A. Martin, *Miami University, Oxford*
 Overview: This paper examines how the Supreme Court chooses between U.S. Constitution, precedent, statute, and common law rules in its decision making process. We examine this process by looking at cases of no knock entry.

Paper **Justice John Paul Stevens and Prisoners' Rights**
Christopher E. Smith, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: Beginning in the 1970s, John Paul Stevens established himself as the Supreme Court's foremost advocate of prisoners' rights. Using the Blackmun papers and other information, this paper examines how a former antitrust lawyer assumed this role.

Disc. **John H. Parham**, *Davenport University*

44-6 **INTERGOVERNMENTAL POLICY LEADERSHIP**
Room Parlor C, 6th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair **Carol S. Weissert**, *Florida State University*
Paper **Intergovernmental Relations and the National Nanotechnology Initiative**
Paul M. Hallacher, *Pennsylvania State University*
 Overview: This NSF funded study of nanotechnology policy making examines factors influencing the shift from centralized federalism to intergovernmental management within policy domains, with attention to the roles of policy entrepreneurs and policy learning.

Paper **Following the Leader: National and State Dimensions of Policy Change**
Holley Tankersley, *Coastal Carolina University*
 Overview: The study posits an upward theory of policy diffusion, suggesting that policy innovation flows from the states to the national government via the mechanism of presidential agenda-setting.

Paper **Who Leads?: Changes in Education Policy at the Federal and State Level**
Matthew J. Twetten, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Overview: This paper applies the General Punctuation Equilibrium theory advanced by Jones and Baumgartner to the policy sub-system of Education and the relationship between changes at the state level and changes at the federal level.

Paper **Governing Green: Gubernatorial Leadership and the Environment**
Jack McGuire, *Potsdam College*
 Overview: This paper examines the Democratic and Republican Party platforms for the winning gubernatorial candidates in 20

states from 1996 to 2004 for environmental pledges to specific policy goals.

Disc. **Carol S. Weissert**, *Florida State University*
Bertram Johnson, *Middlebury College*

45-6 **ISSUES IN LOCAL PUBLIC FINANCE**

Room Burnham 4, 7th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair **Richard A. Wandling**, *Eastern Illinois University*

Paper **Raising Property Taxes: Prudent Policy, or Political Suicide?**

Harry Cherniak, *Washington University, St. Louis*

Overview: It is assumed that municipal politicians who raise property taxes are punished in elections, and that as a result, residential property taxes are underutilized. An analysis of Ontario municipal election data shows evidence against this claim.

Paper **Strategic Compensation: Utilizing Efficiency Wages in the Public Sector**

Trenton J. Davis, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: Through an empirical, as well as qualitative analysis involving municipalities in Illinois, this research examines the use of efficiency wages as a means for strategic compensation in the public sector.

Paper **The Fiscal Implications of Annexation**

Mary M. Edwards, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Overview: In this research I examine the fiscal implications of annexation by focusing on local government efficiency and revenue wealth. The analysis of 500 cities shows how annexation affects per capita service levels and property tax capacity.

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 to recover a city.

Disc. **Richard A. Wandling**, *Eastern Illinois University*

Gary Mattson, *Northern Kentucky University*

46-5 **EVALUATING THE IMPACT OF SCHOOL REFORMS (Co-sponsored with Public Administration, see 50-22)**

Room PDR 6, 3rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am

Chair **Michelle R. Ranville**, *George Mason University*

Paper **Examining School Choice through the Eyes of Parents: Are Information Networks Separate and Unequal**

Suzanne M. Leland, *University of North Carolina, Charlotte*

Ken Godwin, *University of North Carolina, Charlotte*

Andy Baxter, *University of North Carolina, Charlotte*

Overview: Our paper examines the effects of school choice policy in a diverse urban school district in Charlotte, North Carolina. We specifically study how and where parents of different socio-economic backgrounds obtain their information when choosing a school.

Paper **The Effectiveness of Private School Franchises in Chile's Voucher Program**

Gregory M. Elacqua, *Princeton University*

Dante Contreras, *University of Chile*

Overview: This paper compares achievement in private franchises, independent schools, and public schools in Chile's voucher program. We find that franchises have a large advantage over other schools, once student attributes and selectivity are controlled.

Paper **Texas Charter Schools: A Decade of Policy Outcomes**

Rhonda S. Struminger, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: Using a management model for public policy implementation, this study compares charter schools with regular public schools in terms of teacher experience, turnover rates, salaries, and student performance on state assessment tests.

Paper	<p><u>School Governance and Information: Does Choice Lead to Informed Parents?</u> Patrick Wolf, <i>University of Arkansas</i> Brian Kisida, <i>University of Arkansas</i> Overview: In this paper we examine if increasing choices to parents through the use of school vouchers leads to parents who are more informed about their children's school.</p>	association involvements. Exceptions are lower levels for Latin Americans and East Asians and quite high levels for Jewish Canadians.
Paper	<p><u>Parental Satisfaction under Universal School Choice</u> Elif Erisen, <i>Stony Brook University</i> Jack Buckley, <i>Teachers College</i> Overview: This paper examines parental satisfaction in a universal school choice environment by means of a panel study. The paper focuses on differences across school sectors as well as within school sector differences in terms of organization and mission.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Volunteering Asians and Latinos: Patterns of Group Volunteer Behavior</u> Dari E. Sylvester, <i>University of the Pacific</i> Overview: The conspicuous absence of Latinos and Asians in various volunteer domains is explored. Cultural difference and social disenfranchisement hypotheses are tested.</p>
Disc.	<p>Olivia M. McDonald, <i>Regent University</i> Gordon Shockley, <i>Arizona State University</i></p>	<p>Disc. <u>Civil Society, Faith-Based Radicalism and Individualism</u> Ayhan Akman, <i>Sabanci University</i> Overview: I am interested in the question of whether religious movements which do not espouse individualism as a core value can be considered a vital and legitimate part of civil society. Pamela Paxton, <i>Ohio State University</i></p>
50-1	<p><u>MANAGING DISASTER: ADMINISTRATIVE ASSESSMENTS OF THE RESPONSE TO HURRICANE KATRINA</u></p>	<p>55-101 <u>ROUNDTABLE: INTERDISCIPLINARY TEACHING IN POLITICAL SCIENCE: BEST PRACTICES?</u></p>
Room	PDR 7, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am	Room Monroe, 6 th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am
Chair	Samuel H. Clovis, Jr. , <i>Morningside College</i>	Panelist Karen Beckwith , <i>Case Western Reserve University</i>
Paper	<p><u>The Role of Political Science in Disaster Studies: Unrealized Potential</u> Thomas A. Birkland, <i>SUNY, Albany</i> Overview: This paper describes the contributions that political scientists can make to understanding the socio-political aspects of natural and technological hazards and disasters.</p>	<p>John Aldrich, <i>Duke University</i> Lisa Baldez, <i>Dartmouth College</i> R. Michael Alvarez, <i>California Institute of Technology</i> Patrick Sellers, <i>Davidson College</i> Lester Spence, <i>Johns Hopkins University</i> Overview: This roundtable, part of the APSA Presidential Task Force on Interdisciplinarity, focuses on interdisciplinary teaching. How do political scientists engage in interdisciplinary teaching? What are the best practices in political science?</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Effectiveness of FEMA's Reorganization?</u> Viviane E. Foyou, <i>West Virginia University</i> Overview: In the three years since DHS was created, FEMA's ability to respond to disasters was questioned especially during the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. The objective of this study is to review the purpose of reorganization, and trace the evolution of FEMA.</p>	<p>62-2 <u>CAPITALISM AND GLOBALISM</u> Room Parlor J, 6th Floor, Fri at 8:00 am Chair Craig Curtis, <i>Bradley University</i> Paper <u>Institutionalizing Hegemony in Venezuela</u> Daniel C. Hellinger, <i>Webster University</i> Overview: Since the resounding victory of President Hugo Chavez in the August 2004 recall election, the president's supporters have sought to institutionalize a new regime based on the Bolivarian Constitution of 1999.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Policy Challenge of Regionalizing Catastrophic Disaster Management</u> Brian J. Gerber, <i>West Virginia University</i> Overview: This paper explores a critical dimension and limitation of disaster management policy in the U.S.: the lack of effective regional coordination institutions to deal with catastrophic events that require a multiple-jurisdictional response.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Time and Political Contestation in Hobbes and Lukacs</u> Nichole Shippen, <i>Rutgers University</i> Overview: This paper delineates the ways in which different conceptions of time as order and predictability within the political philosophy of Hobbes and Lukacs affect the range of possibilities for political contestation of that order.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Was it the Plans, the Leaders, or the System? An Assessment of Failures in Hurricane Katrina</u> Patrick S. Roberts, <i>Virginia Tech University</i> Overview: Instead of the problems with plans or leadership during the response to Hurricane Katrina, I focus on the failures and contradictions in the system of disaster preparedness. States and localities are not rewarded for making hard choices to change development.</p>	<p>Paper <u>What We Have Forgotten About Capitalism</u> Craig Curtis, <i>Bradley University</i> Overview: The purpose of this paper is to make a normative argument that our current version of capitalism is not functioning as the founders intended and that, as a consequence, it exerts a negative impact on our society.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Disastrous Response to Hurricane Katrina: Blame it on the Bureaucracy?</u> Saundra K. Schneider, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: Why did such horrific conditions emerge and persist in the gulf coast states following Hurricane Katrina? Many journalists and public officials have blamed the worst elements of this situation on "the bureaucracy."</p>	<p>Paper <u>The Production of the Global</u> Isaac Kamola, <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: This paper looks at how what was once called the international, or world-, system has become re-imagined as a global system. I argue that the discourses of globalization and global governance are symptomatic of an emerging global imaginary.</p>
Disc.	<p>Samuel H. Clovis, Jr., <i>Morningside College</i> Peter Haas, <i>San Jose State University</i></p>	<p>Disc. John C. Berg, <i>Suffolk University</i></p>
52-2	<p><u>SOCIAL CAPITAL WITHIN AND ACROSS DIVERSE COMMUNITIES</u></p>	
Room	PDR 8, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 8:00 am	
Chair	Luke J. Keele , <i>Ohio State University</i>	
Paper	<p><u>Bridging and Bonding: Ethnicity and Voluntary Associations in Canada</u> Edward G. Grabb, <i>University of Western Ontario</i> Monica C. Hwang, <i>University of Waterloo</i> Robert E. Andersen, <i>McMaster University</i> Overview: Canadian survey data for 2000 show most ethnic or racial minorities differ little in their number of voluntary</p>	

Friday, April 13 – 9:50 am – 11:25 am

- 1-101** **ROUNDTABLE: SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION, EMPIRICAL MEASUREMENT, AND POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF IDENTITY**
- Room** Red Lacquer, 4th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
- Chair** Claudine Gay, *Harvard University*
- Panelist** Yoshiko Herrera, *Harvard University*
Kenneth Scheve, *Yale University*
Keith Darden, *Yale University*
Taeku Lee, *University of California, Berkeley*
Leonie Huddy, *SUNY, Stony Brook*
Ismail K. White, *University of Texas, Austin*
- Overview: Panelists on this roundtable will survey key insights that have emerged from recent identity scholarship, as well as offer perspectives on what is being overstudied, understudied, and studied wrong.
- 2-4** **CORPORATE TAX COMPETITION IN INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES**
- Room** Salon 1, 3rd Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
- Chair** John Freeman, *University of Minnesota*
- Paper** **Globalization and Strategic Policy Interdependence Across the OECD**
Jude C. Hayes, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
Robert J. Franzese, *University of Michigan*
- Overview: This paper outlines best practice for using special lag models illustrating these technique through a reanalysis of Basinger and Hallerberg's research on capital tax competition.
- Paper** **International Tax Competition or Diffusion**
Nathan M. Jensen, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Rene Lindstaedt, *SUNY, Stonybrook*
- Overview: This paper utilizes party positions on corporate tax policy in the OECD to test whether observed changes in corporate tax policy is best explained through models of international tax competition or policy diffusion.
- Paper** **Taxing Choices: Democracy, Markets, and the Transformation of Tax Policy**
Duane Swank, *Marquette University*
- Overview: This paper accounts for the policy influences of common and interdependent international forces as well as for the incentives and constraints on policy change through domestic politics.
- Disc.** John Freeman, *University of Minnesota*
- 3-5** **DEMOCRATIC CULTURE AND VALUES**
- Room** Salon 2, 3rd Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
- Chair** Marc Belanger, *Saint Mary's College*
- Paper** **Social Capital and (Ethnic) Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa**
David Backer, *College of William & Mary*
Ravi Bhavnani, *Michigan State University*
- Overview: This paper uses individual-level data from the Afrobarometer survey to explore the relationship between various dimensions of social capital and patterns of conflict and related phenomena in 18 countries across Sub-Saharan Africa.
- Paper** **Assessing Political Culture in Asian Democracy**
Sangmook Lee, *Yonsei University, ROK*
Jangsup Choi, *Texas Tech University*
- Overview: The objective of this study is to explore the nature of Asian political culture, by examining how political culture of Asian democracies is either similar or different from that of liberal democracy.
- Disc.** Marc Belanger, *Saint Mary's College*
Carew Boulding, *University of California, San Diego*

- 3-203** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: EXTERNAL DEBT AND CONVERT FINANCING UNDERMINE WARMAKING-STATE-BUILDING LINK**
- Room** State, 4th Floor, Table 1, Fri at 9:50 am
- Presenter** **External Debt and Covert Financing Undermine Warmaking-State-Building Link**
Anas Malik, *Xavier University*
- Overview: External debt and covert financing intervene in the warmaking-statebuilding link. Rather than tax effort, developing countries prefer to borrow or manipulate the money stock for revenue-raising
- 4-7** **PUBLIC OPINION AND DEMOCRACY IN THE FSU (Co-sponsored with Politics of Communist and Former Communist Countries, see 13-13)**
- Room** PDR 4, 3rd Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
- Chair** Paul M. Loveless, *Georgetown University*
- Paper** **Public Responses to Elite Changes in the Soviet Union & Estonia, 1987-1991**
Henry E. Brady, *University of California, Berkeley*
Cynthia S. Kaplan, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
- Overview: Dozens of public opinion polls are analyzed to demonstrate the important role played by public opinion during the Soviet collapse by tracing the relationship between elite actions and public responses in Russia, Estonia, and other Soviet Republics.
- Paper** **Support for the Ukrainian Orange Revolution**
Arthur H. Miller, *University of Iowa*
- Overview: This paper examines the processes of democratic transitions by using survey data to test hypotheses regarding the sources of support for the Ukrainian Orange revolution in 2004 and 2006.
- Paper** **Voters Preferences and Parties Cleavages in Ukrainian Democratic Transition**
Mikhail G. Myagkov, *University of Oregon*
Peter Ordeshook, *California Institute of Technology*
Dmitrii Shakin, *Russian Economic School*
- Overview: We explore whether apparent emergence of new political party system in Ukraine finds reflection in the preferences of voters. The main focus is whether Ukrainian transition to democracy is moving toward Western or Russian political model.
- Paper** **"Color" Revolutions in Commonwealth of Independent States: Variables of Success Comparative Study of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Ukraine**
Anar Valiyev, *University of Louisville*
- Overview: The paper compares the situation in three post-Soviet republics - Ukraine, Georgia and Azerbaijan - analyzes the reasons and factors that led to successful revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine, and failure in Azerbaijan.
- Disc.** Raymond Duch, *Oxford University*
Vicki L. Hesli, *University of Iowa*
- 4-201** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THAILAND: TRANSITION TO WHAT?**
- Room** State, 4th Floor, Table 2, Fri at 9:50 am
- Presenter** **The 2006 Coup in Thailand and Its Impact to Democracy from Thai Perspective**
Aticha Suebsawangkul, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*
- Overview: The Coup provokes a reexamination of democracy in Thailand. What causes the Coup? Does the collapse of civilian government fail the democratization? What lessons can be drawn to understand democratization in other countries? The answers require an analysis.

Presenter	<u>Doing it Thai Way: Toward Democracy or Authoritarianism</u> Sirivalaya Kachathan , <i>Texas Tech University</i> Overview: The analysis of the unprecedented political event in Thailand will serve as an indicator to tell whether this event will lead a country to be more a democratic government or slip back into an authoritarian regime like it happened in many parts of the world.	6-3 Room Chair Paper	<u>ON THE QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY</u> Sandburg 7, 7 th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am Marc Howard , <i>Georgetown University</i> <u>Putting Tocqueville to the Test: The Internal Effects of Participation</u> Marc M. Howard , <i>Georgetown University</i> Leah E. Gilbert , <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: Employing a new measure of civic involvement that distinguishes between different types of participation, this paper argues that the internal effects hypothesized by Tocqueville are widely present in the U.S. and 19 European countries.
4-202	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: GRASSROOTS MOBILIZATION IN KOREA</u>		
Room	State, 4 th Floor, Table 3, Fri at 9:50 am		
Presenter	<u>From Street to Polling Booth: The Democratic Generation in South Korea</u> Won-ho Park , <i>University of Florida</i> Junghwa Lee , <i>Oregon State University</i> Overview: We analyze the voting behavior of the democratization generation in South Korea, which contributed to the transfer of power to the opposition party and the broadening of the ideological spectrum of the party system.	Paper	<u>States of Freely Associating Citizens?</u> Thomas W. G. Van der Meer , <i>Radboud University, Nijmegen</i> Peer Scheepers , <i>Radboud University, Nijmegen</i> Manfred te Grotenhuis , <i>Radboud University, Nijmegen</i> Overview: Although in theoretical accounts the state is recurrently brought up as a crucial determinant of civic participation, empirical research is scarce and inconclusive. We aim to fill this empirical gap by taking up a new institutionalist approach.
Presenter	<u>Learning and Doing Politics: Strategies and Works in Korean Housewives' Protest Politics</u> Youngtae Shin , <i>University of Central Oklahoma</i> Overview: I explore Korean housewives protest movements and their unusual strategies that aim to appeal to the cultural norms specific to their age and gender to attain their goals.	Paper	<u>Not Just Being A Winner: Competition and Satisfaction with Democracy</u> Jennifer R. Wilking , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: This paper explores the effects of outcomes and processes on citizens' satisfaction with democracy. Employing the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems dataset, I find that 'winning' and competition affect satisfaction with democracy.
5-9	<u>INSTITUTIONS AND DEMOCRACY IN SPAIN</u>	Paper	<u>A Cross-National Exploration of Two Dimensions of Democratic Citizenship</u> Richard Ledet , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Kate Schuenke , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: In this paper we use data from the 2000-2001 wave of the World Values Survey to create two democratic quality scales based on two dimensions of democratic citizenship, expressive participation and tolerance, which are grounded in democratic theory.
Room	Salon 4, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 9:50 am	Disc.	Meredith Rolfe , <i>Nuffield College, University of Oxford</i>
Chair	Kerstin Hamann , <i>University of Central Florida</i>		
Paper	<u>Speaking for Place or Party? Territorial Representation and the Legislative Behavior of Deputies in the Spanish Congress of Deputies</u> Alfred P. Montero , <i>Carleton College</i> Overview: The paper asks whether individual deputies in the Spanish Congress of Deputies with experience in sub-national politics proffer questions in committee and plenary sessions as theories of territorial representation in decentralized politics predict.		
Paper	<u>Feminized Federalization: The Incorporation of Spanish Women into Sub-national Parties and State Institutions</u> Candice D. Ortals , <i>Pepperdine University</i> Overview: The paper examines whether Spanish federalization feminizes political parties and the state. It concludes that federalization is advantageous (policy innovations) and disadvantageous (closed non-feminized institutions) depending on the region.	8-7	<u>INTEREST GROUPS AND CLIENTELISM IN LATIN AMERICA</u>
Paper	<u>The Power of Committees in the Spanish Congress of Deputies</u> Lynn M. Maurer , <i>Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville</i> Overview: The influence of the Spanish committee system is examined over eight legislative sessions based on elite interviews. Committee influence in this new democracy is found to vary according to different variables than in longstanding democracies.	Room	Sandburg 6, 7 th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Paper	<u>The Genesis of Candidate Selection Procedures in Spain (1976-1982)</u> Bonnie N. Field , <i>Bentley College</i> Peter Siavelis , <i>Wake Forest University</i> Overview: The paper applies a framework on the genesis of candidate selection procedures (regime uncertainty, party organization, institutional format, and the strategic complexity of the electoral system) to explain the exclusive candidate selection procedures in Spain.	Chair	J. Salvador Peralta , <i>University of West Georgia</i>
Paper	<u>Life-cycle, Generation or Period Effect? Party Development in Post-Franco Spain</u> Ingrid van Biezen , <i>University of Birmingham</i> Overview: This paper focuses on political parties in Spain: it redresses the theoretical contours for the study of party formation and development and empirically evaluates the development of the main parties throughout the post-Franco period.	Paper	<u>The Impact of Caudillismo on Institutional Development in Mexico</u> Julie A. VanDusky , <i>SUNY, Binghamton</i> Overview: This paper will develop a formal model to explain the development of caudillismo in New Spain and its impact on the development of post-colonial political institutions in Mexico.
Disc.	Robert Fishman , <i>University of Notre Dame</i>	Paper	<u>As Parties Compete for Votes (By Buying Them): Gifts and Votes in Mexico</u> Salvador Vazquez del Mercado , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: This paper provides evidence that political parties in Mexico during the presidential 2000 elections made efficient use of particularistic benefits (gifts) to buy votes, specifically PAN managed to demobilize PRI's voters.
		Paper	<u>Incentives and Tradeoffs for Politicians in the Policy Setting Process</u> Ricardo H. Cavazos-Cepeda , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Gordon Rausser , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Modeling the policy setting process has evolved considerably. We present a three stage bargaining model general enough to allow for aggregate welfare maximization as well as office seeking or partisan politicians.
		Paper	<u>Interests and Interest Groups and the Consolidation</u> Clive S. Thomas , <i>University of Alaska, Juneau</i> Overview: Is a viable interest group and interest 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.
		Disc.	Alejandro Poire , <i>Harvard University</i>

9-5 FOREIGN POLICY IN THE PACIFIC REGION - ISSUE AREAS
Room Sandburg 5, 7th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair Timothy J. Haas, *San Francisco State University*
Paper **Japan in Asia**
 Timothy J. Haas, *San Francisco State University*
 Overview: Japan faces many new opportunities and challenges in the 21st century, and if properly equipped, may take advantage of its situation in order to emerge as a bastion of security and economic stability in the region.

Paper **Japan-Taiwan Relations: Unofficial in Name Only**
 Jing Sun, *University of Denver*
 Overview: This article examines how diplomatic maneuvering at the elite level and mutual penetration of popular cultures at the mass level have jointly strengthened Japan-Taiwan relations to a status that can termed as "unofficial in name only."

Paper **Will The Future Taiwan Strait War Impede China's Development?**
 Jing Nie, *University of Toledo*
 Overview: Taiwan might be the only place which can trigger military confrontations between two major powers. Any miscalculation among China, U.S. and Taiwan will lead to conflict. This paper is a careful calculation of Beijing's cost and benefit.

Disc. Timothy J. Haas, *San Francisco State University*

13-12 PRE-POST-COMMUNISM?
Room Sandburg 4, 7th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair Michele L. Crumley, *Mercyhurst College*
Paper **Beyond Elections: Leadership and Mass-Elite Linkages in Rural China**
 Wei Shan, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: Based on the literature of mass-elite linkage and political leadership, this paper attempts to address the role of leadership relation as an informal interpersonal influence process in shaping citizen-elite agreement on policy issues.

Paper **Cuba's Revolutionary Reform**
 Jennifer W. Howk, *Harvard University*
 Overview: This paper presents a general framework for understanding authoritarian legitimacy and regime change in weak Leninist states by examining ideological and institutional innovation in post-Soviet Cuba.

Paper **Ossification and Renewal in the Cuban Political Elite**
 Salomon Berman, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: This paper explores the generational transition in the Cuban political elite. While it is impossible to predict whether regime change is to occur in a post-Castro Cuba, it will not occur because of an elite failure to rejuvenate.

Paper **The Rentier Thesis in Central Asia: The Importance of Development Strategy**
 Pascael Barclay, *Emory University*
 Overview: The rentier literature says little about how resource wealth translates into authoritarianism. This paper contributes to the literature by examining how the intervening variable of development strategy affects this relationship in Central Asia.

Paper **Democratic Habits through Non-Democratic Means**
 Svitlana Chernykh, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: This paper argues that non-competitive Soviet elections had the power to socialize the citizenry into democratic practices such as voting. The findings show that turnout patterns in post-Soviet republics resemble established democracies.

Disc. Wei Shan, *Texas A&M University*
 Khalil Dokhanchi, *University of Wisconsin, Superior*

14-14 TRADE LIBERALIZATION AND PROTECTION
Room Sandburg 2, 7th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair Alexandra Guisinger, *University of Notre Dame*
Paper **Currency Unions and the Demand for Protection**
 Lena Schaffer, *ETH, Zurich*
 Overview: We theoretically develop and empirically test the argument that currency unions can entail increased levels of protection as import-competing producers lobby for artificial barriers to trade to replace natural protection via currency risk.

Paper **Trade Liberalization in Developing Countries**
 Su-Hyun Lee, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: This paper analyzes the effects of political institutions on trade liberalization of developing countries. While democracies tend to lower trade barriers than autocracies, the effects of regime types depend on the number of institutional veto points.

Paper **The Fear of Litigation During Negotiations Over WTO Disputes**
 Xiaowen Zhang, *University of Southern California*
 Overview: This paper aims to enrich our understanding about what factors influence countries' decisions about the timing of settling WTO trade disputes.

Paper **Trade Policy Index and Governance Variables—Cross-country Analysis**
 Joel L. Raveloharimisy, *Western Michigan University*
 Overview: The purpose of this paper is to present a model that explains the relationship between governance effectiveness and trade policy. I hypothesize that higher quality governance should lead to less protectionism.

Paper **From NAFTA to China? Production Shifts and the Future of Regionalization**
 Sara Jane McCaffrey, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
 Marcos Ancelovici, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
 Overview: Contrary to predictions of three important trading blocks in an increasingly regionalized world, a major shift of production from NAFTA to Asia since 2000 suggests that the presumed political and economic clout of regions may be inflated.

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

14-16 IMF POLITICS
Room Parlor H, 6th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair Jonathan R. Strand, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*
Paper **Structural Adjustment and Its Impact on Economic Human Rights, 1981-2003**
 Mohammed R. Abouharb, *Louisiana State University*
 David L. Cingranelli, *Binghamton University*
 Overview: World Bank and International Monetary Fund structural adjustment policies promote rapid neo-liberal economic liberalization as a tool for development. They negatively impact respect for economic and social rights in developing countries between 1981-2004

Paper **Does Adjustment Lending Work? Policy Reforms in the Wake of Program Lending**
 Daniel L. Nielson, *Brigham Young University*
 Joshua D. Loud, *Brigham Young University*
 Overview: Employing the Project-Level Aid (PLAID) dataset, this paper tests the effects of adjustment programs from multi- and bilateral sources on trade liberalization, stabilization, and budget deficits.

Paper **Explaining Multilateral Debt Forgiveness**
 Michael D. Schmidt, *American University*
 Overview: This paper constructs a model to account for the creation and development of the Highly Indebted Poor Countries initiative, a program managed by the World Bank and IMF that bargains governmental reforms for rescheduling and forgiveness of debt.

Paper **Developing Capacity: The Impact of IMF Lending on State Capacity**
 Christine L. Harper, *University of North Texas*
 Overview: The paper examines whether administrative capacity in borrowing countries benefits from the governance-related conditionality reforms mandated by the IMF since 1996, and whether administrative capacity influences IMF lending patterns.

Disc. Mark Copelovitch, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

15-6 ALLIANCES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY
Room Salon 5, 3rd Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair Sarah E. Croco, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
Paper **Alliances amongst Terrorist Groups**
 Kanisha D. Bond, *Pennsylvania State University*
 Overview: Identifies conditions under which terrorist groups form security alliances, using two game-theoretic models of

	cooperation. Various hypotheses are tested using data from PRIO and original coding of terrorist group alliances.		
Paper	<u>Alliances and Colonial History: An Extension of Dependency Theory</u> Nawojka K. Lesinski, <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i> Overview: Alliance literature tends to overlook the pervasive effects of colonialism on state relations. I wish to build on existing research by extending the theory of dependency to explain dyadic alliance choices, for those states with a colonial past.	Paper	<u>Victory Without Peace: Conquest, Insurgency, and War Termination</u> Alex Weisiger, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: I explore the conquest/settlement distinction that arises from the bargaining model of war from both theoretical and empirical perspectives.
Paper	<u>Making Friends in Latin America: Acceptance and Rejection of American Power in Brazil, Colombia, and Venezuela</u> Mark E. Schaefer, <i>Marietta College</i> John G. Poffenbarger, <i>Wheeling Jesuit University</i> Overview: We contend that preponderant powers need policies that seek to encourage acceptance of their asymmetrical power in the international system. Using the United States as the current preponderant state, we will study Brazil, Colombia, and Venezuela.	Disc.	Stephen Long, <i>Kansas State University</i>
Disc.	Sarah E. Croco, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i>	17-19	<u>GENOCIDE AND HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES (Co-sponsored with Ethnicity and Nationalism, see 20-8)</u>
16-8	<u>RHETORIC, RELIGION, AND WAR</u>	Room	Salon 12, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Room	Salon 6, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 9:50 am	Chair	Bethany A. Lacina, <i>Stanford University</i>
Chair	Christopher D. Van Aller, <i>Winthrop University</i>	Paper	<u>A Hybrid-Structuralist Theory of Genocide</u> Ernesto Verdeja, <i>Wesleyan University</i> Overview: This paper presents a hybrid-structuralist theory of genocide. I outline six key factors for genocide to occur, and draw on Armenia, Germany, Cambodia, Rwanda and Bosnia as illustrations.
Paper	<u>Defining Unacceptable: The U.S., Israel, and the Iranian Nuclear Crisis</u> Andrew C. Richter, <i>University of Windsor</i> Overview: With the crisis over Iran's suspected nuclear weapons program building, the possibility of pre-emptive military action grows. This paper will examine U.S. and Israeli attitudes towards Iran's program, and the military options available to both states.	Paper	<u>Terrorism and Human Rights Abuse</u> Denese McArthur, <i>Binghamton University</i> Overview: Using decision making model based on rational choice theory, this paper analyzes the impact of terrorist activities on the abuse of human rights, and includes an examination of the degree to which the relationship may be reciprocal.
Paper	<u>Does Religion Matter? The Impact of Religious Belief on Warfare</u> Michael Horowitz, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This paper quantitatively examines the impact of religious belief on warfare, testing whether or not strong religious beliefs really influence the initiation, conduct, and termination of wars.	Paper	<u>Party Systems, Intra-Party Organization, and the Rise of Ethnic Extremist Groups</u> Florence G. So, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: Using a formal model, this paper explains how ethnic extremist groups arise by showing the following: conditioned on the ability to meet the resource requirement to do so, in regimes where the probabilities of forming competitive parties and advancing within a party are low, excluded politicians have incentives to form ethnic extremist groups so as to remain politically viable.
Paper	<u>Of Roguery: How the United States' Rhetoric Influences North Korea</u> Virginie Grzelczyk, <i>Lafayette College</i> Overview: This paper looks at whether or not the United States' usage of the term rogue state, axis of evil, tyrant as well as more positive attributes have triggered specific behaviors in North Korea since Kim Jong Il's accession to power in 1994.	Disc.	Mary Frances R. Lebamoff, <i>Loyola University, Chicago</i>
Disc.	Min-hyung Kim, <i>University of Washington, Seattle</i>	19-5	<u>PRINCIPAL-AGENT PROBLEMS</u>
17-7	<u>THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT</u>	Room	Clark 10, 7 th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Room	Sandburg 8, 7 th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am	Chair	Susan D. Hyde, <i>Yale University</i>
Chair	Marc Kilgour, <i>Wilfrid Laurier University</i>	Paper	<u>Guilt by Association? Anti-Americanism and Distrust for IGOs</u> Tana Johnson, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: Using large-N statistical methods and newly released data, I find that unfavorable assessments of U.S. influence are robust predictors of distrust toward the UN, WTO, IMF, and World Bank. This link is troubling amidst prevalent anti-Americanism.
Paper	<u>Stabilizing Power Sharing</u> Steven J. Brams, <i>New York University</i> D. Marc Kilgour, <i>Wilfrid Laurier University</i> Overview: Power-sharing is modeled as a duel between two parties, each of which may attempt to eliminate the other. Conditions under which power-sharing is an equilibrium outcome include sharing power equally and being able to anticipate an attack.	Paper	<u>Stop Blaming the Agent: How State Principals Undermine International Organizations</u> Alexander Thompson, <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: While principal-agent theory helps us understand state delegation to international organizations, most models overemphasize problems on the agent side of the equation. In IR, it is more often state principals who undermine the delegation contract.
Paper	<u>Playing to Win: Explaining Initial Levels of Military Force</u> Brooke M. Rogers, <i>Charleston Southern University</i> Overview: This paper examines the idea that when determining to initiate a militarized dispute, states are using foreign policy substitution rather than escalation given that the initial levels of military force are generally the highest used in the dispute.	Paper	<u>Judicial Bias, Authority, and the International Court of Justice</u> Leslie Johns, <i>New York University</i> Overview: I construct a formal model that examines the effect of judicial bias on the willingness of states to (1) submit disputes to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and (2) comply with the court's decisions.
Paper	<u>Uncertainty and War: Distribution of Power vs. Distribution of Goods</u> Jonathan E. Berohn, <i>University of Colorado</i> Randall Blimes, <i>University of Colorado</i> Overview: One of the few things that international relations scholars can agree on is that the distribution of power between adversaries affects those nations' decisions to go to war.	Paper	<u>The Impartiality of International Judges: Evidence from the European Court of Human Rights</u> Erik Voeten, <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: This paper tests the observable implications of alternative theoretical threats to judicial impartiality using a new dataset on judicial dissents in the European Court of Human Rights.
		Disc.	Nicole M. Simonelli, <i>Duke University</i> Susan D. Hyde, <i>Yale University</i>

20-4 **REASSESSING THE PROGRESS OF NATIONALISM: A SECOND LOOK AT ETHNIC IDENTITIES**
Room Salon 7, 3rd Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair Danielle E. Resnick, *Cornell University*
Paper **Examining State Failure in Chile: The Ethnic Dilemma in the Mapuche Community**
Gabriela Hoberman, Florida International University
 Overview: This paper examines the impact of ethnic demands on civil society and political institutions in Chile. It offers evidence that processes of exclusion have been carried out by the state, negatively affecting fair citizenship.

Paper **Democratization and the Language of Nationalism**
Takehiko Kojima, Florida International University
 Overview: The paper examines the role of language in the genesis of democracy. Building on Habermas' theory of communicative action, I will argue that the language of nationalism has been a constitutive part of the modern constitutional democratic state.

Paper **In Pursuit of Democracy: And the Dream of a Nation-State**
Michelle Munroe, Florida International University
 Overview: By carrying out a case study on nation building in Jamaica after its independence in 1962, this paper claims that ethnic ties have played a vital role in undermining the attempts of the state to successfully create a homogenous national identity.

Paper **Can Nationalism Benefit Democratization: Cases of Estonia and Ukraine**
Lena M. Surzhko-Harned, University of Pittsburgh
 Overview: This study seeks to show that blanket statements about nationalism's impact on democratization are impossible. Examining the transitions in Estonia and Ukraine it argues that under the right conditions nationalism can benefit democratization.

Paper **The Ethnic Markers of Sámi Identity: Identifying What Constitutes the Identity of the Sámi People in Sweden**
Luca Zini, Florida International University
 Overview: For centuries, the Sámis have been subjected to either forced or "natural" assimilation, adapting into state languages and religions while being subjected to structural or systemic forms discrimination. This essay will attempt to explore the ethnic marker

Disc. **Stephen Bloom, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale**

21-2 **EMOTION AND VOTER BEHAVIOR**
Room Parlor B, 6th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair Ted Brader, *University of Michigan*
Paper **Invoking Fear: How Does the Politics of Fear Influence Voter Behavior?**
Kyle Mattes, California Institute of Technology
R. Michael Alvarez, California Institute of Technology
 Overview: We study the effects of emotion, particularly fear, on vote choice in the 2004 Presidential election. Did fear of one or both candidates inhibit economic retrospective voting?

Paper **Remember the Feeling: How Affect Structures Voters' Memories**
Andrew J. W. Civettini, University of Iowa
David P. Redlawsk, University of Iowa
 Overview: We examine the role of affect on memory about candidates. We find subjects are more likely to remember information for which they experienced affect and that anxiety does little to increase the likelihood that an individual item is remembered.

Paper **Who Pushes Whom Around? A Study of Affective Versus Semantic Priming**
Dan Cassino, Fairleigh Dickinson University
 Overview: An experiment in a survey of registered voters in New Jersey was used to test the interaction of semantic and affective priming. Results indicate that very strong affective reactions to the prime can lead to outcomes opposite those normally expected.

Paper **Discriminating Emotions: The Differential Effects of Discrete Emotions**
Brad Verhulst, Stony Brook University
Charles Taber, Stony Brook University
Milton Lodge, Stony Brook University
Nancy Squires, Stony Brook University
Antonio Freitas, Stony Brook University
 Overview: Political Scientists are interested in studying the effect that emotions have on political behaviors, however discriminating between the effects of specific emotions has lagged behind the discrimination of the valence (positive/negative) of emotions.

Disc. **Jennifer Wolak, University of Colorado**

22-5 **ELECTIONS AND WAR**
Room Salon 8, 3rd Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair Scott Althaus, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
Paper **War-time Presidents: Battle Casualties and Popular Support**
Helmut Norpoth, Stony Brook University
Andrew H. Sidman, Stony Brook University
 Overview: We examine presidential approval in wartime with models that condition the effect of casualties on public assessments of the war.

Paper **War, Terrorism, and Trust: The Effects of National Issues on Voting Behavior in the 2006 Midterm Elections**
Gary C. Jacobson, University of California, San Diego
 Overview: Analysis of a segment of the Cooperative Congressional Election Study devoted to investigating the effects of attitudes toward George Bush, the Iraq War, and the terrorism issue on voting behavior in 2006.

Paper **Elections During World War II**
Adam Berinsky, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
 Overview: This paper examines the unusual nature of elections during wartime, focusing on World War II.

Paper **Breaking Bonds? Issue Ownership of National Defense and the Iraq War**
Hannah Goble, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Peter M. Holm, University of Wisconsin, Madison
 Overview: This paper builds off the theory of issue ownership to examine if and how the traditional Republican edge in national defense has been diminished by public opinion on the Iraq War and the impact of opinion on vote choice and presidential approval.

Disc. **Scott Althaus, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign**

23-5 **CAMPAIGN TALK**
Room PDR 5, 3rd Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair Joseph Giammo, *University of Arkansas, Little Rock*
Paper **Incumbency in Political Campaign Discourse**
William L. Benoit, University of Missouri
 Overview: Compares incumbents and challengers in presidential and non-presidential campaign messages on (1) positive versus negative statements, (2) retrospective positive versus negative statements and (3) policy versus character.

Paper **The Partisan Content of Candidate Messages**
Thomas M. Holbrook, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
Scott McClurg, Southern Illinois University
 Overview: One of the hottest debates in contemporary politics focuses on the so-called culture war. While political scientists have found strong evidence of partisan polarization at the elite level, the evidence suggests that the public is not similarly divided.

Paper **The Use of Religious Cues in Political Campaign Advertising**
Morgen S. Johansen, Texas A&M University
 Overview: This study focuses on the use of religious cues in political campaign ads and the effect these cues have on electoral outcomes.

Paper	<u>Gender Bending: Strategies in Candidate Direct Mail</u> Monica C. 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 candidate use of gender-based strategies using a unique set of data: direct mail pieces from House and Senate candidates.	processing in forming political judgements across a range of policy domains.
Disc.	Joseph Giammo , <i>University of Arkansas, Little Rock</i>	Disc. Richard Sobel , <i>Harvard Medical School</i>
24-5	<u>ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND POLICY</u>	25-301 POSTER SESSION: PUBLIC OPINION
Room	Suite 9-128, 9 th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am	Room Exhibit Hall, 4 th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair	Matthew Wall , <i>Trinity College, Dublin</i>	Presenter <u>2008 and Beyond: Unraveling the Dean Vote in the 2004 Democratic Presidential Primaries</u>
Paper	<u>Much Ado About Nothing: Congruence, Choice, and Two Visions of Democracy</u> Matthew R. Golder , <i>Florida State University</i> Jacek Stramski , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: When are the policies of a government likely to be congruent with the preferences of its people? When are voters likely to have a meaningful choice at election time?	(Board 1) Gabriella Paar-Jakli , <i>Kent State University</i> Caroline Tolbert , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: 2008 and Beyond: Unraveling the Dean Vote in the 2004 Democratic Presidential Primaries
Paper	<u>Expressive Motives, Third-Party Candidates, and Voter Welfare</u> Indridi H. Indridason , <i>University of Iceland</i> Overview: We consider a model of electoral competition where a subset of voters cast expressive or sincere votes. We characterize the equilibria of the game showing that, given certain conditions, third party candidates leave their constituency worse off.	Presenter <u>Muslim American Politics in the Post-9/11 Era</u> (Board 2) Geoffrey Peterson , <i>University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire</i> David Jacobs , <i>University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire</i> Overview: Using recent national survey data, this paper seeks to examine how Muslim-Americans think and act politically since the attacks on the World Trade Center in 2001.
Paper	<u>Heterogeneity and Representation Reconsidered</u> Benjamin G. Bishin , <i>University of California, Riverside</i> Overview: Research holds legislators from diverse constituencies are less responsive to citizens and more responsive to party and other influences. Once subconstituencies are considered, the differences observed according to state diversity disappear.	Presenter <u>An Attitudinal Explanation of the Increasing Use of Initiatives</u> (Board 3) Hoi-ok Jeong , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: My paper explains what causes the increasing use of initiative process. I argue that the increase in direct democracy results largely from two basic attitudinal trends: the weakening of political efficacy and the declining trust in government.
Paper	<u>Intraparty Institutions and Representation</u> Georgia C. Kernell , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: This paper examines how intraparty institutions shape representation of voters, partisans and activists.	Presenter <u>African American Affect Towards Chisholm in the 1972 Presidential Election</u> (Board 4) Christopher J. Clark , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: I aim to explore who better explains affect of African Americans toward Shirley Chisholm: Chisholm or scholars. This paper is important because it may provide proof that candidates better understand their bases of support than scholars think.
Disc.	Matthew Wall , <i>Trinity College, Dublin</i>	Presenter <u>The Responsive Electorate</u> (Board 5) Peter K. Enns , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: I construct a theory of message reception that predicts the most and least informed segments of society update their attitudes in response to elite discourse. Analysis of attitudes toward welfare, defense, and policy mood support this hypothesis.
25-8	<u>PUBLIC OPINION, FOREIGN POLICY, AND THE IRAQ WAR</u>	Presenter <u>Protecting the Flag: Public Opinion on a Constitutional Amendment to Prohibit Flag Burning from 1989 to 2006</u> (Board 6) Peter C. Hanson , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Iris Hui , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: The paper examines changes in the nature of public opinion on a constitutional amendment to prohibit flag burning. The roles played by variables such as patriotism, support for limited government, partisanship, education, love of the flag and ideology.
Room	Salon 9, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 9:50 am	
Chair	William J. Josiger , <i>Georgetown University</i>	
Paper	<u>Media Coverage of Casualties and American Perceptions of Casualties in Iraq</u> Michael Cobb , <i>North Carolina State University</i> Overview: This study collects and analyzes news coverage of war casualties in Iraq since the invasion to the present, and compares media coverage to actual casualty rates and Americans' estimates of cumulative casualties.	
Paper	<u>Impact of Presidential Religious Rhetoric on Public Opinion of the Iraq War</u> Shannon M. Scottee , <i>SUNY, Albany</i> Overview: This paper will examine whether religious rhetoric has been used effectively by President Bush to influence religious citizens' public opinion on the Iraq War.	
Paper	<u>Foreign Trade Policy and Public Opinion, 1978-2004</u> Julia Rabinovich , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: This paper examines government officials' responsiveness to the public's foreign policy preferences using data from the 1978-2004 quadrennial elite and public opinion surveys sponsored by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations (CCFR).	
Paper	<u>U.S. Foreign Policy and Multilateralism: A Comparison of American Leaders and Mass Opinion</u> Gregory G. Holyk , <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i> Overview: The general public has been quite supportive of multilateralism while policy leaders have not. This study analyses a core group of questions relating to multilateralism and overall values in 10 CCFR polls (1974 to 2006) to explain this disconnect.	
Paper	<u>The American Public's Ambivalent Attitude in Foreign Policy</u> Young Hwan Park , <i>University of Alabama</i> Overview: Under incomplete information and confined cognitive resources, individuals tend to use theory-driven information	
		26-6 POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
		Room Clark 9, 7 th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
		Chair Jan E. Leighley , <i>University of Arizona</i>
		Paper <u>Information and Voter Turnout</u> Tetsuya Matsubayashi , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This project will reconsider the role of information as a determinant of voter turnout. I will extend Downs' model by focusing on the concept of opinion ambivalence and test a hypothesis that citizens are less likely to go to the polls as additional information becomes available.
		Paper <u>Political Expertise, Shared Biases, and Patterns of Political Communication</u> T. K. Ahn , <i>Florida State University</i> Robert Huckfeldt , <i>University of California, Davis</i> John B. Ryan , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: One way to minimize political information costs is to obtain guidance from other individuals, and the primary purpose of this paper is to evaluate the relative importance of expertise and shared biases in the resulting patterns of communication.

Paper **Frequent Political Discussion and its Consequences**
Frank C. S. Liu, *National Sun Yat-Sen University*
 Overview: This article extends communication network research to exploring circumstances under which the frequency of interaction affects voters' democratic orientations.

Paper **Dividing Lines: Political Boundaries and the Quality of Local Public Deliberation**
Christopher F. Karpowitz, *Brigham Young University*
 Overview: This paper explores how our collective choices about local political boundaries affect the quality of deliberation at local public meetings.

Disc. **Jan E. Leighley**, *University of Arizona*
Anand E. Sokhey, *Ohio State University*

27-7 **MEDIA BIAS**
Room Parlor F, 6th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair Sarah Whalen
Paper **William Randolph Hearst: The Rupert Murdoch of 1896**
William T. Horner, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
 Overview: An examination of Hearst's advocacy for Bryan in the 1896 and 1900 campaigns reminds us that Rupert Murdoch isn't a sign of what's wrong with American journalism but is an example of our long entanglement between politics and the "news."

Paper **Media Bias (Reexamined)**
John T. Gasper, *Carnegie Mellon University*
 Overview: We provide a replication of Groseclose and Milyo's Media Bias results using alternative ideological measures (ACU and Nominale). We also examine how robust the estimated results are to different periods of time.

Paper **Whose Life is it Anyway? Religion and Politics in Media Coverage of 'End of Life' Controversies**
Ken Miller, *Arizona State University*
David Niven, *CM Media*
 Overview: Addressing the oft-heard complaint that the media are hostile to religious perspectives in politics, we investigate which voices (secular versus religious) are heard on end of life issues and whether media coverage reflects the political debate.

Paper **What Drives Media Slant? Evidence from U.S. Newspapers**
Matthew A. Gentzkow, *University of Chicago*
Jesse M. Shapiro, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: We construct a new index of media slant and use this measure to assess the relative importance of consumer and owner characteristics in determining the political slant of U.S. newspapers.

Disc. **Johanna Dunaway**, *Sam Houston State University*
Danny Hayes, *Syracuse University*

28-301 **POSTER SESSION: GENDER AND POLITICS**
Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Presenter **Woman and Indonesian Politics: Effect of Modernization to Public Opinion**
 (Board 7)
Arnita Sitasari, *West Virginia University*
 Overview: The likelihood of women being elected to the House of Representatives in Indonesia is affected by the regions level of modernization. The higher the level of modernization the more favorable is the public opinion about women representatives.

Presenter **Assessing the Deliberative Power of Women: Uptake, Influence, and Beyond**
 (Board 8)
Ashleigh S. Powers, *Millsaps College*
 Overview: This paper assesses the deliberative power of women by comparing the uptake and influence of men and women who participate in a deliberation experiment. The issue topic and instructions for deliberation are manipulated.

Presenter **Womanist Identification, Political Activism, and the Hip Hop Generation**
 (Board 9)
Pamela Y. Cook, *Luther College*
 Overview: In this paper, I investigate whether black women of the hip-hop generation possess a womanist consciousness and whether there is a relationship between their womanist consciousness and their political activism.

Presenter **Disfranchised Women: Political Agendas, Families, and Gender**
 (Board 10)
Bonnie G. Mani, *East Carolina University*
 Overview: An analysis of effects of families and gender on 16 American women's political activities in the 17th through 21st centuries. Fourteen women were active before 1920 and two—Elizabeth Dole and Hillary Rodham Clinton—are contemporaries.

Presenter **Chinese Feminists and The Politics of Translation**
 (Board 11)
Kim Dorazio, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: This project, based on ten in-depth interviews with Chinese feminist activists, seeks to examine how translation becomes political when producing and analyzing source materials.

29-6 **LEGACIES OF RACISM**
Room Sandburg 1, 7th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair **Jesse P. Mendez**, *Oklahoma State University*
Paper **The Politics of Remembrance: Four Communities Confront Their Racist Pasts**
Earl Sheridan, *University of North Carolina, Wilmington*
 Overview: Why and how do communities choose to commemorate uncomfortable racist incidents in their pasts? A comparison of four communities and their attempt to grapple with their racist pasts.

Paper **Americanization and the De-Americanization of Racialized Ethnic Groups in the United States**
Sherrow O. Pinder, *California State University*
 Overview: In America, there is an attempt to forge a single American identity which provides scripts of the "proper" way of being an American, and the right of passage into normative "Americanness."

Paper **Military Service and Insurgency during the Urban Crisis**
Christopher S. Parker, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: Many recognize the contribution of black veterans to the insurgent campaigns in the South. This paper explores their impact on insurgency in the North.

Disc. **Jesse P. Mendez**, *Oklahoma State University*

29-20 **RACIAL POLITICS: FOUNDATIONS**
Room Clark 7, 7th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair **Susan L. Gaffney**, *Governors State University*
Paper **Finding Black Power in Postcolonial Africa**
Robin J. Hayes, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: This paper draws from archival and interview data to examine how direct encounters between activists in newly decolonized African nations facilitated transnational exchanges between African liberation movements and black power organizations.

Paper **Concentrated Disenfranchisement: How Crime Policies Diminish Civic Capacity**
Traci R. Burch, *Harvard University*
 Overview: This paper measures levels of concentrated disenfranchisement (the number of people with convictions that come from a particular racial group or community) and examines whether concentration diminishes the civic capacity and influence of communities.

Paper **The Psychological Implications of the Political Construction of Race**
Monique L. Lyle, *Duke University*
 Overview: This paper examines the role that American political institutions and elites play in the creation and transmission of the ideological norms associated with racial dominance and inequality and how these contribute to a race-based system justification.

Paper **Tyranny of the Majority? Counting Winners and Losers in American Democracy**
Zoltan Hajnal, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: Is there tyranny of the majority in American democracy? I answer this question by counting up how often voters of different racial and ethnic groups ended up voting for the candidate who eventually wins across the range of elections in American democracy

Disc.	Susan L. Gaffney, <i>Governors State University</i> Rich Braunstein, <i>University of South Dakota</i>	33-29 Room Chair Paper	<u>CONSTITUTIONS AND INSTITUTIONS</u> Dearborn 2, 7 th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am Mary Liston, <i>University of Toronto</i> <u>The Promise of Constitutional Binding: Democratic Bulwark or Tautology?</u> Alexander S. Kirshner, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: This essay accounts for why entrenching a rule in the constitution actually makes that rule more likely to bind political actors. Using this account, the essay re-examines the legitimacy of constitutional precommitment.
32-5 Room Chair Paper	<u>RAWLS AND HIS LEGACY</u> LaSalle 1, 7 th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am Frank Lovett, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> <u>Rawls's Theory of Justice, The Aristotelian Principle, and the Contingent Nature of Politics</u> Sezgin S. Cebi, <i>Rockefeller University, Albany</i> Overview: In this paper I argue that Rawls' rather inadequate understanding of the contingent nature of politics renders the Aristotelian Principle Rawls vehemently subscribe to for his ideal politics something unrealizable.	Paper	<u>When Constitutions Work and Last? The Constituent Power Revisited</u> Andrea Pozas-Loyo, <i>New York University</i> Overview: I propose a typology of the constituent power that aims to capture constitutionalism's dynamic and legal/political nature, in order to create analytic categories for comparative research on constitutional efficacy and stability.
Paper	<u>Rawls and Rousseau's Political Projects: Two Sides of the Same Coin?</u> Johnny Goldfinger, <i>Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis</i> Overview: This paper discusses strong parallels in Rawls's Political Liberalism and Rousseau's On the Social Contract. Five key features of political liberalism are identified. Equivalent concepts are then identified in Rousseau's political project.	Paper	<u>Reasons, Obligations, Institutions</u> Ricardo Vudoyra, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: If legal systems are institutions, what role do rights, obligations, and duties play in their establishment, change, and maintenance? The advantages of an institutional interpretation of rights and obligations are shown.
Paper	<u>A Return to Public Reason</u> Michael Ravvin, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: Current political trends demand a renewed consideration of the idea of public reason. This paper will evaluate the Rawlsian conception of public reason in light of prominent criticisms and propose some necessary modifications.	Disc.	Mary Liston, <i>University of Toronto</i>
Paper	<u>(Re)Discovering the Foundations of Liberalism in the Rawlsian Omission</u> Stephen A. Seagrave, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: In <i>Liberalism and the Limits of Justice</i> , Sandel attempts to use a critique of Rawls' Theory of Justice as a means of undermining deontological liberalism itself. Rawls' deficiencies, however, in fact contain the seeds of liberalism's salvation.	34-3 Room Chair Paper	<u>COLLECTIVE CHOICE</u> Dearborn 1, 7 th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am Andreas K. Warntjen, <i>London School of Economics</i> <u>Choosing Agenda Procedures: When to Tie Your Own Hands</u> Scott Moser, <i>Carnegie Mellon University</i> Overview: We compare a few simple alternative agenda forms. Depending on uncertainty and the degree of partisan voting, we find groups may wish to adopt an extreme form of collective decision-making, namely to preclude an option from even being voted on.
Paper	<u>Reconsidering Rawls's Self-Respect Argument for the Priority of Liberty</u> James R. Zink, <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: In contrast with critics who reduce Rawlsian self-respect to socioeconomic status, I show how Rawls's special conception of self-respect cannot be satisfied by equalizing status. This reading strengthens the justification for the priority of liberty.	Paper	<u>The Probability of Sen's Liberal Paradox</u> Keith L. Dougherty, <i>University of Georgia</i> Julian Edward, <i>Florida International University</i> Overview: This paper determines the probability of a conflict between acyclicity, weak Pareto, and minimal liberalism in a relatively unrestricted domain, using probability experiments on a two dimensional spatial voting model.
Disc.	Michael T. Rogers, <i>Lindsey Wilson College</i>	Paper	<u>The Structure of Heresthetical Power</u> Elizabeth M. Penn, <i>Harvard University</i> Scott Moser, <i>Carnegie Mellon University</i> Overview: Using the Banks set, we present and characterize alternatives that can, and those that cannot, affect sophisticated collective decision making.
33-14 Room Chair Paper	<u>THE POLITICS OF THE AESTHETIC: ART, GRAPHICS, FASHION, AND POETRY</u> Clark 1, 7 th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am Micheale Ferguson, <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> <u>Liberal Art: Kunst and Citizenship in Kant's Third Critique</u> Christian R. Donath, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: While most political theory focuses on the role of reflective judgment in Kant's Third Critique, the political dimensions of art itself have been overlooked. I argue that an examination of this relationship helps us better understand Kant's politics.	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 as a solution concept in spatial voting.
Paper	<u>Inquiry Into Democracy: Visualizing the Public</u> James Johnson, <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: The paper suggests how recent thinking about visual displays of numerical information can enter into the construction of democratic publics.	Paper	<u>Some Simple Arithmetic on Pivotal Voting</u> Howard Margolis, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: In the "Minimum game" players robustly coordinate on their worst payoff. This has always been attributed to strategic uncertainty. But attention to details of the many results argues strongly against that. I propose an entirely different account.
Paper	<u>Black Fashion as a Political Form</u> Joshua I. Miller, <i>Lafayette College</i> Overview: An exploration of appearance and politics as it has been manifested in the African-American experience since World War II. I will address the question: is appearance political, and if so, how?	Disc.	Matias Iaryczower, <i>California Institute of Technology</i>
Paper	<u>Poetry and a Politics of Vulnerability</u> Larry M. Preston, <i>Union Institute & University</i> Overview: The paper suggests that the vulnerability which is central to a poetic sensibility and to writing poetry provides important insights into the study of politics in this time of sustained social and political vulnerability.	35-6 Room Chair Paper	<u>LATENT SPACE MODELS</u> Montrose 2, 7 th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am Adam Glynn, <i>Harvard University</i> <u>Proxmire and the Golden Fleece: Searching for Maverick Legislators in Spatial Voting Errors</u> Benjamin E. Lauderdale, <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: I derive a Bayesian estimation procedure for recovering the width of individuals' response error distributions from roll-call data, allowing quantitative measurement of which members of the U.S. Congress are mavericks.
Disc.	Micheale Ferguson, <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i>		

Paper **Small Chamber Ideal Point Estimation**
Michael Peress, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: We develop an estimator for the quadratic-normal ideal point model which does not suffer from the incidental parameters problem, and hence can be used to estimate ideal points in small chambers.

Paper **Measuring Bias and Uncertainty in DW-NOMINATE Ideal Point Estimates via the Parametric Bootstrap**
Keith T. Poole, *University of California, San Diego*
Jeffrey B. Lewis, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Howard L. Rosenthal, *New York University*
 Overview: We obtain standard errors for DW-NOMINATE via the parametric bootstrap. Previously this was not computationally feasible but the availability of the TeraGrid parallel supercomputer system at UCSD has brought this within reach.

Paper **Analyzing Power in Political Science: A Metric with Applications**
Arthur Spirling, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: The paper introduces an actor-based, data-driven, metric based on the Bradley-Terry pairwise comparison model for analyzing power in structured settings like legislatures. We report applications to the Senate and Supreme Court.

Disc. **Michael Bailey**, *Georgetown University*

36-3 **VOTING AND ELECTIONS TECHNOLOGY**
Room Montrose 7, 7th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair **Steve Frantzych**, *United States Naval Academy*
Paper **Wagon Train to Bullet Train: Street-Level Implementation of E-Voting**
Bonnie E. Glaser, *University of California, Berkeley*
Karin Mac Donald, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: We discuss the process involved in adapting the Election Day workforce to new technology and analyze poll workers own perceptions of their ability to operate new machines.

Paper **BARD: Better Automated Redistricting**
Michael P. McDonald, *George Mason University*
Micah Altman, *Harvard University*
 Overview: We discuss a set of free open-source redistricting tools that we are developing, which will enable more meaningful participation by citizens' groups and the general public.

Paper **Campaigns in Cyberspace and the Impact of Website Technology on Voters**
Michael D. Parkin, *Oberlin College*
 Overview: This study examines the technical sophistication of over 400 congressional campaign websites from 2002 and 2004 and then, using an experiment, determines the effect that website technology has on voters.

Paper **Text Messaging in the 2006 Election: A Field Experiment**
Aaron B. Strauss, *Princeton University*
Allison L. Dale, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*
 Overview: A field experiment and survey identify ways in which campaigns can use mobile technology to reach out to new voters. The experiment tests the impact of text messaging as a mobilization tool and the qualitative survey detects indications of backlash.

Paper **Regulating Democracy's Laboratories: The Law of Imperfect Voting Technology**
Daniel P. Tokaji, *Ohio State University*
 Overview: This paper recommends an administrative law response to the imperfections of present-generation registration and voting technology, which would give local governments latitude to function as laboratories for needed experimentation.

Disc. **Ana Henderson**, *University of California, Berkeley*
Michael Margolis, *University of Cincinnati*

37-301 **POSTER SESSION: PARTIES AND INTEREST GROUPS**
Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Presenter **Party Leader Resistance to Proposed Presidential Election Amendments**
 (Board 12)
Gary Bugh, *Texas A&M University, Texarkana*
 Overview: Why has Congress not endorsed a presidential election amendment? This research paper explores the resistance of party leaders to proposed electoral reform. Analysis focuses on the 1967-1979 effort for national popular election.

Presenter **Explaining Pre-Pill Birth Control Policy Change**
 (Board 13)
John P. Balz, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: I explain variations in pre-Pill birth control policy. While the story of a Margaret Sanger-led social movement is popular, I argue that an alliance between two economic interest groups - pharmacists and condom-makers - better explains policy change.

Presenter **American Party Platforms, 1840-2004**
 (Board 14)
Donald A. Zinman, *Grand Valley State University*
 Overview: This paper is an examination of the reasons why American political party platforms have progressively grown larger in length.

Presenter **When Interests Collide: Medicare Payment Policy and Physician Associations**
 (Board 15)
Matthew J. Twetten, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Overview: The paper uses game theory to examine the Resource Based Relative Value System (RBRVS) and competition among Physician Associations for higher payment rates for procedures performed by their respective members.

38-13 **PRESIDENTIAL MANAGEMENT AND STAFF**
Room LaSalle 2, 7th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair **James D. King**, *University of Wyoming*
Paper **Inside the Black Box: The Politics of Presidential Advisory Commissions**
Elizabeth A. Clausen, *University of Texas, Dallas*
 Overview: Presidential advisory commissions have long been recognized as a means by which executives can address political problems. This paper investigates the conditions under which executives elect to delegate power to commissions.

Paper **Presidential Control of Agencies through Regulatory Review**
Stuart V. Jordan, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: This paper develops and executes an empirical test of the view that OMB review is an instrument through which the President controls U.S. agency policy.

Paper **The White House Counsel and the Defense of the Presidency: 1960-2006**
Darby Morrisroe, *University of Virginia*
 Overview: This paper explores the role and influence of White House Counsels in the defense of the institutional prerogatives of the presidency (1960-2006) and the institutional apparatus developed in the White House staff structure respond to such threats.

Paper **Organizing the Presidency: Lessons from the Bush Administration**
Matthew J. Dickinson, *Middlebury College*
 Overview: The paper examines George W. Bush's use of advisers in the decision to invade Iraq. This case study is used to illustrate some inherent weaknesses in the Nixon-based "standard" model of White House organization.

Disc. **Bert Rockman**, *Purdue University*

<p>39-5</p> <p>Room Chair Paper</p> <p>Paper</p> <p>Paper</p> <p>Disc.</p>	<p><u>THE POLITICS OF CONGRESS AND THE COURTS</u> <u>(Co-sponsored with Judicial Politics, see 41-26)</u></p> <p>Montrose 1, 7th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am</p> <p>John P. Forren, <i>Miami University</i></p> <p><u>Explaining the Bork Effect: Senate Confirmation Votes and Electoral Politics</u> James A. Rydberg, <i>University of Iowa</i> Robert McGrath, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: This paper explains the increasingly ideological nature of Supreme Court confirmation votes in terms of changing state electoral competitiveness. Our theoretical approach allows us to specify the underlying mechanism for the purported "Bork Effect."</p> <p><u>Ideology's Conditional Influence on Supreme Court Confirmation Votes</u> Jonathan P. Day, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: Ideology's influence on Supreme Court confirmation votes is conditioned upon the context in which the vote takes place and the previous justice's ideology in relation to the nominee's ideology is an important contextual variable influencing votes.</p> <p><u>Civility in Supreme Court Confirmation Hearings, 1955-2006</u> Harry C. Strine, IV, <i>Bloomsburg University</i> Overview: Did Martha Alito shed crocodile tears at her husband's hearing or has the Judiciary Committee become more hostile to Supreme Court Nominees? Using Bales' Interaction Process Analysis I perform a content analysis of these hearings from 1955-2006.</p> <p><u>The Sources and Evidence of Temporal Variance in the Lower Court Appointment Process: Establishing Periodic Regimes of Appointment Events</u> Marcus E. Hendershot, <i>University of Florida</i> Overview: This analysis looks at the potential source of temporal variance in the lower court appointment process and looks to competing internal and external hypotheses of this variance. It then utilizes an extensive source of appointment events to evaluate the potential source.</p> <p>Matthew M. Schneider, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> John P. Forren, <i>Miami University</i></p> <p>39-18</p> <p>Room Chair Paper</p> <p>Paper</p> <p>Paper</p> <p>Paper</p> <p>Disc.</p>	<p>39-19</p> <p>Room Chair Paper</p> <p>Paper</p> <p>Disc.</p> <p>40-3</p> <p>Room Chair Paper</p> <p>Paper</p> <p>Disc.</p> <p>Paper</p> <p>Paper</p> <p>Disc.</p>
	<p><u>CAREERS INSIDE CONGRESS AND BEYOND</u> Burnham 1, 7th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am</p> <p>Matthew N. Green, <i>Catholic University of America</i></p> <p><u>Congressional Caucuses and Party Leadership in the U.S. House</u> Kate Carney, <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: Caucuses offer an alternative to the traditional avenues to party leadership. This paper examines careers of freshman members in the 98th - 106th Congresses to determine if caucus leadership influences a member's career path to party leadership.</p> <p><u>Voluntary Retirement from the United States Congress: A Bicameral Analysis</u> Karen Ramsey, <i>George Washington University</i> Maeve Carey, <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: Using an event history model, we examine retirement patterns from the U.S. House and Senate, determining what factors explain retirement trends and how they differ between the chambers.</p> <p>Larry Butler, <i>Rowan University</i></p> <p><u>EXAMINING LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL OUTCOMES</u> LaSalle 3, 7th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am</p> <p>Craig Goodman, <i>Texas Tech University</i></p> <p><u>Distributive Consequences of Unequal Participation</u> Jun Saito, <i>Wesleyan University</i> Yusaku Horiuchi, <i>Australian National University</i> Overview: Studies that tap the effect of turnout on pork suffer from measurement errors because of an unobservable proportion of voters who are not beneficiaries of pork. By using rainfall as an instrument, we show the OLS estimates have a large downward bias.</p> <p><u>Ideological Polarization and the Vanishing of Electoral Margins</u> Jeffrey W. Ladewig, <i>University of Connecticut</i> Stephen Napier, <i>University of Connecticut</i> Overview: We theorize and test a model that hypothesizes that legislators view their roll-call vote choices through a retrospective lens of their past vote margins. We find that wider margins allow legislators to show their true ideological colors.</p> <p><u>Congressional Campaign Rhetoric and Legislative Agendas</u> Tracy Sulkin, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: I develop and test a new agenda-based model of campaign promise-keeping, defining it as the extent to which candidates' issue appeals in campaigns serve as reliable signals about their subsequent policy priorities in office.</p> <p><u>Estimating Legislators' Efficiency: Do Expensive and Productive Go Together</u> Milena I. Neshkova, <i>Indiana University</i> Alexander V. Borisov, <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: To examine if the most "expensive" legislators are also the most "productive" ones, we apply stochastic frontier analysis to assess legislators' efficiency in their use of campaign money and employ this measure to estimate their legislative output.</p> <p><u>Read My Lips: Senatorial Promises and Performance</u> Kristin L. Campbell, <i>SUNY, Buffalo</i> James B. Cottrill, <i>Santa Clara University</i> Overview: This paper proposes to examine the promises made by 27 successful Senate candidates across three elections (1998, 2000, and 2002) in an effort to further understand why politicians attempt to fulfill some campaign promises and not others.</p> <p>Craig Goodman, <i>Texas Tech University</i> John Wilkerson, <i>University of Washington</i></p>	

41-9 HOW STATE COURT SELECTION SYSTEMS AFFECT JUDICIAL BEHAVIOR (Co-sponsored with State and Intergovernmental Politics, see 44-15)

Room Parlor E, 6th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair Melinda Gann Hall, *Michigan State University*
Paper **Institutions, Constraint, and Judicial Decision-Making**

Chris W. Bonneau, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Kevin Arceneaux, *Temple University*
 Paul Brace, *Rice University*

Overview: Despite processing the vast majority of the nation's litigation, state supreme courts are still largely unexplored institutions. Specifically, we know little about how the institutional context in which judges operate affects the on-bench behavior of individuals.

Paper **Influences on the Cases of the State Courts of Last Resort**
 Meghan Callahan, *University of Colorado*

Overview: This study examines the institutional differences present in state judicial systems that account for the disparity in the number of cases handled by each state court of last resort, and the ability of the courts to effectively deal with those cases.

Paper **Post-Columbine: Juvenile Offenders and the State Supreme Courts**

Madhavi M. McCall, *San Diego State University*

Overview: I find elected state supreme court justices are more likely to rule conservative in juvenile offender cases after the Columbine shooting than before, suggesting case salience is an important consideration in studies of state retention methods.

Paper **Judicial Selection Systems and Racial Diversity**
 Kaitlyn Sill, *Louisiana State University*

Overview: This paper examines the effect of judicial selection systems on racial diversity of state supreme courts, and it explores the effect of the current racial composition of a court on the likelihood that a minority judge is selected.

Paper **Voting Behavior and the Selection Method of State Supreme Court Judges**

Sarah S. Wu, *University of Tennessee*

Overview: I would like to empirically test and see if various selection methods of judges make any difference in the way they behave by looking at death penalty cases of 16 states between 1995 and 1998.

Disc. Rachel Paine-Caufield, *Drake University*
 Melinda Gann Hall, *Michigan State University*

42-5 HISTORY, POLITICS, AND THE FORMATION OF DOCTRINE (Co-sponsored with Politics and History, see 51-8)

Room Clark 5, 7th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair Kathleen S. Sullivan, *Ohio University*
Paper **Rethinking Hicklin: Common Law Antecedents of American Obscenity Doctrine**

James R. Alexander, *University of Pittsburgh, Johnstown*

Overview: This paper re-examines critical elements in the English common law case of Regina versus Hicklin (1868) that continue to direct current Court doctrine in American obscenity law.

Paper **Reassessing the Theory of Partisan Entrenchment: Reconstruction and the Politics of Supreme Court Appointments**

Lynda Dodd, *American University*

Overview: This paper examines the Supreme Court appointments of Presidents Lincoln and Grant. Incorporating recent constitutional scholarship on theories of partisan entrenchment, I argue that much of the blame for the failure of Reconstruction should be left with the Supreme Court.

Paper **What Drove the Slaughterhouse Cases Opinion?**

Leslie F. Goldstein, *University of Delaware*

This paper re-examines the Slaughterhouse Cases majority opinion, which gutted the well-known intent of the Privileges or Immunities Clause, with an eye to its social and political context and in light of other court decisions of the 1870s and 1880s.

Paper **Establishing Orthodoxy in Constitutional Interpretation: The Ninth Amendment Debate**

Lisa K. Parshall, *Daemen College*

Overview: This paper will address the notion of orthodoxy in constitutional interpretation by focusing on the Ninth Amendment debate.

Paper **Theorizing Communities and Judicial Change, Canada and the U.K.**

Jason L. Pierce, *University of Dayton*

Overview: This paper explores how the legal professorate shaped, through theoretical scholarship, the roles that the Canadian and British courts assumed under the Charter and Human Rights Act, respectively.

Disc. Kathleen S. Sullivan, *Ohio University*

44-7 INTERGOVERNMENTAL FINANCE

Room Parlor C, 6th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair J. Edwin Benton, *University of South Florida*
Paper **Regional Economic Development Districts and E.O. 12372-Covered/Non-Covered Grant Receipts**

Jeremy L. Hall, *University of Alabama, Birmingham*

Overview: This paper examines the effects of regional economic districts on federal grant receipts in their service area. Specifically, it compares their performance on programs covered by, or not covered by, E.O. 12372.

Paper **How States Deal with Preemptions and Mandates: No Child Left Behind**

Elizabeth A. O'Shaughnessy, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

Overview: How do states deal with federal preemptions and mandates? I show that states respond to the No Child Left Behind Act through bargaining, initiating state laws in protest, and through federal court action, although not always effectively.

Paper **Do National Parties Coordinate in Congress to Aid their Allies in the States**

Brandon C. Zicha, *SUNY, Binghamton*

Conor Dowling, *SUNY, Binghamton*

Overview: Do U.S. parties coordinate Congressional majorities to direct more federal outlays to friendly state governments? Evidence from the period 1972 – 2002 shows that Congressional parties award money to the states in a partisan manner.

Paper **Conditioning State Responses to External Influences: The Role of Internal Moderators in State Policy Change**

Edward Alan Miller, *Brown University*

Overview: The study proposes that the extent to which the federal government and other states influence state policy adoption depends, in part, on internal state characteristics. This proposition is examined in the context of Medicaid reimbursement policy change.

Disc. J. Edwin Benton, *University of South Florida*

45-13 LEADERSHIP IN LOCAL POLITICS

Room Burnham 4, 7th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am
Chair Stephen C. Brooks, *University of Akron*
Paper **Is It All About the Kids? The Political Geography of School Board Elections**

Brady Baybeck, *University of Missouri, St Louis*

Lana Stein, *University of Missouri, St Louis*

Laura Wiedlocher, *University of Missouri, St Louis*

Overview: Are school board elections different from those for other citywide offices? We examine the political geography of these elections through the lens of V.O. Key's friends and neighbors, comparing them with other citywide results.

Paper **Modern Machines: Parties, Incumbency, and Patronage in Local Politics**

Jessica Trounstone, *Princeton University*

Overview: Is there a corollary to political machines in today's city politics? In this paper I use case study and large N analysis to investigate how parties and individuals maintain power for multiple terms of office in American cities.

Paper	<u>City Manager Leadership Techniques: Leading from the Front, Side or Rear?</u> Gregory Kuhn , <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: City managers must lead in a governmental system where multiple leaders are present; elected leaders, community leaders, administrative leaders and organizational leaders. A persistent question is this: how do city managers lead?	49-301 <u>POSTER SESSION: ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS</u> Room Exhibit Hall, 4 th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am Presenter <u>Between Seeds and Symbols: Sub-national Climate Policy in Massachusetts and Quebec</u> (Board 16) Daniel Marien , <i>Salem State College</i> Overview: The paper asks whether climate change mitigation policies by American states and Canadian provinces can produce effective greenhouse gas reduction measures and policy learning opportunities, or function merely as symbolic exercises by sub-national leaders.
Paper	<u>Evaluating Performance of Mayoral Personality Types</u> Andrew McNitt , <i>Eastern Illinois University</i> Christopher Newman , <i>Elgin Community College</i> Overview: The paper unites McNitt's work assessing mayoral performance with Newman's classifying mayoral personality types by analyzing mayoral addresses. The goal is to determine which personality types produce what type of performance outcomes.	Presenter <u>A Voluntary Public-Private Partnership:: Do State Regulatory Regimes Matter?</u> (Board 17) Seong-Gin Moon , <i>Grand Valley State University</i> Tun Myint , <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: This paper examines how state regulatory regimes influence a firm's decision to participate in a voluntary public-private partnership -- National Environmental Performance Track program -- that EPA initiated in 2001.
Disc.	Stephen C. Brooks , <i>University of Akron</i>	
46-101	<u>ROUNDTABLE: THE FUTURE OF PUNCTUATED EQUILIBRIUM</u> Room Adams, 6 th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am Chair Frank Baumgartner , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Panelist Bryan D. Jones , <i>University of Washington</i> Christoffer Green-Padersen , <i>University of Aarhus</i> Vanessa A. Baird , <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Adam Sheingate , <i>Johns Hopkins University</i> Overview: The Future of Punctuated Equilibrium	50-6 <u>MORALE AND PERFORMANCE IN GOVERNMENT AGENCIES</u> Room PDR 7, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 9:50 am Chair Marissa M. Golden , <i>Bryn Mawr College</i> Paper <u>The Effects of Work Environment on Organizational Effectiveness</u> Sungjoo Choi , <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: The effects of work environment on employees' psychological well-being and performance are receiving greater attention in public management. This study examines the impacts of quality-of-work life from the perspective of spillover theories.
49-201	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS AND LOCALITIES</u> Room State, 4 th Floor, Table 3, Fri at 9:50 am Presenter <u>Clear Ponds, Open Spaces, and Ditched Alligators: Environmental Resource Management and Private Community Association Governance in Lowcountry South Carolina</u> Angela C. Halfacre , <i>College of Charleston</i> Patrick Hurley , <i>College of Charleston</i> Jessi A. Shuler , <i>College of Charleston</i> Overview: Using a South Carolina Lowcountry case study, this paper assesses private neighborhood level environmental knowledge, perceptions, and behaviors, and the implications for community association resource management and governance generally.	Paper <u>Making the Most of Public Service Motivation</u> Bonnie J. Johnson , <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: A big question of public management is how to motivate staff to pursue public issues. This study shows that managers should worry less about motivation and more about making an environment conducive to staff using their public service proclivities.
Presenter	<u>Sense of Place: A Case Study of the Buckeye Forest Council</u> Nancy J. Manring , <i>Ohio University</i> Maeve R. Mason , <i>South Carolina Department of Health and Environmental Control</i> Overview: This paper describes how the Buckeye Forest Council, a nonprofit organization active in southeastern Ohio, has both created and utilized a sense of place to achieve its organizational mission and advocacy.	Paper <u>Investigation of Reform Trends in Federal Agencies Over Five Years: An Empirical Analysis of Federal Employee Attitudes and Performance Using Latent Growth Curve Time-Series Modeling</u> Sung Min Park , <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: The main research interest of this study centers on probing the relationship between the ongoing dynamic reform process and its impact on employee attitudes and performance in federal agencies by employing multivariate latent growth curve modeling.
		Disc. David J. Houston , <i>University of Tennessee</i> Sara R. Jordan , <i>Texas A&M University</i>
49-202	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: UNCERTAINTY AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY</u> Room State, 4 th Floor, Table 5, Fri at 9:50 am Presenter <u>Environmental Decision-Making Under Scientific Uncertainty</u> Joice Y. Chang , <i>Indiana University</i> Tatyana B. Ruseva , <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: This paper examines the implications of the Precautionary Principle in American jurisprudence. In particular, we analyze how courts have applied it, and how it might impact judicial, administrative, and legislative environmental decision-making.	50-14 <u>NEW PERSPECTIVES ON NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT</u> Room PDR 6, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 9:50 am Chair Gregory C. Hill , <i>Boise State University</i> Paper <u>Contracting-Out Performance: Policy Process and the Role of Evaluation</u> Kaifeng Yang , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: This paper assess how governmental capacity affects the cost, quality, and innovation of the services that have been contracted-out. Particular attention is paid to the limitation of using evaluation as a tool to enhance performance.
Presenter	<u>Remote Choices: Adaptive Decision-making in Long-Term Climate Policy</u> Jurgen Scheffran , <i>University of Illinois</i> Overview: Long-term climate policies face difficult choices and pose challenges to decision-making across multiple levels. The paper introduces adaptive approaches to long-term decision-making under uncertainty and complexity.	Paper <u>The Importance of False Claims Act in the Middle Age of the NPM and Reinventing Government</u> Yongjin Chang , <i>American University</i> Overview: This paper examines the relationship between efficiency, economy, and result oriented reforms and issues of corruption and fraud, and emphasizes on the importance of whistleblower protection in the government contract area.

Paper **Corruption and NPM: A Cross State Analysis**
Justin J. Hopkins, *American University*
 Overview: This paper generates a theoretical case for increased corruption levels based upon NPM reforms and presents a cross state analysis on the effects of NPM reforms on perceived levels of corruption in US States.

Disc. **Gregory C. Hill**, *Boise State University*
Peter Haas, *San Jose State University*

51-5 **TOPICS IN AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**

Room PDR 8, 3rd Floor, Fri at 9:50 am

Chair **Thomas H. Hammond**, *Michigan State University*

Paper **Conquest and Frontier in American Political Development**
Stephen G. Bragaw, *Sweet Briar College*
 Overview: The Law of Conquest inherited from Spain and England shaped instrumentally American articulation of the idea of the frontier. Together, these legal concepts of conquest and frontier fundamentally defined the project of American state-building.

Paper **The Effects of Katrina: Far Beyond the Storm**
Gloria Simo, *DePaul University*
 Overview: The effects of Hurricane Katrina go far beyond the physical damage to buildings and infrastructure. This paper examines the more personal effects of this tragedy and how recovery still varies by neighborhood in the city of New Orleans.

Paper **The Rise of LGBT Rights in American Political Development**
Jason Pierceson, *University of Illinois, Springfield*
 Overview: This paper utilizes an APD framework to explain the rise of rights and equality claims for sexual minorities.

Paper **Women Educator Citizens and the Public Sphere, 1880-1920**
Michael C. Pisapia, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: In American cities between 1880-1920, schools were a free space where women acted as public persons in a system normally relegating them to the private sphere. This public role contributed to the success of the suffrage movement.

Paper **Majoritarianism as a Causal Mechanism in American Political Development**
James Simeone, *Illinois Wesleyan University*
 Overview: This paper uses evidence from the creation of the Democratic Party in Illinois to support the claim that a majoritarian conception of democracy perpetuated both the liberal and illiberal traditions which shape American political development.

Disc. **Ryan J. Barilleaux**, *Miami University*
Thomas H. Hammond, *Michigan State University*

53-301 **POSTER SESSION: RELIGION AND POLITICS**

Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am

Presenter **The Moral Paradox of Jubilee? Debt Forgiveness As Policy Image**
 (Board 18)
Larycia A. Hawkins, *University of Oklahoma*
Larisa Yun, *University of Oklahoma*
 Overview: Jubilee 2000 betrays a clash of titans: the moralistic tale of debt forgiveness versus the technical tale of the harsh realities of globalization. This paper examines whether the causal story of debt forgiveness was consistent across policy venues.

Presenter **Eastern Orthodox Fundamentalism, Globalization and Radical Politics**
 (Board 19)
Irina A. Papkova, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Eastern Orthodox fundamentalism has developed as a response to globalization. Currently limited in influence, this religious phenomenon is growing in capacity; it will increasingly pose challenges to democracy in several East European countries.

Presenter **1st Amendment Rights for Religious Groups?: When Law and Belief Conflict**
 (Board 20)
David K. Ryden, *Hope College*
 Overview: This paper uses current litigation and judicial opinions to examine the nature and extent of 1st amendment religious free exercise and associational protections for religious groups faced with contrary state or federal law.

54-3 **INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN POLITICS AND POLICY-MAKING**

Room Parlor J, 6th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am

Chair **Subir K. Kole**, *University of Hawaii, Manoa*

Paper **Taking Metaphors Seriously: An Interpretive Account of A Local Policy**
Morris Bidjerano, *SUNY, Albany*
 Overview: The paper tries to inquire into the contextual significance of the metaphor of the “shield” as a lens for seeing and understanding the process of policy making in the case of the Patuxent River, Maryland water quality improvement strategy.

Paper **Methamphetamine, Rural Culture, and Public Policy: An Ethnographic Analysis**
William C. Garriott, Jr., *Centre College*
William C. Garriott, III, *Princeton University*
 Overview: An ethnographic analysis of individuals in a rural area who have been convicted of meth-related crimes, and an examination of the policy implications of taking local culture into account.

Paper **Reversing the Causality: Considering the Impact of Politics on Religion**
Ariane Zambiras, *University of California, Berkeley/LaSSP/IEP Toulouse*
Patrick Meier, *The Fletcher School, Tufts University*
 Overview: Our paper employs anthropological approaches to shed light on the issue of religion and politics in the United States, analyzing characterizations of atheists, opinions about the death penalty, and church shopping behavior.

Disc. **Subir K. Kole**, *University of Hawaii, Manoa*

59-102 **ROUNDTABLE: SCHOLARSHIP AND ACTIVISM**

Room Monroe, 6th Floor, Fri at 9:50 am

Chair **Daniel R. Pinello**, *City University of New York*

Panelist **Mark Wojcik**, *John Marshall Law School*
Ellen Andersen, *Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis*
Mark Wojcik, *John Marshall Law School*
Steve Sanders, *Mayer, Brown, Rowe & Maw, LLP*
Sheila Suess Kennedy, *Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis*
 Overview: TBA

Friday, April 13 – 12:45 pm – 2:20 pm

1-104 AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: MCCARTY, POOLE, AND ROSENTHAL'S POLARIZED AMERICA

Room Parlor F, 6th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair David Brady, *Stanford University*

Panelist Sarah Binder, *George Washington University*

Jeff Stonecash, *Syracuse University*

Michele Swers, *Georgetown University*

Rodney Hero, *University of Notre Dame*

Richard Johnston, *University of Pennsylvania*

Keith Poole, *University of California, San Diego*

Nolan McCarty, *Princeton University*

Overview: Panelists on this roundtable will discuss the recently published book, *Polarized America: The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches*, by Nolan McCarty, Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal.

2-7 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SKILLS AND PRODUCTIVITY

Room Salon 1, 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Cathie Jo Martin, *Boston University*

Paper Institutional Change in the German Vocational Training System

Marius R. Busemeyer, *Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies*

Overview: This paper argues that the German vocational training system has undergone incremental, yet transformative change during the last decades. The challenges of upskilling and Europeanization put pressure on the classical dual system model.

Paper The Politics of Coalitions for High-Skilled Immigration Policies

Lucie Cerna, *University of Oxford*

Overview: Why are some advanced industrial countries more open to high-skilled immigration than others when they focus on both filling similar labour market shortages and recruiting 'best brains'?

Paper New Skills Institutions in Old Industrialized Economies? The Case of IT

Sara Jane McCaffrey, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Overview: Though education and training remain deeply embedded in national settings, rapid technological change and standardization has boosted the power of international firms and standard setting organizations at the expense of domestic actors.

Paper Economic Openness, Skills-Based Coalitions, and Service Sector Development

Anne T. Wren, *Stanford University*

Overview: Where the capacity exists for the formation of political coalitions around the expansion of high-productivity export lead service sectors, distributional conflict along the lines predicted in Iversen and Wren's (1998) service sector trilemma is substantiated.

Disc. Cathie Jo Martin, *Boston University*

2-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PERSPECTIVES ON JAPANESE POLITICS

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 1, Fri at 12:45 pm

Presenter Career Ambitions of Local Politicians in Pre- and Post-Reform Japan

Ko Maeda, *University of North Texas*

Jun Saito, *Wesleyan University*

Overview: We explore how the 1994 electoral law reform in Japan changed the pattern in which local legislators step up to the national politics. The implications for the future of the Japanese party system will also be discussed.

Presenter Arenas for Pork or Policy? Committee Debates in the Japanese Diet

Akitaka Matsuo, *Rice University*

Shunta Matsumoto, *Meijo University*

Overview: This research conducts computer content analyses for committee discussion in the Japanese lower house. The dimensionality of discussion in each committee is determined by the nature of its jurisdiction.

2-202 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POLITICS AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 2, Fri at 12:45 pm

Presenter The Influence of Electoral Cleavage Patterns on Social Movement Activity

Lori M. Poloni-Staudinger, *Northern Arizona University*

Overview: This study examines the influence of electoral cleavage patterns on activity choice among environmental organizations in the UK, France and Germany by asking if changes in electoral politics influenced the political opportunity structure for activity.

3-6 EFFECTS OF INDIGENOUS POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Room Salon 2, 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Todd A. Eisenstadt, *American University*

Paper Indigenous Custom and Democratic Theory in Southern Mexico

Matthew R. Cleary, *Syracuse University*

Overview: This paper uses evidence from Oaxaca, Mexico, to inform debates about multiculturalism and liberal democratic theory that, to this point, have largely been disengaged from actual empirical cases.

Paper Communitarianism and Individualism in Southern Mexico

Todd A. Eisenstadt, *American University*

Overview: Based on an unprecedented survey in Southern Mexico, this paper shows that pluralist and class - rather than ethnic - identities, have been rural Mexico's most salient social cleavages even since the post-1994 Zapatista-inspired indigenous rights movement.

Paper Elections Without Parties: Authoritarian Survival and the Politics of Multiculturalism in Oaxaca, Mexico

Guillermo Trejo, *Duke University*

Rodrigo Elizarraras, *New School for Social Research*

Overview: This paper seeks to explain why incumbent ruling elites in electoral autocracies would willingly decentralize political power to ethnic communal assemblies at the expense of political parties, the incumbent party included.

Paper Indigenous Parties and Institutional Innovation in the Andes

Donna Lee Van Cott, *Tulane University*

Overview: The author examines how indigenous peoples' political parties are incorporating what they claim to be traditional cultural practices into the design of local government institutions where such parties control the mayor's office.

Disc. Edward Gibson, *Northwestern University*

4-6 PROBLEMS OF TRANSITION IN EASTERN EUROPE

Room PDR 4, 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair Vladimir V. Popov, *New Economic School*

Paper A Multi-Level Model of Strategic Media Use in Democratizing Countries

Paul M. Loveless, *Georgetown University*

Overview: Using the Czech and Slovak Republics as a quasi-experiment, this paper demonstrates how citizens' information-seeking during democratic transition both manifests itself in media choices and is determined by the processes of institutional reform.

Paper After the Revolution: The Fate of Independent Media in Post-Transition Politics

Eric Schwartz, *Binghamton University*

Overview: The media play an important role in opposition to authoritarian regimes, yet too often they are rewarded with repression by new regimes. The character of pre-transition competition is a key factor in explaining the fate of post-transition media.

Paper Comparing the Democratic and the New Electoral Revolutions in Eastern Europe

Klara Sogindolska, *SUNY, Geneseo*

Overview: The paper provides a comparative review of the new Electoral Revolutions in Serbia, Georgia and Ukraine and the 1989 Democratic Revolutions in East Central Europe.

Paper **The Problem of Democratic Erosion in Belarus and Slovakia**
Ludmila Krytynskaia, Princeton University
 Overview: The paper addresses the survival of new democracies threatened by democratically elected chief executives by focusing on the role of opposition elites in the prevention of complete democratic breakdown and reinstallation of authoritarianism.

Disc. **Mikhail G. Myagkov, University of Oregon**

5-4 **ELECTIONS AND PARTY SYSTEMS**
Room Salon 4, 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair **Myunghee Kim, Southern Illinois University**
Paper **Executive Constraint and Economic Growth in Latin America**
Andrea L. Morrison, University of California, Davis
 Overview: I use level of executive constraint to explain changes in economic growth. Contrary to the hypothesis, I find that low levels of constraint lead to positive economic change.

Paper **Political Parties' Role in Democratic Consolidation**
Maria Ilcheva, Florida International University
Amanda Gorski, Florida International University
 Overview: The paper explores the role of political parties in the consolidation of democracy in Latin America and Southeastern Europe arguing that parties are shaped by the political context in which they operate.

Paper **Electoral Institutions and Equilibrium Forces on Party System Size**
Robin E. Best, Syracuse University
 Overview: This paper examines the extent to which legislative seat rewards function as an equilibrium force on party system size over time. The results suggest this equilibrium force has diminished in recent decades across Western democracies.

Paper **The Quantity versus the Quality of Party Systems: Party System Polarization and Its Consequences**
Russell J. Dalton, University of California, Irvine
 Overview: Instead of counting the number of parties, it is more important to measure the degree of polarization within a party system. This analysis of the CSES I & II demonstrates the variation in party polarization and its impact on vote turnout and party choices.

Paper **Electoral Reform**
Brian F. Crisp, Washington University, St. Louis
Yael Shomer, Washington University, St. Louis
 Overview: Are electoral systems which are "extreme" in intraparty and/or interparty terms more likely to be reformed and do the specific reforms undertaken moderate the system?

Disc. **Rachel K. Cremona, Flagler College**
Gregory Robinson, Michigan State University, East Lansing

6-9 **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**
Room Sandburg 7, 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair **Naomi Levy, University of California, Berkeley**
Paper **Recovering the Street: Political Strategies in Peru's 2000 Mobilizations**
Carmen Hizarbe, New School for Social Research
 Overview: The paper analyzes political strategies in the massive popular street protests that launched Peru's democratic transition in 2000 and reflects on its significance to recover the street as a public space for political expression.

Paper **Exploring Protest Participation in South Korea**
Young C. Kim, University of Evansville
 Overview: This study focuses on individual level explanations of political protest in South Korea in the process of democratization.

Paper **Mechanisms of Aggregation and Disintegration in Contentious Movements**
Michael Malecki, Washington University, St. Louis
 Overview: Using data on groups involved in strikes, protest, and violence in Argentina 1955-74, the paper shows that certain actors repeatedly herald the beginning of the end of a wave of protest, and investigates waves' diminishing as well as their crescendo.

Paper **The Process of Donor Funding as the Cause of Social Movement Decline**
Kristin A. McKie, Cornell University
 Overview: Employing the case of the Barabaig land rights movement in Tanzania, this paper argues that the mechanisms of

cooptation and leader alienation, which are inherent in the donor funding process, can yield a causal explanation of social movement decline

Disc. **Young C. Kim, University of Evansville**

7-8 **DOMESTIC POLICY RESPONSES TO THE EUROPEAN UNION**

Room Sandburg 6, 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair **W. Rand Smith, Lake Forest College**

Paper **EU Patterns of Governance: Social and Immigration Policies**
Sonal R. Desai, University of California, San Diego

Overview: While the members of the EU have surrendered increasing authority over immigration policy to the organization, they have proven hesitant to shift authority over social policy. This project examines determinants of levels of governance in the EU.

Paper **How Bureaucratic Elites Imagine the European Union**

Claudio M. Radaelli, University of Exeter

Fabrizio De Francesco, University of Exeter

Overview: This paper provides a systematic comparison of how expertise and politics interact in the European Union. In our project, called INTUNE, we chart and explain the mode of interaction of bureaucratic elites in the EU by considering three variables.

Paper **European Police Cooperation: The Politics of EUROPOL Development, 1992+**

Magdalena Krajewska, Brandeis University

Overview: The paper examines the political aspects of the origins and development of the European Police Office (Europol).

Europol's powers have been consistently expanded since 1992, yet it remains one of the lesser-known institutions of the European Union.

Paper **Devolution, the EU and Environmental Policy: The Case of Great Britain**

Debra J. Holzhauer, Southeast Missouri State University

Overview: While the British devolution process has created new opportunities for both Scotland and Wales to address the development of environmental policy at the European level, the regional governments have not taken advantage of these opportunities.

Paper **The Europeanization of Italy's Budget Institutions, 1990-2001: A Bottom-Up Approach**

Francesco Stolfi, Allegheny College

Overview: This paper assesses the impact of European factors on the reforms of Italy's budget institutions in the 1990s. By integrating European and domestic factors in a single explanatory framework it concludes that the timing of the reforms is largely explained.

Disc. **Yuliya Yurchenko, University of Sussex**

8-8 **ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR IN LATIN AMERICA**

Room Sandburg 5, 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair **Carole J. Wilson, University of Texas, Dallas**

Paper **Violent Contexts and Electoral Behavior in Colombia**

Miguel Garcia-Sanchez, University of Pittsburgh

Overview: I analyze the impact of violent contexts on the individuals' decision to vote, their vote choices and ideological preferences. I show that persons embedded in violent contexts have a different political behavior than those living in peaceful areas.

Paper **Voter Turnout in Latin America: Institutions, Economy, Political Process, and Public Opinion**

Gregg B. Johnson, SUNY, Buffalo

Sooh-Rhee Ryu, SUNY, Buffalo

Overview: Building upon the extant literature, this paper examines the effects of public opinion and the interaction of traditional institutional, socioeconomic, and political process explanations of electoral turnout in Latin America.

Paper **Causes of Split-Ticket Voting: Strategic Voting vs. Cognitive Madisonianism**

Juan A. Rodriguez Zepeda, University of Pittsburgh

Overview: This paper is about the sources of split-ticket voting. Using survey data from the 2006 Mexican presidential elections,

	two theories about the causes of this political behavior are tested: strategic voting and “Cognitive Madisonianism”.				
Paper	<u>The Mexican 2006 Election: How to Explain the New Electoral Behaviour?</u> Leonardo Valdes , <i>Universidad de Guanajuato</i> Overview: The 2006 presidential election had an unexpected outcome. It was the narrowest election in Mexican history. How to explain a large switch on Mexican electoral behaviour?			Paper	<u>Pro-Western Attitudes in the Central and East Europe: Electoral Behavior</u> Liudas Mazylis , <i>Vytautas Magnus University</i> Asta Skirmantiene , <i>Vytautas Magnus University</i> Overview: Electoral behavior in post-communist states was analyzed in order to discover pro- and anti-Western attitudes. Economic characteristics, ethnic composition as well as opinion poll data in sub-national territories were taken into account.
Disc.	Simone R. Bohn , <i>York University</i>			Paper	<u>Economic Voting in Poland, 1992-2005</u> Owen Andrew , <i>Princeton University</i> Joshua A. Tucker , <i>New York University</i> Overview: We provide a detailed study of economic voting in a single country transitioning from communist to democratic rule. Using a variety of election studies, we explore variation in economic voting both over time and across individuals in Poland.
9-6	<u>LOCAL POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE IN AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES</u>			Disc.	Andrew Konitzer , <i>Austin College</i> Erik Herron , <i>University of Kansas</i>
Room	Sandburg 4, 7 th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm				
Chair	Wenfang Tang , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i>				
Paper	<u>The Consequentiality of Local Elections Under One-Party Rule in Taiwan</u> Shiru Wang , <i>Yale University</i> Overview: Do formal institutions of elections at the local level affect the behavior of the ruling party in an authoritarian regime? Using electoral data collected before and after democratization in Taiwan, this paper argues that authoritarian election helps these.				
Paper	<u>The Nexus of Institutions and Unexpected "Unintended Consequences" in China's Fiscal Reform</u> Victor Shih , <i>Northwestern University</i> Mingxing Liu , <i>Peking University</i> Xueyan Su , <i>Chinese Academy of Social Sciences</i> Overview: Strategic Actors can Informal institutions in order to circumvent formal one. Using the case of the enforcement of tax quotas in Chinese townships, this paper documents how actors confronted with an array of both formal and informal institutions choose to.			14-5	<u>POLITICAL CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF FDI</u>
				Room	Clark 5, 7 th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
				Chair	Nathan M. Jensen , <i>Washington University, St Louis</i>
				Paper	<u>Political Institutions and Patterns of Foreign Direct Investment</u> Yu Zheng , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: Using industry-level data, the paper finds that strong political institutions tend to attract more large-scale, capital-intensive and domestic market-seeking FDI whereas weak institutions tend to attract more labor-intensive and export-oriented FDI.
Paper	<u>Political Engagement in Rural China</u> Pierre Landry , <i>Yale University</i> Deborah Davis , <i>Yale University</i> Overview: While considerable research in comparative politics has linked social capital to political engagement, we show that it is not the case in rural China despite the introduction of electoral politics at the village level.			Paper	<u>Effects of FDI on Human Rights Practices of Host Governments</u> Ozen Eren , <i>Texas Tech University</i> Overview: This paper explores whether or not, in the presence of a significant FDI inflow, some underlying conditions make host governments more likely to violate their citizens' basic human rights. Ethnic conflicts are thought to be among such conditions.
Paper	<u>Do New Democratic Institutions Contribute to more Democratic Political Engagement? A Within-County Comparative Study of Village Elections in China</u> Mayling Birney , <i>The Brookings Institution</i> Overview: Does access to new democratic institutions contribute to more democratic political engagement? The question is investigated using an unusual two-wave dataset on village election quality, villager attitudes, and political behavior in China.			Paper	<u>The Nature of Conflict and Foreign Direct Investment</u> Hoon Lee , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: This study examines how different characteristics of military conflict affect the inflow of FDI, such as conflict frequency, hostility, revisionist, rivalry, fatality, and conflict outcome, and then tests the proposed hypotheses, respectively.
Disc.	Wenfang Tang , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i>			Paper	<u>Foreign Direct Investment and Conflict Duration</u> GeiGuen Shin , <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Kwang-Jin Kim , <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Overview: This paper examines that the larger the proportion of FDI in the host country's economy before a conflict begins, the shorter the length of time until the conflict is terminated.
13-3	<u>VOTING IN THE POST-COMMUNIST CONTEXT (Co-sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 22-17)</u>			Paper	<u>The Politics of Investment: Estimating Implicit Government Preferences</u> Pablo M. Pinto , <i>Columbia University</i> Santiago M. Pinto , <i>West Virginia University</i> Overview: We estimate a host government's implicit preferences in regulating foreign direct investment that would be an optimum given a formal model of the economy in which FDI can enter as either a complement or a substitute to domestic labor or capital.
Room	Sandburg 2,7 th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm			Disc.	Nathan M. Jensen , <i>Washington University, St Louis</i>
Chair	Andrew Roberts , <i>Northwestern University</i>				
Paper	<u>Testing Sociological Model of Voting: A Case of Polish Parliamentary Elections, 1997-2005</u> Piotr Paradowski , <i>Loyola University, Chicago</i> Overview: This research paper explores the links between social structure and voting behavior in parliamentary elections in Poland using individual level data.				
Paper	<u>Economic Voting in Post-Communist Europe: Is It Special or Ordinary?</u> Zeynep Somer , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: Not only the government parties but all parties of ten post-Communist countries are examined for the evidence of economic voting. Unemployment and “clarity of responsibility” are found to have the expected effects on party vote shares.			14-203	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POLITICS OF AIRPLANE PRODUCTION</u>
				Room	State, 4 th Floor, Table 3, Fri at 12:45 pm
Paper	<u>The Macro Agenda and Expressive Engagement</u> Calvin J. Mouw , <i>University of Illinois, Springfield</i> Didi Popova , <i>University of Illinois, Springfield</i> Overview: Traditionally, variance in vote forms has focused on institutional factors. We offer a counter explanation that focuses on the macro agenda as the cause of the relative patterns of affective and cognitive engagement.			Presenter	<u>Russian Strategic Interests and the European Aeronautics Industry</u> David W. Thornton , <i>Campbell University</i> Overview: Examines recent and ongoing developments in the European aeronautical sector in relation to the region's larger strategic and security environment, with particular emphasis on the priorities and capabilities of the Russian state in shaping its future trajectory.

Presenter **The Airbus-Boeing Dispute: Political and Theoretical Implications**

Vicki L. Birchfield, *Georgia Institute of Technology*
Timothy P. Gallagher, *Georgia Institute of Technology*
Overview: The Boeing-Airbus rift has deep implications for the aerospace industry, domestic politics and US-EU relations. This paper argues that current theoretical frameworks do not capture the complexities of the dispute and offers new analytical frameworks.

14-204 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ECONOMIC NATIONALISM**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 4, Fri at 12:45 pm

Presenter **Economic Sociological Sources of Economic Nationalism**

Valerie S. K. Teo, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
Overview: Part I surveys the emergent fields of economic nationalism and economic sociology. Part II explores economic sociological explanations of economic nationalism in relation to comparative and international political economy literature.

15-7 **INTERNATIONAL CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF DEMOCRATIZATION**

Room Salon 5, 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair **Desha M. Girod**, *Stanford University*

Paper **Signaling Credible Commitment: Transitions and Conflict Reciprocation**

Aparna Kher, *SUNY, Binghamton*
Overview: The paper empirically tests the effect of transitions on the quality and quantity of commitment signals. Transitioning institutions provide inadequate or incoherent information, increasing uncertainty and the probability of conflict reciprocation.

Paper **Dependence Networks and the Diffusion of Democracy**

Darren Hawkins, *Brigham Young University*
Jay Goodliffe, *Brigham Young University*
Overview: We introduce a novel theoretical explanation for the international diffusion of democracy by focusing on the set of network partners on whom a state is dependent for trade, investment, security, and international cooperation.

Paper **Denouncing Frauds: Transnational Coalitions and Post-Electoral Crises**

Enrique Bravo-Escobar, *Georgetown University*
Overview: The role of coalitions between domestic opposition and international actors has been crucial to prevent further post-electoral conflicts. Structured, focused comparisons of recent cases in the post-Communist world and Latin America are used.

Disc. **Desha M. Girod**, *Stanford University*

15-203 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: DOMESTIC POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 5, Fri at 12:45 pm

Presenter **International Negotiation Returns for Ministries. A Multilevel Analysis**

Paul W. Thurner, *University Mannheim*
Martin Binder, *University Mannheim*
Overview: Using multi-level analysis we estimate the impact of formal and informal (network), domestic, transgovernmental and intergovernmental determinants on ministries' returns from international negotiations.

Presenter **National Position Taking in International Negotiations**

Martin Binder, *University Mannheim*
Overview: The paper develops a formal model of national position taking prior to international negotiations. Looking at a case study, the question is raised, how influential the national ministries were in determining the national bargaining positions.

15-204 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: NEW METHODOLOGIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 6, Fri at 12:45 pm

Presenter **An Experimental Assessment of the Bargaining Model of War**

Katri K. Sieberg, *Binghamton University*
David Clark, *Binghamton University*
Charles Holt, *University of Virginia*
Timothy Nordstrom, *University of Mississippi*
William Reed, *Rice University*

Overview: This paper uses an experiment to test a novel claim derived from an international relations bargaining model: that the chances of war are determined by the disparity between the ex ante distributions of power and benefits.

16-9 **SECURITY PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS IN ASIA**

Room Salon 6, 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair **Bridget L. Coggins**, *Dartmouth College*

Paper **A More Dangerous Dragon: China's Diminishing Growth and the Adoption of an Aggressive Foreign Policy Agenda**

Brock F. Tessman, *University of Georgia*
Overview: The growing economic, military, and political strength of the People's Republic of China (PRC) has been a matter of considerable recent debate among international relations scholars. How will the strategic objectives of an increasingly powerful China evolve?

Paper **Security Implications of the Taiwanese Chip Industry Migration to China**

Ming-chin Monique Chu, *University of Cambridge*
Overview: The migration of the Taiwanese chip industry to China is found to be extensive, thus triggering complex security risks for Taiwan, the USA and China including industrial-base concerns, technological risks and the PLA-microelectronics links.

Paper **Origin of U.S. Alliances in the Asia-Pacific in A Comparative Perspective**

Tatsuya Nishida, *Harvard University*
Overview: This paper examines why the U.S. built multiple bilateral alliances in the Asia-Pacific while constructing a multilateral alliance, the NATO in Europe, and argues that the degree of security interdependence among allies is a key for a state's choice.

Paper **Russian and American Approaches to Central Asian Security**

Bek-Myrza Tokotegin, *Bosphorus University, Turkey*
Overview: This research paper aims to scholarly examine and analyze an American and Russian approaches to Central Eurasian security in the context of U.S.' and Russian geopolitical competence in the region after Afghan Strike.

Disc. **Virginie Grzelczyk**, *Lafayette College*

17-8 **CIVIL WAR -- THE STATE**

Room Sandburg 8, 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair **Mahendra Lawoti**, *Western Michigan University*

Paper **Coercive Capacity, Institutional Authority, and the Risk of Civil War**

Bethany A. Lacina, *Stanford University*
Overview: The relationship between state strength and the risk of civil war is tested by coding two distinct components of the archetypal modern state: coercive capacity and institutional authority. These variables independently predict civil conflict onset.

Paper **Rebellion, Mobilization, and Institutions in Post-Colonial Societies**

Jean-Pierre Tranchant, *CERDI-CNRS and Université d'Auvergne*
Overview: 3SLS and 2SLS estimations for post-colonial societies reveal that a strong state, captured by bureaucratic quality, exerts a strong preventive effect on rebellion. But, working institutions increase also rebellion, indirectly, through mobilization.

Paper **Civil-Military Relations, State Weakness and Civil Wars**

Naunihal Singh, *University of Notre Dame*
Overview: This paper examines the impact of state weakness on civil war onset and duration. State weakness is proxied using a

	country's history of past successful and failed coups, drawn from an original dataset of 500 post-WWII coup attempts worldwide.				opportunity costs prevent citizens from seeking polling information.
Paper	<u>State Capacity, Taxation and Civil Wars</u> Zeynep Taydas , <i>Clemson University</i> Dursun Peksen , <i>University of Missouri</i> Overview: State capacity is an important determinant of civil wars. Our paper shows that weaker states are more likely to experience civil wars.		Paper	<u>What to Attack? Candidate Strategy and Voter Response</u> David A. M. Peterson , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper focuses on the content of attacks by candidates. I ask two questions: 1) do candidate chose to attack their opponents' perceived strengths or weaknesses? and 2) which attack is more effective at persuading voters?	
Disc.	Jessica A. Stanton , <i>Columbia University</i>		Paper	<u>Like leader, Like Party: Leadership Assessments and Party Images in NL</u> Tereza Capelos , <i>Leiden University</i> Sabine van der Eijk , <i>Leiden University</i> Ron van den Akker , <i>Leiden University</i> Overview: This paper examines how trait perceptions of political leaders determine the image of political parties. This question is particularly timely in the context of more personalized and candidate centered politics in parliamentary European democracies.	
18-5	<u>PUBLIC OPINION, CONGRESS, AND FOREIGN POLICY</u>				
Room	Salon 7, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm				
Chair	James M. McCormick , <i>Iowa State University</i>				
Paper	<u>Ideology, Economy, Policy Opposition, and the Strategic Targeting of the U.S.</u> Dennis M. Foster , <i>Virginia Military Institute</i> Overview: Explores the intervening role of partisan ideology on the relationships amongst diversionary incentives, congressional foreign policy opposition, and the strategic targeting/avoidance of the United States.		Paper	<u>Candidate Ambiguity and Political Competition</u> Robert P. Van Houweling , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Michael Tomz , <i>Stanford University</i> Paul Sniderman , <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: We use survey experiments to assess the effects of candidate ambiguity on voter perceptions and choice. Our findings have important implications for politics, because they demonstrate a partisan bias citizens responses to ambiguous platforms.	
Paper	<u>Playing with AIPAC: The Growing Arab Lobby's Strength</u> Khalil M. Marrar , <i>DePaul University</i> Overview: Scholarship on domestic actors shaping American policy toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has always concentrated on pro-Israel lobbying groups while ignoring the growing effectiveness of the pro-Arab lobby. This paper attempts to remedy that.		Disc.	Cindy D. Kam , <i>University of California, Davis</i>	
Disc.	Elizabeth A. Bloodgood , <i>Concordia University</i>				
19-6	<u>INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND VIOLENCE</u>		21-101	<u>ROUNDTABLE: 25 YEARS OF POLITICAL TOLERANCE</u>	
Room	Clark 10, 7 th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm		Room	Red Lacquer, 4 th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm	
Chair	Alexander Thompson , <i>Ohio State University</i>		Chair	Stanley Feldman , <i>Stony Brook University</i>	
Paper	<u>Does Hierarchy Matter? International Hierarchy and the Final Solution</u> Ethan J. Hollander , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: This paper demonstrates that the efficient implementation of the Final Solution depended upon the level of hierarchy between Germany and each occupied country. It thus elucidates the factors that contribute to the success of policy implementation.		Panelist	George Marcus , <i>Williams College</i> Dennis Chong , <i>Northwestern University</i> Darren Davis , <i>Michigan State University</i> James Gibson , <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: Reflections on the past, present, and future of tolerance research.	
Paper	<u>Accounting for Endogeneity in the Success of UN Peacekeeping Missions</u> Andrew G. Long , <i>University of Mississippi</i> Greg Day , <i>University of Mississippi</i> Harvey D. Palmer , <i>University of Mississippi</i> Overview: We evaluate a bivariate probit model that accounts for endogeneity in the decision-making calculus determining where the UN intervenes and the impact of UN intervention, as well as other factors, on the likelihood of conflict reoccurrence.		22-6	<u>THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF GEOGRAPHY</u>	
Paper	<u>Time Out: Examining the Duration of Interventions</u> Susan Hannah Allen , <i>Texas Tech University</i> Shelli Keck , <i>Texas Tech University</i> Overview: What determines when an international intervention effort will end? Higher casualties increase the likelihood of intervention (Gilligan and Stedman 2003), but do more intense conflicts lead to longer or shorter intervention efforts?		Room	Salon 8, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm	
Disc.	Alexander Thompson , <i>Ohio State University</i>		Chair	Scott McClurg , <i>Southern Illinois University</i>	
			Paper	<u>The Political Geography of the 2006 Election</u> David A. Hopkins , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Voting patterns have become more geographically distinct in recent U.S. elections. This paper investigates the extent to which this trend continued in 2006.	
21-3	<u>VOTER RESPONSE TO CANDIDATE STRATEGY AND INFORMATION (Co-sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 22-18)</u>		Paper	<u>The Effects of Racial Segregation on Political Participation</u> Ryan D. Enos , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper shows that racial homogeneity at the neighborhood level increases individual political participation among African Americans; while segregating these neighborhoods within cities also increases participation.	
Room	Salon 12, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm		Paper	<u>There Goes the Neighborhood: The Impact of Population Growth on Turnout</u> Joseph D. Giammo , <i>University of Arkansas, Little Rock</i> Overview: In this paper I examine the impact of population growth on the rate of turnout in a community, focusing on a random sample of counties across the country over the past eight presidential elections.	
Chair	Dan Cassino , <i>Fairleigh Dickinson University</i>		Paper	<u>Voters Like Me: Domestic Migration and Proximity to Shared Ideology</u> Ian R. McDonald , <i>Duke University</i> Overview: Does migration within the United States lead to geographic sorting of political preferences? This paper considers the claim that individuals tend to migrate towards other residents who share their political ideology.	
Paper	<u>Do Citizens Follow the Crowd at Election Time? How Polls Affect Decisions</u> Cheryl Boudreau , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Mathew D. McCubbins , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: We use experiments to assess whether and when polls help citizens to improve their decisions. Specifically, we examine whether polls help even unsophisticated citizens and whether				

Paper	<p><u>How Spatial Factors Influence Voter Support for Environmental Public Goods</u> Anne F. Peterson, <i>University of Washington, Bothell</i> Barbara S. Kinsey, <i>University of Central Florida</i> Hugh Bartling, <i>DePaul University</i> Overview: Paper explores in depth how spatial accessibility to public goods influences voter behavior. Two voter referenda explored indepth: preservation of open space in suburban Chicago (2005), and proposed construction of mass transit in Seattle (2002).</p>	Paper	<p><u>A Sibling Study of Value Preferences: 20-Year Panel Data on Postmaterialism</u> Martin Kroh, <i>German Institute of Economic Research</i> Overview: Tracing the similarity in siblings' preferences for postmaterialistic values over two decades, we show that shared preadult experiences both in form of economic scarcity and parental education exert lasting effects on time-invariant value priorities.</p>
Disc.	<p>Scott McClurg, <i>Southern Illinois University</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Equality Matters: Value Meaning and Public Opinion</u> Susan J. Tabrizi, <i>Bucknell University</i> Overview: This paper explores the relationship between multiple meanings of equality (equality of opportunity, equality of results and equality of treatment) and their influence public attitudes regarding minimum wage, gay rights and public school funding.</p>
23-6	<p><u>AGENDA SETTING IN CAMPAIGNS</u> PDR 5, 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm</p>	Disc.	<p>William G. Jacoby, <i>Michigan State University</i></p>
Room	<p>Shanto Iyengar, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i></p>	25-19	<p><u>LINKAGES BETWEEN POLICY AND PUBLIC OPINION</u> Suite 9-128, 9th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm</p>
Chair	<p>Vying for Agenda Control Mary C. Deason, <i>University of North Carolina</i> Overview: This paper examines how organized interests can manipulate candidates' campaign agenda by running issue advertisements. Specifically, it addresses under what circumstances candidates will respond to these ads and alter their campaign messages.</p>	Room	<p>Paul M. Kellstedt, <i>Texas A&M University</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Running on Iraq Running from Iraq: Deliberate Priming in Mid-Term Elections</u> David Dulio, <i>Oakland University</i> Peter F. Trumbore, <i>Oakland University</i> Overview: We test the theory of deliberate priming in the 2002 and 2006 mid-term elections focusing on the issues of Iraq and the war on terror.</p>	Chair	<p><u>Issue Devolution and Public Opinion on Immigration</u> James E. Monogan III, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: Whether an issue fits into the common ideological divide depends on whether elite discourse is symbolic or pragmatic. This theory is tested on the immigration issue, contrasting opinion after proposition 187 and after Bush's guest-worker proposal.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Campaign Dynamics of Issue Dialogue</u> Noah J. Kaplan, <i>University of Houston</i> Travis Ridout, <i>Washington State University</i> Overview: A number of recent works have found that U.S. presidential and Senate candidates often discuss the same issues (e.g., Kaplan et al., Sides, Sigelman and Buell). This study is a first step in incorporating a temporal dimension into the study of issue dialogue.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Politics of Economics: Attitudes Toward Immigration and Foreign Trade</u> Ian B. Yohai, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: The public appears to be much more skeptical toward both free trade and open immigration policies than are elites. This paper uses public opinion data from 1935 to the present to explore how positions at the mass level have changed over time.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Competing Agendas: Issue Agenda Dynamics in the 2000 Presidential Campaign</u> Corwin D. Smidt, <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: Do the news media or candidates drive campaign agendas? This paper uses time series analysis of the 2000 campaign to evaluate the dynamic interactions among voter, candidate, and news media issue agendas.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Religion, Racism, and Representation: Societal Determinants of Policy Mood</u> J. Tobin Grant, <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i> Philip D. Habel, <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i> Overview: We examine the dynamic relationship among societal changes, economic conditions, public opinion, and policy. We find that mood is determined by economic conditions, religiosity, and racial equality, and that mood drives government spending.</p>
Disc.	<p>Seth C. McKee, <i>University of South Florida, St. Petersburg</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>When the Supreme Court Decides, Does the Public Follow?</u> Jack Citrin, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Patrick J. Egan, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: The Supreme Court is an institution that enjoys wide public legitimacy. When it decides controversial opinions does public opinion on the relevant issue change. In short does the Court legitimize policy, polarize opinion, or have no effect at all?</p>
25-7	<p><u>VALUES: CONTENT, CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES</u> Salon 9, 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm</p>	Disc.	<p>Paul M. Kellstedt, <i>Texas A&M University</i></p>
Room	<p>William G. Jacoby, <i>Michigan State University</i></p>	26-7	<p><u>WHO VOTES AND WHY IT MATTERS: BIAS IN VOTER PARTICIPATION</u> Clark 9, 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm</p>
Chair	<p>The Impact of Political Events on Values Change Dukhong Kim, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: This paper explores the impact of the 9/11 attacks and the invasion of Iraq on Americans' attachment to values by using the surveys conducted by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations in 1998, 2002, and 2004.</p>	Room	<p>Brad Gomez, <i>University of Georgia</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>The Content and Electoral Purpose of Moral Values</u> Erin S. McAdams, <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: Analyzing data from The 2006 Congressional Election Study and The Ohio Political Survey, the paper examines how individuals define moral values, what structures those definitions, and how these varying conceptions impact electoral decisions.</p>	Chair	<p><u>The Influence of Electoral Participation on House Legislative Behavior</u> Jean-Francois Godbout, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: This paper studies the influence of varying turnout rates on congressional legislative behavior.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Exploring the Political Values of Americans</u> Daniel Stevens, <i>Hartwick College</i> Barbara Allen, <i>Carleton College</i> J. Michael Angstadt, <i>Hartwick College</i> Andrew Seligsohn, <i>Harwick College</i> Overview: This paper is part of a project on the political values of ordinary Americans. We draw on more than 150 hours of interviews conducted with more than 50 small-town Minnesotans and New Yorkers to examine how people reason and think about politics.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Political Effects of Low Turnout in the 2002 Irish General Election</u> Patrick Bernhagen, <i>University of Aberdeen</i> Michael Marsh, <i>Trinity College, Dublin</i> Overview: We simulate the effects of different scenarios of increased and decreased election turnout on parties' vote share in the 2002 Irish General Election, using a statistical model of multiple imputation to estimate the vote choices of non-voters.</p>

Paper	<u>The Policy Preferences and Priorities of Voters vs. Non-voters, 1972-2004</u> Jan E. Leighley , <i>University of Arizona</i> Jonathan Nagler , <i>New York University</i> Overview: We analyze the policy preferences and priorities of voters and non-voters in U.S. national elections using ANES data from 1972 to 2004.	29-7 Room Chair Paper	<u>RACE, CLASS, AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY</u> Clark 7, 7 th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Armando Xavier Mejia , <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> <u>Credit Cards, Race and the Expropriation of Wealth: Policy Alternatives</u> Adrian J. Lott , <i>Eastern Michigan University</i> Overview: As the use of credit cards has become widespread, credit company practices have had a negative impact on the African American community. Similar to redlining, these practices call for aggressive public policy solutions.
Paper	<u>Party Mobilization and Social Class: Inequalities in the American Democracy</u> Carly Schmitt , <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Overview: Class biases in turnout and political participation has continually existed in the American political system. My research analyzes whether parties are contacting potential voters of the various economic levels at the same rate.	Paper	<u>Structural Changes in the Economy and the Lives of Minority People</u> Bumsoo Kim , <i>Seoul National University</i> Overview: This study compares the postwar experience of the Korean minority in Japan (zainichi) with that of Black Americans, and shows that structural changes in the economy play a significant role in determining the overall situations of minority people.
Disc.	Brad Gomez , <i>University of Georgia</i> Betsy Sinclair , <i>California Institute of Technology</i>		
27-8	<u>POLITICAL COMMUNICATION THROUGH ENTERTAINMENT</u> Clark 1, 7 th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Craig L. Brians , <i>Virginia Tech University</i> <u>Living With War in the Public Sphere: Neil Young's Discourse of Dissent</u> Jamie Warner , <i>Marshall University</i> Daniel Mistich , <i>Marshall University</i> Overview: Neil Young's recent protest album troubles the neatly drawn lines around what counts as the "rational-critical" discourse that Habermas holds up as the democratic ideal. Music can work to expand the boundaries of the contemporary public sphere.	29-7 Room Chair Paper	<u>Race, Concentrated Poverty and Policy: Empowerment Zones in Urban Areas</u> Michele A. Gilbert , <i>Cleveland State University</i> Overview: This paper demonstrates that Empowerment Zones have had a significant impact on socioeconomic outcomes compared with high poverty areas not served by the program. However, this effect is conditioned on the racial composition of the neighborhood.
Paper	<u>The Influence of Popular Music on Public Opinion</u> Jessica E. Timpany , <i>University of California, Santa Barbara</i> Overview: This paper advances part of a larger study which holds that the relationship between music and politics is derived from the ability of political music to influence the way people perceive the climate of general public opinion.	Paper	<u>The American Dream: A Family's Financial Nightmare</u> Susan L. Gaffney , <i>Governors State University</i> Overview: This research will attempt to determine what affect offering homeowners 40 year mortgages has on housing foreclosures in predominately African-American municipalities located in south suburban Cook County.
Paper	<u>The "O" Factor: The Impact of Bush and Gore's Appearances on Oprah</u> Carrie A. Cihasky , <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Overview: Did Bush and Gore's appearances on Oprah in 2000 influence viewers and if so, how? Given Oprah's power of persuasion and viewers' opinion she is a trusted source, her show may serve as a beneficial boost for presidential campaigns.	Paper	<u>Does Race Matter? An Exploratory Analysis of Race, Managerial Networking, and Performance Outcomes</u> Bettie C. Ray , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Scholars have ignored the idea that managers are more likely to network with actors who share similar descriptive characteristics. This paper argues that a manager's race influences their ability to interact with other actors in a given system.
Disc.	Craig L. Brians , <i>Virginia Tech University</i> Lester K. Spence , <i>Johns Hopkins University</i>	Disc.	Martin Urbina , <i>Howard College</i> Marisa Abrajano , <i>University of California, San Diego</i>
28-205	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: WHO'S CALLING THE SHOTS? WOMEN COACHES IN DIVISION 1 SPORTS</u> State, 4 th Floor, Table 7, Fri at 12:45 pm Who's Calling the Shots? Women Coaches in Division 1 Sports Susan Welch , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Lee Sigelman , <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: Examining the 331 Division 1 institutions with women's sports programs, we consider three explanations for the current minority role of women's coaches: competence, discrimination, and candidate pools.	30-3 Room Chair Paper	<u>POSTMODERNITY AND ANTIQUITY</u> Dearborn 1, 7 th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Michael A. Gillespie , <i>Duke University</i> <u>Political Order and Philosophical Disruption: Reading Plato with Heidegger</u> Timothy Dale , <i>University of South Carolina, Upstate</i> Overview: This paper explores the complex and contentious relationship between Heidegger and Plato, with a focus on the relationship that each has toward pre-Socratic philosophy, and on the problem of philosophical disruption in political order.
Room	State, 4 th Floor, Table 7, Fri at 12:45 pm	Paper	<u>Strauss's Athens: On Part of Strauss's Response to Heidegger</u> Alexander S. Duff , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: Strauss's revival of classical philosophy is not strictly a return to the ancients. The peculiarities of his reconsideration of "the problem of Socrates," as may be found in his studies of Xenophon, respond to problems bequeathed by Heidegger.
Presenter	A Politics of Equality vs. a Politics of Difference: Do Constitutions Matter? Priscilla Lambert , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Druscilla Scribner , <i>University of Wisconsin, OshKosh</i> Overview: Should women's rights advocates pursue a politics of difference or a politics of equality? We compare countries with constitutions that emphasize women's different needs to those that emphasize equality or gender neutrality.	Paper	<u>The Legacy of Isocrates: Derrida and Postmodern Political Theory</u> Jamie R. Muir , <i>University of Winnipeg</i> Overview: Western political philosophy may be more diverse than its supporters or critics have allowed in recent scholarship. This paper argues that similarities between Isocrates and Derrida help us to better understand both the political thought of both thinkers,
28-206	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: WOMEN AND REPRESENTATION IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE</u> State, 4 th Floor, Table 8, Fri at 12:45 pm	Paper	<u>Lucretius and the Comedy of Politics</u> Benjamin T. Lundgren , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: In a reading of Lucretius, I contend that his materialism leads to a radically different outlook than contemporary theorists 'because, besides diminishing our greatest fears, more importantly, Epicureanism saves us from our greatest hopes.
Room	State, 4 th Floor, Table 8, Fri at 12:45 pm	Disc.	Richard G. Avramenko , <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i>
Presenter	A Politics of Equality vs. a Politics of Difference: Do Constitutions Matter? Priscilla Lambert , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Druscilla Scribner , <i>University of Wisconsin, OshKosh</i> Overview: Should women's rights advocates pursue a politics of difference or a politics of equality? We compare countries with constitutions that emphasize women's different needs to those that emphasize equality or gender neutrality.		

31-3 LEGAL ARGUMENTATION IN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN THOUGHT

- Room** Sandburg 1, 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair Alexandra E. Hoerl, *Rutgers University*
Paper Natural Law and Law of Nations: From Aquinas to Suarez
 Yoshihisa Yamamoto, *Catholic University of America*
 Overview: In this paper, I will analyze the theories of natural law by Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) and Francisco Suarez (1548-1617). I will analyze natural law in contrast with the law of nations.
- Paper** Private Law Models for Public Law Concepts
 Daniel Lee, *Princeton University*
 Overview: This paper investigates the contributions of Renaissance civil law in the development of early modern doctrines of popular sovereignty.
- Paper** Don't Believe What You've Heard: Reconsidering Grotius's Skepticism
 Loren C. Goldman, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: This paper reinterprets Grotius as a probabilistic, not Pyrrhonic, skeptic, thereby solving problems in the traditional literature about his belief in human sociability.
- Paper** Covenant, Caring, and Conquest: The Logic of Contract in States by Acquisition and Generation
 Brookes C. Brown, *Princeton University*
 Overview: This paper uses Hobbes' theory of knowledge and the three potential mechanisms of state formation Hobbes describes, states by institution, acquisition and generation, to interrogate Hobbes' general views of sovereignty and the commonwealth.
- Disc.** Phillip Gray, *Texas A&M University*

- 32-7** HOBBS
Room Clark 3, 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair Ronda L. Roberts, *Michigan State University, East Lansing*
Paper Hobbes and the War on Terror
 Yishaiya Abosch, *California State University, Fresno*
 Overview: A textual analysis of Hobbes's Behemoth will inform a critical examination of parallels between the current War on Terror and the Weimar period.
- Paper** Hobbes' Pedagogy: A Portrait of the Potential Hobbesian
 Graham R. Howell, *Carleton University*
 Overview: The paper examines several of major works to argue that Hobbes shaped the presentation of his thought to a specific kind of student, which in turn shapes how his thought must be read.
- Paper** Political Anthropomorphism
 Alice Ristroph, *University of Utah*
 Overview: Political anthropomorphism describes accounts of state power that analogize the state to an embodied human being. I critically evaluate this anthropomorphic approach to power, especially as it is invoked in the name of national self-defense.
- Paper** Who Is the Hobbes's Sovereign? Analysis of Hobbes's Theories of Leadership
 Michael T. Rogers, *Lindsey Wilson College*
 Overview: First, I argue there are 3 plausible and competing theories of leadership in Hobbes. After exploring Hobbes's democratic, aristocratic and Platonic theories of leadership, I construct a clearer picture of who the Hobbesian sovereign is.
- Paper** The States of Nature in Hobbes' Leviathan
 Gregory B. Sadler, *Ball State University*
 Overview: 5 different conditions of the state of nature are distinguishable in Hobbes' Leviathan. Hobbes' main focus is on preventing the state of nature as civil war within a previously existing civil society.
- Disc.** Wynne Walker Moskop, *St. Louis University*

- 32-20** POLITICS, MEMORY, AND NARRATIVITY
Room LaSalle 1, 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair Onur Bakiner, *Yale University*
Paper Political Obligation, Public Memory, and Recognition Controversies
 Steven M. DeLue, *Miami University*
 Overview: Paper discusses the basis of political obligation in a liberal democratic state replete with recognition controversies. I

- survey some basic arguments, critique them as inadequate to address recognition controversies, and provide a solution.
- Paper** An Outline of a Theory of Political Storytelling
 David J. Lorenzo, *Virginia Wesleyan College*
 Overview: I outline a theory of storytelling that locates stories in relationship to understandings of the world by connecting the functions of stories to a group of variables that describe their temporal, intellectual, and metaphorical characteristics.
- Paper** The American Stain: Virtue, Memory, and Corruption in Philip Roth
 Robb A. McDaniel, *Middle Tennessee State University*
 Overview: An examination of the recent political fiction of Philip Roth in light of debates over "liberalism" and "republicanism" in the American political tradition.
- Paper** The Politics of Memory: Algeria, South Africa and Rwanda
 Smita A. Rahman, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Overview: This paper examines the complex negotiations involved in the politics of memory. How do societies with grievously injured pasts come to terms with their continued presence? Viewed through the prism of Nietzsche's Untimely Meditations.
- Paper** Adorno's Emancipatory Politics and the Idea of Philosophy After Auschwitz
 Alireza Shomali, *Harvard University*
 Overview: Adorno's critique of the Enlightenment, it is said, blurs the possibility of emancipatory praxis. My paper questions the validity of this position and investigates the possibility of emancipatory praxis in Adorno's idea of philosophy after Auschwitz.
- Disc.** Christian D. Dean, *Dominican University of California*

- 33-5** POLITICAL THEORY AND THE ECONOMY
Room Dearborn 2, 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair Robert Mayer, *Loyola University, Chicago*
Paper Human Economics: The Intrinsic Failure Of Markets For The Poor
 Eamon Aloyo, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
 Overview: We should reevaluate economists' fundamental assumptions concerning the human consequences of money demand driven markets, and instead reconsider how human demand might assist in ethical analysis and reform.
- Paper** Dewey's Democracy and Hayek's Liberalism
 Colin Koopman, *University of California, Santa Cruz*
 Overview: Both Dewey and Hayek understand politics through a pragmatic-praxeological critique of subject-centered rationalism. Recognizing their convergence here opens up new options for both theories and also illuminates previously unexplained differences.
- Paper** Deliberation, Property, and Economic Justice
 Peter M. Lindsay, *Georgia State University*
 Overview: This paper explores the following potential paradox: are the property relations necessary for the functioning of a deliberative democracy the relations that would be chosen by deliberative democrats?
- Paper** Challenging the Privatization of Consumption
 Steve Vanderheiden, *University of Minnesota, Duluth*
 Overview: I examine the emerging anti-consumerist critique in light of its implications for liberal theory as well as in the normative claims that it makes in its own right, considering its implications for how individual consumer decisions are regarded.
- Disc.** Robert Mayer, *Loyola University, Chicago*

- 35-7** EMPIRICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THEORETICAL MODELS (EITM)
Room Montrose 2, 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm
Chair John Patty, *Harvard University*
Paper Dynamics of 2 Party Competition: Empirical Estimation of a Theoretical Model
 Tasos Kalandrakis, *University of Rochester*
 Arthur Spirling, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: We estimate the parameters of a stochastic game of two-party competition using the sequence electoral outcomes in four countries with two-party parliamentary systems.

Paper	<p><u>A Strategic Model and Empirical Test of Communal Forest Management</u> Eric A. Coleman, <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: We develop both a strategic model and a probability model to test common pool resource management success, where individuals in a communal forest place random utility weights (determined by management type and monitoring) on the act of harvesting.</p>	37-5	<p><u>INTEREST GROUPS AND LOBBYING THE STATES</u> LaSalle 2, 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Room Chair Gaylord G. Candler, <i>Indiana University, South Bend</i> Paper <u>Congressional Influence on State Lobbying Activity</u> Virginia H. Gray, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Frank Baumgartner, <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> David Lowery, <i>University of Leiden</i> Overview: Does national legislative activity influence the demand for lobbying at the state level? This question is examined by adding the hearings data from the Policy Agendas Project to Gray, Lowery et al's ESA model and specifying 4 possible linkages.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Learning over Repeated Elections: PACs and Campaign Contribution Decisions</u> Jonathan Wand, <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: I examine PACs contribution 1979--2004, by modeling the repeated discrete choice facing PACs of whether to support individual candidates in each election. Theories of partisan and investor giving, and the value of majority positions are tested.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Subversion of Administrative Oversight in the American States</u> Frederick J. Boehmke, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: I study the effect of campaign contributions from nursing facilities on their performance on annual inspections, governed by Federal regulations, in order to understand whether political activity can subvert the oversight process.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Estimation of Belief Updating in International Crisis Bargaining</u> Taehee Whang, <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: In this paper, I explain why current statistical models of strategic choice allow for very little belief updating and in their stead offer a new fully strategic choice estimator that retrieves the correct amount of belief updating.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Lobbying Activity and State Legislatures: An Empirical Analysis</u> Nathan J. Grasse, <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Overview: This study uses empirical analysis to examine lobbying activity in the Wisconsin State Legislature. Multiple policy areas are examined in order to assess patterns of interest group behavior as well as the influence groups exert on policy-making.</p>
Disc.	<p>Michael Kellermann, <i>Harvard University</i></p>		
36-2	<p><u>BLOGS AND NEW SOURCES OF POLITICAL INFORMATION, (Co-sponsored with Mass Media and Political Communication, see 27-19)</u> Parlor E, 6th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Room Chair S. Suzan Harkness, <i>University of the District of Columbia</i> Paper <u>Stay Tuned! Political Information, Infotainment and Viewers' Behavior</u> Frédéric Bastien, <i>Université de Montréal</i> Overview: In this paper, we use micro-level data collected with portable peplemeters to demonstrate that citizens are less resistant to political information than is usually believed, despite the more entertaining alternatives offer by new media.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Interest Groups in Market-Based Environmental Governance: Southern California's Experience</u> Xueyong Zhan, <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: This article addresses the role of various interest groups in market-based environmental governance. Its main research context is the implementation process of RECLAIM-an emission trading program-in Southern California.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Young Adults' News Consumption Online</u> Eszter Hargittai, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: Using unique data from a representative survey of a diverse group of first-year college students, the paper looks at the types of online sources young adults visit for news and political information.</p>	Disc.	<p>John Carrol, <i>Providence College</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Bloggers: Politics and Participation</u> Antoinette J. Pole, <i>Brown University</i> Overview: This paper explores the role of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) bloggers in the blogosphere, and how GLBT use their blogs for purposes related to politics and participation.</p>	38-4	<p><u>PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS (Co-sponsored with Legislative Politics, see 39-27)</u> LaSalle 3, 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Room Chair Richard M. Skinner, <i>Williams College</i> Paper <u>Spending His Capital: Presidential Position-Taking in the U.S. House</u> William D. Anderson, <i>University of South Dakota</i> Marcus Bevier, <i>University of South Dakota</i> Jacob Mortenson, <i>University of South Dakota</i> Overview: Using a novel data set of over 6,000 presidential position and non-position votes in the U.S. House, this paper examines how momentum and presidential capital shape the president's decision to take positions on issues before Congress.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Entering a New Era: The Effect of Blogs on the Electorate</u> Geoffrey D. Sheagley, <i>University of Minnesota, Morris</i> Overview: Blogs are one of the fastest growing sources of political information. This project analyzes the interactions between blogs, source credibility, and partisan affiliation and discusses the implications for American democracy.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Softer Side of Presidential Power</u> Matthew N. Beckmann, <i>University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: We propose an alternative conception of presidential power than is often assumed, one where presidents' impact the ideological direction of new laws, not the outcome of key votes per se. Hypotheses are tested on a sample of 745 policy initiatives.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Mass Public and Blogs: Is Anyone Listening?</u> Kevin J. Wallsten, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: This paper develops a measure of the "blog agenda" – the issues which receive attention in the blogosphere – and addresses the extent to which it influences the mainstream media, Congressional, executive and campaign agendas.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Beyond Chadha: The Modern Legislative Veto as Macropolitical Conflict</u> Michael J. Berry, <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Overview: This paper examines the modern legislative veto as an important congressional oversight device. In particular, the legislative veto is analyzed as a context for institutional macropolitical conflict between the legislative and executive branches.</p>
Disc.	<p>Joel Bloom, <i>SUNY, Albany</i> Amy E. Jasperson, <i>University of Texas, San Antonio</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Where the President Stands: Presidential Centrality and Member Concurrence in the House, 1953-2002</u> Cameron J. Matthews, <i>University of Houston</i> Overview: This paper examines the relationship differences in the president's position in ideological space and that of the House and Senate has on member concurrence.</p>
		Disc.	<p>Richard M. Skinner, <i>Williams College</i> Michael E. Bailey, <i>Berry College</i></p>

39-301 POSTER SESSION: LEGISLATIVE POLITICS: INSTITUTIONS

Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Presenter **Abstention and Absence in Parliamentary Voting**
(Board 1)

Martin Ejnar Hansen, University of Aarhus

Overview: Using both quantitative and qualitative data from Ireland and Denmark I analyze the use of abstention and absence in parliaments. I find and explain that in both cases some legislators are more likely to abstain or be absent than others.

Poster **Rules, Organizations, Institutions, and Legislative Development**
(Board 2)

Jesus S. Peralta, University of West Georgia

Overview: In the legislative literature, rules, organizations, and institutions are confounded. I argue that the failure to recognize theoretical differences between these concepts limits our understanding of how legislatures develop.

40-301 POSTER SESSION: CANDIDATES, INSTITUTIONS, AND OUTCOMES IN LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Presenter **Candidates and Voter Turnout in Congressional Elections**
(Board 3)

Nathan A. Ilderton, Texas A&M University

Overview: This paper examines voter turnout in congressional elections. It tests whether or not the quality of challengers in U.S. House elections enhances voter turnout.

Presenter **Modernization and the Politics of Survival in the Middle East**
(Board 4)

Caroleen Marji Sayej, Long Island University

Overview: This paper examines the claim that modernization in the Middle East lags behind other regions. Regimes in the Middle East not only embrace, but also survive expressly because they follow the Western model.

Presenter **Variation of Votes, a Variation of Representational Style?**
(Board 5)

Peter W. Brusoe, American University

Overview: Senators face numerous constraints on how they represent their states, including their relationship with the other senator, and areas of expertise. This paper attempts to add to this discussion by examining how electoral support may vary the representation.

Presenter **Party or Personality in the Present: Reassessing Senate Election Outcomes**
(Board 6)

Brendan P. Toner, Southern Illinois University

Joshua L. Mitchell, Southern Illinois University

Overview: This work is an extension of Abramowitz's work on Senate election outcomes. The main finding from our work is candidate characteristics outweigh state characteristics in incumbent races. However, in open seats state characteristics matter more.

Disc. **Cynthia R. Rugeley, Florida State University**

41-6 INTEREST GROUPS, LITIGATION, AND ATTORNEY EXPERTISE

Room Parlor H, 6th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair **Eric N. Waltenburg, Purdue University**

Paper **Who is Demanding Litigation? A Roll Call Analysis**

Sean Farhang, University of California, Berkeley

Miguel de Figueiredo, University of California, Berkeley

Overview: We analyze congressional roll call votes from 1887 to 2005 on legislative provisions encouraging or discouraging private litigation in federal policy implementation.

Paper **Does Advocacy Matter? The Impact of Attorney Expertise in Federal Courts**

Rachael K. Hinkle, University of Toledo

Overview: This paper examines the relationship between attorney expertise and case outcomes in the United States Courts of Appeals and concludes that there is no such relationship at any significant level.

Paper **The Impact of Amicus Briefs on Supreme Court Justices and Their Opinions**

Timothy G. Howard, North Harris College

Overview: This paper looks at data accumulated on Supreme Court decisions over a period of approximately 60 years and analyzes which amicus filers have the greatest impact on Supreme Court decisions, and on the votes of individual justices.

Paper **Amicus Curiae at Oral Argument: How the Court Uses its Information Sources**

Matthew M. C. Roberts, Calvin College

Overview: This paper builds off of recent research about the impact that oral arguments have on the Court's decision making—in particular, how the Court treats amicus curiae that are allowed to participate at oral arguments.

Paper **The Supreme Court and Participant Strategies for Framing Issues**

Justin Wedeking, University of Minnesota

Overview: I investigate how petitioners, respondents, and amici frame important issues before the Supreme Court.

Disc. **Eric N. Waltenburg, Purdue University**

James C. Brent, San Jose State University

41-19 INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF COURTS FROM A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: LEGITIMACY, INDEPENDENCE, AND AUTHORITY

Room Burnham 1, 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair **Shannon I. Smithey, Westminster College**

Paper **Formation vs. Action: What Empowers Constitutional Courts?**

Sabrina L. Pinnell, University of California, Santa Barbara

Overview: This paper concentrates on constitutional courts of three countries (Hungary, South Africa, and the Russian Federation) to explore what establishes court legitimacy and authority: their initial formation, or actions of courts after formation.

Paper **The Politics of Supreme Court Reform in Argentina: In Search for Legitimacy**

Alba M. Ruibal, Instituto de Investigaciones Juridicas, UNAM

Overview: The paper argues that the reforms related to the independence of the supreme court promoted in Argentina in 2003 can be explained as a movement of governmental self-restriction, in order to build legitimacy in a context of institutional crisis

Paper **Determinants of Judicial Institutionalization**

Kirill M. Bumn, University of Kentucky

Overview: Our paper evaluates several explanations for judicial institutional growth, focusing on the regional and domestic political influences on the development of post-communist constitutional courts.

Paper **(De)Juridicalization and American Politics**

Sarah Staszak, Brandeis University

Overview: This paper examines de-juridicalization-- efforts to roll back the court's role as implementer of administrative law-- by examining relevant mechanisms across a range of policy areas and court doctrine in order to assess what accounts for durability.

Paper **Instability of Argentine Justices in Office: A Critical Appraisal**

Maria Andrea Castagnola, University of Pittsburgh

Overview: Why do Argentine justices remain a short time in office? In this paper I argue that it is the political power of the president and the electoral executive-cycle, rather than the justice's own voting behavior, what determines the durability of justices

Disc. **Richard L. Vining, Emory University**

Shannon I. Smithey, Westminster College

42-101	<u>AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: MARK GRABER'S DRED SCOTT AND THE PROBLEM OF CONSTITUTIONAL EVIL</u>	Room Chair Panelist	Parlor B, 6 th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Bradley D. Hays, <i>University of Nevada, Las Vegas</i> Paul Finkelman, <i>Albany Law School</i> Evan Carton, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Ran Hirschl, <i>University of Toronto</i> Paul Frymer, <i>University of California, Santa Cruz</i> Mark A. Graber, <i>University of Maryland</i> Overview: Author Meets Critics: Mark A. Graber's Dred Scott and the Problem of Constitutional Evil.	Paper	Overview: Analysis of how the influence of interest group communities on local government policies depends on the structure of political institutions. <u>Collaborative Policy: Time Wasted or Well Spent?</u> Mark Lubell, <i>University of California, Davis</i> Adam Henry, <i>University of California, Davis</i> Mike McCoy, <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: Quantitative analysis of the effectiveness of collaborative policy using survey data from land-use and transportation policy elites in two California regions.
44-14	<u>TOPICS IN STATE POLITICS</u>	Room Chair Paper	Parlor C, 6 th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Juhem Navarro, <i>University of Connecticut</i> <u>Symbolic Politics Out of Florida: Elian Gonzalez and Terri Schiavo</u> Martin Gruberg, <i>University of Wisconsin</i> Overview: These two cases had a lot in common: self-proclaimed guardians of the mute (both sides claiming that Elian and Terri wanted what they wanted and attributing bad motives to the other camp), media and political (including congressional) grandstanding.	Disc.	<u>Ramiro Berardo, University of Arizona</u> <u>David C. Nixon, University of Hawaii, Manoa</u>
46-9	<u>ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES</u>	Room Chair Paper	PDR 6, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Mark Lubell, <i>University of California, Davis</i> <u>Impacts Of Governmental Funding On Financial Efficiency Of Public Wastewater Services</u> Robert J. Eger, <i>Georgia State University</i> Hyun Jung Park, <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: Does governmental funding cause any unintentional distortion of financial efficiency of wastewater services? This paper seeks an answer by exploring the factors that affect financial efficiency by government type, by funding source, and over time.	Paper	<u>Leadership and Transaction Costs: Building Contract Management Capacity</u> Mary K. Feeney, <i>University of Georgia</i> Craig Smith, <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: This paper uses qualitative and quantitative data to assess the ongoing efforts of a single agency to build managerial capacity, highlighting the importance of technical knowledge, agency culture, and professional norms among public managers and contractors.
50-13	<u>LEADERSHIP, STRATEGY, AND ORGANIZATIONAL PERFORMANCE</u>	Room Chair Paper	PDR 7, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm David R. Connelly, <i>Western Illinois University</i> <u>Strategy, Structure, Process and Environment in English Local Governments</u> George A. Boyne, <i>Cardiff University</i> Rhys Andrews, <i>Cardiff University</i> Kenneth J. Meier, <i>Texas A&M University/Cardiff University</i> Laurence J. O'Toole, <i>University of Georgia</i> Richard M. Walker, <i>University of Hong Kong/Cardiff University</i> Overview: Miles and Snow's (1978) model of strategic management argues that organizations should adopt distinctive strategies which 'fit' their operating environment and their internal structures and processes. We apply this model to English local governments.	Paper	<u>Empirical Literature Review Strategic Planning in the Public Sector</u> Carolyn A. Hanaway-Benjamin, <i>North Carolina State University</i> Overview: An examination and summary of recent literature and empirical studies to address the question: What does strategic planning offer public agencies?
50-101	<u>ROUNDTABLE: PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION -- CHANGING POLICY DISCOURSE: PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT CONTROVERSIES</u>	Room Chair Panelist	Adams, 6 th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Frank M. Anichiarico, <i>Hamilton College</i> Dennis C. Smith, <i>New York University</i> Beryl A. Radin, <i>American University</i> H. George Frederickson, <i>University of Kansas</i> David G. Frederickson, <i>U.S. Department of Labor</i> Overview: All of the panelist above have written on performance management: Anichiarico and Smith in a relatively positive way and Radin and the H. George and David Frederickson from a more	Disc.	<u>Hoping for the Dick Vermeil Effect: Performance and the Selection Decision</u> Vicky M. Wilkins, <i>University of Georgia</i> Madinah F. Hamidullah, <i>University of Georgia</i> Kenneth J. Meier, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper examines how prior performance may influence the decision of a public organization to either promote from within or hire from the outside when selecting a leader. Are low performing organizations more likely to hire from the outside?
50-101	<u>ROUNDTABLE: PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION -- CHANGING POLICY DISCOURSE: PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT CONTROVERSIES</u>	Room Chair Panelist	Adams, 6 th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Frank M. Anichiarico, <i>Hamilton College</i> Dennis C. Smith, <i>New York University</i> Beryl A. Radin, <i>American University</i> H. George Frederickson, <i>University of Kansas</i> David G. Frederickson, <i>U.S. Department of Labor</i> Overview: All of the panelist above have written on performance management: Anichiarico and Smith in a relatively positive way and Radin and the H. George and David Frederickson from a more	Disc.	<u>Administrative Growth as a Function of Judicial Independence</u> Kyle A. Scott, <i>Miami University, Oxford</i> Overview: This paper examines the link between the growth of state administrative agencies and state judicial independence.
50-101	<u>ROUNDTABLE: PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION -- CHANGING POLICY DISCOURSE: PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT CONTROVERSIES</u>	Room Chair Panelist	Adams, 6 th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Frank M. Anichiarico, <i>Hamilton College</i> Dennis C. Smith, <i>New York University</i> Beryl A. Radin, <i>American University</i> H. George Frederickson, <i>University of Kansas</i> David G. Frederickson, <i>U.S. Department of Labor</i> Overview: All of the panelist above have written on performance management: Anichiarico and Smith in a relatively positive way and Radin and the H. George and David Frederickson from a more	Disc.	<u>Presidential Policies and the Bureaucracy: The Dynamics of EPA Enforcement Actions</u> Colin L. Provost, <i>University College London</i> Brian J. Gerber, <i>West Virginia University</i> Mark Pickup, <i>University of Oxford</i> Overview: Studies have shown bureaucratic resistance at EPA in response to Reagan policy initiatives. We examine EPA enforcement actions to see whether similar resistance exists under the current Bush Administration.
50-101	<u>ROUNDTABLE: PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION -- CHANGING POLICY DISCOURSE: PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT CONTROVERSIES</u>	Room Chair Panelist	Adams, 6 th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Frank M. Anichiarico, <i>Hamilton College</i> Dennis C. Smith, <i>New York University</i> Beryl A. Radin, <i>American University</i> H. George Frederickson, <i>University of Kansas</i> David G. Frederickson, <i>U.S. Department of Labor</i> Overview: All of the panelist above have written on performance management: Anichiarico and Smith in a relatively positive way and Radin and the H. George and David Frederickson from a more	Disc.	<u>Taking Out the Trash: A Policy Study of Private Solid Waste Management</u> Mahalley D. Allen, <i>California State University, Chico</i> Overview: Environmental laws about solid waste have led to strict regulations, which have made privatization of waste disposal an attractive option for cities. I examine the influence of these laws on the privatization of residential solid waste disposal.
50-101	<u>ROUNDTABLE: PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION -- CHANGING POLICY DISCOURSE: PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT CONTROVERSIES</u>	Room Chair Panelist	Adams, 6 th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm Frank M. Anichiarico, <i>Hamilton College</i> Dennis C. Smith, <i>New York University</i> Beryl A. Radin, <i>American University</i> H. George Frederickson, <i>University of Kansas</i> David G. Frederickson, <i>U.S. Department of Labor</i> Overview: All of the panelist above have written on performance management: Anichiarico and Smith in a relatively positive way and Radin and the H. George and David Frederickson from a more	Disc.	<u>Political Institutions and the Dynamics of Local Policy Change</u> Mark Lubell, <i>University of California, Davis</i> Richard Feiock, <i>Florida State University</i> Edgar Ramirez,

critical perspective. This keystone of contemporary public administration.

51-6 **COURTS, POLITICS, AND POLICIES**

Room PDR 8, 3rd Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair **Leslie F. Goldstein**, *University of Delaware*

Paper **The Privileges and Immunities of American Citizenship: Thick or Thin?**

Jordon B. Barkalow, *Bridgewater State College*

Overview: The question of what it means to be an American is pursued through an analysis of the Congressional debate over the Fourteenth Amendment. Analysis demonstrates that American citizenship is best understood in liberal terms.

Paper **Prosecuting the Powerful: State Regulation of 19th Century Corporations**

Jonathan Chausovsky, *SUNY, Fredonia*

Overview: State Attorneys General in the 19th Century actively prosecuted corporations for violations of their charters. I position Attorneys General as political actors, and explain when and why they sought to rein in powerful economic actors.

Paper **Corruption in History: The 1853 Impeachment Trial of Judge Levi Hubbell**

Michael A. Kwas, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Overview: This paper examines the 1853 impeachment trial of Judge Levi Hubbell. It vividly illustrates conceptions of political corruption in flux and demonstrates both the instrumental and normative role that narratives of corruption played in creating a legitimate trial.

Paper **Laissez-Faire Redux: The Supreme Court and Age/Disability Discrimination**

William M. Leiter, *California State University, Long Beach*

Overview: The Supreme Court has embraced laissez-faire themes in its statutory and constitutional treatment of age and disability discrimination, while being more deferential to race/gender/ethnic antidiscrimination claims.

Paper **Letting Politics Make Law: The Judicial Restraint of the Warren Court**

Rebecca E. Zietlow, *University of Toledo*

Overview: This talk celebrates the often overlooked judicial restraint of the Warren Court, which allowed Congress to enact legislation protecting individual rights. It reconsiders the proper relationship between politics and law in the ongoing debate over judicial restraint.

Disc. **Francis J. Carleton**, *University of Wisconsin, Green Bay*

53-5 **RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE ON INTEREST GROUP FORMATION AND STRATEGY**

Room Burnham 4, 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair **Caroline M. Nordlund**, *Dickinson College*

Paper **Argument Frame Diversity in Religious Group Rhetoric**

Katherine E. Stenger, *Gustavus Adolphus College*

Kathryn L. Johnson, *Gustavus Adolphus College*

Overview: In this paper, we use a new collection of over 3,000 press releases from a sample of Christian groups to test the accuracy of the claim that religious groups are limited in the types of argument frames they use.

Paper **Religious Conservatives and Social Movement Institutionalization**

Kimberly H. Conger, *Iowa State University*

Overview: The religious conservative movement in the U.S. shows less organizational institutionalization than we would expect. I examine the reasons for this and implications for social movement theory and the study of the religious conservative movement.

Paper **The Political Consequences of Premillennial Theology in America**

Paula N. Boone, *University of Chicago*

Overview: This paper examines the relationship between premillennialism and politics by examining the social network of premillennial websites.

A New Sacred History: The Political Foundation of the New Christian Right

James M. Patterson, *University of Virginia*

Overview: The political foundation of the New Christian Right (NCR) uses a historical narrative to demand political action from membership, who then seek positions in government to encourage the completion of that narrative.

Disc. **Franklyn C. Niles**, *John Brown University*

55-2 **WHY SERVICE LEARNING?**

Room Montrose 7, 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair **Suzanne Soule**, *Center for Civic Education*

Paper **Quality Internship and Service Learning Programs: The New CAS Standards**

Eugene J. Alpert, *The Washington Center for Internships and Academic Seminars*

Overview: The Council for the Advancement of Standards in Higher Education recently adopted national standards as guidelines for internship and service learning programs. This presentation reviews these guidelines and implementation.

Paper **Missing Incentives: Faculty Attitudes about Service Learning**

Jackson Sellers, *University of Kansas*

Overview: This paper uses qualitative and quantitative data to discuss factors associated with attitudes about service learning by political science faculty and provides suggestions for increasing the use of service learning in the field.

Paper **Public Service, Service Learning and Undergraduate Education**

Ronald Matthews, Jr., *Mount Union College*

Amanda Espenschied-Reilly, *Mount Union College*

Overview: This presentation provides participants with the importance of incorporating public service and service learning into the undergraduate educational experience within the field of political science.

Paper **Service Learning and Government Agencies: Partnerships that Work**

Johnny Goldfinger, *Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis*

Steven G. Jones, *Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis*

Timothy M. Koponen, *Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis*

Overview: This paper examines service learning partnerships with government agencies, highlighting the long-term benefits for both faculty members and the agencies.

Disc. **Steven Jones**, *Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis*

Tom Caiazza, *East Georgia College*

63-1 **LATINO POLITICS IN THE MIDWEST**

Room Montrose 1, 7th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair **Chris Olds**, *Texas A&M University*

Paper **Latinos in Illinois: What Explains their Participation?**

Julia Albarracin, *Western Illinois University*

Overview: This paper analyzes the factors shaping participation among Latinos in Illinois.

Paper **The Role of the Spanish Media in Chicago Latino Political Organizing**

Antonio Rodriguez, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*

Overview: The role of the Spanish language news media in the Chicago Latino Community was explored by conducting a series of interviews with Latino elected officials, Spanish language news media representatives and leaders in Latino Organizations.

Paper **Latino Cultural Assimilation, Divided Loyalties, and World Cup Television Ratings**

Brandon G. Valeriano, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

Cynthia M. Mosqueda, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: We challenge the hypothesis that the choice of a person's favored national team can measure cultural assimilation as a simplistic, naïve, and flat out wrong assumption for many reasons.

Disc. **Sylvia Manzano**, *Texas A&M University*

**64-101 ROUNDTABLE: SETTING AN AGENDA FOR THE
SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF BUREAUCRATIC
DECISION-MAKING WITHIN DEMOCRATIC
SETTINGS**

Room Monroe, 6th Floor, Fri at 12:45 pm

Chair **Daniel P. Carpenter**, *Harvard University*

Panelist **Anthony M. Bertelli**, *University of Georgia*

John Brehm, *University of Chicago*

Sean Gailmard, *Northwestern University*

Lael R. Keiser, *University of Missouri*

Michael M. Ting, *Columbia University*

Andrew B. Whitford, *University of Georgia*

Overview: This roundtable comprises of several leading scholars of public bureaucracy within the political science discipline who have earned their Ph.D. degrees since 1990. The aim of this roundtable is prospective – that is, roundtable participants will discuss areas of research, paradigms, approaches, and the like that public bureaucracy scholars have yet to tap, but should do so in future scholarship.

Friday, April 13 – 2:35 pm – 4:10 pm

1-109 ROUNDTABLE: PATHS TO POWER: ANALYZING THE CAREERS OF NANCY PELOSI AND HILLARY CLINTON (Co-sponsored with Gender and Politics, see 28-101)

Room Red Lacquer, 4th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm

Chair Michele L. Swers, *Georgetown University*

Panelist Kathryn Pearson, *University of Minnesota*

Debra Dodson, *Eagleton Institute*

Cindy Simon Rosenthal, *University of Oklahoma*

Sarah Brewer, *American University*

Overview: Scholars on this roundtable will discuss the leadership style and challenges faced by Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) and potential presidential candidate Senator Hillary Clinton (D-NY).

2-8 EXPLAINING COOPERATION: EMPLOYERS, SOCIAL PACTS AND CORPORATISM

Room Salon 1, 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm

Chair Patrick Bernhagen, *University of Aberdeen*

Paper Policy by Contract: Social Pacts in Australia and New Zealand

John S. Ahlquist, *University of Washington*

Overview: I propose a model of union-government "social pacts", tested via the empirical puzzle of why Australia signed a pact in the 1980s while New Zealand did not. The discussion relies on over 40 interviews with key policy makers in both countries.

Paper Redefining Corporatism: Functional Corporatism in Modern Nations

Gina A. Del Priore-Loera, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

Overview: Development of corporatism is assessed using a multinomial logistic model using data from eighty countries. Probability of developing a functional corporate state is dependent on historical/cultural experience, level of modernization, and social unrest.

Paper Politics of Employer Coordination

Alexander G. Kuo, *Stanford University*

Overview: What explains the political organization of employers across countries? Sector characteristics and initial linkages between certain sectors and the state can account for variation in the roles of employer organizations across states.

Paper The Political Origins of Coordinated Capitalism

Cathie Jo Martin, *Boston University*

Duane H. Swank, *Marquette University*

Overview: This paper seeks to explain the causes of employer organization during the early decades of industrial capitalism. We argue that the electoral and party system and state structures shape the choices employers make about collective organization.

Paper Supporting the "Varieties of Capitalism" with Partisan Equilibrium

Brandon C. Zicha, *SUNY, Binghamton*

Steve B. Lem, *SUNY, Binghamton*

Overview: We argue that as larger blocs of voters have a stake in pro-welfare collective bargaining agreements, vote-seeking major right parties will become less traditionally "right" on issues that are of specific importance to collective bargainers.

Disc. Patrick Bernhagen, *University of Aberdeen*

3-7 ELECTIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

Room Salon 2, 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm

Chair Mona M. Lyne, *University of South Carolina*

Paper Political Knowledge and Political Attitudes and Behavior in Mexico

Maria F. Boidi, *Vanderbilt University*

Overview: This study explores the consequences of political knowledge for citizens' participation in politics and for attitudes toward political tolerance and preference for democracy in Mexico.

Paper Judicial Independence in Venezuela

Lesley M. Burns, *University of British Columbia*

Overview: This study explores the role the Venezuelan Supreme Court has played in the increased electoral representation of Hugo Chavez since 1998.

Paper Forging a New Social Contract? Bolivia's 2006 Constituent Assembly Election

Miguel Centellas, *Dickinson College*

Overview: This paper provides an analysis of the July 2006 Bolivian constituent assembly election in historical political perspective, with particular attention to the country's recent regional polarization.

Paper Income, Ideology and Ticket Splitting Voting in Brazil

Eduardo L. Leoni, *Harvard University*

Overview: We combine roll call data and aggregate level electoral data to investigate the issue of split-ticketing voting in Brazil.

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

3-16 POLITICAL COMPETITION AND POLICY REFORM

Room Salon 4, 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm

Chair Pedro J. Sanoja, *Temple University*

Paper Redistributive Politics and the Poor

Christian Ponce de Leon, *University of Chicago*

Overview: This paper presents a formal model of redistributive taxation to represent the causal relation between political regimes in developing countries and their political capacity to implement poverty alleviation policies. Empirical evidence is provided.

Paper The Political Economy of Poverty Alleviation: The Case of PROGRESA in Mexico

Yuriko Takahashi, *Cornell University*

Overview: Focusing on Mexico's Program for Education, Health, and Nutrition (PROGRESA), this study examines whether the distribution in 2000 was used for electoral purposes, and if it did, what form the manipulation took under the neoliberal policy constraint.

Paper The Politics of Dollar Scarcity in Latin America

Daniela Campello, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: I analyze a sample of 89 elections during 25 years in order to check whether the need to attract foreign investment in periods of dollar scarcity contributes to explain a post electoral "move to the right" by progressive candidates in Latin America.

Disc. Guillermo Trejo, *Duke University*

Pedro J. Sanoja, *Temple University*

4-8 NEW THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL APPROACHES TO TRANSITIONS TO DEMOCRACY

Room PDR 4, 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm

Chair Hiroki Takeuchi, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Paper Authoritarian Reversals and Democratic Consolidation

Milan Svolik, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Overview: I investigate the determinants and the dynamics of authoritarian reversals and democratic consolidation. A novel estimation technique, a split-population model, is applied to data on authoritarian reversals.

Paper Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and the Stability of Democracy

Taeko Hiroi, *University of Texas, El Paso*

Sawa Omori, *University of Tokyo*

Overview: Contrary to the conventional wisdom, we show that presidential regimes are not more susceptible to democratic breakdowns than parliamentary regimes.

Paper Gambling on Reform

Jay Ulfelder, *Science Applications International Corp. (SAIC)*

Overview: Focused on the tensions between transaction costs, economic performance, and opportunity for political mobilization, this paper uses game theory to generate an alternative explanation for some expansions of civil liberties under authoritarian rule.

Paper Power and Politics: Exit, Voice, and Loyalty Revisited

Matthew R. Golder, *Florida State University*

Sona N. Golder, *Florida State University*

William R. Clark, *University of Michigan*

Overview: We present a game-theoretic model in which we reformulate and extend Albert Hirschman's Exit, Voice, and Loyalty (EVL) argument to examine the role of power in the

	relationship between states and their citizens. Our model reaffirms some of the ideas found.				
Paper	<u>State Change: Assessing The Impact Of Regime Transition On Democracy</u> Gary A. Stradiotto, <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: Does the way that states transition from authoritarian rule impact democratic quality and longevity?			Paper	<u>Are Generational Effects Real? Political Generations and Electoral Choice in Korea</u> Woojin Kang, <i>Florida State University</i> Sang-Jung Han, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: This paper examines first, whether political generational effects have existed in Korea and, second, whether these effects play a major role in voter choice in recent Korean elections.
Disc.	Anibal Perez-Linan, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i>			Paper	<u>The Political Economy of the Japanese Gender Gap</u> Barry C. Burden, <i>University of Wisconsin</i> Overview: I test competing hypotheses about the sources of the gender gap in Japanese opinion toward political parties and leaders. The data shed light on hypotheses about the reactions of men and women to economic performance.
5-11	<u>IMPACT OF INSTITUTIONS ON GOVERNMENT SPENDING</u>			Paper	<u>Political Parties, Partisanship and the Gender Gap</u> Meredith Rolfe, <i>University of Oxford</i> Adrienne LeBas, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: In this paper, we use data from emerging democracies in Africa to argue that political leaders play a major role in creating and sustaining a gender gap in political attitudes.
Room	Salon 5, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm			Disc.	Cheng-Lung Wang, <i>National University of Singapore</i>
Chair	Daniela Iorio, <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>				
Paper	<u>With a Little Help from our Friends: Coalition Governments and Privatization</u> Nancy E. Brune, <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> Jose A. Cheibub, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: Using new datasets containing information on the composition of democratic governments in the world (Cheibub 2005) and all privatization transactions (1980-2002)(Brune 2006), we examine the role of political institutions on privatization reforms.				
Paper	<u>Institutions and Government Expenditures</u> Carlos E. Costa, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: This research looks at the impact of institutional arrangements on government growth.			7-9	<u>THE DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT IN THE NEW EUROPE?</u>
Paper	<u>The Political Economy of Transport Infrastructure Funds</u> Andreas D. Kopp, <i>OECD</i> Overview: The paper shows in a formal model of voter, party and interest group interaction under which conditions the political process drives up the social costs of infrastructure provision and infrastructure funds provide benefits to voters.			Room	Sandburg 6, 7 th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
Paper	<u>Globalization, Domestic Political Institutions, and Welfare States</u> Su-Hyun Lee, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: This paper explores the relationship between globalization, domestic political institutions, and welfare spending. It analyzes how electoral systems and institutional veto points intermediate the effects of globalization on welfare states.			Chair	Bjorn Hoyland, <i>University of Oslo</i>
Paper	<u>Decentralization and Globalization as Mediated by Political Competition</u> Mikhail Filippov, <i>Binghamton University</i> Irina Busygina, <i>MGIMO</i> Overview: The paper argues that effect of globalization on decentralization is mediated by logic of political competition, thus, depends on political institutions. We estimate relationship between decentralization, globalization and institutional variables.			Paper	<u>Raising Democracy? EU Membership, the Democratic Deficit and Rule by Decree?</u> David Ellison, <i>Grinnell College</i> Overview: The paper questions the conventional view that the pursuit of EU membership has propelled democracy in Central and Eastern Europe. Based on a case study of Hungary, the paper argues that democracy remains under-developed.
Disc.	Gunther M. Hega, <i>Western Michigan University</i>			Paper	<u>The Future of the EU Trust in Social Institutions</u> Katja E. Vermehren, <i>University of Colorado</i> Erin Mewhinney, <i>University of Colorado</i> Overview: The goal of this paper is to examine how the EU is "bringing the EU closer to its citizens." Essentially, this is a question of political trust. Our research will examine whether different levels of knowledge with regard to the EU's social agenda (particularly issues of crime, unemployment and integration of foreigners) have an effect on the level of citizen support for further political integration.
6-4	<u>PARTISANSHIP AND POLITICAL CHOICE</u>			Paper	<u>Shifting Focus: A Multi-level Model of the Democracy Deficit in the EU</u> Robert Rohrschneider, <i>Indiana University</i> Matthew Loveless, <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: This paper blends the shifting criteria that individuals in old and new member states use to evaluate the EU with increasingly comparative national institutional evaluations to provide a multi-level explanation for the democratic deficit.
Room	Sandburg 7, 7 th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm			Paper	<u>Parties, the Public and the EU: Who Cares about the Democratic Deficit?</u> Charlotte L. Ridge, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: One of the biggest issues in the forming of the European Union is democratic representation. I address how political party membership and beliefs about EU policies impact public opinion on the perception of a democratic deficit.
Chair	Barry C. Burden, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i>			Disc.	Seth K. Jolly, <i>University of Chicago</i> Fiona C. Barker, <i>Harvard University</i>
Paper	<u>Explaining the Rise of Partisan Voting in Korea's Local Elections</u> Byung-Kwon Song, <i>Seoul National University</i> Overview: This study suggests and tests three hypotheses explaining the rise of partisan voting in Korea's local elections. To test these hypotheses, this study will rely on survey data on Korea's local, congressional and presidential elections.				
Paper	<u>Regime Change and Partisan Stability in Twentieth-Century Argentina</u> Noam Lupu, <i>Princeton University</i> Susan C. Stokes, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: Using surveys and disaggregated ecological data over the sweep of a century, we show that democratic processes, when they are allowed to run their course, produce a growing stability in people's electoral choices, a stability that erodes during authoritarian interludes.			8-10	<u>INDIGENOUS MOVEMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA</u>
				Room	Sandburg 5, 7 th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
				Chair	Gregg B. Johnson, <i>SUNY, Buffalo</i>
				Paper	<u>Nationalism in Latin American Indigenous Movements: Bolivia and Ecuador</u> Eduardo Frajman, <i>Saint Xavier University</i> Overview: Although indigenous social movements in Latin America are known to pursue autonomy and rights for their members, once they have become part of broad national movements they have adopted nationalist stances that contradict their original goals.

Paper **Contesting Municipal Power: An Indigenous Group's Strategies in Bolivia**
Lisa Heaton, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: This study highlights how a Bolivian indigenous group is incrementally acquiring the requisite skills for understanding and utilizing current legislation to gain access to power over resources and decision-making processes at the municipal level.

Paper **Post-colonial Integration of Indo-Caribbeans in The Caribbean**
David H. Richards, *Texas Lutheran University*
 Overview: During the 1980s and 1990s, People of Indian Origin began to integrate the political landscape of Caribbean states. This study looks at factors that influenced this change of political behavior.

Paper **Popular Protest, Social Networks, and Environmental Conflict in Indigenous Chile**
Patricia M. Rodriguez, *University of Notre Dame*
David V. Carruthers, *San Diego State University*
 Overview: This project chronicles both the promise and the limitations of social movement networks as tools of indigenous political voice, providing a vital test of the quality of democracy in Chile.

Disc. **Gregg B. Johnson**, *SUNY, Buffalo*

9-7 **REFORM UNDER AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES**
Room Sandburg 4, 7th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
Chair **Jeffrey S. Payne**, *Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis*

Paper **China's Role in North Korean Institutional Change and Economic Reform**
Mika Marumoto, *Harvard-Yenching Institute*
 Overview: When do authoritarian states "succeed" in economic reform? The paper examines North Korea's switch from hostility to acquiescence in the Chinese model and explains North Korea's divergence from the Chinese path.

Paper **Confronting Burma's Human Rights Violence with "Compassionate Forgiveness"**
Cindy L. Kleinmeyer, *Northern Illinois University*
 Overview: This paper argues that if Burma's successor political elites aim to reconcile political peace and justice, a policy of "compassionate forgiveness", rather than promoting reconciliation, could instead prompt a backlash from Burmese "spoiler" groups.

Paper **Economic Integration, Social Stability, and the Welfare System in Authoritarian China**
Yu Bin, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
 Overview: This paper explores the relationship between economic integration, social stability, and the welfare state in non-democracies. It analyzes how social stability intermediates the effects of globalization on the welfare state in authoritarian China.

Paper **Learning Through Mistakes: Expanding China's Interactions with the International Economy**
Lawrence C. Reardon, *University of New Hampshire*
 Overview: The paper will analyze Chinese elite's ability to learn from previous policy mistakes, resulting in two distinct views on implementing an outwardly-oriented development regime based on export promotion in the 1980s.

Disc. **Zhiyue Bo**, *St. John Fisher College*

10-3 **ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY IN AFRICA**
Room Parlor H, 6th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
Chair **Emmanuel Uwalaka**, *St. Louis University*
Paper **Who Riots? Individual Participation in Localized Ethnic Violence in Nigeria**
Alexandra L. Scacco, *Columbia University*
 Overview: This paper uses unique survey data from Nigeria and original data on local government characteristics for all 774 of Nigeria's Local Government Areas to explore the determinants of individuals' willingness to participate in localized ethnic violence.

Paper **Ethnic Politicization: A Comparative Study of Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire**
Shan J. Sappleton, *University of Oklahoma*
 Overview: The study addresses the questions of why is ethnicity more salient in some countries than others and the conditions under which ethnic politicization become an attractive political option for elites?

Paper **Ethnicity and Democratic Support in Africa**
Jason M. Wells, *University of Missouri*
 Overview: Does the extent of ethnic fragmentation at the national-level influence, either directly or indirectly through citizen's status a member of an ethnic majority or ethnic minority, perceptions and evaluations of democracy at the individual-level?

Paper **The African National Congress and the Production of Africanness**
Vincent Darracq, *CEAN/French Institute of South Africa*
 Overview: The Africanist discourse of the ANC has come back to the fore for a few years now. One wonders whether such a discourse is really coherent and reliable, whether it truly is a blueprint of ANC political ideas and public policies.

Paper **Tradition as a Shortcut: Information, Ethnicity, and the Media in Africa**
Jeffrey K. Krutz, *Columbia University*
 Overview: All voters use shortcuts to collect information. A common shortcut in Africa is use of traditional leaders as referents, contributing to communal voting. This paper examines how declines in information costs as new media arise affect communalism.

Disc. **Alexandra L. Scacco**, *Columbia University*

12-2 **CANADIAN FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL RELATIONS**
Room Sandburg 2, 7th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
Chair **James T. McHugh**, *American University*
Paper **Do Minority Governments Weaken Ottawa in Relation to the Provinces?**
Louis Massicotte, *American University*
 Overview: This paper provides a critical review of the argument that minority governments in Ottawa weaken the federal government in relation to the provinces.

Paper **Power Resources and Inequality in Canadian Provinces**
Michael Kellermann, *Harvard University*
 Overview: The power resources explanation for cross-national differences in income inequality emphasizes the role of labor unions and left party governments. This paper demonstrates that a similar empirical relationship exists within the Canadian provinces.

Paper **The Newfoundland and Labrador Strategic Social Plan: Governance Misconceived and Ill-Applied**
David Close, *Memorial University*
 Overview: Newfoundland's Strategic Social Plan (1998-2004) was to bring the voluntary sector (VS) into the policy process both to deliver services and plan policy but failed to do so. The likely causes were ill-designed structures and flawed views of the VS.

Disc. **Don Desserud**, *University of New Brunswick*

13-8 **PULLING TOGETHER, PUSHING APART IN POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES**
Room Sandburg 1, 7th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
Chair **Philip J. Howe**, *Adrian College*
Paper **The Cherished and The Abandoned: Public Opinion On City Rivalry in China**
Meimei Zhang, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
 Overview: This paper examines the psychological causes of relative deprivation felt by Chinese people between two pairs of rival cities. It uses data from Internet discussion to detect the reciprocal relationship between policy and public opinion in China.

Paper **Does Trust Explain Democracy? The Overarching Power of Trust in Ukraine**
Alexander H. Cohen, *University of Iowa*
Vicki L Hesli, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: We argue that levels of trust have a powerful influence on important political outcomes. We explore the relationship

	between political and interpersonal trust and support for democratic values and institutions.		
Paper	<u>Hate Crimes and Hooliganism: Counteracting Identity Violence in Contemporary Russia?</u> <i>Michele L. Crumley, Mercyhurst College</i> Overview: Discernable patterns related to hate crimes in Russia and Germany are analyzed in this paper. Specifically, the impact changes in the political environment, economic shifts, and prejudice within legal systems have on identity violence are analyzed.	Paper	<u>Modeling Government Military Resource Allocation: Mercenaries or the Army?</u> <i>James A. Rydberg, University of Iowa</i> <i>Gail Buttorff, University of Iowa</i> Overview: This paper formally models an actor's choice between Private Military Companies and national troops. Both the model's internal assumptions and predictions are empirically evaluated.
Paper	<u>Ethnic Competition and Trust in Post-Communist Europe</u> <i>David O. Rossbach, Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper examines the effects of ethnicity and ethnic position in post-communist societies on generalized trust. The paper argues that ethnic "winners and losers" can be identified and that this distinction affects individual trust.	Paper	<u>Death and Inequality in America's Wars</u> <i>Douglas L. Kriner, Boston University</i> <i>Francis X. Shen, Harvard University</i> Overview: In a large-scale empirical analysis spanning WWII through Iraq, we analyze deceased soldier's hometowns and find that starting with Korea, the less well-off parts of America have borne a greater portion of the human costs of America's foreign wars.
Paper	<u>Deference to Authority and Support for Rights Protection in Russia</u> <i>Debra Javeline, University of Notre Dame</i> <i>Vanessa A. Baird, University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Overview: We find that if and when authoritative institutions grant rights to minorities, a usually unpalatable characteristic, deference to authority, is significantly related to the potential to persuade the Russian public to support rights protection.	Paper	<u>Compulsion and Casualties: Electoral Rules, Voter Turnout and Conflict</u> <i>Benjamin Freeman, Texas A&M University</i> <i>Michael T. Koch, Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Does it matter who votes in regards to democratic conflict behavior? We hypothesize that as participation increases states become less conflict prone, however, once engaged in conflict these same states are likely to incur greater casualties.
Disc.	<i>Heather L. Tafel, Grand Valley State University</i> <i>Marie-Eve Reny, University of Toronto</i>	Paper	<u>Battlefield Information and Domestic Actors</u> <i>Kristopher B. Grady, Michigan State University</i> Overview: An original coding of battles is utilized to assess the possibility that certain segments of a state's population evaluate battlefield information and subsequently apply political pressure upon the executive to modify war policies.
14-6 Room Chair Paper	<u>SOCIETAL PREFERENCES IN IPE</u> Salon 12, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm <i>Angela J. O'Mahony, University of British Columbia</i> <u>Inter-sectoral Labor Mobility, Inward FDI and Industry Lobbying in the U.S.</u> <i>Hak-Seon Lee, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: This research investigates how a given sector's level of labor mobility may affect the sector's lobbying efforts in the demand side of U.S. trade politics when other sectors receive foreign direct investment (FDI) and expand production.	Disc.	<i>Benjamin O. Fordham, Binghamton University</i>
Paper	<u>Is Fair Trade Just Protectionism in Disguise?</u> <i>Sean D. Ehrlich, Florida State University</i> Overview: This paper investigates new survey data from the United States to determine whether the factors that influence support for fair trade are the same as the factors that influence support for protectionism.	16-6 Room Chair Paper	<u>TERRORISM AND ITS NETWORKS</u> Salon 7, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm <i>Mariya Y. Omelicheva, Purdue University</i> <u>Behind Extreme Actions: Institutional Survival vs. Gaining Operational Goals</u> <i>Kevin E. Grisham, Victor Valley College</i> <i>Masahiro Omae, University of California, Riverside</i> Overview: Terrorist activities are often as seen as gaining a defined operational goal. Yet, terrorist groups -- under given conditions -- may use these actions to maintain their core membership. This study will examine these conditions.
Paper	<u>What Trumps? Trade Policy Preferences Under Conflicting Interests</u> <i>Yotam M. Margalit, Stanford University</i> <i>Judith Goldstein, Stanford University</i> Overview: The paper studies the way in which individuals form attitudes on trade policy when trade has conflicting effects on them or within their household. Using original survey data, we test hypotheses about the hierarchy of people's interests.	Paper	<u>The Strategy of Terror: Conditions for Conflict and Peace</u> <i>Joshua C. Walton, Claremont Graduate University</i> <i>Kristin Johnson, Claremont Graduate University</i> Overview: We analyze a generalized game-theoretic model of the terror group-adversary government interaction focusing on the resources used to fight and the political benefits being fought over, then empirically test the general results of the model.
Paper	<u>Do Firms Care about Exchange Rates? An Examination of Exchange-Rate Preferences</u> <i>Michael A. Pisa, University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: Much of the recent political economy literature on exchange-rate policy is based on assumptions about firm preferences towards certain exchange-rate regimes. This paper uses World Bank firm survey data to test these assumptions.	Paper	<u>Reputation Formation and Network Centrality: A Dynamic Evaluation of Southeast Asian Terror Networks</u> <i>Dominick E. Wright, University of Michigan</i> <i>Justin Magouirk, University of Michigan</i> Overview: The paper addresses a possible underlying cause of endogenous leadership formation in apparently resilient terror networks.
Disc.	<i>Angela J. O'Mahony, University of British Columbia</i>	Paper	<u>Harmony and Disharmony: Exploiting Al-Qaeda's Organizational Vulnerabilities</u> <i>Jeff G. Bramlett, United States Military Academy</i> <i>Brian Fishman, United States Military Academy</i> <i>Lianne Kennedy, United States Military Academy</i> <i>Jacob Shapiro, Stanford University</i> <i>Joseph Felter, United States Military Academy</i> <i>Jarret Brachman, United States Military Academy</i> Overview: This paper studies the inherent vulnerabilities in al-Qaeda and the global Salafist-Jihadist movement drawing on historical lessons, organizational theory, and dozens of captured and recently declassified documents.
15-8 Room Chair Paper	<u>DOMESTIC POLITICS AND MILITARY POLICY</u> Salon 6, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm <i>Benjamin O. Fordham, Binghamton University</i> <u>Are Private Military Companies Organic to Western Liberalism?</u> <i>Matthew C. Armstrong, University of Southern California</i> Overview: Are private military companies the next stage in Western liberal democracy or are these new mercenaries appearing because of challenges to norms and international institutions that marginalized them 150 years ago?		

Paper **Predictors of Suicide Terrorism: An Empirical Study**
James A. Piazza, *University of North Carolina, Charlotte*
 Overview: This study empirically tests recent hypotheses about the causes of suicide terrorism. It finds no empirical support for two key assertions by Pape (2005): that suicide terrorism targets occupying democratic states and is a tactic used by groups.

Disc. **Jacob F. English**, *InterMedia: Global Research*
Jordan M. Miller, *University of Michigan, Ypsilanti*

16-10 **THEORIES OF STATE FORMATION, FAILURE, AND WAR**

Room Suite 9-250, 9th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm

Chair **Dan Lindley**, *University of Notre Dame*

Paper **The Geopolitics of State Failure**
Dylan Craig, *American University*
 Overview: An examination of the interplay between geopolitical realities and various forms of state failure.

Paper **A Bellicose Theory of State Formation in the Developing World**
Ariel I. Ahram, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: This article reformulates the hypothesis that war-making led to state-making and explains in detail how the external security environment influences the process of state formation in the developing world.

Paper **Do Balanced and Unbalanced Multipolarities Matter to the Causes of War?**
Wanfa Zhang, *University of Alabama*
 Overview: This is an empirical test of Mearsheimer's "offensive realism" proposed in his book *The Tragedy*. Though he discusses only wars among great powers, this research will test conflicts among dyads of different combinations at different intensity levels.

Paper **Great Power Casualty Tolerance and Grand International Transformations**
Paul Vasquez, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: I argue that great power casualty tolerance transformed international relations during the last century via the creation of the bipolar international system at the end of WW II, the dawn of the nuclear age, and the end of Cold War bipolarity.

Disc. **Brock F. Tessman**, *University of Georgia*

17-2 **DOMESTIC POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT**

Room Salon 8, 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm

Chair **Brian Lai**, *University of Iowa*

Paper **When Does the Dog Get Wagged? An Ideologically-Tempered Theory of Conflict**
Laron K. Williams, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: I argue that partisanship is channeled into conflict propensity through two mechanisms: first, by altering the public's perception of leader competence, and second, by determining which foreign policies various constituencies support.

Paper **Resource Scarcity and Domestic Institutions: Explaining the Relationship**
Stephen C. Nemeth, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: Few have examined the interaction between the characteristics of resources and the environments in which resource conflicts occur. I show how domestic institutions and economic conditions affect states' strategies for securing access to resources.

Paper **'Short-circuiting' the Legislature: Institutions and Conflict Behavior**
Gaye B. Muderrisoglu, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: This paper takes a new angle on resolving territorial disputes. I hypothesize that certain electoral systems will be more susceptible to populist demands making obtaining of majority standing the legislature a contest.

Paper **Informed Decisions and War: How the Institutional Structure of Governments Shapes Their Behavior Regarding Threats and War**
Wayne A. Thornton, *Harvard University*
 Overview: This paper presents a new methodology for characterizing political regime types, and applies it to analyze how

the institutional structure of governments shapes their behavior regarding threats and war.

Paper **When Are Friends Unreliable?: Unilateral Withdrawal from Coalition Forces**
Atsushi Tago, *University of Tokyo*
 Overview: Previous studies have tested alliance reliability in terms of likelihood of third-party intervention. I propose a new research strategy to answer the question by analyzing the timing of unilateral exit from a coalition of forces.

Disc. **Robert F. Trager**, *University of California, Los Angeles*
William Reed, *Rice University*

17-9 **CIVIL WAR -- TERMINATION AND PEACE**

Room Clark 3, 7th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm

Chair **David E. Schmitt**, *Northeastern University*

Paper **Rebel Power and Commitment Problems in Civil Conflicts**
Stephen E. Gent, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
 Overview: This paper examines the conditions under which governments and rebel groups will be willing to make credible peace agreements to end civil wars.

Paper **When the Fighting Stops: State Concessions and the End of Civil Wars**
Frank D. Vaughan, *West Virginia State University*
 Overview: Civil wars between 1945 and 1997 are examined to determine the factors that influence state concessions in those wars that end in a negotiated settlement. A theoretical explanation is developed from existing literature and inductive analysis.

Paper **Civil War and the Fates of Factions: Effects on Peace Duration**
Caroline A. Hartzell, *Gettysburg College*
 Overview: This paper uses a new data set on factions that fight in civil wars to test the claim that military victories make for a more enduring post-civil war peace by destroying the organizational identity of the factions that fight, and lose, in civil wars.

Paper **Non-Random Selection of Civil Wars and the Duration of Post-Conflict Peace**
Lena M. Schaffer, *Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH)*
 Overview: We theoretically develop and empirically test a selection duration model of domestic political institutions, civil war, and the endurance of post-conflict peace.

Disc. **Shanna A. Kirschner**, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

18-6 **SECURITY AND ECONOMICS IN FOREIGN POLICY**

Room Parlor B, 6th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm

Chair **Julie M. Bunck**, *University of Louisville*

Paper **How States Decide on Unilateral and Multilateral Sanctions**
Lucie Spanihelova, *Binghamton University*
 Overview: This paper argues that states seek international support when the expected cost of a sanction exceeds the cost of cooperation. When sender demands increase the target's cost of compliance states choose multilateral instead of unilateral sanction.

Paper **The Macropolitics of Anti-Americanism: Political and Economic Implications for the United States**
Monti N. Datta, *University of California, Davis*
 Overview: To what extent does it matter if the world loves or hates America? In this paper, I test several hypotheses that assess the extent to which anti-Americanism may be predictive of political and economic outcomes deleterious to the US national interest.

Paper **Security Strategy: An Analysis of Weak States Foreign Policy**
Xinwu Zhou, *University of New Orleans*
 Overview: Security has always been the main concern of weak states due to their limited military and economic capability. This defines their foreign policy to be defensive. The enforcement of this defensive foreign policy can be attained by different foreign policy

Paper	<u>EUs "Power of Attraction" and Relations with the U.S.: A Glance to the Future</u> Kseniya M. Khovanova , <i>Ashburn Institute and University of Illinois, Chicago</i> Overview: The study addresses the complexity of the contemporary challenges of the U.S.-European relationship by analyzing the key areas of today's transatlantic tensions and proposes possible scenarios for the future transatlantic relations.	Paper	<u>Motivating Sources of Political Awareness: Do Personal Stakes Matter?</u> Toby W. Bolsen , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: Does self-interest play a role in determining the political issues to which citizens attend? This study examines the relationship between self-interest and political awareness by testing variation in attention to issues as a function of material-interests.
Disc.	Donald D. A. Schaefer , <i>Tulane University</i> Julie M. Bunck , <i>University of Louisville</i>	Disc.	Julia Rabinovich , <i>Northwestern University</i> Jamie N. Druckman , <i>Northwestern University</i>
19-7	<u>REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE</u>	22-201	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POLITICAL LEADERSHIP</u>
Room	Clark 10, 7 th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm	Room	State, 4 th Floor, Table 1, Fri at 2:35 pm
Chair	Pamela Blackmon , <i>Valparaiso University</i>	Presenter	<u>Survey Structure, Measurement Effects, and the Evaluation of Party Leaders</u> Amanda J. Bittner , <i>University of British Columbia</i> Overview: Do leaders matter in election outcomes? Why do certain traits matter in some circumstances and not others? This paper examines the impact of differences in national election study survey structure on the nature of respondents' evaluations of leaders.
Paper	<u>Uncertainty and Gradualism in International Union Formation</u> Nikitas Konstantinidis , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: We present a coalition-formation model with uncertainty about the benefits of integration to explain piece-meal EU enlargement. Gradualism may thus be viewed as policy experimentation helping countries discover the real value of integration.	Presenter	<u>The Impact of Leaders on Party Support: The Importance of Contextual Effects</u> Georgios Xezonakis , <i>University of Essex</i> Overview: The paper explores the conditionality of leadership effects. The main research question is whether the effect that the leader has on party support is conditional upon perceptions of ideological distance between the main competitors for office.
Paper	<u>Discriminatory Membership and the Redistribution of Enlargement Gains</u> Thomas Plümper , <i>University of Essex</i> Christina J. Schneider , <i>Max Planck Institute</i> Overview: The paper suggests a rational explanation of EU enlargement based on the re-distribution of enlargement gains through temporary discrimination of new members.	22-202	<u>INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS</u>
Paper	<u>Do State Interests Explain Bargaining Outcomes in the EU?</u> Dana Adriana Puia , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: By investigating how states bargain within the European Union and to what extent they follow the negotiation rules, one can understand how institutions sustain cooperation when states follow a logic of consequences or a logic of appropriateness.	Room	State, 4 th Floor, Table 2, Fri at 2:35 pm
Paper	<u>Understanding IOs' Political Membership Conditionality: The Case of the EU</u> Beken Saatcioglu , <i>University of Virginia</i> Overview: This paper uses content analysis and process tracing to investigate the link between the EU's post-1993 political accession conditionality and compliance with the Copenhagen political criteria. It studies the cases of Poland, Romania and Turkey.	Presenter	<u>Gubernatorial Approval and Strategic Entry</u> Adam R. Brown , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: Using a newly available monthly series of gubernatorial approval data, I explore whether the observed correlation between gubernatorial election outcomes and national partisan swings can be attributed to strategic entry by electoral challengers.
Disc.	Ethan J. Hollander , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Pamela Blackmon , <i>Valparaiso University</i>	Presenter	<u>State and National Forces in Forecasting the 2006 Gubernatorial Elections</u> Jay A. DeSart , <i>Utah Valley State College</i> Overview: An analysis of the performance of a election forecast model in predicting the outcomes of the 2006 gubernatorial elections. The model utilizes three main variables: September polls, historical election data and third quarter Presidential approval.
21-10	<u>POLITICAL SOPHISTICATION AND AWARENESS</u>	23-12	<u>CAMPAIGN EFFECTS AND TARGETING VOTERS (Co-sponsored with Voting Behavior, see 22-19)</u>
Room	Parlor F, 6 th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm	Room	PDR 5, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
Chair	Jamie N. Druckman , <i>Northwestern University</i>	Chair	Donald Green , <i>Yale University</i>
Paper	<u>Should Voters Be Encyclopedias? Measuring the Relative Performance of Sophistication Indicators</u> Christopher N. Lawrence , <i>Saint Louis University</i> Overview: An investigation of the relative performance of knowledge-based and problem-solving measures of political sophistication among voters.	Paper	<u>Campaign Microtargeting and Presidential Voting in 2004</u> Sunshine Hillygus , <i>Harvard University</i> Quin Monson , <i>Brigham Young University</i> Overview: Using the 2004 Campaign Communications Survey (CCS), a unique sample of campaign communications collected and reported by a national sample of registered voters in the closing weeks of the 2004 campaign, we examine the nature and influence of ground war.
Paper	<u>Total Recall: The Influence of Campaign Contact on Vote Accessibility</u> Rolfe D. Peterson , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: Using response latency data, this paper examines the effect campaign contact has on accessibility of vote-related survey items. The findings are indicative of the subtle effects campaigns have on how people think about politics.	Paper	<u>Forget Me Not? The Importance of Timing and Frequency in Voter Mobilization</u> David W. Nickerson , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: The timing and frequency of voter mobilization activities were randomly varied during the 2005 Virginia gubernatorial election to detect the decay of campaign contact and possible ceiling effects.
Paper	<u>Does Direct Mail Persuade Voters? A Field Experiment</u> Daniel Rubenson , <i>Ryerson University</i> Peter John Loewen , <i>Univesite de Montreal</i> Overview: We present results of a field experiment on the effects of direct mail in a political party leadership election. We manipulate the volume of direct mail sent by two campaigns and test for differences using a survey of members.		

Paper **Prediction Markets, Volatility, and Campaign Events in the 2004 Election**
Jill Rickershauser, Duke University
 Overview: How can we test which campaign events matter? Using price and volatility data from a political prediction market, I develop a model of information effects that identifies which events of the 2004 were actually consequential.

Paper **Campaigning Where the Ducks Are: Targeting of Campaigns in U.S. Elections**
Joel D. Rivlin, University of Wisconsin, Madison
 Overview: This paper describes and explains patterns of targeting by electoral campaigns, and discusses the possible implications of these activities on the electorate and future targeting decisions.

Paper **The Effect of Presidential Ads on the National Electorate**
David W. Romero, University of Texas, San Antonio
 Overview: This paper examines the effect presidential campaign ads have on the national electorate's information and its vote (1952-2000).

Disc. **Brian Arbour, University of Texas, Austin**

24-6 **ELECTORAL PROCEDURE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES**

Room Suite 9-128, 9th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm

Chair **Indridi H. Indridason, University of Iceland**

Paper **The Electoral Fallacy Revisited: A Comparative Analysis of Election Quality**
Erik S. Herron, University of Kansas
 Overview: This study assesses various approaches to identifying fraudulent election results using precinct-level data from several countries.

Paper **A New Game in Town: Rules Changes and Voting in an Open Primary**
Arnold Fleischmann, University of Georgia
Damon Cann, University of Georgia
Ellen M. Key, University of Georgia
 Overview: This paper uses individual-level data in a model to predict the conditions under which a voter will choose a Republican or Democratic ballot in an open primary system, including after a law changed some offices to nonpartisan.

Paper **Electronic Voting and Elections: Evaluating Optical Scan and Digital Ballots**
Robert M. Stein, Rice University
Gregory Vonnahme, Rice University
 Overview: This study looks at the effects of different methods of voting on the effective administration of elections including voter service times, rates of under and over voting, and individuals' personal evaluation of different voting technologies.

Paper **A Preferential and Proportional System Without Geographical Divisions**
Stéphane Rouillon, Tecsalt Inc.
 Overview: This system uses equivalent samples of the population to provide a non-discriminatory definition of districts, keeps independent candidatures, alleviates votes-splitting in favor of a common philosophy and guarantees at least a two-parties coalition.

Disc. **Stephen D. Fisher, University of Oxford**

25-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: NATIONALISM AND INTOLERANCE**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 3, Fri at 2:35 pm

Presenter **Pride and Prejudice: Resurgent Nationalism and Its Consequences for Multiethnic Democracies**
Kathleen M. Dowley, SUNY, New Paltz
Brian D. Silver, Michigan State University
 Overview: This paper re-examines the claims of earlier research from the 1990s that nationalism and national identity are in decline in the west, especially in light of "war on terror." Types and levels of expressed national pride are examined among majority population.

Presenter **Religion, Fundamentalism, and Political Intolerance**
Lilliana H. Mason, Stony Brook University
Stanley Feldman, Stony Brook University
 Overview: A number of empirical studies of political intolerance have found evidence of a relationship between religion and intolerance. This paper argues that religious fundamentalism is the primary religious correlate of political intolerance.

26-8 **THE EFFECTS OF VOTING LAWS ON VOTER PARTICIPATION**

Room Clark 9, 7th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm

Chair **Michael Crespin, University of Georgia**

Paper **Not the If but the How of Vote Procedure Changes and their Effect on Voter Turnout: An Elite or Mass Based Causal Process?**
JulieMarie A. Shepherd, University of Colorado
Eric Gonzalez Juneke, University of Colorado
 Overview: This study seeks to evaluate the recent shift from traditional precinct voting to centralized vote centers in Denver and Mesa counties in Colorado and how elites (candidates and parties) utilize centers to their advantage (generating turnout).

Paper **Early Voting in the 2000 and 2004 Presidential Elections**
James M. Siira, Louisiana State University
 Overview: In this individual level research I use a multinomial logit model to explore the differences between early voters, Election Day voters and non-voters using a national representative data set in 2000 and 2004.

Paper **Overseas Voter Disenfranchisement: 2006 Post Election Survey Results**
Susan T. Dzieduszycka-Suinat, Overseas Vote Foundation
 Overview: Has awareness of the key role of overseas voters led to growing participation and decreased rates of disenfranchisement? Overseas Vote Foundation's 2006 survey results will provide comparisons with 2004 trends in overseas voter participation.

Paper **Race, Gender and the Costs of Voting: Predicting Turnout for Blacks, Latinos and Women**
Caroline Tolbert, University of Iowa
Daniel Bowen, University of Iowa
Bridgett King, Kent University
 Overview: Race, Gender and the Costs of Voting: Predicting Turnout for Blacks, Latinos and Women

Disc. **Melissa Miller, Bowling Green State University**
Ryan Claassen, Kent State University

26-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 4, Fri at 2:35 pm

Presenter **Communication and Citizen Participation**
Georgette E. Dumont, Northern Illinois University
 Overview: The call for increased citizen participation, while admirable, does face obstacles. This paper will discuss how communication and polarization can impact the successfulness of an increase in citizen participation.

Presenter **Civic Engagement Activities and the Political Attitudes of College Students**
Theresa L. Johnson, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay
 Overview: This research builds upon the work of scholars and fellow colleagues Furlong & Scheberle (Midwest Political Science Association Conference, 2005). They sought to determine whether college students taking introductory political science courses were more civic minded.

28-5 **THE IMPACT OF DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION ON VOTERS**

Room Clark 7, 7th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm

Chair **Jennifer L. Lawless, Brown University**

Paper **Gendered Trust: Intersecting Descriptive Representation and Political Trust**
Valerie M. Hennings, University of Wisconsin, Madison
 Overview: Does having a female elected representative influence the trust women have in government? This paper explores the role

	of gender in the intersection of descriptive representation and governmental trust using survey data and personal interviews.				Paul Frymer , <i>University of California, Santa Clara</i>
Paper	<u>The Link between Substantive and Symbolic Representation</u> Sarah R. Neal , <i>Loyola University, Chicago</i> Overview: This paper uses pooled NES data to test the hypothesis that increased visibility of women will close the gender gap in knowledge and participation over time.				Merle Bowen , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: Mark Sawyer discusses his book "Racial Politics in Post-Revolutionary Cuba". Scholars representing several fields comment on the book's contribution and offer candid criticisms.
Paper	<u>Gendered Identity Cues and the Gender Gap</u> Corrine M. McConaughy , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: This paper investigates the question of the "gender gap" - gender differences in political preferences - by examining how communication from political elites can create and shape political preferences through appeals to gender-specific identities.		32-8	<u>NIETZSCHE</u>	
			Room		LaSalle 1, 7 th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
			Chair		Xavier Marquez , <i>University of Notre Dame</i>
Paper	<u>Descriptive Representation and Political Behavior: Dealing with Endogeneity</u> Katherine W. Drake , <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: I use NES panel data to re-examine the effect of descriptive representation on citizens' political attitudes and behavior, accounting for the problem of endogeneity.		Paper		<u>Epic Spirituality and Reconciliation in Nietzsche's Philosophy</u> Roberto Alejandro , <i>University of Massachusetts</i> Overview: In this paper I spell out Nietzsche's epic spirituality and examine the issue of how different strands of his thought merge in a philosophy of reconciliation that he anticipated in Human (1878) and later defended in The Anti-Christ and Ecce Homo (1888).
Disc.	Jennifer C. Lucas , <i>St. Anselm's College</i> Jennifer L. Lawless , <i>Brown University</i>		Paper		<u>Heroes and Fools: The Idea of Responsibility in Nietzsche and Arendt</u> Onur Bakiner , <i>Yale University</i> Overview: This paper examines the concept of responsibility in the works of Nietzsche and Arendt. While Nietzsche's account fails to understand the nature of political responsibility, Arendtian judgment offers a successful corrective.
29-21	<u>MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES AND APPROACHES TO RACIAL POLITICS (Co-sponsored with Gender and Politics, see 28-15)</u>		Paper		<u>Nietzsche and Individuality</u> Jeffrey Church , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: I examine the following puzzle in Nietzsche's thought: the "individual is our last and greatest abstraction," yet Nietzsche's revaluation of values requires a concept of the "individual," especially in the form of the "overman."
Room	Salon 9, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm				
Chair	Dara Z. Strolovitch , <i>University of Minnesota</i>		Paper		<u>Friedrich Nietzsche on Courage and Nobility</u> John F. Ryan , <i>Bates College</i> Overview: Through an analysis of Nietzsche's major works this research explores his views on courage and nobility, including their relationship to morality (past, present, future), philosophy (including its future) and philosophers (past, present, and future).
Paper	<u>Black Women in Politics: A Retrospective View and a Projection Towards 2008</u> Tracy D. Snipe , <i>Wright State University</i> Overview: This paper will present a historical overview of some of the pioneering black female political leaders and icons of the twentieth century such as the late Shirley Chisholm and Barbara Jordan and assess the future political prospects of individuals like Condeliza Rice.				
Paper	<u>Third World Feminism in America: Gendered Nationalism and Korean-American Women</u> Soo-Bin You , <i>Rutgers University</i> Overview: My paper explores the complexity of Korean-American women's cultural identities and gendered nationalism in the diaspora. Korean-American women are represented by the situation that shows the most remarkable conflict between allegedly universal (western) women.		Paper		<u>Nietzsche's Image of the Political Philosopher</u> William H. Winstead , <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: Nietzsche's critiques of traditional political forms has led to the view that his work is unpolitical. I argue instead that Nietzsche offers one of the most radical and important reconceptualizations of political philosophy and politics since Plato.
Paper	<u>A Never Ending Job: Teaching From Multiple Perspectives</u> Mildred M. Pearson , <i>Eastern Illinois University</i> Overview: Learning to teach is never easy, despite some popular myths to the contrary. Figuring out how to do it is a challenge for all who join the profession, as well as for those who guide them in this effort. A never ending job.		Disc.		Juan G. Gomez Albarello , <i>Illinois Wesleyan University</i>
Paper	<u>Are They Still Hot?: Utilizing Feeling Thermometers as Part of the Answer</u> Paul G. Gottemoller , <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Randolph Burnside , <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Overview: By utilizing anchoring vignettes, feeling thermometers can now have fixed ordinal values and can be used for interpersonal comparisons. We utilize this technique to develop measures of feelings towards blacks, whites, and homosexuals by respondents.		33-6	<u>SPEECH AND SILENCE: THE LIMITS OF PUBLIC DISCOURSE</u>	
Disc.	Shayla C. Nunnally , <i>University of Connecticut</i> Dara Z. Strolovitch , <i>University of Minnesota</i>		Room		Dearborn 2, 7 th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
			Chair		Keith Topper , <i>Northwestern University</i>
			Paper		<u>Are We Ready? Assessing the Preconditions for Deliberative Democracy</u> Zsuzsanna Chappell , <i>London School of Economics</i> Overview: This paper examines whether the individual, social and institutional preconditions for deliberative democracy are present to a sufficient degree in current liberal democracies to allow us to pursue deliberative reforms.
29-101	<u>AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: MARK SAWYER'S RACIAL POLITICS IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY CUBA</u>		Paper		<u>Crossing Disciplinary Boundaries and Theorizing Silence</u> Vince Jungkunz , <i>Ohio University</i> Overview: This paper goes beyond the boundaries of political theory in order to examine the ways in which silence might be a form of political resistance. Literary theory will help illuminate how silence is one among many forms of communication.
Room	Adams, 6 th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm		Paper		<u>A Critical Theory of Academic Freedom</u> Eli L. Meyerhoff , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: A new justification of academic freedom is developed as an ideal of academic practice that links disciplinary norms and the public good via Habermas's discourse ethics, integrated with Bourdieu's sociology for reflexivity about its limits.
Chair	Janelle Wong , <i>University of Southern California</i>				
Panelist	Mark Sawyer , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Melissa Harris-Lacewell , <i>Princeton University</i> Phillip Klinkner , <i>Hamilton College</i> Lester Spence , <i>John Hopkins University</i>				

Paper **Difference in the Rhetorical Public Sphere**
Jeff Motter, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
Melanie Loehwing, *Indiana University, Bloomington*
 Overview: This paper argues that inflecting conceptions of the public sphere rhetorically realigns previous understandings by demonstrating the public sphere's reliance on difference.

Disc. **Keith Topper**, *Northwestern University*

33-22 **NATURE, SCIENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY**
Room Suite 9-142, 9th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
Chair **Jonathan McKenzie**, *Purdue University*
Paper **Ethics of the Mundane: Cognitive Science and Cultivating Moral Character**
Christian D. Dean, *Dominican University of California*
 Overview: Cognitive science suggests that teleological ethical theories are more plausible than deontological ethical theories. A Heideggerian phenomenology of moral character development resonates with these findings, supporting an ethics of the mundane.

Paper **The Sanctity of Life, Moral Responsibility, and Human Therapeutic Cloning**
Jeffrey Alan Johnson, *Cameron University*
 Overview: This paper argues against proposed bans on human therapeutic cloning. Arguing for the preservation of biographical over biological and metaphysical life, the paper shows that such research ought to be pursued even if human embryos are destroyed.

Paper **Politics, Nature and Food**
Maya Joseph, *New School for Social Research*
 Overview: Is it possible to examine the relationship of politics to nature through food? This paper will question the role that politics plays in shaping nature by examining how American food is farmed, produced, regulated, and consumed.

Paper **The Moral and Political Implications of an Undisturbed Natural Lottery**
Anja J. Karnein, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: Many scholars, in particular those who oppose the new technologies that seek to change the genetic constitution of embryos, claim that there is something essential about human nature that is worth preserving. I examine this premise in more detail.

Paper **From Bio-power to Neuropolitics: Stepping Beyond Foucault**
Ivelin Sardamov, *American University in Bulgaria*
 Overview: According to Foucault, the imperatives of power are internalized by individuals who become tied to a particular identity. This process can be seen as a form of "neuropolitics" through which social and power relations become ingrained in human brains.

Disc. **Jonathan McKenzie**, *Purdue University*

34-13 **POLITICAL TRANSITIONS**
Room Sandburg 3, 7th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
Chair **Elizabeth M. Penn**, *Harvard University*
Paper **Opposition to Reforms: Why Not Undermine It?**
Birol Baskan, *SUNY, Fredonia*
 Overview: Reforms face different fates. Some succeed, some fail. The success of opposition sorts the two. Why can reformers undermine the opposition in some cases, but not in others? This paper addresses this question through state building reforms.

Paper **Ruling-Party Institutionalization and Autocratic Success**
Scott Gehlbach, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: I argue that institutionalized ruling parties can provide a mechanism for autocrats to make credible commitments to investors, and derive conditions for autocrats to want to create such parties.

Paper **Human Rights, Repression, and the Emergence of Rebel Movements**
Alejandro Quiroz Flores, *New York University*
 Overview: Why do some political movements rebel and fight the government? This paper presents several hypotheses and carries out an empirical test of the relationship between concessions and repression, and the emergence of rebel movements.

Paper **The Origin of Elections: An Economic Explanation**
Krishna Ladha, *University of Mississippi*
 Overview: This paper presents a game-theoretic model to establish why we have elections in the practice of democracy. Elections emerge under the threat of civil war between contending factions. The model is substantiated with the case of the maiden democracy.

Disc. **Elizabeth M. Penn**, *Harvard University*

35-14 **METHOD ACROSS CONTEXTS**
Room Montrose 2, 7th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
Chair **Zachary Elkins**, *University of Illinois*
Paper **Assessing Comparability in Cross-National Survey Research**
Zachary Elkins, *University of Illinois*
John Sides, *George Washington University*
 Overview: We describe forms of non-equivalence in survey research across contexts and evaluate methods to assess such non-equivalence.

Paper **Contextualized Comparison: Challenges and Solutions in Comparative Research**
David Collier, *University of California, Berkeley*
Diana Kapiszewski, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: This paper draws on new perspectives on concept analysis and validity assessment to suggest how meaningfully contextualized comparison can be achieved, without giving up broader analytic goals.

Paper **On the Meaning and Measurement of National Identity**
Christopher Parker, *University of California, Berkeley*
Derek Stafford, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: This paper explores the assumption that national identity is measured without error. We argue that race affects the measurement of national identity and, therefore, its meaning.

Disc. **Jonathan Wand**, *Stanford University*

36-101 **ROUNDTABLE: THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE BROADCAST FLAG ON MEDIA IN TEACHING AND RESEARCH**
Room Monroe, 6th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
Chair **Amy E. Jasperson**, *University of Texas, San Antonio*
Panelists **Jonathan Band**, *American Library Association*
Robert Samors, *NASULGC*
Miriam Nisbet, *American Library Association*
Alex Curtis, *Public Knowledge*
Randy Picker, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: This roundtable aims to inform the discipline about potential widespread reforms and regulations surrounding developments in technology and the future use of media in teaching and research.

37-6 **AMERICAN PARTIES AND ISSUE POLITICS**
Room LaSalle 2, 7th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
Chair **Peter W. Wielhouwer**, *Western Michigan University*
Paper **Parenthood, Family, and the Political Parties, 1952-2004**
Laurel Elder, *Hartwick College*
Steven Greene, *North Carolina State University*
 Overview: In this paper we explore the extent to which, and how, the parties have talked about parents and families over the past 52 years by analyzing party platforms, presidential nomination acceptance speeches, and state of the union addresses.

Paper **Partners in Crime? Issue Ownership Reconsidered**
Paul Parker, *Truman State University*
 Overview: A study of law and order in party platforms and NES data 1960-2004 traces the development of crime as a salient issue, and the arc of its "ownership." Issue ownership is more fluid than much of the literature has recognized.

Paper **Issue-Competition, Issue-Ownership and Political Parties**
Peter B. Mortensen, *University of Aarhus*
Christoffer Green-Pedersen, *University of Aarhus*
 Overview: Inspired by literature on issue-ownership and issue-voting this paper examines whether political parties systematically emphasize their owned issues and under what circumstances they succeed to make the other political parties address these issues.

Paper	<p><u>Dual Defection: Liberating Party Factions in American Politics</u> Brian Anderson, <i>Mississippi University for Women</i> Overview: Left and right factional parties can promote "values" issues, leaving economics to the Democrats and Republicans--and increasing party responsibility. Defection of legislators may avoid electoral barriers to minor party success.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Constituency Connections and Extended Leadership Positions in the U.S. House</u> Scott R. Meinke, <i>Bucknell University</i> Overview: Evaluates the relationship between constituency characteristics and House members' decisions both to serve in the extended party leadership and to use that service in self-presentation to the constituency.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Do Words Still Matter? Platforms and ideological Change in American Political Parties</u> Stephen M. Engel, <i>Yale University</i> Julia Azari, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: We assess the extent party platforms are used to justify ideological shifts in American parties. We build a theory by investigating elite communications with reference to ideological change within the Republican party of the 20th century.</p>	Disc.	<p>Gregory Robinson, <i>Michigan State University, East Lansing</i> Christian Grose, <i>Vanderbilt University</i></p>
Disc.	<p>Eric D. Russell, <i>Ohio State University</i> Holly Brasher, <i>University of Alabama, Birmingham</i></p>	39-26	<p><u>INSTITUTIONAL INFLUENCES ON LEGISLATURES</u> Room Dearborn 1, 7th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm Chair Asbjorn Skjaeveland, <i>University of Aarhus</i> Paper <u>Lawmaking Under Uncertainty in Semi-Presidential Regimes</u> Sebastien G. Lazardeux, <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: This paper proposes a quantitative analysis of the effect of cohabitation (a situation where the President and the Premier are from opposing political parties) on governing efficiency in semi-presidential regimes.</p>
38-14	<p><u>THE POLITICS OF PRESIDENTIAL EXECUTIVE APPOINTMENTS</u> Room LaSalle 3, 7th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm Chair James D. King, <i>University of Wyoming</i> Paper <u>A Tradeoff Model of the Presidential Appointment Calculus: From the Court of St. James to Burkina Faso</u> Richard W. Waterman, <i>University of Kentucky</i> John G. Bretting, <i>University of Texas, El Paso</i> Joseph Stewart, Jr., <i>Clemson University</i> Overview: A Tradeoff Model of the Presidential Appointment Calculus: From the Court of St. James to Burkina Faso.</p>	Paper	<p><u>National Parliaments and the European Court of Justice</u> Tracy H. Slagter, <i>University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh</i> Overview: Although much scholarship exists to demonstrate that national parliaments in Europe are increasingly attuned to the legislative role played by their national courts, very little research has examined the relationship between European parliaments.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Politicizing Priority Departments: Presidential Policy Priorities and Subcabinet Nominations</u> Kevin Parsneau, <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: This study examines the presidential choices of subcabinet nominees between 1961 and 2000 to examine how presidential policy priorities drive efforts to promote bureaucratic responsiveness and competence within the cabinet departments.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Analyzing the Legislative Success of Strong Presidents: The Case of Chile</u> Eduardo Aleman, <i>University of Houston</i> Navia Patricio, <i>New York University</i> Overview: We examine the legislative success of presidential bills in Chile. We argue that approval depends on bill specific characteristics as well as contextual factors, model approval as a hierarchical process, and test predictions with a new dataset.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Patronage, Policy, and Politics in Modern Presidential Appointments</u> David E. Lewis, <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: This paper explains politicization of appointments by disentangling politicization due to patronage and to achieve policy change. Analyses show that perceptions of agency ideology influence presidential politicization decisions in predictable ways.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Evaluating Expertise in Upper House Decision Making</u> David L. Fisk, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: This paper examines the role expertise plays in upper house assertion, as well as whether assertion in policy areas falling under the chamber's area of expertise will be more successful in shifting outcomes towards the upper chamber's ideal point.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Impact of Statutory Partisan Requirements on Regulatory Policy</u> Daniel E. Ho, <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: Using a hierarchical ideal point model, this paper studies how congressional partisan requirements, limiting the number of commissioners of the same party, affect substantive policy decisions by independent regulatory commissions from 1965-2006.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Policy Bargaining in the EU: Who Wins?</u> Deniz Aksoy, <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: Which EU countries are better at getting the policy outcomes they prefer? What kind of institutional factors determine their ability to do so? I examine the positioning of member state preferences and policy outcomes on a diverse set of EU policies.</p>
Disc.	<p>Karen M. Hult, <i>Virginia Tech University</i></p>	Disc.	<p>Monica Pachon, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Asbjorn Skjaeveland, <i>University of Aarhus</i></p>
39-6	<p><u>ACCOUNTING FOR CONSTITUENTS</u> Room Montrose 1, 7th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm Chair Christian Grose, <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Paper <u>Congressional Office Communications and Accessibility Post-9/11</u> Jocelyn J. Evans, <i>University of West Florida</i> Olivia E. Lagergren, <i>University of West Florida</i> Overview: We explore changes in protocol, introduced by the terrorist attacks of 2001, concerning congressional office communication with and accessibility to constituents. We argue these changes hold significant implications for representation.</p>	40-5	<p><u>COMPETITIVENESS AND CHANGE IN LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS</u> Room Sandburg 8, 7th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm Chair Eric S. Heberlig, <i>University of North Carolina, Charlotte</i> Paper <u>Searching for the Second Dimension(s): The Structure of the National and Sub-National Political Spaces</u> Michael Tofias, <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Michael Ensley, <i>Indiana University</i> Scott de Marchi, <i>Duke University</i> Overview: Using the 2000 National Annenberg Election Survey, we estimate a national first dimension to the political space and then estimate state-level second dimensions. We compare the shape and structure of these second dimensions to each other.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Home Style and Member Allocation of Office Resources</u> Craig Goodman, <i>Texas Tech University</i> David C. W. Parker, <i>Indiana University, South Bend</i> Laura Roach Overview: This paper examines how a member's home style alters their allocation of office resources and whether such strategies alter citizen perceptions of their elected officials.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Redistricting and Electoral Competitiveness in State Legislative Districts</u> John I. Hanley, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Michael P. McDonald, <i>George Mason University</i> Bruce E. Cain, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Justin Levitt, <i>New York University</i> Overview: We investigate the effects of redistricting institutions on the partisanship of state legislative districts and primary and general election competitiveness.</p>

Paper **Electoral Volatility in U.S. House Elections, 1962-2000**
Joshua A. Strayhorn, *Emory University*
 Overview: This paper treats electoral volatility as a district-level rather than aggregate phenomenon. Using a data set which covers 1962-2000, it examines district returns to determine which factors influence variations in volatility across districts.

Paper **Redistricting and the House: An Analysis Incorporating the Brookes Method**
Tony Hill, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
 Overview: The Brookes method shows the relevance to electoral outcomes of redistricting, which can affect different forms of bias in contradictory ways. An analysis shows an asymmetry as Democrats more easily convert votes into House seats than Republicans.

Disc. **Phillip J. Ardoin**, *Appalachian State University*

41-1 **AGENDA SETTING ON THE U.S. SUPREME COURT**
Room Burnham 1, 7th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
Chair **Richard L. Pacelle**, *Georgia Southern University*
Paper **Grand Strategies and Agenda Setting on the U.S. Supreme Court**
Scott E. Graves, *Georgia State University*
 Overview: I analyze the influences of various factors on individual justices' case selection votes to discover the tradeoffs and consistencies that constitute what Murphy (1964) conceived of as the "grand strategy."

Paper **Certiorari and the Separation of Powers**
Ryan J. Owens, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: This paper analyzes the conditions under which other institutional actors like Congress and the president can influence whether justices vote to grant or deny certiorari.

Paper **First Amendment Cases and the Grant of Certiorari**
Barry Pyle, *Eastern Michigan University*
Bruce A. Carroll, *Eastern Michigan University*
 Overview: An analysis of certiorari grants for all first amendment cases filed from a federal court of appeals during the last ten years. The cases are analyzed using a two stage analysis that utilizes both quantitative and qualitative measures.

Paper **A Network Analysis of Agenda Setting on the U.S. Supreme Court**
Paul J. Wahlbeck, *George Washington University*
James F. Spriggs, *Washington University*
Timothy R. Johnson, *University of Minnesota*
James H. Fowler, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: Existing literature on Supreme Court agenda setting usually focuses on either the decision of the Court to grant certiorari in specific cases or on the changing nature of the general issues that comprise its agenda.

Disc. **Chris W. Bonneau**, *University of Pittsburgh*
Richard L. Pacelle, *Georgia Southern University*

41-8 **JUDICIAL ELECTIONS: VOTERS, JUDGES, AND ACCOUNTABILITY**
Room Parlor E, 6th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
Chair **Bradley C. Canon**, *University of Kentucky*
Paper **The Women's Movement's Impact on State Courts: A Time-Series Analysis**
Sarah Fischer, *American University*
 Overview: This analysis seeks to determine the ability of women's groups to affect the gender make-up of U.S. state supreme courts--does the presence of a strong women's movement within a state increase the percentage of the state's highest court that is female?

Paper **Money Well Spent? Campaign Finance Regulations and Spending in State Supreme Court Elections**
Meghan E. Leonard, *University of Arizona*
 Overview: This paper examines the role of money in campaigns for state supreme courts. The main hypotheses ask if campaign spending influences who wins and by what margins. Further, I consider the role state campaign finance laws play in these elections.

Paper **Judicial Accountability in Intermediate Appellate Court Elections**
Matthew J. Streb, *Northern Illinois University*
Brian Frederick, *Northern Illinois University*
Casey LaFrance, *Northern Illinois University*
 Overview: We test whether intermediate appellate court elections (nonpartisan, partisan, and retention) promote judicial accountability by examining contestation rates, reelection/retention rates, and incumbent vote totals from 2000-2006.

Paper **Creating a Unified Framework for Comparative Judicial Selection Research**
Rebecca Wood, *Clark University*
 Overview: This paper creates an expanded framework for analyzing the judicial selection systems in an attempt to encompass judiciaries from multiple legal traditions. This approach allows for researchers to categorize countries based on the actors involved.

Disc. **C. Scott Peters**, *University of Northern Iowa*
Margaret S. Williams, *Goucher College*

42-6 **DIVINING CONSTITUTIONAL MEANING AND LEGITIMACY**
Room Clark 5, 7th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
Chair **Michael Comiskey**, *Pennsylvania State University, Fayette*
Paper **Dworkin, Scalia, and the Integrity of the Law**
Philip J. Benesch, *Lebanon Valley College*
 Overview: This paper examines the intersection of Dworkinian concern with the improvement of the integrity of law with Scalian resistance to the encroachment of common-law approaches in constitutional and statutory interpretation.

Paper **Justice Breyer's Challenge to Originalism and the Fourteenth Amendment**
Kenyon D. Bunch, *Fort Lewis College*
 Overview: An examination of whether the values Justice Breyer and Justice Scalia ascribe to the Fourteenth Amendment's Section 1 clauses can be reconciled with their respective approaches to constitutional interpretation.

Paper **Is There Really a Countermajoritarian Problem?**
Michael Comiskey, *Pennsylvania State University, Fayette*
 Overview: The paper explains why judicial review poses no countermajoritarian problem or, to the extent there is countermajoritarianism, why it is not a problem.

Disc. **Leslie F. Goldstein**, *University of Delaware*
Sean Wilson, *Pennsylvania State University*

44-4 **STATE AND LOCAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND AGENDA-SETTING**
Room Parlor C, 6th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
Chair **Kim Hill**, *Texas A&M University*
Paper **Minority Pathbreakers in State Elected Offices**
Susan A. MacManus, *University of South Florida*
Andrew F. Quecan, *University of South Florida*
 Overview: Biographical, historical, and interview data are used to gain insights into electoral risk-taking by African American, Haitian, Hispanic (Cuban, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Colombian) and Asian candidates who were the "first" to be elected to state executive.

Paper **State Governors of Policy Entrepreneurs: An Examination of Gubernatorial Influence on Charter School Legislation**
David A. Goodman, *Rice University*
 Overview: Research on policy entrepreneurs at the state level has consistently found the political actors to be influential in the innovation and diffusion of state policy by providing funds, building coalitions, defining and disseminating ideas.

Paper **Setting the Gubernatorial Redistribution Agenda: An Integrative Approach**
Brianne M. Heidebreder, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
 Overview: This paper examines the impact that state political and economic contexts have on the gubernatorial redistribution agenda. Using panel analysis, I study gubernatorial agenda-setting across time and states.

Paper	<p><u>The Public and School Board Agenda Setting: A New Interpretative Model</u> Bryce J. Dietrich, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: By examining school board presentations this essay will advance a cyclical theory of influence in which peaks of participatory influence will be outlined and compared with competing governance models, filling a current analytic gap.</p>	Obesity may be as complex a political issue as it is a healthcare issue.
Disc.	<p>Kyle A. Scott, <i>Miami University</i> Peter Haas, <i>San Jose State University</i></p>	
46-7	<p><u>ASSESSING HIGHER EDUCATION POLICIES</u> PDR 6, 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm</p>	
Room	Dorothy Daley , <i>University of Kansas</i>	
Chair	<p><u>Does Commercialization Matter in the Ivory Tower?</u> Yixin Dai, <i>Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville</i> Overview: This empirical research checks whether university commercialization process shift university's mission on contributing to the public knowledge pool by publishing or not, by checking faculty's dissemination decision between publication and patent.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Race, Gender, and Representative Bureaucracy in Higher Education</u> Alisa Hicklin, <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Vicky Wilkins, <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: We investigate the determinants of minority retention rates by turning to theories of representative bureaucracy, to explore whether the composition of the faculty, in terms of race and gender, affect participation and retention rates for each group.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Do Networks Effect the Composition of Science and Engineering Research Laboratories?</u> Zeynep E. Tanyildiz, <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: This study investigates the determinants of location selection of foreign doctoral students in the U.S., specifically investigating the effects of networks.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>Market and State in Higher Education: A New Nation at Risk</u> David C. Paris, <i>Hamilton College</i> Overview: The Spellings Commission report, like A Nation at Risk, emphasizes the economic threat of educational failures and offers policy responses to them. This paper examines the claims of "market" and "state" on higher education.</p>	
Paper	<p><u>The Impact of Hurricane Rita on an Academic Institution. Lessons Learned</u> Dominic M. Beggan, <i>Lamar University</i> Overview: This research sought to examine the impact of hurricanes at a micro-level; in particular it sought to examine how academic institutions may be impacted by such an occurrence.</p>	
Disc.	<p>Michele M. Hoyman, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Dorothy Daley, <i>University of Kansas</i></p>	
46-301	<p><u>POSTER SESSION: POLICY I (Co-sponsored with Social Policy, see 47-301)</u></p>	
Room	Exhibit Hall, 4 th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm	
Presenter	<p><u>Professional Standards as Public Policy: A Case Study</u> (Board 1) Michelle R. Ranville, <i>George Mason University</i> Overview: The standards set by professional organizations are often the sole authority in a specific policy area. How do these private standards gain broad legitimacy? A case study suggests that one avenue of legitimacy is the avoidance of legal issues.</p>	
Presenter	<p><u>The Fatal Consequences of Issue Framing in General Aviation Safety Policy</u> (Board 2) Shane A. Nordyke, <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: An analysis of general aviation fatalities for the last decade reveals that the way in which issues are defined and framed in safety policies blurs a clear understanding of the causes of fatalities in this sector.</p>	
Presenter	<p><u>Obesity: A Hidden Political Issue</u> (Board 3) Robert J. Thompson, <i>East Carolina University</i> Overview: This paper argues that policy and healthcare professionals must acquire a better understanding of each other's expertise in order to deal with the consequences of obesity.</p>	
Presenter	<p><u>Producing Poverty: Medical Debt Policies at the State and National Levels</u> (Board 4) Serena Laws, <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: This paper examines the role of U.S. federal and state governments in producing medical debt. A comparison of laws and regulations regarding hospital billing and collection practices suggests that such policies contribute to debt among the uninsured.</p>	
Presenter	<p><u>Institutional Design for Pension Insurance Program</u> (Board 5) Il Hwan Chung, <i>University of Georgia</i> Yu Jin Choi, <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: This paper examines moral hazard problems and incentive systems for pension insurance program across different countries. It shows the proper structure and governance of organization for institutional design in government insurance program.</p>	
Presenter	<p><u>Public Utility Franchising in East Asia: The Case of Electricity</u> (Board 6) Yu Jin Choi, <i>University of Georgia</i> Il Hwan Chung, <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: This article explores public utility franchising in the electricity sector of East Asia, specifically China, Japan, and South Korea.</p>	
Presenter	<p><u>American Foreign Policy: Domestic Politics and the Palestinian Question</u> (Board 7) Joseph N. Patten, <i>Monmouth University</i> Overview: This article highlights the influence of domestic politics on U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East.</p>	
46-302	<p><u>POSTER SESSION: POLICY II (Co-sponsored with Social Policy, see 47-302)</u></p>	
Room	Exhibit Hall, 4 th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm	
Presenter	<p><u>Regulating Practice Through Information: Promoting Drug Safety at the FDA</u> (Board 8) Susan L. Moffitt, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: When does the FDA use information to regulate firm, physician and patient practice? This paper develops and tests a reputation and learning model of regulation to explain FDA decisions to use information-based regulatory tools to promote drug safety.</p>	
Presenter	<p><u>Political Empowerment of Self-Help Groups in Hong Kong and Shanghai</u> (Board 9) Bong-ho Mok, <i>Chinese University of Hong Kong</i> Terry T. F. Leung, <i>Chinese University of Hong Kong</i> Overview: Findings from two empirical studies of self-help groups conducted in capitalist Hong Kong and socialist Shanghai indicated that political empowerment is a distant reality and that social change has never been a common objective.</p>	
Presenter	<p><u>How Do Federal Dollars Impact Civic Engagement?</u> (Board 10) Zahra G. Ahmed, <i>University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: Through an in-depth policy and discourse analysis, this paper seeks to examine how organizational and federal policy interact within the larger discourse of civic and political engagement.</p>	
Presenter	<p><u>Public Participation and the Power of Information</u> (Board 11) Juita-Elena Yusuf, <i>University of Kentucky</i> Jacob T. Fowles, <i>Martin School of Public Policy and Public Administration</i> Lenahan O'Connell, <i>University of Kentucky</i> Overview: This paper demonstrates that exposure to information can lead to public acceptance of otherwise contentious policy solutions. These findings are discussed from a policy process perspective, with emphasis on the importance of public participation.</p>	

Presenter **Older Adults and Prescription Drug Abuse: An Emerging Public Policy Issue**
(Board 12)
Sara J. Reed, *Northern Illinois University*
Overview: Prescription drug abuse by older adults has become increasingly problematic as the U.S. population ages. This paper examines to what extent existing substance abuse policies and programs appropriately address the needs of the older adult population.

Presenter **Toward a Theory of Public Bads Management**
(Board 13)
Thomas F. Schaller, *University of Maryland, Baltimore County*
Overview: The growth of public bads management has altered the expectations that citizens have for the behaviors with one another and the role of their governments as mediators. This paper examines the changing policy frontier for public bads management.

Presenter **The Coming Physician Shortage: The Problem and Policy Options**
(Board 14)
Ed J. Miller, *University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point*
Overview: The paper will discuss the demand and supply causes of the projected shortage of physicians and examine several public policy options. Emphasis will be given to the impacts of market failure and interest group activity.

Presenter **Catalysts, Costs and Preventative Negotiations for Encroachment on Military Bases by Urban Communities**
(Board 15)
Erika R. Chavez-Graziano, *University of Louisville*
Overview: This paper will explore encroachment on military bases. It will discuss the costs of encroachment using the Resource Capability Model, and explore how to prevent encroachment using negotiation techniques of the Coase Theorem.

Presenter **Explaining the Policy Process of Structural Reform in Denmark**
(Board 16)
Karsten Vrangbaek, *University of Copenhagen*
Ulrik Bundgaard, *City of Copenhagen, Department of Finance*
Overview: The paper analyzes the policy process of a recent structural reform affecting all parts of the Danish public sector.

Presenter **Setting the Agenda: Bureaucratic Influence in Problem Definition**
(Board 17)
Samuel G. Workman, *University of Washington*
Overview: I argue that agency agenda setting influences how Congress comes to understand, and ultimately decide, issues. Agency agenda setting influences the problem definitions that provide the parameters of choice in Congressional policy debates.

Presenter **The Role of Policy Environment in Deliberative Democracy**
(Board 18)
Ryan A. Smith, *University of Oregon*
Overview: This paper seeks to better understand policy issue conditions under which an actor that is involved or interested in a given policy will seek out deliberation and how we can determine the actual emergence of deliberation.

47-2 **WOMEN WORKING, CHILDREN LEARNING: DYNAMICS OF WORK-FAMILY POLICY**
Room Parlor J, 6th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm
Chair **Kristin A. Goss**, *Duke University*
Paper **A Tale of Two Prefectures: Regional Differences in Japanese Child Care Policy**
Priscilla Lambert, *Western Michigan University*
Overview: Why do some local governments provide more generous social policies than others? I examine regional differences in the provision of child care services in Japan to test alternative theories of social welfare.

Paper **Social Policy and Women's Employment in Comparative Perspective**
Eunju Kang, *Claremont Graduate University*
Overview: This paper explores the relationship between social policies--specifically work-family policies--and women's employment. Women's economic participation along with political participation serves as an important gauge of women's societal status. Both historical and empirical research will answer the question of why democracies have different work-family policies and accordingly various levels of government spending for such policies.

Paper **Venue Shopping, Policy Feedback, and American Preschool Policy**
Andrew Karch, *University of Texas, Austin*
Overview: Why does the United States, alone among Western nations, carry out preschool policy in a highly decentralized fashion? This paper argues that American preschool policy reflects the long-term consequences of decisions made in the early 1970s.

Paper **Early Childhood Education: Public Opinion and Policy Domains**
Rachel A. Fulcher Dawson, *Michigan State University*
Overview: I use NES data to compare and contrast public attitudes and orientations toward welfare and education - the two policy domains related to early childhood education (ECE) policy.

Disc. **Elizabeth Rigby**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Ann C. Lin, *University of Michigan*

51-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PATH DEPENDENT PERSPECTIVES OF THE AMERICAN STATE I**
Room State, 4th Floor, Table 5, Fri at 2:35 pm
Presenter **Laying Down Tracks: American State Support for Railroads**
Zachary A. Callen, *University of Chicago*
Overview: Space is a key element in state development. This essays seeks to analyze why some states undertake infrastructure projects while other states appear to ignore this central issue.

Presenter **The Historic Progressive Challenge to Founding Ideas on Article V**
Darren P. Guerra, *Vanguard University of Southern California*
Overview: This paper chronicles the historic Progressive Challenge to Founding era ideas on Constitutional amendment. The Progressives explicitly embraced a Darwinian model of an organic Constitution rejecting the Founders' implicit Newtonian model.

51-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: FEDERALISM AND AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**
Room State, 4th Floor, Table 6, Fri at 2:35 pm
Presenter **Connecticut Federalism: Roger Sherman's Political Thought and Modern Devolution**
Michael W. Hail, *Morehead State University*
Overview: This paper presents Roger Sherman's political thought on federalism at the 1787 Philadelphia Convention. A careful interpretation of Sherman's thought provides a framework for understanding modern federalism and the challenges of devolution.

Presenter **Liberal Democracy, Civic Virtue, and American Federalism**
Stephen J. Lange, *Morehead State University*
Overview: Liberal democracy requires a degree of civic virtue for its maintenance. This paper examines American Framers' thoughts on fostering good character, morality, and public spiritedness through federalism, especially existing local institutions.

51-203 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PATH DEPENDENT PERSPECTIVES OF THE AMERICAN STATE II

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 7, Fri at 2:35 pm

Presenter **"President of the United States" or "president of the United States"?: An Historical Analysis of the Evolution of the Presidency (or presidency)**

Richard J. Hardy, *Western Illinois University*

David J. Webber, *University of Missouri, Columbia*

Overview: Great confusion exists among writers concerning whether to capitalize the President (president) of the United States. Our content analysis of historical document reveals that the recent trend toward de-capitalization was led by political scientists.

51-204 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: AMERICAN LABOR'S WAR IN VIETNAM

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 8, Fri at 2:35 pm

Presenter **American Labor's War in Vietnam: The AFL-CIO, The Vietnamese Confederation of Labor, and the Vietnam War**

Edmund F. Wehrle, *Eastern Illinois University*

Overview: War has profoundly shaped the fate of U.S. organized labor several times this century—often bonding trade unions closer to the state.

53-6 RELIGION AND INTEREST GROUP BEHAVIOR

Room Burnham 4, 7th Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm

Chair **Katherine E. Stenger**, *Gustavus Adolphus College*

Paper **Explaining the Politics of Pastors**

Daniel Hofrenning, *St. Olaf College*

Overview: Clergy play an important and multidimensional political role. This paper attempts to explain the different kinds of clergy politics with particular reference to context and theology.

Paper **Agenda Setting in Small Religious Interest Groups**

Franklyn C. Niles, *John Brown University*

Paul A. Djupe, *Denison University*

Overview: We explore how agenda setting occurs within ministerial organizations (MO). Using a national survey of MO leaders, we find that issue mobilization occurs at the intersection of group structure, membership characteristics, and community context.

Paper **Is There a Protestant Left on the Ground? Grassroots Issues and Ideologies**

Laura R. Olson, *Clemson University*

Overview: This paper explores the extent to which there might be a mobilizable base in the American electorate for a "religious left" political movement. Is there a potentially unified mass base for a resurgent Protestant left? If so, how might we characterize it

Disc. **Katherine E. Stenger**, *Gustavus Adolphus College*

Daniel Hofrenning, *St. Olaf College*

55-5 TOO COOL FOR SCHOOL: NEW TECHNOLOGIES

Room PDR 7, 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm

Chair **John W. Williams**, *Principia College*

Paper **A Pocket Full of Power: Teaching and Learning With The iPod**

S. Suzan J. Harkness, *University of the District of Columbia*

Overview: This paper assesses the use of the iPod in teaching and learning in institutions of higher education.

Paper **Facebook: Classroom Tool for a Classroom Community?**

Abigaile M. VanHorn, *Purdue University*

Terri L. Towner, *Purdue University*

Overview: This study addresses the impact of web-based resources on student learning. It examines the possibilities of virtual learning communities for aiding in academic growth and assesses their plausibility and effectiveness as viable teaching tools.

Paper **My Professor has a Blog? Blogging for Teaching and Managing an Academic Department**

Mark J. Richards, *Grand Valley State University*

Overview: This paper evaluates the utility and effectiveness of commercial blogging software in three areas: course blogs for teaching, departmental blogs for promoting cocurricular and

extracurricular learning, and managing departmental public and alumni relations.

Paper **Active Learning with Technology**

Lynn D. Nelson, *Virginia Commonwealth University*

Overview: I will describe an integrated approach to using technology for facilitating active learning in both large and small classes, from live and asynchronous message board exercises to online surveys, feedback forms and collaborative learning exercises.

Disc. **Scott R. Furlong**, *University of Wisconsin, Green Bay*

Mel Cohen, *Miami University*

59-3 EMPIRICAL AND THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF SAME-SEX MARRIAGE

Room PDR 8, 3rd Floor, Fri at 2:35 pm

Chair **Rebekah L. Herrick**, *Oklahoma State University*

Paper **The Sources of Media Opinion on Same Sex Marriage**

Daniel Chomsky, *Temple University*

Scott Barclay, *SUNY, Albany*

Overview: Chomsky and Barclay (2006) found a significant correlation between local newspapers and state public opinion on lesbian and gay rights. But what affects newspaper opinion? In this paper, we seek to determine whether the media respond to local public opinion.

Paper **Belief in Human Evolution: The Missing Link in Support for Same-Sex Marriage?**

Gregory B. Lewis, *Georgia State University*

Overview: This paper tests the hypothesis that rejection of the theory of human evolution predicts disapproval of homosexuality and same-sex marriage more strongly than religion, ideology, party, education, age, race, and sex.

Paper **Litigating Within the Backlash: Same-Sex Litigation Iowa and Wisconsin**

Jason Pierceson, *University of Illinois, Springfield*

Overview: This paper examines relationship equality litigation in Iowa and Wisconsin in the context of the current backlash against such litigation. The decision of "cause lawyers" to initiate the litigation and its consequences will be explored.

Disc. **Mark E. Wojcik**, *John Marshall Law School*

Friday, April 13 –4:25 pm – 6:00 pm

1-102 ROUNDTABLE HONORING IRIS MARION YOUNG, WINNER OF THE WOMEN'S CAUCUS OUTSTANDING PROFESSIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AWARD (Co-sponsored with Political Philosophy: Approaches and Themes and Midwest Women's Caucus, see 33-102 and 57-106)

Room Parlor F, 6th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair Patchen Markell, *University of Chicago*
Panelist Melissa Williams, *University of Toronto*
 Bill McBride, *Purdue University*
 Laurel Weldon, *Purdue University*
 Isaac Balbus, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Michael Ferguson, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
 David Ingram, *Loyola University*
 Martin Matustik, *Purdue University*
 Overview: Young is the recipient of the Outstanding Professional Achievement Award from the Midwest Women's Caucus. Participants will reflect on the contributions and legacy of Young's work in philosophy, political science, feminism, and social activism.

2-9 VARIETIES OF CAPITALISM AND ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

Room Salon 1, 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair John S. Ahlquist, *University of Washington, Seattle*
Paper Institutional Incentives and Cooperative Capitalism: The Case(s) of EELGs
 Andrew M. Appleton, *Washington State University*
 Brianna K. Lawrence, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: This paper looks at the more than 1200 cases of joint ventures established under the EU rules permitting so-called European Economic Interest Groups. We demonstrate that political institutions matter in determining patterns of cooperative capitalism.

Paper Revisiting Varieties of Capitalism: Innovation and Dynamics of Capitalism
 Soo Oun Choi, *Seoul National University*
 Overview: This paper empirically examines the validity of VOC theory's claims using extended data. Specifically, this paper tests robustness of VOC theory on innovation and dynamics of capitalization to the change of countries and to the change of period covered.

Paper Does Varieties of Capitalism Explain National Patterns of Labor Relations?
 John Kelly, *University of London*
 Overview: The paper explores the value of the Varieties of Capitalism approach in explaining varieties of national labor relations systems. It argues the approach has major problems and underplays the role of the state as an agent of change.

Paper Economic Vulnerability and Industrial Relations in Developed EU Countries
 Sung Ho Park, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
 Overview: This paper explores how the interaction between industrial organizations and political party system mediates the causal linkage between economic vulnerability and industrial relations in the developed EU countries.

Disc. John S. Ahlquist, *University of Washington, Seattle*

3-8 ETHNIC CONFLICT AND COOPERATION

Room Salon 2, 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair Sunita Parikh, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Paper Punishment and Public Goods: A Field Experiment in a Divided Society
 Marcus Alexander, *Harvard University*
 Fotini Christia, *Harvard University*
 Overview: This paper uses a field n-person public goods experiment to assess the role of sanctions on fostering cooperation in ethnically diverse post conflict societies.

Paper Effects of Political Leadership on Ethnic Separatist Movements in India

Jugdep S. Chima, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: How do patterns of political leadership affect the trajectories of ethnic separatist movements? This paper tries to answer this question by comparing and contrasting several ethnic movements in India including Punjab, Kashmir, and the Northeast.

Paper Assimilation and its Alternatives: Explaining Nation-Building Policies

Harris G. Mylonas, *Yale University*
 Overview: Based on archival material on nation-building from Aegean Macedonia (early 20th century) I explore the conditions in which a core group is likely to target a non-core group with assimilationist instead of exclusionary policies.

Paper Ethnic Mobilization: the Bodos, Dimasas and Mishings in India's Northeast

Pahi Saikia, *McGill University*
 Overview: My paper will address a question related to ethnic violence, among the large set of minority ethnic groups, seeking greater political autonomy, why are some engaged in violent mobilization while others remain relatively peaceful?

Paper Measuring Development and Legitimacy in Sub-Saharan Africa

Tiffany S. Seibert, *Creighton University*
 James S. Wunsch, *Creighton University*
 Overview: This paper re-examines the Englebert thesis linking development in Africa to governance, policy, historical political institutions and ethnic congruence with the contemporary state, using new data.

Disc. Sunita Parikh, *Washington University, St. Louis*

3-19 PROPERT RIGHTS

Room Salon 4, 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair Catherine Hafer, *New York University*
Paper Democratic and Autocratic Constraints on Rulers

Anjali T. Bohlken, *New York University*
 Overview: The ability of rulers to change growth rates, for better or worse, depends on their political environment. Only longer-lasting autocrats can significantly change their countries' growth rates.

Paper Property and Political Development: Land Tenure and the African State

Catherine Boone, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: This paper argues that in many African countries, fundamentals of constitutional order are at stake in land politics: the issues center on citizenship, political authority, and the possibility of building liberal nation-states.

Paper The Politics of Property Rights and Economic Exclusion

Thomas E. Flores, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: This paper promotes our understanding of the political dimensions of development by demonstrating in great detail how the design of political institutions affects the efficiency and inclusiveness of property rights institutions.

Paper Political Expectations and Economic Performance

Maria Petrova, *Harvard University*
 Robert H. Bates, *Harvard University*
 Overview: We show that "Partial democracies" can more successfully influence expectations and promote economic growth than can full democracies or autocracies. This emphasizes the importance of good governance for economic development.

Paper Political Investments and Property Rights Enforcement in Developing Countries

Jennifer L. Tobin, *University of Oxford*
 Overview: Using surveys of investors, this paper finds a negative relationship between the use of incentives for foreign investment and the overall domestic property rights environment.

Disc. Catherine Hafer, *New York University*
 Cristina Bodea, *Michigan State University*

4-9	<u>DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS - PERSPECTIVES FROM EAST ASIA</u>	7-10	<u>TIME AND INSTITUTIONS IN EUROPE</u>
Room	PDR 4, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm	Room	Sandburg 7, 7 th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair	Youngeae Shin, <i>University of Central Oklahoma</i>	Chair	Tobias Hofmann, <i>Princeton University</i>
Paper	<u>A Recount of Illiberal Democracy: Misrepresenting Pacific Asia Ten Years On</u> Eric H. Honda, <i>Independent Researcher</i> Overview: This paper will argue that the supposed rise of illiberal democracy in Pacific Asia defies such criteria. Based on Freedom House Rankings (between 1996-2006), the subsequent foundations do not support frameworks of illiberal democracy.	Paper	<u>The Strategic Use of EU-Referendums in Great Britain and Denmark</u> Rasmus L. Nielsen, <i>University of Southern Denmark</i> Overview: The paper presents a game-theoretical framework to EU-referendums, a most-different-system-design comparative case study, and an analytical account as to why Britain and Denmark render similar observable elite-strategies of electoral vote-seeking.
Paper	<u>A Comparative Analysis of Democratization in South Korea and Taiwan</u> Chen Pao Chou, <i>Hamline University</i> John A. Grummel, <i>University of South Carolina, Upstate</i> Overview: This research applies a multidimensional utilizing both macro- and micro-level approaches as well as historical and contextual factors to examine democratization in South Korea and Taiwan.	Disc.	<u>Strategically Timing the Announcement of Referendums: The Case of the EU Constitution</u> Tobias Schulz, <i>University of Zurich</i> Overview: The underlying motivation of a referendum on the EU constitution is revealed by an examination of the timing of the referendum announcements. The results suggest that the timing is merely determined by strategic considerations.
Paper	<u>Democratization or Other? Factors of the Democratic Evaluation in East Asia</u> Fu-Yi Yang, <i>University of Oregon</i> Overview: Five East Asian countries experienced the democratic transition in 1990s. Is democracy consolidated in the region? This paper distinguishes factors relevant to democratization and examines what factors impact on the evaluation of democracy the most.		
Disc.	Jeeyang Baum, <i>University of California, San Diego</i>		
5-5	<u>THE FOUNDATIONS OF LEADERSHIP SURVIVAL</u>	8-9	<u>EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA</u>
Room	Salon 5, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm	Room	Sandburg 6, 7 th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair	Brian F. Crisp, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i>	Chair	Felipe Botero, <i>Universidad de los Andes</i>
Paper	<u>Electoral Uncertainty and the Stability of Coalition Governments</u> Daniela Iorio, <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> Overview: I develop a strategic model of government formation and termination, and structurally estimate it. The counterfactual experiments evaluate the effects of electoral uncertainty and institutional features on the stability of coalition governments.	Paper	<u>"Unite and Reign." When do Presidents Ask for Delegated Decree Authority?</u> Ana Carolina Garriga, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Juan J. Negri-Malbran, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: Why do Presidents ask for delegated decree authority (DDA) when they already have a majority in Congress that will allow their legislation to pass? This paper analyzes the presidents' incentives for asking DDA using data from Latin American countries
Paper	<u>Interrupted Presidencies in Third Wave Democracies</u> Young Hun Kim, <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Donna L. Bahry, <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Overview: 40 percent of countries with popularly elected presidents in Third Wave democracies have resigned or been removed from office before their terms ended. We examine the roots of presidential vulnerability in Third Wave democracies, 1974 through 2003.	Paper	<u>Presidentialism and Democratic Breakdown in Latin America: Too Many or Too Few Legislative Checks?</u> Mona M. Lyne, <i>University of South Carolina</i> Scott Morgenstern, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: We review evidence for divided government and gridlock as cause of democratic breakdown and find it wanting. We suggest that the problem in fact is the legislatures inability to check presidents that leads to breakdown.
Paper	<u>Semi-Presidential Systems: Separating Myth from Reality</u> Svitlana Chernykh, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: Research on semi-presidential systems argues that these systems are inherently unstable. This paper offers a new measure of cabinet duration and shows that semi-presidential cabinet life spans are not different from parliamentary ones.	Paper	<u>Colombian Presidents: Fated to Repeat the Past? Studying Uribe's Re-election</u> Patricia H. Micolta, <i>Florida International University</i> Overview: Colombian executive-legislative relations are a dynamic between reformist executives and obtrusive legislatures. Alvaro Uribe averted this trend by reforming the presidential reelection. How did he avoid being a lame-duck?
Paper	<u>Tying the Dictator's Hands: Leadership Survival in Authoritarian Regimes</u> Erica Frantz, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: I look at how the institutional structures of dictatorships affect leadership tenure rates. I analyze how differences in the nature of the elite coalition in single party, military, and personalist regimes affect the survival of the dictator.	Paper	<u>Legislative Delegation and Presidential Power: Constitutional Limits and Judicial Response in Chile and Argentina</u> Druscilla L. Scribner, <i>University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh</i> Overview: Comparative analysis of legislative delegation in Chile and Argentina over last century based on landmark decisions focused on understanding historical differences and current similarities in how the courts define the boundaries of power.
Paper	<u>Political Institutions and Executive Survival: Empirical Weaknesses and Theoretical Revisions of Selectorate Theory in the Non-Democratic Context</u> Ryan Kennedy, <i>Ohio State University</i> Andrew McKenna, Overview: Building on foundations of "selectorate theory" developed by De Mesquita, Morrow, Silverstein and Smith, this paper suggests both empirical weaknesses and theoretical revisions that are necessary in non-democratic contexts.	Paper	<u>Incentives and Consequences of Presidents' Spoils Distribution Strategies</u> Cesar Zucco, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: In this paper I present a formal model of presidential-legislative relations in multiparty systems, discuss its results, and test some of its implications using data from Brazil and Uruguay.
Disc.	Christopher Kam, <i>University of British Columbia</i> Brian F. Crisp, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i>	Disc.	Patricio Navia, <i>New York University</i>
		9-8	<u>REFORMING ASIAN EDUCATION</u>
		Room	Sandburg 5, 7 th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
		Chair	Eric C. Browne, <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i>
		Paper	<u>Academic Achievement, Government Spending and Inequality in Japan</u> Tomoaki Nomi, <i>Southeast Missouri State University</i> Overview: This study tries to discover the impacts of education spending by the government on the performance level of secondary school students in Japan.

Paper **Politics, Markets, and Higher Education Reform in Post-Mao China-Through Examining the Graduate Placement System Reform and Its Effects**
Qinghua Wang, *University of Oregon*
 Overview: I will look into the manifestations of single Party rule, the "half-right" role of the state, and the incomplete transition of China in the higher education sector through examining the graduate placement system reform and its effects on China's higher education.

Paper **The Relationship Between Perceived Curriculum of Political Ideology and National Identification: Taking Junior High School Teachers as Examples**
Su-ching Lin, *National Changhwa University of Education*
Shu-Jian Chen, *National Changhwa University of Education*
 Overview: The main purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between perceived curriculum of political ideology and national identification. 326 questionnaire respondents were social study teachers drawn from different senior high schools in central Taiwan.

Disc. **TBA**

11-3 **ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST**
Room Sandburg 4, 7th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair **Kevin E. Grisham**, *University of California, Riverside*
Paper **Democracy, Muslims, and Christians, Too: Political Preferences in Lebanon**
Daniel Corstange, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: Using original survey data, this paper compares institutional preferences between Lebanese Sunnis, Shiites, and Christians, demonstrating that attitudes toward autocratic systems follow more from political incentives than religiosity per se.

Paper **The Politics of Gender Policymaking in Jordan and Kuwait**
Nami Ishihara, *New School for Social Research*
 Overview: Why did certain gender policies become the focus of national debate in Jordan and Kuwait? The paper examines how the dynamics of contestation between the government and Islamists has set the agenda of gender policymaking since the 1980s.

Disc. **Jane Menon**, *University of Michigan*
Emile Sahliyyeh, *University of North Texas*

13-6 **GOVERNANCE IN THE POST-COMMUNIST WORLD**
Room Sandburg 2, 7th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair **Olga Bychkova**, *Ohio State University*
Paper **Corporate Governance As Political Defense Mechanism**
Stanislav Markus, *Harvard University*
 Overview: The paper explores the Westernization of governance institutions in Russian corporations. New data and theory shed light on institutional creation (and creativity) of firms in emerging markets.

Paper **Globalization, Privatization and Corporate Governance in Postsocialism**
Roger Schoenman, *University of California, Santa Cruz & Columbia University*
 Overview: This paper explores the effects of privatization, regulatory change, economic reform and external forces such as globalization on corporate governance in Poland, Romania and Bulgaria.

Paper **Business Representation in Eastern Europe: Failure of Corporatism?**
Dinissa S. Duvanova, *Ohio State University*
 Overview: In the 1990s, pluralist and corporatist models of business representation emerged in East European countries. Subsequently, many corporatist-style systems were abandoned. The paper examines factors that account for this seeming failure of corporatism.

Paper **Phoenix Demystified: The Resilience of Italian and Russian Incumbents to Accusations in Corruption**
Olesya Tkacheva, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*
 Overview: This paper studies when and why elections fail to serve as a mechanism for keeping corrupt politicians out of office in Russia and Italy. I examine reelection patterns of legislators accused by law-enforcement agencies of breaking the law and uncover the conditions when the news about corrupt behavior of the legislators have the highest impact on their constituents' willingness to recall them out of office.

Paper **Transnational Dimensions of Elite Recruitment in Postcommunist Countries**
Carol S. Leff, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: Based on a larger study of 2500 cabinet ministers in 13 post-communist countries, 1990-2005, this paper focuses on the process by which native elites acquire political credentials abroad and repatriated elites re-enter homeland politics.

Disc. **Jeffrey S. Payne**, *Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis*
Daniel J. Beers, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

14-7 **CURRENCY CRISES AND EXCHANGE RATE REGIMES**
Room Sandburg 1, 7th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair **Robert W. Walker**, *Washington University, St. Louis*
Paper **Delaying the Inevitable? A Political Economy Model of Currency Defenses and Capitulation**
Stefanie Walter, *ETH, Zurich*
Thomas D. Willett, *Claremont Graduate University*
 Overview: Time asymmetry and distributional considerations can explain why devaluations are delayed until an orderly exit from an exchange rate peg is no longer possible. The empirical results show that politics can encourage time inconsistent behavior.

Paper **Special Interests, Regime Choice, and Currency Collapse**
James J. Lim, *Centre College*
 Overview: This paper discusses how special interests and government policymakers interact in the decisionmaking processes concerning the optimal level of the exchange rate, and how these interactions may affect the timing and possibility of a currency crisis.

Paper **The Costs and Benefits of Uncertainty During Currency Crises**
Thomas Sattler, *ETH Zurich*
 Overview: I use a two-period signaling model of a speculative attack to show that uncertainty may trigger an attack that would not occur under complete information. Under very specific conditions, some uncertainty helps the government to manage crises.

Paper **Tie My Hands Up! Fiscal Decentralization and Exchange Rate Regime Choices**
Han-Pu Tung, *Harvard University*
 Overview: The paper extends the conventional view on the exchange rate regimes' disciplinary effects to incorporate the commitment problem between different levels of governments into account. The peg is a device for making no bailout policy credible.

Paper **Measurement and Models for the Political Economy of Exchange Rate Regimes**
Robert W. Walker, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: This paper considers the measurement and modeling of exchange rate regimes. I survey the host of different measures and consider the political economy implications of common modeling choices.

Disc. **David A. Singer**, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

- 15-17**
Room Salon 6, 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair Yufan Hao, *University of Macau*
Paper **A Nested Game Approach to Foreign Policy Choice: The Case of South Korea**
Jung-Yeop Woo, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
Timothy Romanowich, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
Overview: Considering the importance of cooperating with the U.S. in dealing with North Korea nuclear crisis President Roh's policy choice seems not optimal. In this study, nested game framework is employed to explain President Roh's North Korea policy.
- Paper** **Internationalizing and Pluralizing International Studies in China**
Hong Duan, *Cornell University*
Overview: This study seeks to show how different schools of thought emerged and became influential or marginalized in China's international studies in the past three decades and then attempts to explain those ideational shifts across time.
- Paper** **Arms or Talks: A Protege's Choice**
Jung-Ming Chang, *National Chung Cheng University*
Overview: Previous studies on extended deterrence have focused on attackers and defenders, but not protégés. In this article, the author attempts to find out what options will a protégé, Taiwan, choose in dealing with its potential attacker, China.
- Paper** **Iran and North Korean: Different Regime, Same Behavior**
Sirivalaya Kachathan, *Texas Tech University*
Overview: Rationalist explanations for a nuclear threat. A starting of nuclear program is a kind of bargaining process. They act as a rational actor with the expected pay-off of maintaining their regime.
- Disc.** Yufan Hao, *University of Macau*
- 16-11**
Room Salon 7, 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair Brent Strathman, *Dartmouth College*
Paper **American Power: Security Burden or Security Blessing?**
Olga Bogatyrenko, *University of California, Davis*
Overview: This paper evaluates effectiveness of contemporary U.S. security policy in light of terrorist attacks against different components of American power.
- Paper** **A Theory of Conscription: Loyalty, Threats, and Labor Markets**
Nikola Mirilovic, *University of Chicago*
Overview: The causes of conscription are a heavily regulated labor market, authoritarian regime type, and a dangerous international environment. There is no significant causal link between nationalism and conscription.
- Paper** **Democracy and Territorial Change**
Ajin Choi, *Yonsei University*
Overview: I propose to examine the impacts of democratic states on territorial change after international conflict.
- Disc.** Ariel I. Ahram, *Georgetown University*
- 17-203** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT CIVIL CONFLICT?**
Room State, 4th Floor, Table 1, Fri at 4:25 pm
Presenter **Operationalizing Civil War**
Omur Yilmaz, *University of Kansas*
Overview: This study introduces two different datasets of all civil wars that have started since 1945 and utilizes them in a survival analysis of how different factors affect the likelihood of civil war relapse once a civil war is terminated one way or another.
- Presenter** **Political Economy of Civil War**
Robert B. Packer, *University of Michigan*
Overview: Review of the literature and tests to see what arguments hold best in explaining the onset of civil war.
- 17-204** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LEADERS, LONGEVITY, AND MILITARIZED DISPUTES**
Room State, 4th Floor, Table 2, Fri at 4:25 pm
Presenter **The Effect of Aid on Regime Survival, 1960-2000**
Brian Lai, *University of Iowa*
Amanda Licht, *University of Iowa*
Overview: Does aid influence a regime's survival? This paper empirically examines two theoretical approaches: one that predicts aid should lengthen the duration of all regimes and one that predicts aid should shorten the duration of non-democratic regimes.
- Presenter** **Military Experience, Education, and Leader Behavior in Militarized Disputes**
Michael Horowitz, *Harvard University*
Overview: This paper examines how variations in the military experience and education level of leaders influences their behavior in militarized disputes once they enter office.
- 17-301** **POSTER SESSION: CONFLICT PROCESS**
Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Presenter **Alterity as a Weapon to Deconstruct Conflicts in Transitional Societies**
(Board 1)
Mulago Jean-Pierre Shamvu, *University of Calgary*
Overview: Conflicts are not innate but socially constructed, therefore if the conflictual behaviour is socially constructed, then it should be possible to deconstruct it. We are suggesting alterity as a way to achieve this deconstruction.
- Presenter** **Culture of Contention Between the Global and the Local**
(Board 2)
Ana M. Velitchkova, *Southern Illinois University*
Overview: Grassroots affiliates to global movements engage in a dynamic process of creating raisons d'être through multiple vertical and horizontal channels of communication challenging understandings of grievances, rational choice, and political opportunity.
- 18-301** **POSTER SESSION: FOREIGN POLICY**
Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Presenter **Global Security in the 21st Century**
(Board 3)
Amentahru Wahlrab, *Illinois State University*
Overview: The new global security agenda of the 21st century centers on the following: Democratization, Weapons of Mass Destruction, and Terrorism. This consensus, if found, would provide grounds for increased cooperation and a decrease in global violence.
- Presenter** **Third Party Interventions in Civil Conflicts**
(Board 4)
G. Jiyun Kim, *University of Michigan*
Overview: Based on formally derived results, I identify certain conditions that favor or disfavor third party military interventions in civil conflicts and point out the conditions where economic diplomacy.
- 19-8** **UNDERSTANDING INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE (OR THE LACK THEREOF)**
Room Clark 10, 7th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair Isabella Alcaniz, *University of Houston*
Paper **Image Dissonance: The Darfur Dilemma and US Foreign Policy**
Cosette D. Creamer, *Harvard University*
Overview: This paper examines the sources of the U.S. decision to abstain on a UN Security Council resolution referring the situation in Darfur, Sudan to the International Criminal Court as a test case for a socialization explanation of foreign policy change.

Paper **Disaggregating International Politics: Individuals and the Making of World Order**
Matthew S. Weinert, *University of Delaware*
 Overview: This paper reflects on the significant normative shift in international relations towards concern for and recognition of the individual.

Paper **Human Rights as 'Literalized Metaphor'**
Diana G. Zoelle, *Bloomsburg University*
 Overview: This paper proposes an alternative to a rights-based discourse on protection of human dignity, an alternative in which protections extend beyond narrowly defined rights to include an ethic of concern for dissimilar and unfamiliar others.

Disc. **Mark Sachleben**, *Shippensburg College*
Isabella Alcaniz, *University of Houston*

19-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: NGOS**
Room State, 4th Floor, Table 3, Fri at 4:25 pm
Presenter **INGO Interactions With Local Government in Post-Tsunami Sri Lanka**
Steven K. Overfelt, *Washington State University*
 Overview: An evaluation of the interactions between small NGO's and larger INGO's in dealing with the local government and being effective in implementing programs that improved the lives of those affected by the tsunami in Galle District, Sri Lanka.

Presenter **Collective Action Dilemma: State, NGOs and Foreign Agitators in Russia**
Aleksandra B. Chauhan, *University of South Carolina*
 Overview: The paper reassess the "top-down" argument of international normative promotion of NGOs and analyzes the relationship between the Russian state and NGOs, emphasizing the issue of reliance on foreign funding and the direct consequences of the it.

23-7 **NEGATIVE CAMPAIGNING AND THE VOTE**
Room Salon 8, 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair **Joel D. Rivlin**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Paper **The Impact of Negative Campaign Messages on Vote Choice and Participation: Results from an Experiment in Brazil**
Scott Desposato, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: This paper reports on an experiment conducted in Brazil to investigate the differential impacts of negative and positive campaigning on affect, vote choice, participation, and learning.

Paper **Consider the Source: Variations in the Effects of Attack Advertising**
Tyler Johnson, *Texas A&M University*
Johanna Dunaway, *Sam Houston State University*
 Overview: This paper determines whether the source of negative information (official campaigns, independent groups, or the media) plays a role in determining the effect of information on individual assessments of candidates.

Paper **Anti-Votes: Do Negative Candidate Evaluations Boost Youth Turnout?**
Lance M. Vandebroek, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: Young voters are often maligned as apathetic. They've been told to "Move On," they've been told to "Vote or Die," but could strong negative feelings towards presidential candidates be enough to lurch them from their stalled inertia?

Disc. **Joel D. Rivlin**, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

24-301 **POSTER SESSION: ELECTORAL CONTEXT AND ELECTORAL OUTCOMES**
Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Presenter **Federal and Provincial Election Timing in Canada, 1957-2006**
 (Board 5)
Matthew Kerby, *Trinity College, Dublin*
 Overview: The hypothesis that government leaders call early elections in anticipation of a future decline in popularity is assessed using Canadian federal and provincial data for the period 1957-2006.

25-9 **PUBLIC OPINION, REPRESENTATION AND LEGITIMACY**
Room Salon 9, 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair **Gerald C. Wright**, *Indiana University*
Paper **Electoral Strategies and Patterns of Representation**
Andrew Owen, *Princeton University*
 Overview: This paper explores the link between electoral strategy and public policy output. I assess the relative responsiveness of Canadian governing parties to the government spending preferences of their 'core supporters' and 'swing voters'.

Paper **Public Opinion and Policy Congruence: Gay Rights in the States**
Justin H. Phillips, *Columbia University*
Jeff R. Lax, *Columbia University*
 Overview: This paper uses dozens of national surveys and a statistical technique developed by Park, Gelman, and Bafumi (2004) to examine the congruence between public opinion and a number of state-level policies directly affecting gays and lesbians.

Paper **Who Represents Me? Race, Gender, Party, and Extra-Institutional Representation**
Dara Z. Strolovitch, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: I examine to whom voters look for representation, focusing on the influences of party ID, race, and gender in increasing their reliance on extra-institutional representatives such as advocacy organizations, congressional caucuses, and party leaders.

Paper **Preserving Polling for Democracy and Social Science after the 1948 Polling Debacle**
Amy Fried, *University of Maine*
 Overview: This paper examines a time when polling's legitimacy was challenged and scholars worked to preserve polling as a tool to understand the social and political world and to promote democracy.

Disc. **Brian J. Gaines**, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
Gerald C. Wright, *Indiana University*

26-9 **SOCIAL CAPITAL AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**
Room Clark 9, 7th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair **David E. Campbell**, *University of Notre Dame*
Paper **Discounting Democracy?: Wal-Mart's Impact on Social Capital in the U.S.**
David S. Brown, *University of Colorado*
 Overview: The goal of the proposed study is to understand Wal-Mart's impact on social capital. The study provides a very broad, systematic examination of how Wal-Mart influences social capital in the United States.

Paper **Voluntary Group Types and Democracy: Making the Case for Today's Translocals**
Melissa K. Miller, *Bowling Green State University*
 Overview: New data from a large survey of voluntary groups reveals differences in mobilization tactics, membership profiles and member opportunities based on group-type. Chapter-based organizations enhance democracy better than national advocacy organizations.

Paper **Litigating Alone: Judicial Participation and the Limits of Social Capital**
Matthew Holleque, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: Arguing that participation in the judicial system constitutes another form of political participation, this paper examines how social capital affects the likelihood that an individual will seek redress for justiciable grievances.

Paper **The Lingering Costs of War: Local Casualties and Political Engagement**
Douglas L. Kriner, *Boston University*
 Overview: Our analysis of NES and Social Capital Benchmark Survey data finds that respondents from communities with higher Vietnam casualty rates reported lower levels of trust in government, interest in politics, and electoral and non-electoral participation.

Disc. **David E. Campbell**, *University of Notre Dame*
Keiko Ono, *University of Oklahoma*

26-14	<u>ON THE PERIPHERY: THE PARTICIPATION OF MARGINALIZED GROUPS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE</u>	
Room	Clark 3, 7 th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm	
Chair	Steven Weldon, <i>University of South Carolina</i>	
Paper	<u>Political Disengagement Among the Young in the Mature Democracies</u> Paul Howe, <i>University of New Brunswick</i> Overview: An examination of evolving patterns of political disengagement among the young, drawing on survey data for six established democracies, and focusing on the areas of political knowledge, political interest and attention to politics in the media.	
Paper	<u>Transnationalism and Immigrant Participation in Britain, Spain and Germany</u> Laura Potter, <i>University of Michigan</i> Cara Wong, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: We investigate whether immigrants see cross-border political participation as a zero-sum process. We test transnationalism theory controlling for traditional theories of participation using survey data from immigrants in Britain, Spain and Germany.	
Paper	<u>Ethnic Minorities and Political Participation</u> Maria Elena Sandovici, <i>Lamar University</i> Ola Listhaug, <i>Norwegian University of Science and Technology and Centre for the Study of Civil War, PRIO</i> Overview: This paper compares the participation rates of ethnic and linguistic minorities to those of the majority. Rates of participation are similar for six types of action explored, but differ greatly when it comes to voting, turnout among members of minority group.	
Paper	<u>Islam and Individual Voter Turnout in Transitional Kyrgyzstan</u> Benjamin J. Darr, <i>University of Iowa</i> Vicki J. Hesli, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: Established predictors for individual voter turnout from socioeconomic and mobilization theories (derived from developed democracies) are tested in transitional Kyrgyzstan on Muslims and non-Muslims in the 2005 legislative and presidential elections.	
Disc.	Steven Weldon, <i>University of South Carolina</i> Alberto Simpser, <i>University of Chicago</i>	
27-10	<u>CHANNELS AND POWER</u>	
Room	Clark 1, 7 th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm	
Chair	Tim Vercelotti, <i>Rutgers University</i>	
Paper	<u>Swift Boats and the Flow of Communication in the 2004 Campaign</u> Glenn W. Richardson Jr., <i>Kutztown University of Pennsylvania</i> Overview: Analysis of print and electronic communications channels is used to track the volume of spreading flows of communication and the effects of such communication on the substantive content of subsequent communication during the 2004 election campaign.	
Paper	<u>Agenda Setting and Priming in High Choice Media Environments</u> Justin W. Holmes, <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: This study examines the impact of new media on priming and agenda setting. An online experiment allows the study of the role of information context and individual differences in determining exposure to political content and effects on opinion.	
Paper	<u>Latent Class Modeling: Network Preferences, Advertising Exposure, and Channel-Switching during the 2006 Midterm Elections</u> Lynn Vavreck, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Simon D. Jackman, <i>Stanford University</i> Jeffrey B. Lewis, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: We develop a latent-class-based approach to analyze media habits by using unique data collected by Integrated Media Measurement Incorporated (IMMI). Through patented cell-phone technology, IMMI stores data on all audible media.	
Paper	<u>Channel Surfing: Does Choice Reduce Videomalaise?</u> Kevin Arceneaux, <i>Temple University</i> Martin Johnson, <i>University of California, Riverside</i> Overview: We analyze experimental data that gives some subjects the option to change the channel, allowing us to investigate whether choice moderates the negative effects of incivility in political debate that previous scholars have uncovered.	
Disc.	Tim Vercelotti, <i>Rutgers University</i>	
28-6	<u>RECONSIDERING THE ROLE AND INFLUENCE OF THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT</u>	
Room	Clark 7, 7 th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm	
Chair	Sue Tolleson-Rinehart, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i>	
Paper	<u>Reconceptualizing State-Movement Connections</u> Lee Ann Banaszak, <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Overview: Using examples from the U.S. women's movement, this paper argues that social movements and the state intersect to varying degrees and develops hypotheses for how this intersection influences the tactics, development and outcomes of social movements.	
Paper	<u>A Movement Transformed: The U.S. Feminist Movement and Domestic Diversity</u> Janet K. Boles, <i>Marquette University</i> Overview: The U.S. feminist movement concentrates more resources on issues of diversity, race, and class. Coverage of these issues in Ms., 1972-2006, and the 2006 daily postings on Women's eNews is examined in terms of quantity, topic, and frame.	
Paper	<u>Evaluations of and Emotional Responses to the Women's Movement</u> Mary-Kate Lizotte, <i>SUNY, Stony Brook</i> Overview: An experiment measuring emotional responses to the women's movement uses different labels to refer to it (women's movement, women's liberation, equal rights, and feminism) with the expectation that feminism will elicit the most negative reports.	
Paper	<u>I Am Not A Feminist! How Female Media Icons Frame the Feminism Discussion</u> Christina L. Caldwell, <i>University of California, Riverside</i> Overview: What explains the fact that women who believe in social, political, and economic equality are unwilling to label themselves as feminists? I believe the answer lies, at least in part, with the fact that the female icons with whom many women identify.	
Disc.	Francis X. Shen, <i>Harvard University</i> Sue Tolleson-Rinehart, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i>	
29-8	<u>RACE AND PUBLIC POLICY IN AMERICA</u>	
Room	PDR 5, 3 rd Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm	
Chair	Terrell L. Strayhorn, <i>University of Tennessee</i>	
Paper	<u>Analysis of the Effect of a State Aid Program on Low-Income Students</u> Jesse P. Mendez, <i>Oklahoma State University</i> Overview: Analysis of the effect of a state aid program on low-income students.	
Paper	<u>The Racial Representation of Policy Variation</u> Chaun Stores, <i>West Virginia University</i> Katie Stores, <i>West Virginia University</i> Overview: This paper examines the interrelationship between politics, social diversity, and policy outcomes. We suggest that poor policy outcomes for minorities in homogeneous states are a reflection of representational politics.	
Paper	<u>Health Matters: Determinants of Health Disparities</u> Joshua G. Behr, <i>Old Dominion University</i> Overview: Documents the disparities in health status of minorities; includes spatial analysis using Geographic Information Systems (GIS); addresses implications for health-related public policy.	

Paper **Race, Class and the Policy Process: Social Groups as Actors and Objects**

Elizabeth Rigby, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Sarah Bruch, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Joe Soss, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Overview: This project tests association between states' race/ethnic and class-based social diversity and their health, welfare, and immigrant policy choices, as well as how these relationships vary under different patterns of political participation.

Paper **Social Equity Consequences of Transportation Finance Mechanisms**

Patricia L. Scholl, *University of California, Berkeley*

Overview: This paper examines the equity and efficiency of metropolitan level transit funding allocations using data on annual funding expenditures, racial composition, poverty status, ridership levels, and fare revenue, for 16 Bay Area transit operators in the San Francisco.

Disc. **Ismail K. White**, *University of Texas, Austin*

Terrell L. Strayhorn, *University of Tennessee*

29-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: RACE, CLASS, AND ETHNICITY I**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 4, Fri at 4:25 pm

Presenter **Coming in from the Cold?: Minorities in Minnesota Politics**

Janet L. Donovan, *University of Minnesota, Duluth*

Overview: This paper looks at the integration of minority groups into Minnesota politics by examining voting patterns of minority groups, patterns in electing minorities to office and minorities running in elections in the state.

29-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: RACE, CLASS, AND ETHNICITY II**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 5, Fri at 4:25 pm

Presenter **Is Racism Rational?**

Matthew T. Yanni, *West Virginia University*

Overview: In this study, I examine the conditions under which racism is rational; and whether unconscious, race-based perceptions correspond with reality.

30-4 **RHETORIC AND POLITICAL THEORY**

Room Dearborn 1, 7th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm

Chair **Arlene Saxonhouse**, *University of Michigan*

Paper **"The Decline of Rhetoric and the Rhetoric of Decline: Freedom and Speech in Tacitus' Dialogue on Orators."**

Daniel Kapust, *University of Georgia*

Overview: This paper explores Tacitus' analysis of the decline of rhetoric and his rhetoric of decline, focusing on their implications for republicanism, rhetoric, and contemporary understandings of freedom and public reason.

Paper **"Feeding the Demos: Rhetoric and Democratic Rule in Aristophanes' Knights and Plato's Gorgias."**

John T. Lombardini, III, *Georgetown University*

Overview: This paper explores the literary and theoretical connections between Aristophanes' Knights and Plato's Gorgias while examining their respective analyses of the problems political rhetoric poses for politics and especially for democracy.

Paper **Power, Persuasion and the Patrician Perspective in Machiavelli's Discourses**

John P. McCormick, *University of Chicago*

Overview: This paper argues that readers must take seriously The Discourses' audience to understand Machiavelli's positions on: the preeminence of liberty or empire for republics; the tribunate and the senate; and elections and political trials as elite accountability.

Disc. **Bryan Garsten**, *Yale University*

32-301 **POSTER SESSION: POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY: MODERN THEORISTS AND TEXTS**

Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm

Presenter **Warped Individualism: A Recognition of a Communitarian Approach to Peace**

(Board 6)

Lee M. Rademacher, *Purdue University, Calumet*

Overview: Thomas Hobbe's philosophy creates a radical subjectivity that can only be reconciled with a recognition of communitarian theory if peace or social justice is to be attained.

Presenter **Tradition and its Disavowal**

(Board 7)

Philip J. Harold, *Robert Morris University*

Overview: The article will deal with the French thinker Emmanuel Lévinas and his relation to the field of hermeneutics, and attempts to discern how much of the hermeneutic approach Levinas can accept.

Presenter **Formidilous**

(Board 8)

Collin T. Glenn, *University of Toledo*

Dan Muszynski, *University of Toledo*

Amanda Boyd, *University of Toledo*

Overview: Since 9/11 terrorism has preoccupied the world. The term has been used by both perpetrators and protectors to achieve strategic interests; so, it is necessary to understand how the epistemology of terrorism influences its perception and power.

Presenter **Intellectual Murder: Walter Rodney's Groundings in the Jamaica of the 1960's**

(Board 9)

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

Overview: A consideration of Walter Rodney's "The Groundings With My Brothers" (1969) in the context of Jamaican politics in the 1960s.

Presenter **Articulating Presences in Unsettled Places: Edward Said and Political Space**

(Board 10)

John R. LeBlanc, *University of Texas, Tyler*

Overview: Palestinian-American cultural critic Edward Said's analysis of the settling/unsettling dynamic suggests that insisting upon the articulation of all place-claims, including those which underlie contemporary claims of sovereignty.

Presenter **Frantz Fanon and the Just War Tradition**

(Board 11)

Thomas C. Ellington, *Wesleyan College*

Overview: This paper focuses on Frantz Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth to demonstrate that Fanon's theory of violence can be reconciled with the tradition of just war.

Presenter **Self-Knowledge and the Politics of Individuality in Montaigne's Essays**

(Board 12)

Benjamin W. Storey, *Furman University*

Overview: This paper presents a critical assessment of our modern politics of individuality as a framework for the search for self-knowledge by examining the treatment of self-knowledge in Montaigne's Essays.

Presenter **When and Why Did Leo Strauss Become a Straussian?**

(Board 13)

Rodrigo Chacon, *New School for Social Research*

Overview: I analyze the 'turns' in Leo Strauss' thought, focusing on his arrival in America when Strauss ceased to be a historian of ideas and became a Straussian 'political philosopher' thus reinterpreting and in effect reenacting the idea of political philosophy.

Presenter **Outside the Market: Symbolic Capital and Online Political Action**

(Board 14)

Tim Kersey, *Indiana University*

Overview: This paper uses Bourdieu's constructs of practice and symbolic capital to create an analytical framework for understanding individual and group-level political action online.

Presenter	<u>Integrated Spectacle: Original Accumulation and the War on Terror</u> (Board 15)
	James A. Buccellato , <i>Wayne State University</i> Overview: Ever evolving, the integrated spectacle emerges as a mutated form of contemporary capital. A war of images is taking place where spectacular antagonists compete over cyberspace and cable networks integrating capital and terror.
Presenter	<u>Outline for a Commitment-Based Theory of Political Obligation</u> (Board 16)
	Mara G. Marin , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: Political commitment, I argue, is a better basis for a theory of political obligation than contract.
33-7	<u>GROUP IDENTITY, SELF-DETERMINATION, AND DEMOCRACY</u>
Room	Suite 9-142, 9 th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair	Patti Tamara Lenard , <i>Harvard University</i>
Paper	<u>The Democratic Subject: A Ruse of Liberalism</u>
	David Bleeden , <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i> Overview: This paper explores the idea that the democratic subject presents a ruse within liberalism. The ruse is that while liberal theory relies upon democratic subjectivity to provide the means for the formation of group subjects which are capable of confronting.
Paper	<u>Birthright: Transforming Inheritance, Transforming Politics</u>
	Winter E. N. Brown , <i>Duke University</i> Overview: Considering "birthright" generates political theory and practices that negotiate the contentious politics between racial and ethnic minorities and majorities around understandings of community, collective identity, and political agency.
Paper	<u>A Critique of Identity as a Justification for Territorial Claims</u>
	Barton T. Edgerton , <i>London School of Economics</i> Overview: This paper critiques arguments that use concepts of identity to justify claims to particular pieces of territory.
Paper	<u>Max Weber's Nationalism: Our Responsibility Before History</u>
	Ross A. Edwards , <i>University of Minnesota, Twin Cities</i> Overview: This paper constructs a view of Max Weber's understanding of nationalism. Highlighting his ideas on generational responsibility and his nuanced historical awareness, I claim that Weber offers a complex and challenging way to think of nationalism.
Paper	<u>The Nation-State and its Competitors: Citizenship, Polity, and Sovereignty</u>
	Steven J. Wulf , <i>Lawrence University</i> Overview: Many argue that globalization demands stronger international governance and diffused conceptions of citizenship. This paper argues that confederated nation-states are the only morally authoritative political communities under current circumstances.
Disc.	Patti Tamara Lenard , <i>Harvard University</i>
33-23	<u>POLITICAL RESPONSES TO VIOLENCE AND TRAGEDY</u>
Room	Dearborn 2, 7 th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair	Thomas Albert Gilly , <i>ERCES</i>
Paper	<u>Heroism in Homer's Iliad: Violence, Mortality, and Moral Life Choices</u>
	Ari Kohen , <i>James Madison University</i> Overview: That none of us can be like Achilles or Hector and need not sympathize with them, however, does not affect our ability to learn a lesson from them. And the lesson that Homer offers, through the tragic story of Achilles, is that our lives are brief.
Paper	<u>Nihilism and the Narcissist: Freudian Aggression as Political Strategy</u>
	Jonathan McKenzie , <i>Purdue University</i> Overview: This paper provides a Freudian critique of tragic politics through an emphasis on the narcissist's gaze toward the public situation. An understanding of Freudian narcissism enhances the possibility of robust individualism in political theory.
Paper	<u>Uneasy Commemorations: Liberal Values and National Monuments</u>
	Avital Shein , <i>University of Maryland, College Park</i> Overview: The paper examines the merit of liberal nationalism and roots this discussion in the possibility of having national monuments in a liberal nation.
Disc.	Molly A. Patterson , <i>Aquinas College</i>
34-8	<u>BUREAUCRATIC OVERSIGHT INSTITUTIONS</u>
Room	Parlor H, 6 th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair	Matthew Stephenson , <i>Harvard University</i>
Paper	<u>Judicial Deference and Congressional Oversight of Agency Policy-Making</u>
	Sean Gailmard , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: I model the relationship between deference given to administrative agencies by reviewing courts and oversight of those agencies by Congress. I explore this relationship empirically with original panel measures of oversight and judicial deference.
Paper	<u>Walking the Watchdog: Congressional Use of the GAO</u>
	Anne Joseph , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Drawing on information from the GAO Documents Database for 1978-1999 and interviews conducted with GAO officials, this paper examines how members of Congress use the GAO to oversee administrative agencies
Paper	<u>Delegation and Positive-Sum Bureaucracies</u>
	Alan Wiseman , <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: I develop a model in which a legislature delegates to an agency subject to review by an executive with diverse preferences, and I show how executive clearance of rulemaking can be optimal for both the legislature and executive.
Paper	<u>Bureaucratic Decision Costs and Endogenous Agency Expertise</u>
	Matthew Stephenson , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This paper considers how oversight institutions (e.g., courts, legislatures, OMB) can affect an agency's investment in expertise by manipulating decision costs. The model highlights the trade-off between promoting expertise and reducing policy bias.
Disc.	Jacob Gersen , <i>University of Chicago</i>
37-7	<u>POLITICAL PARTY ACTIVITY IN THE STATES</u>
Room	LaSalle 2, 7 th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair	Christian A. Farrell , <i>University of Oklahoma</i>
Paper	<u>Getting Out the Vote: An Organization-Centered Approach</u>
	Kjersten R. Nelson , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: The author investigates the strategies of non-partisan organizations in voter mobilization, as compared to party-based mobilization strategies. The analysis is based on the 2006 Minnesota elections.
Paper	<u>Parties Where We Least Expect Them</u>
	Seth E. Masket , <i>University of Denver</i> Marty Cohen , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper examines how political parties can thrive in hostile environments. Examples include Wisconsin (with its open primaries), Colorado (with its leagues of unaffiliated voters), and California's 2003 recall election (which lacked primaries).
Paper	<u>The Effects of Intraparty Financial Transfers on Turnout and State Politics</u>
	Robert C. Lowry , <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i> Overview: I use data on transfers from national to state and local party committees for the 1996 through 2006 election cycles to investigate whether these transfers had effects on voter turnout, state elections and state party organizations.
Disc.	Richard M. Skinner , <i>Williams College</i>
	Christian A. Farrell , <i>University of Oklahoma</i>

38-5	<u>EXECUTIVE INFLUENCE</u>		
Room	LaSalle 1, 7 th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm	Paper	<u>Delegation to Biased Agents: Legislative Resources and Information Asymmetries</u>
Chair	Bruce E. Altschuler, <i>SUNY, Oswego</i>		Sarah J. Poggione, <i>Florida International University</i>
Paper	<u>The President's Honeymoon in Congress: An Empirical Reassessment</u>	Overview:	This paper examines the conditions under which state legislative majorities knowingly delegate policymaking authority to committees that do not reflect the preferences of the majority.
	Carlos E. Diaz-Rosillo, <i>Harvard University</i>	Disc.	J. Mark Wrighton, <i>University of New Hampshire</i>
	Jordan Teti, <i>Harvard University</i>		Burdett Loomis, <i>University of Kansas</i>
	Overview: Using extensive data from the Nixon through the Bush (43) administrations, this paper provides an empirical analysis of the President's alleged "honeymoon period" of heightened political power and greater success in Congress.	39-17	<u>PARTY PREFERENCES AND ROLL CALL VOTING</u>
Paper	<u>Happy Birthday and Other Sentiments: Touching Base as a Political Strategy</u>	Room	Sandburg 3, 7 th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
	Jennifer J. Hora, <i>Valparaiso University</i>	Chair	Steven Smith, <i>Washington University</i>
	Overview: President Nixon, not known for his persuasive adeptness, none-the-less knew the importance of touching base with Congress members. Nixon, aided by his Legislative Liaison Timmons, seems to have mastered the strategy of wishing members Happy Birthday.	Paper	<u>An Analysis of the Dimensionality of House Appropriations Roll Calls</u>
Paper	<u>Cleveland's Veto Threats Over Divided, Unified, and Split Governments</u>		Michael Crespin, <i>University of Georgia</i>
	Matthew G. Jarvis, <i>California State University, Fullerton</i>		David Rohde, <i>Duke University</i>
	Overview: The power of the veto lies in its threat, not in its use. This paper explores how the varied political environment that Grover Cleveland operated in interacted with his own history of executing on his threats.	Overview:	In this study we seek to shed light on the question of unidimensionality of voting in the House of Representatives. We analyze appropriation roll calls and find theoretically comprehensible variations in members' voting scores across jurisdictions.
Paper	<u>Lame Ducks and Legacies</u>	Paper	<u>A Reassessment of Party Voting in the U.S. Congress</u>
	Seth W. Petersen, <i>Georgetown University</i>		Richard Fleisher, <i>Fordham University</i>
	U. Jin Wong, <i>Georgetown University</i>		Jon R. Bond, <i>Texas A&M University</i>
	Overview: This paper defines "legacy goals" as the preferred policy positions of two term presidents over both terms. "Legacy" may be important to political science since it could predict presidential behavior in the second term.	Overview:	Paper examines variability in party voting in both the U.S. House and Senate for the period 1953-2004 using a measure of party votes that is not affected by the number of non-conflictual roll-calls.
Paper	<u>Executive Dominance and Legislative Capitulation: 'The Schwarzenegger Model' and His Return to Power in California</u>	Paper	<u>Majority Power in the Republican House</u>
	David L. Schecter, <i>California State University, Fresno</i>		Kevin A. Roust, <i>University of California, San Diego</i>
	Overview: This research is the second part of a larger research project begun in 2004 to evaluate the ever-changing relationship between the executive and legislative branches in California in the post-recall era.	Overview:	The Majority in the House has control over the consideration of bills and amendments, yet they regularly are rolled. In recent Congresses, most Republicans voted against the party at least occasionally, revealing many cleavages in the party.
Disc.	Samuel B. Hoff, <i>Delaware State University</i>	Paper	<u>Partisanship, Agency Loss, and Agenda Construction in Lame Duck Sessions</u>
	Dan Kenney, <i>Brandeis University</i>		Timothy P. Nokken, <i>University of Houston</i>
			Jeffery A. Jenkins, <i>Northwestern University</i>
		Overview:	We analyze roll call behavior and party cohesion across sessions to answer whether departing members make notable changes in their voting behavior and how party pressures and party leadership changes in lame duck sessions.
39-7	<u>COMMITTEE POLITICS AND PREFERENCES</u>	Disc.	Steven Smith, <i>Washington University</i>
Room	Montrose 1, 7 th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm		Joshua D. Clinton, <i>Princeton University</i>
Chair	J. Mark Wrighton, <i>University of New Hampshire</i>	40-4	<u>ADS AND MESSAGES IN CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS</u>
Paper	<u>The Politics of Appropriations Subcommittee Chair Selection</u>	Room	LaSalle 3, 7 th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
	Damon M. Cann, <i>University of Georgia</i>	Chair	Garrett Glasgow, <i>University of California, Santa Barbara</i>
	Overview: Beginning in 2002, would-be Appropriations Subcommittee Chairs were subjected to an interview process with the Republican Steering Committee. This paper analyzes the determinants of subcommittee chair selection on the House Appropriations Committee.	Paper	<u>Campaign Advertising and Credit Claiming in the 2002 House Elections</u>
Paper	<u>Moving Beyond the Mean: Estimating the Value of Committees</u>		Scott J. Basinger, <i>Stony Brook University</i>
	Kami Whitehurst, <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i>		Andrew H. Sidman, <i>SUNY, Stony Brook</i>
	Overview: I extend the Groseclose and Stewart estimator of committee values by adding recent data, new transfer options, and constituency characteristics.	Overview:	How strong is the link between distributive politics (i.e., pork) and pro-incumbent voting behavior? To what extent is the strength of this link conditional on campaigns?
Paper	<u>Modeling Seniority Violations in the House of Representatives</u>	Paper	<u>Running Against the President: Making Midterm Elections Presidential Referenda</u>
	Daniel E. Ponder, <i>Drury University</i>		James D. King, <i>University of Wyoming</i>
	Russell D. Renka, <i>Southeast Missouri State University</i>	Overview:	Midterm elections are presidential referenda in part because candidates campaign against the president. This research examines the consequences of candidates making the president and his policies the focus of the campaign at the constituency level.
	Overview: We model seniority violations in the House as a function of a vector of exogenous variables, particularly the member's "aposate" score, which is a measure of the ideological deviation away from the member's party toward the opposition party.	Paper	<u>Deciding What to Run On: Campaign Messages in Congressional Elections</u>
			Matthew Bergbower, <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i>
		Overview:	Analyzing congressional campaign advertisements during the 2000 election, I argue that political messages are formulated by a strategic calculation of district demographics and interest.

Paper	<p><u>Going Negative in a New Media Age: Congressional Campaign Websites-2002-06</u> James N. Druckman, <i>Northwestern University</i> Martin J. Kifer, <i>University of Minnesota</i> Michael Parkin, <i>Oberlin College</i> Overview: This study explains variations in congressional campaign negativity by using a unique framework to code hundreds of individual House and Senate campaign websites from 2002, 2004, and 2006.</p>	41-20	<p><u>DECISION MAKING IN STATE AND FEDERAL APPELLATE COURTS</u> Parlor E, 6th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm Room Chair Scott Comparato, <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Paper <u>State High Courts and Other Actors: Campaigns and Elections and Welfare, 1995-1997</u> Tara W. Stricko-Neubauer, <i>Kennesaw State University</i> Overview: This study explores the influence of institutional and environmental factors on judges' decisions across different areas of law in all fifty states. My findings show that judges are constrained depending upon the salience of an issue to a particular actor.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Declaring Independence from the President in the 2008 Midterm Elections</u> Stephen Purpura, <i>Harvard University</i> Kevin Esterling, <i>University of California, Riverside</i> Dustin Hillard, <i>University of Washington</i> David Lazer, <i>Harvard University</i> Michael Neblo, <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: Did vulnerable Congressional Republicans run from the President in the 2008 midterm elections? We use methodological innovation in natural language processing to collect evidence from Congressional Member Web Sites and assess the question.</p>		<p>Paper <u>State Dominance of a Circuit: An Exploration</u> Stephen L. Wasby, <i>University at Albany</i> Overview: Might dominance by one state or district in a judicial circuit affect development of the circuit's law? This paper undertakes exploration of a state's or district's relative proportion of filings, dispositions, and Supreme Court rulings.</p>
Disc.	<p>Garrett Glasgow, <i>University of California, Santa Barbara</i> Lonna Atkeson, <i>University of New Mexico</i></p>		<p>Paper <u>Ideological Effects in Published versus Unpublished Judicial Opinions</u> Denise M. Keele, <i>University of Illinois, Springfield</i> Overview: This study utilized the attitudinal model of judicial behavior to investigate differences between published and unpublished judicial opinions for district and court of appeals U.S. Forest Service land management cases initiated from 1989 to 2002.</p>
41-7	<p><u>SUPREME COURT DECISION MAKING: ATTITUDES, ARGUMENTS, AND PRECEDENT</u> Burnham 1, 7th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm Room Chair Wendy L. Martinek, <i>Binghamton University</i> Paper <u>Of Opportunities and Constraints: Decision Making on the Supreme Court</u> Richard L. Pacelle, <i>Georgia Southern University</i> Bryan W. Marshall, <i>Miami University, Oxford</i> Brett W. Curry, <i>Georgia Southern University</i> Overview: We examine whether institutional decision making on the Supreme Court varies as a function of two dimensions: constitutional vs. statutory grounds and civil rights and individual liberties v. economic cases.</p>		<p>Paper <u>The Role of Litigants and Judges in Explaining Case Dispositions in Federal District Courts</u> Christina L. Boyd, <i>Washington University</i> Overview: I assess the role of judges and litigants in determining how and why civil cases are disposed of in a way that is more comprehensive than previous work.</p>
Paper	<p><u>A Fresh Approach: How Constitutional Words Structure the Judicial Mind</u> Sean Wilson, <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Overview: This work breaks new ground by showing how a cognitive language construct can structure judicial choice. Legal language appears to both encourage and constrain the political attitudes of justices, depending upon how rigid law's nomenclature is.</p>		<p>Paper <u>Designated Justice: Effects of Senate Delay on United States Courts of Appeals' Decisions</u> Christine L. Nemacheck, <i>College of William & Mary</i> Overview: In this paper, I analyze the role of federal district court judges sitting as designated judges on federal appeals court panels. I document the degree to which this occurs in circuits where there has been substantial delay in considering judges to the bench.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Law versus Ideology: Disentangling the Effects of Ideology and Judicial Deference on Supreme Court Behavior</u> Michael Bailey, <i>Georgetown University</i> Forrest Maltzman, <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: We explore the empirical effect of legal values that justices may hold about the proper role of the court vis a vis Congress, state and local elected bodies and the Executive Branch and contrast this to attitudinal model explanations.</p>		<p>Disc. <u>Erin B. Kaheny</u>, <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Scott Comparato, <i>Southern Illinois University</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Supreme Court Oral Arguments as a Heresthetical Tool: Questions from the Bench about Jurisdiction and Justiciability</u> Timothy R. Johnson, <i>University of Minnesota</i> Ryan C. Black, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: We test whether Supreme Court justices use oral arguments to heresthetically change the outcome of cases.</p>		<p>42-12 <u>THE DYNAMICS OF STATE COURTS, STRUCTURES, AND POLICIES (Co-sponsored with Judicial Politics and State and Intergovernmental Politics, see 41-28 and 44-16)</u> Clark 5, 7th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm Room Chair James Magee, <i>University of Delaware</i> Paper <u>The Next Gay Marriage? The Battle Over Same-Sex Adoptions</u> Alison L. Gash, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: This paper compares attempts to ban gay marriage with recent efforts to limit or ban gay adoptions. The purpose of the paper is to identify the conditions that contribute to a policy's success (or failure) within specific policy venues.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Explaining the Role of Stare Decisis in Judicial Decision Making</u> Jim F. Spriggs, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Tom G. Hansford, <i>University of California, Merced</i> Overview: This paper seeks to explain the conditions under which precedent will influence judicial decision making. We build a model that defines specific circumstances under which precedent will have greater (or lesser) influence on judges' decisions.</p>		<p>Paper <u>Explaining Variance in Tort Litigation across the States</u> Jeffery Green, <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Overview: I examine patterns of tort litigation exploring specifically what factors drive the considerable variance in the concentration of litigation among the states? I find that socio-cultural structures offer a plausible explanation for this variance.</p>
Disc.	<p>Wendy L. Watson, <i>University of North Texas</i> Wendy L. Martinek, <i>Binghamton University</i></p>		<p>Paper <u>State Legislative Anticipatory Compliance with the U.S. Supreme Court</u> Jinney S. Smith, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: Findings from nationally representative surveys of state legislators and legislative and executive branch attorneys suggest the routine and widespread practice in state legislatures of anticipatory federal constitutional compliance.</p>
			<p>Disc. <u>Michael R. Fine</u>, <i>University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire</i></p>

44-13 THE POLITICS OF STATE POLICYMAKING (Co-sponsored with Public Policy, see 46-19)
Room Parlor C, 6th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair Lilliard E. Richardson, *University of Missouri*
Paper Scandals, Symbols, and Substance: The Politics of Child Welfare Policy
Juliet F. Gainsborough, *Bentley College*
Overview: Analyzes the effect of scandals and lawsuits on child welfare policy making in the states and considers the way in which state context may mediate the effect.

Paper Tar and Taxes: Investigating State Allocations of Tobacco Settlement Funds
Rumman Chowdhury, *Columbia University*
Overview: This study examines various partisan, institutional, and economic variables and their impact on tobacco settlement allocations towards anti-smoking programs. The study provides some insight into the influences on state budgeting.

Paper Sexual Segregation in the U.S. and the Attainment of Full Liberal Democracy
Richard Ledet, *University of Notre Dame*
Overview: I address the role the state plays in helping minority groups achieve equal treatment through the legal recognition of rights by placing same-sex marriages within the literature on federalism and political tolerance.

Paper Decisions to Adopt: The Case of the States and Minimum Wage Laws
Eric A. Whitaker, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*
Mitchel Herian, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*
Overview: In this paper, we use event history analysis to consider the broader political environment within states in an effort to uncover the relationship between politics and economics in the context of minimum wage debates.

Paper HIV/AIDS Policy in American States: The Case of Syringe Exchange Programs
Juhem Navarro, *University of Connecticut*
Overview: Syringe Exchange Programs (SEPs) have been a controversial policy in many American cities and metropolitan areas. This paper attempts to fill a gap in the SEP literature by analyzing SEP policy in state legislatures.

Disc. Lilliard E. Richardson, *University of Missouri*
James A. Newman, *Idaho State University*

45-14 ISSUES IN URBAN ADMINISTRATION
Room Burnham 4, 7th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair Theresa L. Johnson, *University of Wisconsin, Green Bay*
Paper Yucca Mountain's Bottom Line: The Cost of Increased Public Safety Services
Sheila Conway, *Urban Environmental Research*
Irene Navis, *Clark County Comprehensive Planning: Nuclear Waste Division*
Amanda Dean, *Urban Environmental Research*
Alvin Mushkatel, *Urban Environmental Research*
Overview: This paper presents a thorough study of the costs of the transportation of nuclear waste shipments to Yucca Mountain to local public safety and first responding agencies to prepare for a potential radiological incident or accident.

Paper An Urban Ecology of Nonprofit Movement
Sue E. Crawford, *Creighton University*
Joshua Potter, *Creighton University*
Heather Bloom, *University of Nebraska, Omaha*
Overview: This study examines the movement of nonprofit organizations in Omaha, Nebraska in light of urban ecology theories.

Paper Increasing School Choice: Value and Implications
Sinan Sarpca, *Koc University*
Kuzey Yilmaz, *Koc University*
Overview: An analysis of the combined "residential decision making and educational choice" problem of a city's residents when education is also provided privately.

Paper Devolution in Ohio's Welfare System
Barry L. Tadlock, *Ohio University*
Overview: Ohio Works First promised county flexibility in welfare. Now evidence exists that can be used to assess

devolution. This paper reports on county-level differences with respect to urban influence, county government modernization, and population loss.

Disc. Theresa L. Johnson, *University of Wisconsin, Green Bay*

46-13 TAXING AND SPENDING DYNAMICS

Room PDR 6, 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair Donna T. McCarthy, *National Institute of Governmental Purchasing, Inc.*

Paper Federal Spending in Rich and Poor Counties
Barry S. Rundquist, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
Greg Holyk, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
Overview: Recent research suggests that aggregate federal spending, although mildly redistributive among American states, tends to favor wealthier counties within states. This paper examines several explanations of this paradox of federal spending.

Paper Agenda Setting and Government Growth
Samuel G. Workman, *University of Washington*
Overview: I argue that government growth is a response to uncertainty in the policy environment. I use time series techniques to demonstrate that the size of the government adjusts to the amount of uncertainty facing Congress and the President over time.

Paper Socially Responsible Expenditure of Public Funds at State and Local Levels
Donna T. McCarthy, *National Institute of Governmental Purchasing, Inc.*
Overview: As government increasingly is called on to be "run like a business", can the public sector be judged for its socially responsible activities in the same manner we expect of the private sector with regard to leveraging the power of the purse?

Disc. Kevin Corder, *Western Michigan University*
Michael J. New, *University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa*

48-4 POLITICAL ECONOMY OF REGULATION

Room Montrose 7, 7th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair Andrew B. Whitford, *University of Georgia*
Paper Geography and Policy: How the Changing Location of Interests Altered IP

Jesse T. Richman, *Old Dominion University*
William Keech, *Carnegie Mellon University*
Overview: To understand the transformation of U.S. patent policy that took place in the 1980s and 1990s, we explore the geographic distribution of patenting activity, and the consequent distribution of members with pro-patent district interests in Congress.

Paper The Common Law and the Reduction of Regulatory Uncertainty
Andrew B. Whitford, *University of Georgia*
Karen Wong, *University of Georgia*
Overview: This essay quantitatively investigates the reduction of regulatory uncertainty in the case of international tax regimes.

Paper Electoral Accountability and Consumer Monopsonists
Dino Falaschetti, *Montana State University*
Overview: Consumers can pressure regulators in a manner that diminishes economic performance. Evidence of this effect from the U.S. telecommunications sector is difficult to rationalize with alternative explanations or as an artifact of endogeneity bias.

Disc. Sebastian M. Saiegh, *University of California, San Diego*

49-4 UNANTICIPATED EFFECTS IN ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

Room Suite 9-128, 9th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair John T. Scholz, *Florida State University*
Paper Underexamined Impacts of the Watershed Environmental Laws of the 1970s

Frank T. Manheim, *George Mason University*
Gregory Fuhs, *George Mason University*
Overview: The 1970s environmental laws created revolutionary changes in federal legislative practice as well as in regulatory policy. We review the circumstances leading up to the 1970s developments, the nature of the changes in policy, and their consequences.

Paper	<p><u>Does Environmental Policy Design and Affect Implementation?</u> Chris Koski, <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: This paper investigates the affects of policy design attributes on implementation efforts. I use policy design characteristics as explanatory factors accounting for variation in implementation, controlling for existing theoretical explanations.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Trust in Politics and Administration: Reconciling the Differences</u> Enamul Choudhury, <i>Miami University</i> Overview: Drawing upon the research in public opinion and public administration, the paper discusses how the evidence and arguments on trust and distrust complement one another in democratic governance.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Regulatory Enforcement in Border Counties: Do States Free Ride?</u> David M. Konisky, <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Neal D. Woods, <i>University of South Carolina</i> Overview: We test the hypothesis that state regulatory enforcement effort is less vigorous in border counties than in non-border counties through time-series, cross-sectional analysis of Clean Air Act enforcement actions from the period of 1985-2000.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Why People Do Not Trust Ambitious Bureaucrats</u> Christopher W. Larimer, <i>University of Northern Iowa</i> Rebecca J. Hannagan, <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: Do the personal traits of bureaucrats matter? This paper uses two laboratory experiments to test how people react to ambitious decision makers. We find that people tend to equate ambition for authority with self-interested and unfair behavior.</p>
Disc.	<p>Warren S Eller, <i>Texas A&M University</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Customer Relationship Management (CRM) Systems and Local Government Management</u> Lydia A. Murray, <i>City of Chicago</i> Shayne Kavanagh, <i>Government Finance Officers Association</i> Overview: Implementation of CRM is a growing trend in local government as a way to improve service delivery and performance mangement. This paper examines lessons learned from early adapters of this approach: Chicago (US), Westminster (UK) and Southwark Council (UK).</p>
50-3	<p><u>REPRESENTATIVE BUREAUCRACY: GENDER AND ORGANIZATION</u></p>	Disc.	<p>Thomas A. Bryer, <i>University of Southern California</i> Kaifeng Yang, <i>Florida State University</i></p>
Room	<p>PDR 7, 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm</p>	51-7	<p><u>DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESSES: INSTITUTIONAL AND TEMPORAL DIMENSIONS</u></p>
Chair	<p>David Pitts, <i>Georgia State University</i></p>	Room	<p>PDR 8, 3rd Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm</p>
Paper	<p><u>Occupational Segregation and Employment of Women by Federal Agencies</u> Gregory B. Lewis, <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: This paper examines the effect of changes in the sexual segregation of occupations on changes in the employment and status of women in federal agencies.</p>	Chair	<p>Robert Mickey, <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Determinants of Diversity in the Federal Government</u> Sungjoo Choi, <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: The present study explores what determines variation in the workforce diversity of federal agencies, using the sample drawn from 291 federal agencies.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Policy Feedback and Regime Change</u> Petra Hejnova, <i>Syracuse University</i> Overview: This paper explores the ways through which state policies developed and implemented under one political regime continue to affect citizens' participation in public life after a regime transformation.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Relative Influence of Race and Gender: Descriptive Representation and Perceptions of School Discipline</u> Lael R. Keiser, <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Don P. Haider-Markel, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: Using survey data, we examine how the race and sex of administrators, street level bureaucrats and clients influences policy outputs and perceptions of organizational effectiveness.</p>	Paper	<p><u>All But Forgotten: Thomas Jefferson as an Administrative Creator</u> Stephanie P. Newbold, <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i> Overview: Thomas Jefferson's role in establishing the University of Virginia refutes the notion that he did not have an administrative mind or was interested in the daily operations of government. Such efforts, instead, point to his abilities as an administrator.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Return on Human Capital Investment: What Every Mentor's Protege Should Know</u> Bonnie G. Mani, <i>East Carolina University</i> Overview: An analysis of federal government expenditures for human resource development, with an emphasis on the career development of women in the public service.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Property Qualifications, Political Parties, and American Democratization</u> Justin A. Moeller, <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: This paper examines the roll of economic development, class and social conflict, and political parties in the removal of property qualifications for voting in the United States.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Executive Pay Comparisons: Women and Minorities in Government and Nonprofits</u> Bethany G. Sneed, <i>Eastern Michigan University</i> Overview: We examine public and nonprofit agencies regarding the salary of women and minorities in executive level positions to determine and compare the earning potential at the various governmental levels and in nonprofit organizations.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Precursor to the Civil Rights Movement: African-Americans at Home and Abroad in World War II</u> Robert P. Saldin, <i>University of Virginia</i> Overview: Major U.S. wars ultimately enhance democracy because marginalized minority groups (including women in World War I and African-Americans in World War II and Korea) participate in the war effort and then reap the benefits of greater inclusion in society.</p>
Disc.	<p>David Pitts, <i>Georgia State University</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Democratic and Authoritarian Stabilization in the Post-WWI Successor States</u> Elisa M. Tarnaala, <i>Universidad de Bogota JTL, The New School for Social Research</i> Overview: This paper examines how inclusion and exclusion, repression and tolerance between governments and the radical Left and Right oppositions were essential mechanisms relevant to democratization in interwar Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland and Hungary</p>
50-7	<p><u>PUBLIC TRUST AND BUREAUCRACY</u></p>	Disc.	<p>Stephen G. Bragaw, <i>Sweet Briar College</i> Zachary A. Callen, <i>University of Chicago</i></p>
Room	<p>Suite 9-250, 9th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm</p>		
Chair	<p>Kaifeng Yang, <i>Florida State University</i></p>		
Paper	<p><u>Citizen Attitudes of Government Administrators as Public Stewards</u> David J. Houston, <i>University of Tennessee</i> Lauren Harding, <i>University of Tennessee</i> Abe Whaley, <i>University of Tennessee</i> Overview: What attitudes are held about public administrators as public stewards and what explains these attitudes? GSS data are used to examine perceptions about government administrators' commitment to serving the public and involvement in corruption.</p>		

52-101 ROUNDTABLE: THE WAR WOMB: INTERDISCIPLINARY FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES ON THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION

Room Red Lacquer, 4th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Panelist **Alison D. Dagnes**, *Shippensburg University*
Dawn M. Vernooy-Epp, *Shippensburg University*
Kara A. Laskowski, *Shippensburg University*
Cynthia A. Botteron, *Shippensburg University*
 Overview: The Bush Administration's attitudes towards and actions affecting women span the gamut of policy initiatives. In this roundtable discussion, scholars from the fields of Political Science, Human Communication, and English will examine the impact of the Bush Administration.

53-13 RELIGION AND POLITICS IN ASIA
Room Montrose 2, 7th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair **Runa Das**, *University of Minnesota, Duluth*
Paper **The Red Flag and the Ring: Dances Surrounding Sino-Vatican Ties**

Laura M. Luehrmann, *Wright State University*
 Overview: This research employs historical institutional analysis to explore the absence of formal diplomatic relations between Beijing and the Holy See.
Paper **An Ungodly China under Civil Religion**
Xiaheng Xie, *Baylor University*
 Overview: This paper applies civil religion to China and argues it will benefit in cultivation of nationalism and patriotism. It also discusses the possible social effects and influences on other existing belief systems of the quasi-establishment of Buddhism.
Disc. **Runa Das**, *University of Minnesota, Duluth*

57-104 ROUNDTABLE: NAVIGATING PROFESSIONAL SERVICE: WHEN TO SAY "YES" AND HOW TO SAY "NO"

Room Monroe, 6th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair **Karen Kaufmann**, *University of Maryland*
Panelist **Elsa Chen**, *Santa Clara University*
Georgia Duerst-Lahti, *Beloit College*
Claudine Gay, *Harvard University*
Laurie Rhodebeck, *University of Louisville*
 Overview: This roundtable will discuss the various service demands often placed on faculty, especially women and scholars of color, and provide feedback on the relative benefits and/or disadvantages associated with different kinds of professional service.

58-3 KNOWLEDGE AND IGNORANCE IN CLASSICAL POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY (Co-sponsored with Foundations of Political Theory: Ancient, see 30-9)

Room Parlor B, 6th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair **Bernard J. Dobski**, *Assumption College*
Paper **Farabi's Adaptation of Platonic Political Thought and Ghazali's Response**
Robert A. L'Arrivee, *Notre Dame University*
 Overview: Farabi, adapting Plato's political thought, argued that prophetic knowledges subordinate to intellect and hence can be criticized by it. Ghazali, attempting to prevent the corruption of Islam, argued that prophetic knowledge supersedes intellect.
Paper **Socratic Ignorance: A Moment of Conversion to the Philosophic Way of Life**
Elizabeth A. L'Arrivee, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: Socratic ignorance is not merely a knowledge claim of the "early" Plato. Rather, Socratic ignorance is an initial moment in the conversion from the political to the philosophic way of life, which requires political philosophy for its completion.
Paper **Self-Knowledge in Plato's Charmides**
Lucas B. Allen, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: In this paper I outline the discussion of sophrosyne in Plato's Charmides and explain the implications of the identification of sophrosyne as self-knowledge.
Disc. **Bernard J. Dobski**, *Assumption College*
Xavier Marquez, *University of Notre Dame*

60-2 WHO LEADS?

Room Parlor J, 6th Floor, Fri at 4:25 pm
Chair **Scott T. Nissen**, *Indiana University*
Paper **Policy Entrepreneurs and Policy Change: What Qualifies as Significant Change?**
Tera McCown, *University of Charleston*
 Overview: Examining policy entrepreneurs' strategies can enhance our understanding of how policy changes occur in the policy making process. Defining what qualifies as significant policy change and strategies used to pursue these preferences are contemplated.
Paper **Minority Leadership and Workplace Diversity in State Government: Does Minority Leadership Afford Equal Employment Opportunity?**
Sara J. Reed, *Northern Illinois University*
Lina M. Rombalsky, *Northern Illinois University*
 Overview: This paper examines the relationship between the representation of minority leaders and workplace diversity in state government. The association between state minority populations and the number of minorities working for state governments is also explored.
Paper **Management and Leadership Performance in the Defense Department: Evidence from Surveys of Federal Employees**
Paul S. Oh, *Princeton University*
David E. Lewis, *Princeton University*
 Overview: In this paper we use data from the Federal Human Capital Survey to evaluate comparative leadership and management performance among executives in the military bureaucracy.
Disc. **Scott T. Nissen**, *Indiana University*

Saturday, April 14 – 8:00 am – 9:35 am

1-110 ROUNDTABLE: A MATTER OF FAITH? THE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE OF RELIGION IN U.S. POLITICS (Co-sponsored with Politics and Religion, see 53-101)

Room Red Lacquer, 4th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair David Campbell, *University of Notre Dame*

Panelist Larry Bartels, *Princeton University*
 Byron Shafer, *University of Wisconsin*
 Corwin Smidt, *Calvin College*
 Eric Uslander, *University of Maryland*

Overview: This roundtable features scholars of differing perspectives on the role religion does, and does not, play in contemporary American politics.

2-13 THE POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION, CITIZENSHIP AND IDENTITY

Room Salon 1, 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair Markus Crepaz, *University of Georgia*

Voters and the Extreme Right in Western Europe: Economics or Identity?

Deniz Aksoy, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: This paper examines the impact of increasing immigration and worsening economic conditions on the development of anti-immigrant attitudes in Western Europe and the electoral success of extreme right parties.

What Motivates Immigrant Assimilation? How Select Individuals Respond

Louise A. Hendrickson, *University of California, Riverside*
 Overview: What causes people to assimilate and become naturalized in a host country. Two groups will be compared; immigrants from India and Russia. The analysis of involvement and assimilation will be in four countries, the U.S., Canada, Ireland, and England.

Citizenship and the Anti-immigrant Vote in Western Europe: Institutional and Cultural Dimensions

Barbara S. Kinsey, *University of Central Florida*
Juan Gabriel Gomez-Albarello, *Illinois Wesleyan University*
 Overview: We examine the effects of two dimensions of citizenship, institutional and cultural, on the anti-immigrant vote across Western European countries over time.

The Emerging Politics of Identity in France and Belgium

Lawrence C. Mayer, *Texas Tech University*
Alan T. Arwine, *Texas Tech University*
 Overview: We conceptualize and analyze the causes of an emerging politics of identity as distinct from the classic right and supplanting the politics of interests using data from France and Belgium.

Moving From Preferences to Politics of Immigration Reform

Mariana Medina, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: In this paper I analyze what determines congressional votes on immigration in the U.S. using roll call votes, census data on the composition of the regions, and measures of regional dependence on trade.

Disc. Markus Crepaz, *University of Georgia*

3-9 ETHNIC PARTIES

Room Salon 2, 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair Donna Lee Van Cott, *Tulane University*

Indigenous Identity as a Political Product in Latin America

Daniel E. Moreno, *Vanderbilt University*
 Overview: As a social construct, ethnic identity can derive from political processes and is not necessarily a political prior. This paper focuses on the political factors that are related to indigenous self-identification in Latin American countries.

State, Religion and Gender in India

Chandra Y. Mudaliar, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: The interaction between the state as political authority, and religion and society has been longstanding, if varied. The paper examines the nature and role of the secular state, and how it has shaped the secular policy and gender in India.

Paper Politics, Institutions and Ethnic Voting in Plural Democracies

Kunle P. Owolabi, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: This paper examines a variety of structural, institutional and contingency hypotheses in order to explain variations in the prevalence of ethnic voting in three plural democracies: Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Mauritius.

Paper When Does Ethnicity Structure Party Systems? Explaining Ethnic Politics across India's States

Adam Ziegfeld, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
 Overview: This paper argues that ethnic groups' size and relative position in the social hierarchy determine the extent to which ethnicity structures party competition. Empirically, it focuses on state-level party systems in India.

Disc. Donna Lee Van Cott, *Tulane University*

4-10 NEW COMPARATIVE THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO DEMOCRATIZATION

Room PDR 4, 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair Monica Dorhoi, *The World Bank*

Demography and Democracy: Falling Fertility and Increasing Democracy

John A. Doces, *University of Southern California*
 Overview: This paper studies the role of fertility as a determinant of democracy. Following the literature in demography, strong support is found for falling fertility rates as a determinant of increased future levels of democracy.

A Modernization Theory: Development, Inequality and Democratic Transitions

Daniel C. O'Neill, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: Expanding on Boix's theory, I argue that there is no clear relationship between income equality and economic growth, and that the effect of income equality on the likelihood of democratic transition varies with income levels.

The Political Economy of Language Regime Change: Lessons from South Africa

Eric S. McLaughlin, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*
 Overview: This paper examines how language regimes change – or fail to change – in new democracies. I use field data from South Africa to test a model of language regime change with important implications for democratic transitions in diverse societies.

Endogenizing the Exogenous as a Means to Explain Democratic Breakdown

Peter A. Ferguson, *University of Western Ontario*
 Overview: An endogenous theory of democratic breakdown is introduced that re-connects structure through actor preferences arguing that breakdowns occur when cases fall into a risk zone, not just as exogenous conditions but rather as endogenous to actor choice.

Disc. Gabriel Negretto, *CIDE*

5-101 AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: LUIS MEDINA'S "UNIFIED THEORY OF COLLECTIVE ACTION AND SOCIAL CHANGE"

Room Parlor F, 6th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Panelist Luis F. Medina, *University of Virginia*
 Rick K. Wilson, *Rice University*
 Rod Kiewiet, *California Institute of Technology*
 Katri K. Sieberg, *Binghamton University*
 Overview: Author meets critics roundtable.

6-5 PERSONALITY, PATRIOTISM, AND NEO-CONSERVATISM

Room Sandburg 7, 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair Kathleen Dowley, *SUNY, New Paltz*
Paper The Administrations of Fear: A Comparative Analysis Between the Administrations of Saddam Hussein and George W. Bush

Alexander R. Dawoody, *University of Texas, Brownsville*
 Overview: This paper is a comparative analysis of similarities and differences between the administration of former Iraqi President

	Saddam Hussein, and that of United States President George W. Bush.		
Paper	<u>A Study of the Relationship Between Follower's Personality and Leadership Ratings of George W. Bush</u> Charles R. Salter, <i>Schreiner University</i> Overview: This research was designed to link traits from the 5-factor model of personality (the Big 5) by utilizing the International Personality Item Pool (IPIP), to a followers' perception of the leadership style of George W. Bush, based on Bass & Avolio.	Paper	<u>Convergence or Divergence: Institutional and Policy Change in the Dominican Social Sector</u> Ken E. Mitchell, <i>Monmouth University</i> Overview: This paper discusses institutional and policy changes in the Dominican Republic. It focuses on data from the social sector and tries to test whether a convergence or a divergence approach to institutional change is most appropriate.
Paper	<u>Are Patriots Really More Patriotic than their Anti-patriotic Rivals?</u> Eyal Lewin, <i>University of Haifa, Israel</i> Overview: The analyses of interviews with soldiers and combat veterans as well as the testimonies of pacifists and peace activists enables us to study what patriotism is all about.	Paper	<u>Institutions and Ideas: Explaining Political Change in Latin America</u> Pedro J. Sanoja, <i>Temple University</i> Overview: In this paper I build on the literature on ideas and the limits of institutions in explanatory accounts of change. I focus on Venezuela and use this case to develop an analytic framework that I apply to three other Latin American cases.
Paper	<u>An Esoteric Social Movement: The Case of Neoconservatism</u> Caleb T. Goltz, <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: Handling Neoconservatism as a unique social movement, I argue that an historical approach has greater explanatory power than behaviorist methods in analyzing covert strategies for manipulating the hegemony of cloudy, discourse-paralyzing language.	Paper	<u>Electoral Systems in Latin America: The Adoption of PR Systems During the 20th Century</u> Laura Wills-Otero, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: What political conditions explain a country's movement from a restrictive majoritarian electoral system to one that encourages competition among different political parties, i.e., a proportional representation (PR) system?
Disc.	Kathleen M. Dowley, <i>SUNY, New Paltz</i>	Disc.	Melissa Scheier, <i>Georgetown College</i>
7-11	<u>THE EU CONSTITUTION AND ITS AFTERMATH</u>	9-9	<u>STUDYING SOCIAL-CAPITAL IN ASIA</u>
Room	Sandburg 6, 7 th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am	Room	Sandburg 4, 7 th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair	Hartmut Lenz, <i>Oxford University</i>	Chair	Toru Oga, <i>Ibaraki University</i>
Paper	<u>The Importance of Actor Cleavages in Negotiating the European Constitution</u> Madeleine O. Hosli, <i>Leiden University</i> Christine Arnold, <i>Universiteit Maastricht</i> Overview: This paper aims to explore government preferences, cleavages and patterns of coalition-formation among a variety of actors in the bargaining process on the European Constitution, across the range of the current twenty-five European Union (EU) member states.	Paper	<u>Not Just a Western Phenomenon? Testing the Impact of Social Capital in Asia</u> Willy Jou, <i>University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: Studies on the impact of social capital on the quality of democracy have mostly focused on western societies. Using survey data, this paper seeks to assess the impact of interpersonal trust and voluntary participation on democratic values in Asia.
Paper	<u>Analyzing Member States' Integration Preference Since Amsterdam</u> Daniel Finke, <i>German University of Administrative Science</i> Overview: European Integration reveals two conflicts: I. The distribution of power among member states. II. The distribution of power between the domestic and the European level. The empirical test combines three unique data sets in one item response model.	Paper	<u>"The Developmental State in Retreat": Comparative Civil Society Study in East Asia</u> Lichao He, <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: The paper conducts a comparative study on the boom of the NGO sectors in three major East Asian countries: China, Japan and South Korea. It argues that civil societies in East Asia develops as a result of the restructuring of the developmentalist state.
Paper	<u>The Dutch No to the EU Constitution: Issue Voting, Proxies and the Campaign</u> Andreas Schuck, <i>University of Amsterdam</i> Overview: This multi-method study investigates vote choice in the Dutch EU Constitution referendum. Alternative explanations for a No vote are tested and the impact of the campaign on final vote choice is assessed.	Paper	<u>The Effect of Civic Associationalism on Democratic Attitudes Among the Korean Mass Public</u> Rollin F. Tusalem, <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Doh C. Shin, <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Overview: Our paper analyzes the sources of civic associationalism among the Korean public using survey data. Our findings indicate that traditional forms of civic membership enhance feelings of interpersonal trust and tolerance for outside political groups.
Paper	<u>European Constitution and European Identity</u> Ana P. Tostes, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: This paper analyze why the identity matters in the European Union and the relationship between the crisis of the Constitution and the other old crisis.	Disc.	Toru Oga, <i>Ibaraki University</i>
Disc.	Rasmus L. Nielsen, <i>University of Southern Denmark</i>	13-11	<u>INSTITUTIONS AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES</u>
8-11	<u>INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA</u>	Room	Parlor H, 6 th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Room	Sandburg 5, 7 th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am	Chair	Sarah E. Wilson, <i>Ohio State University</i>
Chair	Laura Wills-Otero, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i>	Paper	<u>Measuring Judicial Performance in Former Communist Countries of Eastern Europe</u> Joseph L. Staats, <i>Valdosta State University</i> Marc G. Pufong, <i>Valdosta State University</i> Overview: This paper discusses the measurement of judicial performance in ten former Communist countries of Eastern Europe for 1996-97 and 2006-07 using results obtained from a survey administered by the authors to panels of legal experts in each such country.
Paper	<u>Economic Growth and Institutions: The Influence of External Actors</u> David Arellano Gault, <i>Teaching and Research in the Social Sciences (CIDE)</i> Walter Lepore, Overview: This paper incorporates a relevant variable into the analysis of the relationship between democracy and economic growth in Latin America: power relationships between dominant local groups and the economic and political elites of developed countries.	Paper	<u>Changing the Rules: The Two Electoral Transitions in Russia</u> Igor Logvinenko, <i>Villanova University</i> Overview: What motivates political actors to change the rules of the game they are already winning? Recent drastic modification of the electoral rules in Russia is a case of institutions limiting actors even when competition is restricted.

Paper	<u>Is Federalism Dead in Russia, and Does It Matter?</u> Heather L. Tafel , <i>Grand Valley State University</i> Overview: This paper assesses the arguments concerning Putin's overhaul of Russian federalism on the basis of their conceptual, causal, and comparative foundations.				trade agreements by analyzing worldwide PTA data between 1950 and 1992 with a logit model.
Paper	<u>Partisanship without Elections: Russia's Governors and United Russia</u> Brandon M. Wilkenning , <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: The 2004 decision to discontinue gubernatorial elections in Russia led to a wave of governors joining the pro-presidential party "United Russia." This paper examines these development and its implication for the future trajectory of Russia's party system.			Paper	<u>Transnational Linkages: Turkish Civil Society 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.
Disc.	Tatiana P. Rizova , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i>			Disc.	Turan Kayaoglu , <i>University of Washington, Tacoma</i>
14-8	<u>POLITICS OF FOREIGN AID</u>			16-12	<u>PREEMPTION, PREVENTION, AND THIRD-PARTY INTERVENTIONS</u>
Room	Sandburg 2, 7 th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am			Room	Salon 6, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair	Shahdad Naghshpour , <i>University of Southern Mississippi</i>			Chair	Unislawa M. Wszolek , <i>Ohio State University</i>
Paper	<u>Foreign Aid and Government Stability</u> Elena V. McLean , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper develops and empirically evaluates the argument that donors may use aid cuts as a form of pressure to extract policy concessions from recipient governments or as a punishment, thereby undermining the stability of the recipient governments.			Paper	<u>The Practice of Pre-emptive and Preventive Wars: What is the Custom?</u> Dan Lindley , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: Debates about the legality of pre-emptive and preventive wars became urgent after 9/11. I use the COW and MID databases to find that states engage in pre-emptive and preventive wars 29% of the time, with revisionist wars comprising the rest.
Paper	<u>Ties That Bind: Explaining U.S. Foreign Aid Decisions</u> Steven R. Hall , <i>Ball State University</i> Overview: Despite the potential for addressing world poverty and resulting conflict with the close to eighty billion dollars developed countries devote to foreign aid each year, politicization of the allocation process hampers aid's effectiveness.			Paper	<u>Preventive War Impulses and Outside Support for Secession</u> Chad Rector , <i>George Washington University</i> Overview: Outsiders contemplating aiding a secession movement in a rival state will base their decision on the likely post-secession relations between the newly independent and rump states. Evidence from the British Empire demonstrates.
Paper	<u>Language Bias and Foreign Aid Allocation</u> Bonfas K. Oduor-Owinga , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Overview: Robust evidence shows that other considerations rather than real need of the recipient countries, determines foreign aid allocation. I develop a model that shows that language of recipient country determines the amount of aid received.			Paper	<u>External Military Intervention in Civil Wars: A Quantitative Study of the Initiation and Escalation of Third-Party State Interventions</u> Jordan M. Miller , <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: Since the end of the Cold War, civil wars and the involvement of third-party states in civil wars have received increasing attention from scholars of international relations. This paper offers and quantitatively tests hypotheses concerning the initiation.
Paper	<u>If You Build it, Will They Come?: Foreign Aid and Foreign Direct Investment</u> Richard A. Nielsen , <i>Brigham Young University</i> Steve Kapfer , <i>Brigham Young University</i> Overview: Using a newly developed aid dataset, we test for a relationship between development aid aimed at sectors of physical capital (communication, transportation, and energy) and show how these types of aid attract foreign direct investment.			Disc.	Ribhi I. Salhi , <i>Roosevelt University</i>
Disc.	Chris Way , <i>Cornell University</i>			17-10	<u>ETHNIC CONFLICT</u>
15-10	<u>DOMESTIC POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS</u>			Room	Sandburg 8, 7 th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Room	Salon 5, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am			Chair	David A. Siegel , <i>Florida State University</i>
Chair	Turan Kayaoglu , <i>University of Washington, Tacoma</i>			Paper	<u>The Creation of Social Orders in Ethnic Conflict</u> Keisuke Nakao , <i>Boston University</i> Overview: This paper considers a situation in which collective violence is taken for the creation of intra-group policing. The success of inter-ethnic cooperation hinges on each group's ability of controlling members and on the tight network between groups.
Paper	<u>Institutional Reforms, Membership Conditionality, and Domestic Needs</u> Ridvan E. Peshkopia , <i>University of Kentucky</i> Arben F. Imami , <i>Institute for Policy and Legal Studies, Tirana, Albania</i> Overview: The endogeneity problem, creates difficulties for the study of membership conditionality. We resolve this problem by simultaneously implementing two strategies proposed by King, Keohane and Verba.			Paper	<u>Fear and Family: Ethnic Civil War Duration</u> Shanna A. Kirschner , <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: Fear and co-ethnics play different roles in ethnic civil wars, making these conflicts longer compared to other types of intrastate wars. These features also help explain discrepant case study and large-n results on ethnic war duration.
Paper	<u>Determinants of the IMF Conditionality: The Influence of Domestic Politics</u> Byungwon Woo , <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: Conceptualizing "the IMF program" as two staged process, this paper examines how domestic interests shift the international negotiation outcomes in the IMF conditionality negotiation, by building a game theoretic model and testing empirically.			Paper	<u>Is the World Flat? Globalization Factors Relationship with Ethnic Conflict</u> Samuel S. Stanton, Jr. , <i>Grove City College</i> Joseph J. St. Marie , <i>University of Southern Mississippi</i> Shahdad Naghshpour , <i>University of Southern Mississippi</i> Overview: A cross-sectional time-series analysis of factors of globalization relationship with ethnic conflict. This paper seeks to provide more insight into the reactions of losers in the race to globalization over the last thirty years.
Paper	<u>Democracy, Economic Voting, and Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA)</u> Jung Won Yang , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: This paper examines whether elected political leaders take into consideration economic voting when joining preferential			Paper	<u>Ethnic Groups, Polarization and Civil War</u> Andreas Beger , <i>Florida State University</i> Will H. Moore , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: This study explores whether all civil wars are fought over ethnic divisions, and ethnic civil wars are bipolar. To do so we generalize the R-Q measure of ethnic polarization and study it using a cross-national data set covering the years 1946-1999.
				Disc.	Sue J. Nahm , <i>Columbia University</i>

18-1 **THE POLIHEURISTIC THEORY OF DECISION-MAKING: NEW RESEARCH**
Room Salon 7, 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair Yi Edward Yang, *James Madison University*
Paper **Leadership Styles, Decision Contexts, and the Poliheuristic Theory of Decision-Making**
Jonathan Keller, *James Madison University*
Yi Edward Yang, *James Madison University*
Overview: This paper draws on theory and research on political leadership and decision-making to suggest modifications to the poliheuristic model, and then tests these expectations using experimental methods.

Paper **Poliheuristic Theory and Crisis Decision-Making: A Comparative Analysis of Turkey with China**
Nukhet Sandal, *University of Southern California*
Enyu Zhang, *Seattle University*
Carolyn C. James, *University of Southern California*
Patrick James, *University of Southern California*
Overview: The main substantive question in this study is: How does the degree of uniqueness of China, in campaign with turkey vis-à-vis foreign policy crises, affect its foreign policy decision making and consequences from its actions in times of crises?

Paper **The Decision Calculus of Terrorist Organizations: A Computerized Process Tracing Analysis**
Alex Mintz, *Texas A&M University*
Bradley Podliska, *Texas A&M University*
Overview: The Decision Calculus of Terrorist Organizations: A Computerized Process Tracing Analysis

Paper **The Poliheuristic Research Program: An Assessment and Suggestions for Progress**
David Brule, *University of Tennessee*
Overview: This paper reviews research rooted in the Poliheuristic Theory of Decision Making.

Disc. David Brule, *University of Tennessee*

19-13 **REGIONAL COOPERATION IN ASIA AND ELSEWHERE**
Room Clark 10, 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair Thomas Plimper, *University of Essex*
Paper **Combating Infectious Diseases in Asia: Regional Impediments to Cooperation**
Kathleen M. Appenrodt, *University of California, Irvine*
Overview: This paper contends that the best way to prepare for and respond to threats posed by infectious diseases, and other non-traditional security threats, is through utilizing regional institutions and enhancing regional cooperation.

Paper **Cooperation in Contention: The Evolution of ASEAN Norms**
Avery D. H. Poole, *University of British Columbia*
Overview: This paper explores the dynamics of interstate cooperation within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). It demonstrates the ongoing evolution of ASEAN's norms, focusing on the case study of Burma's membership.

Paper **Regionalism: A New Explanation**
Haifeng Qian, *George Mason University*
Overview: Traditional theories of regionalism cannot fully explain either the first or the second wave of regional integration. This paper develops a new model of regionalism by combining economic, political and structural considerations.

Disc. Thomas Plimper, *University of Essex*

20-3 **POLITICAL SCIENCE AND ETHNIC POLITICS: NEW ASSESSMENTS AND NEW APPROACHES**
Room Salon 4, 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair Abdulkader Sinno, *Indiana University*
Paper **The State of the Art: Mapping the Field of Ethnicity and Politics**
Britt A. Cartrite, *Alma College*
Dan Miodownik, *Hebrew University*
Overview: Based on a dataset of published journal articles and books, this study combines statistical and content analyses to map over three decades of study of ethnicity and politics, highlighting the evolution of both themes and case selection over time.

Paper **Rethinking the Foundations of Ethnic Politics: Risk and Conflict**
Henry E. Hale, *George Washington University*
Overview: Rethinking the Foundations of Ethnic Politics: Risk and Conflict.

Paper **Culture and Power: Avoiding Method, Idealism in the Study of Ethnicity**
Marc Helbling, *University of Zurich*
Overview: Analyzing naturalization processes in Swiss municipalities it will argue that the study of ethnicity should not only be enriched by cognitive approaches. Interactions between mental and social structures should also be accounted for.

Disc. Paul R. Brass, *University of Washington*

21-8 **CORE VALUES, CAMPAIGNS, AND ISSUE ATTITUDES**
Room Salon 12, 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair David Redlawsk, *University of Iowa*
Paper **Declaring Values: The Use of Values Rhetoric in Presidential Primary Campaigns, 1988-2004**
Christopher J. Galdieri, *University of Minnesota*
Overview: How do candidates talk to voters about values? An analysis of presidential primary candidates' rhetoric from 1988 to 2004 explores the differences in their use of values language in campaign speech.

Paper **Partisan Persuasion and Value Modification**
Christopher M. Federico, *University of Minnesota*
Paul N. Goren, *University of Minnesota*
Miki Caul Kittilson, *Arizona State University*
Overview: Using new survey experiments, we examine the hypothesis that party cues crystallize citizens' values. That is, when citizens learn that their party or the opposition favors a value, their own value responses will show greater internal coherence.

Paper **Value Recruitment in Public Disputes over Evolution and the Environment**
Thomas E. Nelson, *Ohio State University*
Dana E. Wittmer, *Ohio State University*
Allyson F. Shortle, *Ohio State University*
Overview: We propose a theory of value recruitment that addresses why and how communicators refer to social values when seeking to influence issue attitudes.

Paper **Attitude Structure Regarding Democracy and Religiosity**
Pazit Ben-Nun, *SUNY, Stony Brook*
Mina Zemach, *Dahaf Institute*
Asher Arian, *CUNY/Israel Democracy Institute*
Overview: The comparison of dimensionality, consistency, and inter-attitudinal correlations of democracy performance evaluation among Jews in Israel shows they comprehend the concept of democracy differently, as well as holding diverse positions.

Paper **Deciding What is Fair**
Jennifer Wolak, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
David Doherty, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
Overview: Using an experimental design, we investigate how people decide whether a policy is fair or unfair. We consider explanations such as core values, partisan priors, and the nature of political processes.

Disc. Eric W. Groenendyk, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

22-8 **ELECTIONS ACROSS THE WORLD**
Room Salon 8, 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair James W. Endersby, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
Paper **How Affectively Intelligent are Dutch Voters?: Emotions and Vote Choice**
Tereza Capelos, *Leiden University*
Sanne Rijkhoff, *Leiden University*
Raimon Leeuwenburg, *Leiden University*
Overview: We ask whether citizens' anxiety can point to the conditions under which party heuristics are used in the Netherlands. We use public opinion data to test the hypothesis that higher anxiety points to the use of leader and issue cues rather than party.

Paper	<p><u>External and Domestic Issues in Sarawak State Elections of 2001 and 2006</u> Ghazali Bin Mayudin, <i>Universiti Kebangsaan, Malaysia</i> Mohamad Zain Bin Musa, <i>Universiti Kebangsaan, Malaysia</i> Overview: My paper examines the external and domestic issues raised by Chinese-based parties, Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP) and Democratic Action Party (DAP), in Sarawak State Election of 2001 and 2006 and its effect on election reresults.</p>	single policy space. To do this we scale Congressional roll call votes, positions taken on these votes by the president, Supreme Court decisions.
Paper	<p><u>Electoral Behaviour in the Portuguese Legislative Elections</u> Paula Espírito Santo, <i>ISCSP-Universidade Técnica de Lisboa</i> Overview: This paper focuses the Portuguese legislative elections that occurred in 2002 and 2005, having as a basis two post-electoral pools. The results enhance the importance of a set of socio-political explanatory voting motives.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Understanding Congressional District Heterogeneity</u> Phillip J. Ardoin, <i>Appalachian State University</i> Jason Windett, <i>Appalachian State University</i> Overview: Building on the work of Koetzle, we develop a measure of district heterogeneity which produces a more reliable and valid measure of political diversity. We then employ this measure to examine variation in heterogeneity over the last half century.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Impact of Party Strategies on the Formation of Voting Choices</u> Romain Lachat, <i>University of Zurich</i> Overview: This paper proposes a model of voting choice where different parties may be evaluated by different criteria (or vote functions). The model is used to test some implications of the issue ownership model in national elections in Western Europe.</p>	<p>Paper <u>When Experts Can't Agree: Making Sense of Variance in Expert Surveys on Party Positions</u> Achim Kemmerling, <i>Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin</i> Overview: Most analyses of electoral competition that are based on expert surveys use measures of central tendency such as the mean or the median. There are many theoretical cases, however, that imply the use of measures of dispersion.</p>
Disc.	<p>James W. Endersby, <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i></p>	<p>Disc. <u>Kenneth R. Benoit</u>, <i>Trinity College, Dublin</i></p>
22-16	<p><u>ISSUES OF BALLOTING AND TURNOUT</u></p>	<p>25-10 <u>PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL (Co-sponsored with Presidency and Executive Politics, see 38-15)</u></p>
Room	<p>Sandburg 1, 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am</p>	<p>Room Salon 9, 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am</p>
Chair	<p>Richard W. Boyd, <i>Wesleyan University</i></p>	<p>Chair <u>Sara Margaret Gubala</u>, <i>Michigan State University, East Lansing</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Who Votes and Who Makes Excuses: Understanding Turnout with a Better Question</u> Brian Duff, <i>University of New England</i> Michael J. Hanmer, <i>Georgetown University</i> Won-ho Park, <i>University of Florida</i> Ismail K. White, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Diana Watral, <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: Using the 2002 and 2004 NES we examine the effects of a new voting question on turnout reports, showing that the new question significantly reduces over-reporting. Additionally, we find evidence of panel and interview mode effects.</p>	<p>Paper <u>The Role of Partisan Assessments on Presidential Performance</u> Laura K. Frey, <i>University of California, Santa Barbara</i> Overview: This project addresses the role of partisanship and its effect on presidential approval from January 1977 through December 2005.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Out of Line: Forensic Comparison of Election Returns from Multiple Contests</u> Mark Lindeman, <i>Bard College</i> Overview: Election forensics often entail comparing returns across two or more contests – but what should the null be? Using precinct-level election returns and simulated miscounts, I explore the forensic value of simple models of vote choice across contests.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Bankers are Bankers; Peasants are Peasants</u> Delia N. Goolsby, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Joseph D. Ura, <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: We revisit two important questions: Does the public employ retrospective or prospective evaluations of the economy when asked whether it approves or disapproves of the president? And are these economic evaluations myopic or sociotropic in nature?</p>
Paper	<p><u>Voter Choice and Turnout of America's Youth: The 2004 Presidential Elections</u> Joseph W. Boesch, <i>University Texas, Austin</i> Overview: A unified model of voter turnout and choice to test six theories of youth participation and candidate selection in the U.S. 2004 presidential election.</p>	<p>Paper <u>Is It Still the Economy, Stupid? W and the Dynamics of Presidential Approval</u> Chris Rodgers, <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i> Overview: Does Bush II represent a departure from long-term political economy relationships? Time series analysis evaluates rival models while controlling for party id, class, education, and gender heterogeneity to assess attenuating economic effects on PA.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Strategic Voting under Two Ballots: Cross-National Experiments</u> Jill N. Wittrock, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: This paper examines the impact of a second ballot in parliamentary elections for voter decision-making. Under experimental settings, it asks whether the voter behaves more or less strategically when offered a second opportunity to vote.</p>	<p>Paper <u>The Impact of Political Capital on Symbolic Representation</u> Heather A. Larsen-Price, <i>University of Memphis</i> Mary R. Anderson, <i>University of Memphis</i> Overview: How does presidential approval affect the likelihood that presidents will spend more time addressing issues of high public concern in their annual State of the Union addresses?</p>
Disc.	<p>Richard W. Boyd, <i>Wesleyan University</i></p>	<p>Paper <u>Do Presidents Affect Their Own Public Approval Through Rhetoric?</u> B. Dan Wood, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Han Soo Lee, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Past research by presidency scholars has produced mixed results on whether the president's permanent campaign alters public approval of the president's job performance.</p>
24-1	<p><u>METHODOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS IN THE STUDY OF ELECTORAL SYSTEMS</u></p>	<p>Disc. <u>Matthew G. Jarvis</u>, <i>California State University, Fullerton</i> Sara Margaret Gubala, <i>Michigan State University, East Lansing</i></p>
Room	<p>Suite 9-128, 9th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am</p>	<p>26-10 <u>VOTING LAWS AND THE COSTS OF VOTING</u></p>
Chair	<p>Karen L. Jusko, <i>University of Michigan</i></p>	<p>Room Clark 9, 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am</p>
Paper	<p><u>What do Voters Learn about the Economy</u> Raymond M. Duch, <i>University of Oxford</i> Overview: Empirical tests of a selection model of context and vote choice employing a multi-mode cross-national research design.</p>	<p>Chair <u>Jon Dalager</u>, <i>Georgetown College</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Voters, Members of Congress, Supreme Court Justices, and the President: A Map of the American Electorate in 2005-2006</u> Michael Herron, <i>Dartmouth College</i> Joseph Bafumi, <i>Dartmouth College</i> Overview: We seek to place voters, members of the 109th Congress, the president. and current Supreme Court justices in a</p>	<p>Paper <u>The Cost of Voting and Turnout -- Evidence from a Poll Consolidation</u> John E. McNulty, <i>SUNY, Binghamton</i> Carrie B. Gerber, <i>SUNY, Binghamton</i> Overview: Tioga County, New York is consolidating polling places in 2006, changing the location of the polling place and commute distance for some voters. We shall determine how much</p>

	changes in poll location and commute distance discourage voters from voting.		
Paper	<u>Electoral Institutions and Voter Turnout in the American States, 1920-2000</u> <i>Melanie J. Springer, Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: In this paper, I evaluate numerous state electoral laws from 1920-2000 and assess the extent to which electoral institutions affect turnout levels in the American states over and beyond the impact of partisan and demographic variables.	Paper	<u>Empowering Women: Four Theories Tested on Four Different Aspects of Gender Equality</u> <i>Amy Alexander, University of California, Irvine</i> <i>Christian Welzel, Jacobs University, Bremen</i> Overview: Through analysis of three distinct stages of women's empowerment in over 60 nations, I explore the relative impact of cultural and political factors in predicting gains in gender equality.
Paper	<u>Voter Turnout of Ex-Felons: An Assessment Using Individual-Level Data</u> <i>Michael V. Haselswerdt, Canisius College</i> Overview: Actual voting turnout of ex-felons is described through the use of individual-level data. Ex-felons participate at single-digit rates; rates substantially lower than those suggested by statistical estimates and self-reported behaviors.	Paper	<u>Gender Quota Legislation in Latin America: The End of a Wave?</u> <i>Adriana M. Crocker, University of Illinois, Springfield</i> Overview: Employing an Event History Analysis (EHA), this paper focuses on the current status of gender quota legislation in Latin America and argues that the regional "gender quota wave" of the 1990s has lost its strength and effectiveness.
Disc.	<i>Michael P. McDonald, George Mason University</i> <i>Jon Dalager, Georgetown College</i>	Paper	<u>The Politics of Group Representation: Quotas for Women and Minorities</u> <i>Mona Lena Krook, Washington University, St. Louis</i> <i>Diana O'Brien, Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: This paper adds to the literature on group representation by calling attention to the role of politics in shaping the structure of political cleavages and influencing the choice to adopt particular measures to guarantee group representation.
27-11	<u>THE POWER OF RHETORIC</u>	Paper	<u>Gender Equality as a Political Value Among African Christians and Muslims</u> <i>Virginia P. Beard, Michigan State University</i> Overview: A gendered analysis at the value level among African Christians and Muslims will reveal a varied yet persistent fault in the foundation of lasting democratic political development. Gender and religion will affect gender equality as a political value.
Room	Clark 1, 7 th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am	Disc.	<i>Aili Tripp, University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> <i>Miki Kittilson, Arizona State University</i>
Chair	<i>Paul Parker, Truman State University</i>		
Paper	<u>The Cross of Gold in the Modern Age: Neo-Populist Party Leaders and Charismatic Rhetoric</u> <i>Claire Haeg, St John's University</i> Overview: Using Diction 5.0 software the study analyzes speeches made by neo-populist politicians in three countries. Charismatic Neo-populists use language with an extraordinarily high levels of certainty and commonality, but low levels of realism.		
Paper	<u>Talking Representation: Representative Rhetoric and Poll References in Presidential Speeches and Media Coverage</u> <i>Bas W. van Doorn, University of Minnesota</i> Overview: How and when do politicians talk about leadership and representation? And how do the media discuss these matters? This paper addresses these questions through content-analyses of major presidential speeches and political news content.		
Paper	<u>Pardoning the President: Framing in a Major Scandal and the U.S. Press</u> <i>Jennifer R. Hopper, City University of New York</i> Overview: When a major presidential scandal hits, framing will be a critical strategy used by the president to redeem himself. His choice of frames will affect the cooperation (or lack thereof) of the media in conveying them to the public.	29-10	<u>ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY: NEW RESEARCH FROM SURVEYS AND EXPERIMENTS</u>
Paper	<u>Clinton Campaign Rhetoric</u> <i>Kathy A. Elrick, Illinois State University</i> Overview: Looking into how Clinton effectively used rational and emotional rhetoric within the 1992 campaign to win his audience.	Room	PDR 5, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Paper	<u>Power of Speech: A Field Experiment of Political Speechmaking</u> <i>John W. Williams, Principia College</i> Overview: This paper documents a set of field experiments aimed at testing the power of political speechmaking using speeches of Republican J.C. Watt (conservative former congressman) and Democrat Barack Obama (Illinois' liberal junior U.S. Senator).	Chair	<i>TaeKu Lee, University of California, Berkeley</i>
Disc.	<i>Glenn W. Richardson Jr., University of Pennsylvania, Kutztown</i>	Paper	<u>The Effectiveness of Co-Ethnic Contact on Latino Political Recruitment</u> <i>Matt A. Barreto, University of Washington</i> <i>Stephen A. Nuño, University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: This paper tests whether or not co-ethnic partisan contact is more successful than "generic" contact for Latinos voters in 2004. In short, we ask, which is more important: message or messenger?
28-7	<u>GENDER EQUALITY AND DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE</u>	Paper	<u>Language and Endorsement Effects in Campaigning for Latino Votes</u> <i>Ricardo Ramirez, University of Southern California</i> Overview: We report the results of an experiment of campaign ads testing the effect of co-ethnic endorsements and bilingual translation on vote choice of Latino and non-Latino subjects. Bilingual campaign ads demobilize non-Latinos, and mobilize Latinos.
Room	Clark 7, 7 th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am	Paper	<u>Lost in Translation? Validity and Reliability in Bilingual Political Surveys</u> <i>Efrén O. Pérez, Duke University</i> Overview: Are survey measures comparable across linguistic groups? This paper develops multi-group measurement models that test the invariance of political constructs across English-speaking non-Latinos; English-speaking Latinos; and Spanish-speaking Latinos.
Chair	<i>Miki Kittilson, Arizona State University</i>	Paper	<u>Racial Cues and Candidate Vote Choice Among Asian Americans</u> <i>Natalie Masuoka, University of California, Irvine</i> <i>Kathy Rim, University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: This paper examines the effect of co-ethnic candidates on Asian American vote choice. We consider the dimensions of Asian American racial group attachment and how this attachment is translated into voter preferences.
Paper	<u>Gender and Democratization in Africa: Phases, Spaces, and Processes</u> <i>Jane O. Okwako, Western Michigan University</i> Overview: The study develops an analytic triad linking phases, spaces, and processes of the democratic transition trajectory associated with political liberalization, particularly the expansion of women's representation.		

Paper	<u>Ideology vs. Social Identity: Partisan Identification of Latinos</u> Seung-Jin Jang , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: In Latino partisan identification, liberal-conservative ideology and ethnic identity play distinct roles: ideology affects the choice between the two parties, while social identity as ethnic group concerns the probability of opting for Independency.	Paper	<u>Walking With Rousseau and Thoreau: On Nature and Liberalism</u> Mina Suk , <i>Johns Hopkins University</i> Overview: This paper analyzes Rousseau's "Reveries of a Solitary Walker" and Thoreau's "Walking" and their reflections on individuality, freedom, embodiment, and movement by comparing four literary tropes in each text--walks, woods, words, and the wild.
Disc.	Vincent Hutchings , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i>		
31-2	<u>RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICAL THEORY</u>	Paper	<u>Platonism in Rousseau's Reveries</u> David L. Williams , <i>University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point</i> Overview: Rousseau's Reveries of a Solitary Walker reveals a deep commitment to Platonism in multiple respects, including his understanding of human nature, metaphysics, ontology, and epistemology.
Room	Dearborn 1, 7 th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am	Disc.	Jonathan Marks , <i>Ursinus College</i>
Chair	Joseph Cobetto , <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i>		
Paper	<u>The Political Thought of Lactantius</u> Joseph S. Kochanek , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This paper is an exposition of the political thought of Lactantius, treating the character of Christian political thought before the Roman Empire established Christianity as the state religion, emphasizing war and pacifism.	32-22	<u>DEMOCRACY AND ITS CRITICS</u>
Paper	<u>Should Tolerance Extend to the Intolerant?</u> Katherine M. Gott , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: Mozart v. Hawkins, Rawlsian Deliberation, the reach of liberal civic education, and what Saint Augustine can teach us about tolerance in a religiously diverse society.	Room	LaSalle 1, 7 th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Paper	<u>Humility in the Monastic Polis: The Rule of St. Benedict</u> Mary M. Keys , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: Against a backdrop of modern philosophic claims that humility is a "monkish virtue" or even a vice, this paper examines humility and its civic implications in a classic founding document of Western monasticism, the 6th century RULE OF ST. BENEDICT.	Chair	Joseph P. Lampert , <i>Yale University</i>
Paper	<u>The Unarmed Prophet's Weapon: Civil Religion in the Thought of Savonarola</u> Rebecca J. McCumbers , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: This paper will examine Girolamo Savonarola's "Treatise on the Rule and Government of the City of Florence" and his sermons on Haggai in an attempt to understand his views concerning the proper role for religion in the political sphere.	Paper	<u>The Contested Legitimacy of Majoritarian Democracy in 19th C. Thought</u> Amel F. Ahmed , <i>Swarthmore College</i> Overview: I examine the contested legitimacy of majoritarian democracy in 19th century thought through the works of J.S Mill, François Guizot, and John C. Calhoun. I explore their justifications for elite governance and the impact it has had on democratic discourse.
Paper	<u>Marsilius of Padua's Forgotten Discourse</u> Gerson Moreno-Riaño , <i>Regent University</i> Overview: An investigation into the purpose of the oft forgotten Discourse III of the Defensor Pacis. Consideration is given to whether or not Discourse III merely summarizes Marsilius' conclusions within Defensor Pacis or suggests new theoretical insights.	Paper	<u>On Power and Technology: A Critique of Arendt and Foucault</u> Xavier Marquez , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: I examine and critique Arendt and Foucault's views of power and technology, using this examination as an occasion to theorize the technological sources of the power of the modern state.
Disc.	Cary Nederman , <i>Texas A&M University</i>	Paper	<u>Detractors and Apologists: Anti-Liberalism and the Carl Schmitt Debate</u> Christopher A. McKoy , <i>University of California, Santa Barbara</i> Overview: This paper proposes an interpretation of the significance of Carl Schmitt's Weimar political thought. I argue for a 'weak detractor' position that takes Schmitt's anti-liberalism seriously but rejects the claim that he inevitably became a Nazi.
32-9	<u>ROUSSEAUAN REVERIES</u>	Paper	<u>The Democracy of the Common Man: Revisiting Dewey's Political Thought</u> Thamy Pogrebinski , <i>Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ)</i> Overview: This paper analyses Dewey's approach to democracy in order to reactivate his claim that democracy should be grounded on human experience rather than on political institutions.
Room	Clark 3, 7 th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am	Disc.	Gerald Doppelt , <i>University of California, San Diego</i>
Chair	Sarah Jordan , <i>Hong Kong University</i>		
Paper	<u>The Natural Education of Citizens in Rousseau's Emile</u> Pablo Kalmanovitz , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: There is a tension between the ideals of self-sufficiency and republicanism in Rousseau's Emile. Emile proposes a synthesis and not a dilemma between men or citizens, and pictures the sort of citizen that can make political life good	33-8	<u>USES AND ABUSES OF EXECUTIVE POWER</u>
Paper	<u>Freedom's Paradox: A Rousseauan Commentary on Anarcho-Primitivism</u> Elric M. Kline , <i>Rutgers University</i> Overview: John Zerzan's primitivist philosophy resonates with anti-globalization activists, but fails to attract an academic audience. Using a definition of "nature" developed through Rousseau's "Emile," the critical and theoretically relevant Zerzan is saved.	Room	Dearborn 2, 7 th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Paper	<u>Divorcing Wisdom: On the Sequel to Rousseau's Emile</u> J. Harvey Lomax , <i>University of Memphis</i> Overview: A lengthy, very close study of "Emile and Sophie" puts Rousseau's Emile into a significantly different light. The short text has important implications, largely neglected, for family life and for politics.	Chair	Timothy O. Lenz , <i>Florida Atlantic University</i>
		Paper	<u>Executive Power and the Rule of Law</u> Jeffrey A. Becker , <i>University of the Pacific</i> Overview: This essay argues that acts of executive power are essential for maintaining and preserving the rule of law in American democratic politics.
		Paper	<u>Conservative Theory and Executive Power</u> Timothy O. Lenz , <i>Florida Atlantic University</i> Kevin M. Wagner , <i>Florida Atlantic University</i> Overview: The nature and scope of presidential power is controversial because it is hard to reconcile with the rule of law. This paper examines the tradition of support for executive governance in conservative political philosophy.
		Paper	<u>Bureaucratic Liberalism</u> Roger M. Michalski , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: This paper explores a neglected brand of continental liberalism that I call 'bureaucratic liberalism.' It serves as a useful site to explore contemporary concerns with establishing liberal institutions in weak or failing states.

Paper **State Secrecy and Misrule: A Perfect Dilemma**
Rahul Sagar, *Harvard University*
 Overview: Democratic and republican theory presume oversight of the executive by citizens and public institutions prevents misrule. However, by failing to account for the role of state secrecy they underestimate the scope for manipulation by officials.

Disc. TBA

34-2 **BUREAUCRACY AND DELEGATION**
Room Suite 9-142, 9th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair **Sean Gailmard**, *Northwestern University*
Paper **Delegation as a Way to Fix Policy Choices Beyond the Next Election**
Nicolai Petrovsky, *Cardiff University*
 Overview: Several theories of delegation claim that legislators use bureaucracies to fix policy choices beyond the next election. My paper shows that those models are a special case of a more general model that accounts for when that does, and does not, occur.

Paper **Separation of Powers, Information, and Bureaucratic Structure**
John W. Patty, *Harvard University*
Sean Gailmard, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: We present a formal model of administrative policy-making. Separation of powers limits Congress's willingness to affect policy through informational biases. Congress prefers agents who seek to communicate informatively with the President's agent.

Paper **Politicians versus Bureaucrats: Evidence from U.S. Local Governments**
Ruben Enikolopov, *Harvard University*
 Overview: I present a model and provide empirical evidence using panel data on local governments in the U.S. that show that directly elected public officials choose higher level of public employment than their appointed counterparts for political reasons.

Paper **Implicit Incentives, Policy Competence, and Bureaucrats' Career Prospects**
George A Krause, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: I test the theoretical implications of the bureaucratic "career concerns" model. That is, I examine whether bureaucratic decisions and collective performance has consequences for the career prospects of Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC) members.

Paper **A Theory of Policy Expertise**
Steven Callander, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: This paper presents a new theory of policy expertise. In contrast to existing theories, I define expertise as knowledge of the policy process itself. The theory offers a solution to the commitment problem of legislative-bureaucratic policy making.

Disc. **Sven Feldmann**, *Northwestern University*

37-13 **POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE PRESIDENCY**
Room LaSalle 2, 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair **Mikel Wyckoff**, *Northern Illinois University*
Paper **A Comparison of Voters in Early and Late Presidential Nomination Contests**
Christian A. Farrell, *University of Oklahoma*
Mary E. Outwater, *University of Oklahoma*
 Overview: This paper analyzes the similarities and differences in the demographic and decision-making processes of voters in early and late presidential nomination contests in 2000 and 2004.

Paper **George W. Bush and the Perils and Promise of the Partisan Presidency**
Richard M. Skinner, *Williams College*
 Overview: George W. Bush has taken presidential party leadership to a new extreme; this has had both positive and negative consequences for him and the political system.

Paper **One for All and All for One? A Theory of Presidents and Their Parties**
Vidal Romero, *ITAM*
 Overview: I assess the conditions under which presidents' and their parties' interests diverge and develop a theory explaining when and how presidents are able to get their parties' support to modify the status quo.

Disc. **Robert C. Lowry**, *University of Texas, Dallas*

38-6 **PRESIDENTS, MEDIA, AND PUBLIC OPINION**
Room Parlor B, 6th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair **Brendan J. Doherty**, *American Political Science Association*
Paper **Presidential Exchanges with Reporters: Who, What, and When**
Martha Joynt Kumar, *Towson University*
 Overview: There are three types of exchanges presidents have with reporters: presidential press conferences, short question-and-answer sessions, and presidential interviews with one or more journalists. Taken together, how often do presidents respond to reporters questions.

Paper **Presidential Media Management and the Rally "Round the Flag Phenomenon"**
Simona Kragh, *University of South Carolina*
 Overview: The "rally 'round the flag" is a widely recognized phenomenon. Here I explain which interventions of the president are more likely to generate a favorable coverage by the press.

Paper **Agenda Priorities in an Open System**
Lara A. Gruszczynski, *Cardinal Stritch University*
 Overview: This research examines the relationship among presidential, congressional, media and public agendas in an open system. The president's agenda is treated as a dependent variable in order to better explain the president's ability to maintain his focus.

Paper **Going Local: Local Newspaper Coverage of the Presidency**
Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha, *University of North Texas*
 Overview: This paper does not support the conventional wisdom, which holds that presidents will receive primarily positive coverage from local news media. A sample from recent presidents reveals, instead, that local newspaper coverage is not entirely "local".

Disc. **Jeffrey S. Peake**, *Bowling Green State University*
Karen S. Hoffman, *Wheeling Jesuit University*

39-20 **OUTSIDE INFLUENCES ON CONGRESS: MEDIA, THINK TANKS, AND PUBLIC OPINION**
Room Montrose 1, 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair **Sean M. Theriault**, *University of Texas, Austin*
Paper **The Role of Money in Policy Expertise and the Mass Media**
William M. Minozzi, *Princeton University*
 Overview: To craft policy, legislators rely on privately funded experts. This paper analyzes donations, mission statements and media mentions of think tanks using a structural model based on an informational theory of political communication.

Paper **The Influence of the Media and the Public on Policy Agendas**
Henrik M. Schatzinger, *University of Georgia*
 Overview: This paper examines the effects of the mass media and public opinion on congressional agendas. Analyzing the issue salience of the economy, education, and health care clarifies possible directions of causality among the three major agendas.

Paper **What do Legislatures Contribute to Democratic Transitions?**
William Mishler, *University of Arizona*
 Overview: The paper uses pooled time series survey data from from 13 newly democratic countries in Eastern and Central Europe to assess the reciprocal effects of public support for legislatures and regimes from 1991-2004.

Disc. **Sean M. Theriault**, *University of Texas, Austin*
Scott Ainsworth, *University of Georgia*

Paper **Solving Cooperation Problems: When Membership Provisions Perform the Task**
Papia Debroy, *University of Michigan*
Barbara Koremenos, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: I explore how membership provisions can solve enforcement and information problems by examining the history of the provisions in case studies and in a large-N statistical analysis using a dataset of randomly selected international agreements.

Paper **International Institutions, Transnational Advocacy and Reproductive Rights**
Feryal M. Cherif, *University of California, Riverside*
 Overview: Transnational advocacy has delivered what are hailed as noteworthy reforms in the area of reproductive rights, but as with other women's rights, there is little understanding of how this issue-advocacy has influenced states' reproductive policies.

Paper **Saw No Evil? The Influence of Attitudes on Decision Making at the ICTY**
McKinzie C. Craig, *University of North Texas*
Christopher J. Fariss, *University of North Texas*
 Overview: We evaluate decisions at the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia to see if the attitudinal model or the legal model better explains decisions in the international realm.

Disc. **Valerie O. Morkevicius**, *University of Chicago*
Mark Sachleben, *Shippensburg University*

44-8 **THE ROLE OF MONEY IN STATE POLITICS**
Room Parlor C, 6th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair **Edward Alan Miller**, *Brown University*
Paper **Does Campaign Finance Reform Influence State Alcohol Policy?**
Lilliard E. Richardson, *University of Missouri*
Jeff Milyo, *University of Missouri*
 Overview: Do contribution limits affect the provision of public policy? Using cross-sectional time-series analysis of data from the 50 states from 1986 to 2002, we assess the effect of corporate and PAC contribution limits on alcohol policies adopted by the states.

Paper **Connecting Contributors: Contribution Networks in State Legislative Elections**
Andrea McAtee, *Indiana State University*
Kimberly A. Fredericks, *Indiana State University*
 Overview: What accounts for differences between networks of party contributions between parties and amongst states? We use the emerging methodology of social network analysis to derive measures describing variation in Democratic and Republican contribution network.

Paper **Distribution and Redistribution in the American States**
Nathan Kelly, *University of Tennessee*
Josh Grubbs, *University of Tennessee*
 Overview: This paper examines cross-temporal and cross-sectional variation in market inequality and redistribution in the American States. A variety of macro-political, demographic, and economic determinants are examined.

Disc. **Sarah M. Morehouse**, *University of Connecticut*

45-8 **RACE, INCOME, AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**
Room Burnham 4, 7th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair **Paul Schumaker**, *University of Kansas*
Paper **Voting and Inequality: Evidence from a Philadelphia Election**
Hillard W. Pouncy, *Princeton University*
Amy Hillier, *University of Pennsylvania*
Jason Booza, *Wayne State University*
 Overview: This case study determines that neighborhood support for political candidates differs significantly by local inequality structures. As American cities lose their share of middle income families their share of high and low-income families rises.

Paper **The Politics of Integration Development: The Seattle Public Schools and The Seattle Plan**
Jennifer M. Hehnke, *University of Oregon*
 Overview: This paper focuses on desegregation/integration policy development and the changing politics and movements surrounding the history of the Seattle Plan, Seattle's comprehensive mandatory desegregation plan beginning in 1978.

Paper **Civic Participation of Asian Americans in Suburbs: A Case Study of Southern Californian Suburbs**
HyeYoung Chang, *University of Southern California*
Young Joo Chi, *University of Southern California*
 Overview: Suburbanization has been one of the biggest changes in the United States over the last fifty years. However, despite the enormous change that has occurred in American society, few research has been done examining the impacts of suburbanization.

Paper **Bridging the Contact and Threat Hypotheses: An Empirical Examination of the Conditioning Effect of Socioeconomic Context**
Jason C. Booza, *Wayne State University*
 Overview: The purpose of this paper is to propose a study that will bridge the empirical and theoretical gaps between the contact and threat frameworks. Both frameworks assert that the racial context of an environment exerts and influence on individual racial attitudes.

Paper **Organizing Salinas Style: The Consequences of Active Ethnic Mobilization**
Sarah E. Reckhow, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: To explore the active organizational sector in Salinas, California, I survey 23 organizations which represent racial and ethnic groups in local politics and interview several organizational leaders.

Disc. **Paul Schumaker**, *University of Kansas*
Tatishe M. Nteta, *University of California, Berkeley*

46-8 **CONNECTING OPINION AND POLICY**
Room PDR 6, 3rd Floor, Sat at 8:00 am
Chair **Max Neiman**, *University of California, Riverside*
Paper **What's The Problem? Using Risk Perception to Understand Policy Problems**
Grant W. Neeley, *University of Dayton*
 Overview: To investigate how individual's attitudes, demographic characteristics and risk perceptions determine the ability to understand scope of problems across multiple domains.

Paper **The Public's Support for Disaster Preparedness Planning Policy**
Max Neiman, *University of California, Riverside*
Dean Bonner, *Public Policy Institute of California*
 Overview: Using a survey of Californians, we analyze items that explore the views about preparing disaster planning and public support for taxes specifically designed to provide disaster planning. Results show the enduring role of ideology and partisanship.

Paper **Tinkering Towards a National Identification System: Opinions from Citizens**
Valentina A. Bali, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: This paper seeks to understand citizens' opinions towards reform and standardization of identification systems, in particular as mandated by the REAL ID Act of 2005, and how these opinions may be shaped by alternative "framings" of the issue.

Paper **Dimensions of Religiosity, the Death Penalty and Public Opinion**
Joshua T. Matthews, *Mount Union College*
Alecia Varner, *Mount Union College*
Andrew Hickerson, *Mount Union College*
 Overview: This research utilizes Lam's (2001) dimensions of religiosity to examine how religious traditions generate public opinion as it pertains to public policy issues, in this case, the death penalty.

courses to provide hands on application of the theories being taught.

Paper **Organizing a Congressional Candidate Debate as Experiential Learning**

Keith Boeckelman, *Western Illinois University*

Janna Deitz, *Western Illinois University*

Overview: This paper will describe and assess the impact of involving students in organizing and preparing questions for a debate between the two candidates in the open seat race for Illinois' 17th Congressional District.

Disc. **Mark J. Richards**, *Grand Valley State University*

60-4 **CIVIL DIALOGUE ACROSS “ENEMY” LINES**

Room Parlor J, 6th Floor, Sat at 8:00 am

Chair **Molly Patterson**, *Aquinas College*

Paper **Civic Discourse and Opposing Views**

Geraldine Perreault, *University of Northern Iowa*

Overview: Will describe leadership philosophy, assumptions, method used, and benefits in having students experience arguing views with which they disagree.

Paper **TBA**

Cheryl Faires,

Overview: TBA

Paper **TBA**

Konnie Kuraz,

Overview: TBA

Disc. **Molly Patterson**, *Aquinas College*

Saturday, April 14 – 9:50 am – 11:25 am

1-115 ROUNDTABLE: MEET THE EDITORS OF APSR

AND AJPS, JOP AND PRQ

Room Red Lacquer, 4th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am

Chair APSR: Ronald Rogowski, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Panelist APSR: Kathleen Bawn, *University of California, Los Angeles*

APSR: Daniel S. Treisman, *University of California, Los Angeles*

APSR: John Zaller, *University of California, Los Angeles*

AJPS: Marianne Stewart, *University of Texas, Dallas*

JOP: John Geer, *Vanderbilt University*

PRQ: Amy Mazur, *Washington State University*

Overview: The editors of the four journals will discuss journal policies and plans, answer questions, and exchange ideas with members of the scholarly community, including the new UCLA-based editorial team at APSR.

3-10 GLOBALIZATION: WINNERS AND LOSERS

Room Salon 2, 3rd Floor, Sat at 9:50 am

Chair Thomas E. Flores, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Paper Globalization, Political Elite Choices: Democracy in Africa and Middle East

Matthew T. Bradley, *Indiana University, Kokomo*

Overview: Globalization wages uncertainty on fragile African and Middle Eastern states. Political mavericks can manipulate fragile governments while attempting to mitigate the impact of globalization. What impact does globalization have on nascent democracies?

Paper Globalization, Power Shift, and Industrial Structure:

Comparing the Post-Crisis Economic Development of S. Korea and Taiwan

Chen-Hou Chiang, *University of Denver*

Overview: To what extent does the power shift transform Korean and Taiwanese states to implement upgrading policies on the one hand and to what extent does globalization impact the existing industrial structure of South Korea and Taiwan on the other.

Paper MNCs Accountability to Human Security in Africa: Rethinking Governance

Cyril Fegue, *New York University*

Overview: Amidst the avatars of globalization the unbundling process of private forces such as MNCs, entrenched in the profit-maximizing rationality, poses a threat to Human Security. How to hold MNCs responsive to ensuring Human Security in African context?

Paper Globalization, Leftist Government and Poverty: A Pooled Time-Series Analysis, 1975-2005.

Eunyoung Ha, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: This paper examines the impact of globalization and the ideological position of the government on poverty rate using pooled time-series data analysis for eighty six countries from 1975 to 2005.

Paper The Politics of Globalization, Social Welfare and Citizenship in Africa

Lauren M. Morris MacLean, *Indiana University*

Overview: I compare the local impacts of economic globalization in Ghana and Ivory Coast. I show how divergent histories of state formation have stimulated differences in social reciprocity with significance for indigenous notions of citizenship and democracy.

Disc. Thomas E. Flores, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

3-22 STATES, TAXATION, AND REDISTRIBUTION

Room Salon 4, 3rd Floor, Sat at 9:50 am

Chair Jose Cheibub, *University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana*

Paper The Politics of Resource Distribution in Developing Federations: Argentina and Brazil

Lucas I. Gonzalez, *University of Notre Dame*

Overview: I advance a game-theoretical framework to explain the shifting distribution of resources in federal democracies arguing that political power is critical but it is also necessary to look at the actors' strategic interactions in different contexts and arena.

Paper Regional-Racial Cleavages Effects on Taxation Outcomes:

Argentina and Brazil

Hiram J. Irizarry, *Ohio State University*

Overview: Argentina has collected fewer taxes, although wealthier, than Brazil because of Brazil's greater territorial resources de-concentration, earlier establishment of a central government, and greater percentage of non-white population than Argentina.

Paper Pension Policy in East Asia and Latin America

Illan Nam, *Princeton University*

Overview: This project examines the different trajectory of pension policies in Latin America and East Asia.

Paper The Network Foundations of State Capacity in Latin America

Melissa Ziegler, *University of California, San Diego*

Overview: Building upon state capacity theories that analyze the state as a network, I test how physical links (roads, railroads, phones, computers) between state and societal actors affect tax collection in Latin America.

Disc. Jose Cheibub, *University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana*

4-11 RESOURCE CURSE AND DEMOCRACY

Room PDR 4, 3rd Floor, Sat at 9:50 am

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

Paper Distribution and Power in Petro-States

Ryan Kennedy, *Ohio State University*

Overview: This paper provides theoretical and empirical evidence that a limited number of economic variables explain the concurrent observations of political stability and instability in fuel dependent states, and how it relates to the "natural resource curse."

Paper High Oil and Natural Gas Prices, Property Rights and

Democracy: A Comparative Study

Parviz Soltanov, *Texas Tech University*

Overview: With the comparative case studies of Russia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Iran, United Kingdom, Norway, Denmark and Netherlands I try to test the following hypothesis: democracy grades of countries rich in oil and natural gas decrease only when high world market plunges.

Paper Oil-Gas and Transition to Democracy in the Middle East

Islam Y. Qasem, *Pompeu Fabra*

Overview: Does oil-gas wealth impede the transition from non-democracy to democracy? If oil-gas inhibits democracy, then what are the causal mechanisms? The aim of this paper is to answer these two questions using cross-case analysis.

Paper Oil: Curse or Blessing for Cambodia's Democracy and Economic Development?

Kheang Un, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: This paper argues that, given present traditions and institutions based on patronage networks, Cambodia's recent oil discovery might become 'a curse' rather 'a blessing' for Cambodian democracy and development.

Disc. Ben Ansell, *University of Minnesota*

5-6 REGIONAL ORGANIZATION, REPRESENTATION, AND POLITICAL CONTROL

Room Salon 1, 3rd Floor, Sat at 9:50 am

Chair Robin E. Best, *Syracuse University*

Paper Presidential Impeachment and Regional Party System in Korea in Comparative Perspective

WooJin Kang, *Florida State University*

Overview: Among institutional provisions, fixed term and non-concurrent election play important role in regard to discrepancy of main concerns between two major actors: president and the legislator.

Paper Who's Minding the Locals? Federalism, Ethnic Diversity, and Political Conflict in Democracies

Claudia Dahlerus, *Alion College*

Overview: This paper explains why federal and unitary institutional arrangements differently impact targeting of ethnic, gender-based, and labor organizers in the course of political protest in European democracies.

Paper **Indigenous Populations in Federal Systems: A Comparison of the U.S. and Canada**

Melissa S. Shaffer-O'Connell, *Western Michigan University*

Gregory E. Rathje, *Western Michigan University*

Overview: How indigenous peoples fit into the federal systems of Canada and the United States has been a vexing problem to both countries for centuries. Although the problem is similar, the two countries have addressed it in different ways.

Paper **Female Suffrage and Redistribution: A Case-Control Study of Swiss Cantons**

Holger L. Kern, *Cornell University*

Overview: We use time-series data on government spending and economic outcomes in Swiss cantons together with a synthetic control group design to estimate the causal effect of extending the franchise to women.

Disc. Robin E. Best, *Syracuse University*

Bonnie M. Meguid, *University of Rochester*

6-6 **POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF ELECTORAL LAWS**

Room Sandburg 7, 7th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am

Chair Francois Gelineau, *Universite Laval*

Paper **The Institutional Determinants of Postmaterialism**

Salomon E. Orellana, *Michigan State University*

Overview: It is argued here that citizens in democracies and proportional electoral systems should exhibit higher levels of postmaterialism than citizens in nondemocracies and majoritarian systems.

Paper **Electoral Reform and Voter Turnout: A Comparative Analysis**

Ryan Carlin, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Gregory Love, *University of California, Davis*

Overview: We examine how electoral reform, in interaction with resources and political sophistication, influences turnout. Our multilevel models employ CSES data from over 50 elections in new and established democracies to address these questions.

Paper **Why it Might be More Rational to Vote for Parties That Won't Win**

Peter M. Jaworski, *Bowling Green State University*

Overview: Given five fairly simple conditions, the paper aims to demonstrate that third party voting is more rational than voting for a major party that has a chance of winning.

Paper **What Determines Divided Government in Korea?**

Jaesung Ryu, *Seoul National University*

Overview: Korean voters have frequently chosen split control over the executive and legislative branches of government since the 1988 National Assembly election as the American voters have done so for the last couple of decades.

Disc. Francois Gelineau, *Universite Laval*

7-12 **WELFARE STATES AND STATE-SOCIETY RELATIONS IN SOUTHERN EUROPE**

Room Sandburg 6, 7th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am

Chair W. Rand Smith, *Lake Forest College*

Paper **Voters, Politicians and Budget Constraints: Comparing Pension Reform in Southern Europe**

Nikolaos Biziouras, *Harvard University*

Overview: Develops and tests a new model of party competition to show how declining voter turnout has led an increased reliance on public-sector unions which prevented pension reform in Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece.

Paper **Social Enterprises and the Formation of Civic Capital in Southern Europe: Insights from Northern Italy**

Vanna Gonzales, *Arizona State University*

Overview: Drawing on both qualitative and quantitative data gathered from an in-person survey of 140 social cooperatives in northern Italy, I will analyze the extent to which these organizations, as a unique blend of non-profit business and civic association, foster the formation of civic capital.

Paper **Health Reform Paradoxes in Southern Europe**

Katerina Linos, *Harvard University*

Overview: This paper traces the development of National Health Services in three countries – Britain, a pioneer, and Spain and

Greece, two late comers, to develop and test a model of cross-national learning.

Paper **The Left Divided: Parties, Unions and the Politics of Wage Protection in Post-Authoritarian Portugal and Spain**

Sara Watson, *University of British Columbia*

Overview: By focusing on Spain and Portugal, this paper analyzes the political coalitions which emerged out of the divided lefts in each country. It shows how these divisions led to different models of social protection in each country.

Disc. W. Rand Smith, *Lake Forest College*

8-12 **LEGISLATIVE POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA**

Room Sandburg 5, 7th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am

Chair Cesar Zucco, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Paper **Representative Careers: Career Patterns and Representation in Latin America**

Felipe Botero, *Universidad de los Andes*

Overview: This paper examines the patterns of political careers in Colombia. It analyzes electoral results from 1958-1998 and inquires the extent to which Colombian legislators are reelection seekers as portrayed in the literature on American legislators.

Paper **Legislative Performance in Mexico: A Comparative Study of the Effects of Electoral Competition on Subnational Democratic Governance**

Yomara Guerra Aguijosa, *Georgetown University*

Overview: This paper elucidates the effects of electoral competition on legislative parties' behavior, policy-making capacities, and legislative effectiveness in the budgetary process and oversight in the Mexican states.

Paper **Representation in Multiparty Systems: The Importance of Organization**

Karleen A. Jones, *University of Iowa*

Overview: Using data on legislative campaigns from the 2006 elections in Ecuador, the analysis demonstrates that the representational style of candidates from small parties – such as ethnic parties – differs significantly from candidates of large parties.

Paper **Legislative Behavior of the Senators and Deputies under Federalism**

Hirokazu Kikuchi, *University of Pittsburgh*

Overview: Do senators and deputies behave differently under federalism? If so, what factors influence the differences? To answer these questions, I analyzed the legislative behavior of the senators and deputies in Argentina using data on roll-call votes.

Paper **Authoritarian Patterns in Latin American Legislatures**

Marcelino Miranda, *Université de Paris III-Sorbonne Nouvelle*

Overview: By analysing the centralisation of power by congressional parties in Latin American legislatures, this paper identifies authoritarian patterns in the legislatures that deter further democratisation.

Disc. Brian Crisp, *Washington University*

Eduardo Aleman, *University of Houston*

9-10 **SUBNATIONAL POLITICS IN CHINA**

Room Sandburg 4, 7th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am

Chair Lawrence C. Reardon, *University of New Hampshire*

Paper **China's New Provincial Leaders**

Zhiyue Bo, *St. John Fisher College*

Overview: As a precursor to the 17th National Party Congress in 2007, elections for provincial party committees in China have been scheduled for the second half of 2006 and the first half of 2007.

Paper **Local Political Business Cycle in Contemporary China**

Gang Guo, *University of Mississippi*

Overview: This paper first explores the theoretical linkages between local leadership turnovers, budgetary behavior, and economic conditions in contemporary China, and then subjects that to an analysis of a comprehensive panel data set of all Chinese counties.

Paper	<u>A Study of Chinese Peasants' Voting Behavior in Village Elections</u> Xinsong Wang, <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: This paper uses a nationwide survey collected in 2005 to examine the effects of socioeconomic, subjective, and institutional factors on Chinese peasants' voting behavior.	Paper	<u>Electoral Rules and Central Bank Independence in Presidential Systems</u> Gyung-Ho Jeong, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: Party-centered electoral rules in presidential systems tend to generate high levels of bureaucratic discretion, because they reduce legislators' incentive and ability to develop legislative professionalism and a strong legislative committee system.
Disc.	Lawrence C. Reardon, <i>University of New Hampshire</i>	Paper	<u>Conflicting Mandates: Central Banks, Regulation, and Inflation</u> David A. Singer, <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Mark S. Copelovitch, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: Central banks that are also responsible for bank regulation will be more sensitive to the profitability and stability of the banking sector, and therefore less likely to alter interest rates solely on the basis of price stability objectives.
13-7	<u>POST-COMMUNIST STATE CAPACITY AND INSTITUTIONS</u> Sandburg 2, 7 th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am	Paper	<u>Doing the Impossible: Rethinking the Unholy Trinity and the Effects of Capital Mobility</u> David Steinberg, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: Conventional wisdom holds that it is impossible for states to simultaneously have mobile capital, currency pegs and independent monetary policy. I show that this conclusion is not supported by either logic or evidence.
Room	Dinissa S. Duvanova, <i>Ohio State University</i>	Disc.	Steven R. Hall, <i>Ball State University</i>
Chair	<u>The Bureaucracy and Social Insurance in Post-Communist Countries</u> Sarah E. Wilson, <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: Using interviews, statistical data, and secondary sources from field research in 2006, I argue that bureaucratic autonomy and discretion, which do not coincide, are determining factors in healthcare and pension reform in the Russian Federation.	15-11	<u>THE DOMESTIC IMPACTS OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND FINANCE</u> Salon 5, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 9:50 am
Paper	<u>The Black Box of the Past: Postcommunist Governance, Legacies and Mechanisms</u> Cristina Corduneanu-Huci, <i>Duke University</i> Lenka Siroky, <i>Duke University</i> Overview: The paper attempts to investigate the impact of institutional resilience (developmental legacies) and institutional change (civil service reform) on the quality and variance of current governance and economic performance in the post-communist region.	Room	Katri K. Sieberg, <i>Binghamton University</i>
Paper	<u>Civil Service Reform in Southeastern Europe: The Impact of the EU Monitoring Process</u> Katja Michalak, <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: During the last two decades political, social and economic changes have occurred in Eastern Europe. Many states have attempted to reform their civil service bureaucracies, but we know little about the determinants of success of such reform.	Chair	<u>International Trade and Domestic Political Elites in Developing Countries</u> Antonio C. Pedro, Jr., <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: This paper models political elites as economic actors, and responds to two questions. How does international trade affect the durability of political elites? How do political elites cope with pressures exerted under increasing global trade?
Paper	<u>Kareiski: The Failed Political Engineers in the North Korean State-Building</u> Joongho Kim, <i>University of Hawaii, Manoa</i> Overview: This research is to better understand the characteristics of North Korea by reviewing the memoirs of the eighty Korean Russians (kareiski) who actively participated in the North Korean state-building during the 1940s and 1950s.	Paper	<u>Domestic Institutions and Embedded Liberalism</u> Stacy Bondanella, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: This paper asks whether domestic institutions mediate the effect of imports on welfare state spending. It is argued that spending on policies aimed at offsetting the costs of increased imports will be higher in systems with higher proportionality.
Paper	<u>Core Executive Reform and its Impact on Sectoral Reforms: The Cases of Russia and Poland</u> S. Mohsin Hashim, <i>Muhlenber College</i> Overview: The paper seeks to evaluate the role of core executive reform in implementing "second generation" sectoral reforms in post-communist Russia and Poland. The paper will focus on two areas of sectoral reforms - namely housing and pension.	Paper	<u>A Study of Economic Integration and State Repression</u> Dona Roy, <i>University of South Carolina</i> Overview: This paper investigates if the liberal proposition that of economic interdependence leads to peaceful state behaviour extends to domestic behaviour of the states.
Disc.	George A. Vassilev, <i>University of Chicago</i>	Paper	<u>International Finance and Civil Conflict in Heterogeneous Societies</u> Terrence L. Chapman, <i>Emory University</i> Eric Reinhardt, <i>Emory University</i> Overview: We examine a redistributive politics model with a foreign finance component to demonstrate a link between restrictions in finance and expropriation from a minority. We test results on data on repression and civil conflict, correcting for endogeneity.
14-17	<u>ISSUES IN MONETARY POLITICS (Co-sponsored with Economic Policy, see 48-6)</u> Montrose 7, 7 th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am	Disc.	Katri K. Sieberg, <i>Binghamton University</i>
Room	Daniela Campello, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i>	16-13	<u>SECRECY, UNCERTAINTY, AND STRATEGIC AMBIGUITY</u> Salon 6, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 9:50 am
Chair	<u>Democracy and Sovereign Default Risk in International Credit Markets</u> Yong Kyun Kim, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: The paper presents and tests a dynamic model of sovereign default taking into account both a leader's time horizon and distributional effects of default within an economy.	Room	Randall L. Schweller, <i>Ohio State University</i>
Paper	<u>Financial Market Crises and the Political Costs of Capital Controls</u> Thomas B. Pepinsky, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: Using data from across the developing world, this paper shows that while capital controls can hasten economic recovery during financial sector crises, such barriers also decrease the likelihood of democratic transitions during these crises.	Chair	<u>Keeping Them Guessing: A Theory of Strategic Ambiguity</u> Brett V. Benson, <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Emerson M. S. Niou, <i>Duke University</i> Overview: International relations theory maintains that commitments should be firm and transparent in order to be credible. The paper demonstrate conditions under which deliberate ambiguity can outperform traditional transparent deterrence commitments.
Paper		Paper	

Paper	<u>Signals and Silence: Public vs. Secret Military Mobilization</u> Philipp Fuerst , <i>Emory University</i> Overview: This paper offers a formal signaling model that incorporates the possibility of secret mobilization in interstate crises.	Paper	<u>Carrot or Stick? U.S. Foreign Aid and Recipient Country UN Voting Compliance</u> Xiaojun Li , <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: This paper uses a cross-sectional time series simultaneous equations model to examine the relationship between U.S. foreign aid and recipient country UN voting compliance from 1997 to 2004 and finds that aid is used to induce voting compliance.
Paper	<u>Uncertainty, Crisis Negotiations and Signaling</u> Unislawa M. Wszolek , <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: Uncertainty in crises has been identified as one of the perennial causes of war. Yet in the context of crises, leaders frequently obfuscate their communications. This paper argues that they do so because uncertainty can be strategically useful.	Disc.	James J. Marquardt , <i>Lake Forest College</i> Khalil M. Marrar , <i>DePaul University</i>
Disc.	Andrew H. Kydd , <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	18-101	<u>ROUNDTABLE: CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY: NEW APPROACHES AND PERSPECTIVES (Co-sponsored with Canadian Politics, see 12-101)</u>
17-11	<u>CASE-BASED APPROACHES TO TERRORISM AND ETHNIC CONFLICT</u>	Room	Adams, 6 th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am
Room	Sandburg 8, 7 th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am	Panelist	James T. McHugh , <i>American University</i>
Chair	Maria V. Koinova , <i>Harvard University/University of Massachusetts, Amherst</i>		Patrick James , <i>University of Southern California</i>
Paper	<u>Securing the State: Political Violence and Ethnic Conflict in Sudan</u> Jennifer De Maio , <i>California State University, Northridge</i> Lisa Blaydes , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper examines the sources of conflict and patterns of violence in the Sudan from 1990-2004.		Bethany Barratt , <i>Roosevelt University</i> Overview: This roundtable includes contributors to the new book "Canadian Foreign Policy" who will address some of Canada's role in international security, North American relations, and alternative approaches to sovereignty, human rights, and global stability.
Paper	<u>The Effect of Peace Organizations on Terrorism in Spain</u> Evan J. Wilson , <i>University of Illinois, Springfield</i> Overview: A look at terrorism in Spain and how the peace organizations Gesto por la Paz and Elkarri are helping the Basque region see that terror is not the answer.	19-9	<u>ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION</u>
Paper	<u>The Ethnic Dimension of the Maoist Insurgencies: Nepal, Peru, and India</u> Mahendra Lawoti , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Overview: I compare the ethnic dimensions of the Maoist Insurgencies in Peru, Nepal and India. I show that the combination of the state and Maoists' attitudes toward indigenous groups can explain their participation and the trajectory of the insurgencies.	Room	Clark 10, 7 th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am
Paper	<u>Strategic Extremism: Fatwas, Violence, and the Competition for Religious Authority</u> Jeremy M. Menchik , <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: I apply Adam Smith's theories on religious institutions to Islamic organizations in Indonesia and show that extremism may be a rational, strategic response to increasing competition for religious authority.	Chair	Michael B. Hawes , <i>Georgetown University</i>
Disc.	Samuel S. Stanton, Jr. , <i>Grove City College</i>	Paper	<u>Assessing the Participation of Democracies in Multilateral Treaties</u> Mark Sachleben , <i>Shippensburg University</i> Overview: The paper examines different variables to assess the characteristics of democratic states participating in multilateral treaties. Different rates of participation can be accounted for, to an extent, by variation in systemic and state level variables.
18-8	<u>ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS OF FOREIGN POLICY</u>	Paper	<u>How Did They Get Here? Tracking the Progress of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in their Ability to Assess Poverty under the Poverty Reduction and Strategy Program</u> Pamela Blackmon , <i>Valparaiso University</i> Overview: The implementation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) was important in addressing the increasing poverty levels in the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC). This paper will indicate that the reduction of trade barriers is necessary.
Room	Salon 7, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 9:50 am	Paper	<u>Bilateral Trade and the Diffusion of Human Rights Norms</u> Brian D. Greenhill , <i>University of Washington</i> Aseem Prakash , <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: We present results of a quantitative analysis of the way in which bilateral trade linkages can serve as a mechanism for the diffusion of particular human rights norms.
Chair	Michael J. Engelhardt , <i>Luther College</i>	Paper	<u>Economic Integration, Preference Convergence, and Political Decisions</u> Wonjae Hwang , <i>University of Tennessee, Knoxville</i> Overview: This paper examines the impact of economic integration on changes of state preferences, which are gauged by their voting behavior in the United Nations. It attempts to explain changes of patterns of state preferences over the time period, 1946.
Paper	<u>Global Perspective, International Media Bias and U.S. Foreign Policy</u> Nancy B. Burgoyne , <i>Seattle University</i> Overview: This project considers international media bias in response to U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. The analysis traces broadcast as well as print media coverage of the 2006 war in Lebanon and considers bias in various global media outlets.	Paper	<u>Preference Similarity and Interstate Commercial Cooperation</u> Jung In Jo , <i>Lee University</i> Overview: Does preference similarity influence foreign policy behavior? I show that the similarity of preference between dyads is likely to affect the probability of interstate economic cooperation by entering PTAs.
Paper	<u>The End of the Arab Era: The Johnson Administration and Arms For Israel</u> Michael J. Engelhardt , <i>Luther College</i> Overview: Before the Johnson Administration the United States provided only defensive arms, and a minimal amount of them, to either side in the Arab-Israeli dispute. The paper shows that Johnson's decision to provide arms to Israel was based on a desire.	Disc.	Matthew S. Weinert , <i>University of Delaware</i> Michael B. Hawes , <i>Georgetown University</i>
Paper	<u>Determinants of Foreign Assistance: Ronald Reagan Through George W. Bush</u> Donald D. A. Schaefer , <i>Tulane University</i> Overview: The purpose of this paper is to discuss the changes that took place in foreign assistance under the Reagan administration and to show the consequences of those changes, which continued through the next three administrations.		

21-201 INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: AMBIVALENCE

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 1, Sat at 9:50 am

Presenter On the Antecedents of Partisan Ambivalence

Howard Lavine, *Stony Brook University*

Marco Steenbergen, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Chris Johnson, *Stony Brook University*

Overview: Little work has examined the origins of partisan ambivalence. We examine how the effects of such contextual factors (elite polarization, partisan representation) depend on the cognitive, motivational, and ideological predispositions of voters.

Presenter Assessing the Dynamics of Ambivalence

Neil T. Baer, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Elizabeth Popp, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Overview: As a first step toward understanding the dynamics of ambivalence, we utilize an original experiment to examine whether the stability of ambivalence is a function of the information environment.

22-9 PARTISANSHIP AND VOTING BEHAVIOR

Room Salon 8, 3rd Floor, Sat at 9:50 am

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

Paper Information and the Strength of Partisanship

Matthew A. Childers, *University of California, San Diego*

Overview: Instrumental theories of voting behavior anticipate that partisanship becomes more important in low information elections. This paper examines how partisanship, as a cognitive shortcut, varies with high and low information elections.

Paper Priorities and Partisanship

Melanie Goodrich, *New York University*

Overview: This paper examines the relationship between an individual's partisanship, the issues that are politically important to her, and the issues that the political parties are publicly discussing.

Paper Party and Policy in Presidential Voting

Stephen Jessee, *Stanford University*

Overview: I show that policy views exert a significant influence on voting behavior. I go on, however, to demonstrate that party ID is a large biasing force in people's voting behavior, and the while independents use voting rules that are quite similar to Downsian.

Paper Identifying with "The Lesser of Two Evils": Dynamic Processes Underlying Partisan Stability

Eric W. Groenendyk, *University of Michigan*

Overview: National survey and experimental results suggest that, when threatened, citizens maintain their party identities by derogating the opposition party and re-justifying their partisanship on the basis of these opposition related feelings.

Paper Issue Ownership Among Different Groups of Voters

Michael R. Wolf, *Indiana University Purdue University, Fort Wayne*

Overview: This study differentiates those whose issue voting strictly follows their party identification from those voters whose vote should be drawn from a clear connection to the party they feel best handles salient issues.

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

22-15 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON VOTING BEHAVIOR

Room Suite 9-250, 9th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am

Chair Adam Berinsky, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Paper Vital Statistics: Births, Deaths, Immigration and Political Change

Richard W. Boyd, *Wesleyan University*

Overview: Through births, deaths, and immigration, the electorate rapidly replaces itself. I analyze the consequences of population turnover on party identification, vote turnout, and political values from 1950-2004.

Paper The Federalist Papers vs. Majoritarianism: How to Measure Representation

Christopher H. Achen, *Princeton University*

Larry M. Bartels, *Princeton University*

Overview: This paper takes up the history of representation theory, especially the unfortunate consequences of majoritarianism in American politics during the past century. We also propose a way to measure the quality of Burkean (trustee) representation.

Paper Intrastate Robin Hoods?: Voting for Old-Age Pensions in the U.S. States

Ryan T. Moore, *Harvard University*

Overview: I test models of inequality and social preference for redistribution using data that accords with model assumptions, newly-developed ecological inference software, and multilevel Bayesian modeling.

Paper Why Germans Chose Protectionism in the Late 1870s

Sibylle H. Lehmann, *Trinity College, Dublin*

Overview: In 1878 the liberal parties lost the majority in the parliament which they had defended in the general election just one year before. This paper investigates where the voters came from and why the voting changed so crucially within one year.

Paper The Political Conditioning of Economic Perceptions in the 2004 U.S. Presidential Election

Mark A. Pickup, *University of Oxford*

Geoffrey Evans, *University of Oxford*

Overview: Economic theories of voting argue that the individual vote decision is heavily influenced by the performance of the economy. Inferences about the direction of causality between perceptions of the economy and party support remain questionable.

Disc. Adam Berinsky, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

23-8 CANDIDATE ATTRIBUTION AND THE CAMPAIGN

Room PDR 5, 3rd Floor, Sat at 9:50 am

Chair John Sides, *George Washington University*

Paper "One Thing I've Learned...": An Experimental Test of Background Appeals

Brian K. Arbour, *University of Texas, Austin*

Overview: Does a candidate's background matter to voters? Using an experimental design to hold constant a candidate's policy message while varying his occupational background, I find that background information improves perceptions of a candidate's sincerity.

Paper Candidate Ideology in Presidential Elections

Jeffrey A. Fine, *Clemson University*

James M. Avery, *Richard Stockton College*

Overview: This research examines candidate position-taking in speeches and debates in the 2000 presidential election. We use these primary campaign materials to determine the causes of candidate ideology, as well as its effect on turnout and vote choice.

Paper Favorite Son Candidates and Localism in Voter Preferences

James G. Gimpel, *University of Maryland*

Kimberley Karnes, *University of Maryland*

John M. McTague, *University of Maryland*

Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz, *University of Maryland*

Overview: This paper revisits the "friends and neighbors" theory to see if the decrease in localized news has impacted the extent to which candidates receive a hometown advantage and how this advantage dissipates as distance from the home increases.

Paper Television and the Personalization of Politics

Danny Hayes, *Syracuse University*

Overview: Using National Election Studies data (1952-2004), I examine the extent to which television has made presidential candidate personality and image more important to voters, compared to party identification and other factors.

Disc. Noah J. Kaplan, *University of Houston*

24-4 **ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND ACCOUNTABILITY**
Room Salon 12, 3rd Floor, Sat at 9:50 am
Chair Eduardo L. Leoni, *Harvard University*
Paper **Accountability and Representation: Voter Approaches to Elections**
Stephen D. Fisher, University of Oxford
Laurence Lessard-Phillips, University of Oxford
Sara Hobolt, University of Oxford
John K. Curtice, University of Strathclyde
 Overview: Evaluates the circumstances under which people use their vote to either hold the government to account or choose a party that represents their views, or both, by using data from the second module of the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems project

Paper **The Impact of Electoral Competitiveness on Voters's Attitudes Toward Government: Evidence from the U.S., Great Britain, and Canada**
Thomas L. Brunell, University of Texas, Dallas
Liz Clausen, University of Texas, Dallas
 Overview: We theorize that both winning and losing voters ought to exhibit higher levels of trust in government and efficacy when they live and vote in a district that is more competitive relative to voters in less competitive districts.

Paper **How Changing Electoral Incentives Can Help the Poor**
Karen L. Jusko, University of Michigan
 Overview: Do legislators manipulate antipoverty policy to suit their electoral goals? Presenting evidence from two cases in which electoral incentives changed -- Italy and Germany, this research supports an electoral incentives account of antipoverty policy.

Paper **Dyadic Representation in Canada**
Kelly Blidook, McGill University
 Overview: This paper finds compelling evidence that an "electoral connection" exists in Canada. The individual legislative behaviour of Members of Parliament is affected by electoral pressure, which results in dyadic representation of electoral constituencies.

Paper **On the Parliamentary Behaviour of Legislators**
Margit Tavits, University of Missouri, Columbia
 Overview: I argue that MPs with strong personal reputations manifested in prior local level representative experience are more likely to break party unity in parliament. This relationship holds across a variety of electoral systems.

Disc. **Matthew Golder, Florida State University**

25-11 **PUBLIC OPINION ON SOCIAL POLICY**
Room Suite 9-128, 9th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am
Chair Christian Bjornskov, *University of Aarhus*
Paper **Beyond Declining Confidence: The Public's Priorities for Education**
Rebecca Jacobsen, Columbia University
Tamara Wilder, Columbia University
 Overview: Using a unique data source, this paper explores preference differentials on educational priorities and shows that one's own educational attainment and income levels have a significant impact on the prioritization of educational goals.

Paper **Shifting Frames and Public Opinion on the Right to Die**
Joshua Green, University of California, Berkeley
 Overview: The connection between religiosity and opposition to assisted suicide is channeled through opinions on abortion and the death penalty. Abortion, the death penalty and the "right to die" are all connected and part of the same opinion structure.

Paper **Public Opinion on National Health Insurance and the Implications for Healthcare Reform**
Sara L. Manning, University of Kentucky
 Overview: Attitudes about health insurance provide an opportunity to extend public opinion literature to ascertain the determinants of healthcare attitudes. Attitudes on social programs should be predictive of healthcare attitudes and have great implications.

Paper **Why Do African-Americans Have Mixed Support for the Death Penalty?**
Charles M. Hinderliter, University of South Carolina
 Overview: A study of how individual level variables and racial attitudes, such as linked fate and group threat, impact the support of African-Americans for the death penalty in the United States.

Disc. **Christian Bjornskov, University of Aarhus**

25-20 **OPINIONS, PUBLIC POLICY, AND DEMOCRATIC RESPONSIVENESS (Co-Sponsored with Public Policy, see 46-16)**
Room Salon 9, 3rd Floor, Sat at 9:50 am
Chair Richard R. Lau, *Rutgers University*
Paper **Measuring Democratic Responsiveness**
Jason Barabas, Florida State University
 Overview: Studies on opinion-policy linkages are often heavily dependent on the availability of survey questions pertaining to the national public policy agenda. I explore how changes in polling affect calculations of whether democracy works in America.

Paper **Segmented Representation: The Reagan White House and Disproportionate Responsiveness**
James N. Druckman, Northwestern University
Lawrence R. Jacobs, University of Minnesota
 Overview: Are the decisions of American policy makers influenced by the attitudes of the general public or by the views of distinct sub-groups of voters? This paper seeks to identify disproportionate influence of economic and political subgroups on policies.

Paper **A Theory of Legislative Response to Public Opinion**
Patrick J. Egan, Princeton University
 Overview: The positions taken by Democrats on Democratic owned issues are much less sensitive to district opinion than those taken by Republicans. Similarly, Republican positions are less responsive to public opinion than those taken by Democrats.

Paper **The Effect of Party Cues and Information on Public Opinion Formation**
John D. Griffin, University of Notre Dame
Jonathan Ladd, Georgetown University
Gabriel Lenz, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
 Overview: We examine whether the effect of party cues on public opinion is stronger than that of objective information that runs counter to the cues.

Paper **On the Limits to Inequality in Representation**
Stuart Soroka, McGill University
Christopher Wlezien, Temple University
 Overview: This paper examines homogeneity and heterogeneity in preferences for public policy, across income and education levels, and party identification, and across policy domains in the U.S., UK and Canada.

Disc. **Martin Gilens, Princeton University**
Ben Page, Northwestern University

26-12 **GOING ABOVE AND BEYOND: PARTICIPATION BEFORE NOVEMBER AND BEYOND THE GRAVE**
Room Clark 9, 7th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am
Chair Tina M. Ebenger, *Calumet College of St. Joseph*
Paper **Floating Activists: Moving and Shaking Among the Movers and Shakers**
Ryan Claassen, Kent State University
 Overview: Campaign success depends on ability to attract previously active activists. I use panel data to model longitudinal variation in campaign participation while also addressing endogeneity issues associated with cross-sectional studies of participation.

Paper **Political Identities in Obituaries**
Shannon I. Smithey, Westminster College
 Overview: 50 years worth of obituaries reveal the kinds of people who care enough about politics to continue the fight after their deaths. They also shed light on the civic engagement debate by revealing the extent of organizational memberships at death.

- Paper** **Types of Political Participation: Civic Innovation**
Andrew McFarland, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Overview: Lacking established institutions, scattered citizens seeking public action to rectify injustice to all citizens, innovate forms of participation.
- Paper** **Partisan Attachment and Voter Representativeness in Presidential Primaries**
Bryan M. Parsons, *University of South Carolina*
Phillip J. Ardoyn, *Appalachian State University*
 Overview: The intensity of partisan attachment has been largely overlooked in the study of primary voter representativeness, and may be a more significant factor than ideology in understanding turnout in presidential primaries.
- Disc.** **Tina M. Ebenger**, *Calumet College of St. Joseph*
Jean-Francois Godbout, *Northwestern University*
- 27-12** **DEPICTIONS OF MUHAMMAD, PRISONER ABUSE, AND THE WAR WITH IRAQ**
Room Clark 1, 7th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am
Chair **Danielle Vinson**, *Furman University*
Paper **What Explains Torture Coverage During War? A Search for Realistic Answers**
Doris A. Graber, *University of Illinois*
 Overview: Based on content analyses, the paper appraises the fairness of charges that torture coverage is inadequate. It dissects the dilemmas facing journalists who cover torture stories and develops a realistic theory for predicting torture coverage.
- Paper** **The Fourth Estate and Torture at Abu Ghraib**
Ramune Brazunaite, *Bowling Green State University*
 Overview: Covering torture at Abu Ghraib media created forum to question not only military's misconduct but also to evaluate medias' role in influencing the public. This paper will provide an analysis of coverage of prisoner abuses taking the framing approach.
- Paper** **The Attitude-Changing Power of Words and Pictures in the Case of Abu Ghraib**
John M. Fulwider, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*
Kelly M. Greenhill, *Wesleyan and Harvard Universities*
David A. Weaver, *University of California, Santa Barbara*
 Overview: Pictures may be worth 1,000 words, but how much are they worth in shaping attitudes? We experiment with images of prisoner abuse at Abu Ghraib to speak to ongoing debates about the power of words and of images to affect public opinion.
- Paper** **Crossing the Line? Freedom of Speech and Religious Sensibilities**
S. Suzan J. Harkness, *University of the District of Columbia*
Jameka Roberts, *University of the District of Columbia*
 Overview: This paper examined the cartoon controversy depicting the Prophet Muhammad and the subsequent global protests and boycotts.
- Paper** **Cut and Run or Stay the Course: Framing the Iraq War End Game**
Erika G. King, *Grand Valley State University*
Robert A. Wells, *Thiel College*
 Overview: This study examines the frame contest over the issue of U.S. withdrawal from Iraq, specifically how the media has depicted the Bush administration's narrative of the Iraq War end game and Rep. John Murtha's (D-PA) challenge to it.
- Disc.** **Elizabeth A. Skewes**, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
- 28-11** **THE GENDER DIMENSIONS OF WELFARE AND SOCIAL POLICY**
Room Clark 7, 7th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am
Chair **Susan Mezey**, *Loyola University*
Paper **Negotiating the Ideology of Motherhood: The Construction of Mothers on Welfare in Mainstream Leftist Media Discourse**
Marissa I. Guerrero, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: Researchers have widely documented the problematically raced and gendered dimensions of mainstream and right-wing media discussions of American recipients of welfare benefits. The approaches of leftist publications, however, remain relatively unexamined.
- Paper** **The Equal Rights Amendment and Women's Citizenship**
Rosemary Nossiff, *Marymount Manhattan College*
 Overview: This paper argues that a major reason for women's inequality can be traced to the defeat of the ERA. It analyzes the ERA campaign against the backdrop of equal protection cases brought in the 1970& 80s when the ERA was before the states.
- Paper** **Issues of Rationality and Justice in Welfare Reform Programs**
Mary Ann E. Steger, *Northern Arizona University*
 Overview: The paper explores the changes that would occur if the principles of communicative rationality and a system of social justice that recognizes difference and disadvantage were used in the policy designs of welfare reform programs.
- Paper** **Rape and the Politics of Reaction**
Francis X. Shen, *Harvard University*
 Overview: This 50 state mixed-methods analysis finds that male state legislators practice a politics of reaction, disproportionately proposing laws aimed at punishment of stranger and child rape. Female legislators practice a politics of prevention.
- Disc.** **Virginia Beard**, *Michigan State University*
Jacqueline DeLaat, *Marietta College*
- 28-207** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: THE HARD PART OF BECOMING A FEMALE REPRESENTATIVE? BECOMING A FEMALE CANDIDATE**
Room State, 4th Floor, Table 2, Sat at 9:50 am
Presenter **The Hard Part of Becoming a Female Representative? Becoming a Female Candidate**
Christopher Balding, *University of California, Irvine*
 Overview: Electoral studies focusing on female candidates has failed to capture why women are elected or not elected. By using unique candidate level data across Western democracies and incorporating the Heckman Two Step procedure to eliminate sample selection.
- 28-208** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: GENDER AND PUBLIC POLICY IN KOREA AND TAIWAN**
Room State, 4th Floor, Table 3, Sat at 9:50 am
Presenter **Female Immigrants, Social Capital and Public Sphere in Taiwan**
Yu-Ching Lin, *City University of New York*
Wei-Ting Wu, *City University of New York*
 Overview: This paper argues that through social capital building, excluded groups are able to formulate their own voices in the public debates, and construct counterpublics that can re-demarcate the boundary of the private and the public.
- 28-209** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: WOMEN AND REPRESENTATION IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**
Room State, 4th Floor, Table 4, Sat at 9:50 am
Presenter **Post-Soviet Legislatures: Women's Substantive Representation**
Raminta Stockute, *University of Kansas*
 Overview: I address the question whether female deputies are more likely than their male counterparts to vote in support of women's issues. I examine roll-call votes from the Fifth Duma of the Russian Federation.
- 29-11** **MARGINS TO MAINSTREAM?: ASIANS AND LATINOS/AS AND THE POLITICS OF INCLUSION**
Room Parlor H, 6th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am
Chair **Joseph Stewart, Jr.**, *Clemson University*
Paper **Belonging and the Gaze of Suspicion: South Asian Immigrants in the Post-9/11 US**
Sangay K. Mishra, *University of Southern California*
 Overview: This paper looks at the experiences of South Asian immigrants in the post-9/11 United States. It particularly looks at the experiences of marginalization faced by different sections of this group and the ways in which religion, country of origin and race.

Paper	<p><u>The Effects of Transnational Ties on Latino Immigrant Political Incorporation</u> Adrian D. Pantoja, <i>Pitzer College</i> Rafael Jimeno, <i>Arizona State University</i> Javier Rodriguez, <i>Arizona State University</i> Overview: We draw on survey data from the 2002 National Survey of Latinos to test two competing propositions: one holding that transnational ties are an impediment to political incorporation, the other holding that transnational ties co-exist.</p>	32-10	<p><u>ROUSSEAU</u> LaSalle 1, 7th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am Chair Mara G. Marin, <i>University of Chicago</i> Paper <u>Undermining the Possibility of Law: Rousseau's General Will Reconsidered</u> Jason P. Di Gianni, <i>SUNY, Albany</i> Overview: A reconsideration of Rousseau's general will showing the limits it places on the citizen's ability to create law. Instead, the general will is shown to foster recognition that laws are demonstrations of particular wills and therefore unnecessary.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Awaking the Sleeping Giant: 21st Century Latino Political Mobilization</u> Corinna A. Reyes, <i>California State University, Channel Islands</i> Overview: This paper examines the future of Latino political mobilization by examining the 2006 pro-immigrant marches and the use of modern technology by protest organizers. I argue that the marches represent a critical juncture for Latino political power.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Rousseau and the Limits of Compassion</u> Jonathan Marks, <i>Ursinus College</i> Overview: Public intellectuals and scholars, from Nussbaum to Etzioni to Himmelfarb have looked to compassion to shore up or supplement liberalism. I consider Rousseau's potential contribution to the discussion among such public intellectuals and scholars.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Naturalization Rates of Asian Immigrants by Ethnicity and Nationality</u> Steven N. Tran, <i>University of Houston</i> Phaik S. Lim, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Compared to other racial groups, Asian Immigrations have the lowest naturalization rates. Most naturalization studies compare rates by racial groups or national origins. We look at rates across eight Asian groups separated by ethnicity and nationality.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The "Black Rousseau" and Rousseau</u> Joyce M. Mullan, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: This paper analyzes to what extent Frantz Fanon, the "Black Rousseau" can really be assimilated to the thought of Jean-Jacques Rousseau.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Asian American Political Participation in Hawaii and the Mainland</u> Kathy H. Rim, <i>University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: Using data from the 2000 Pilot National Asian American Political Survey (PNAAPS) this study compares the development of group consciousness and its impact on political participation between Asian Americans living in Hawaii and on the mainland U.S.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Rousseau on Justice in the Absence of Legal Precedents</u> Ethan Putterman, <i>National University of Singapore</i> Overview: In this paper, I examine the question of judicial decisionmaking for civil and criminal legislation in the ideal state of the Social Contract. I argue that such an organ as a 'judiciary' does exist in Rousseau's state but its autonomy is limited.</p>
Disc.	<p>Ricardo Ramirez, <i>University of Southern California</i> Joseph Stewart, Jr., <i>Clemson University</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Burke and Rousseau on the Foundations of Political Life</u> Andrea M. Radasanu, <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: This paper proposes to compare Burke and Rousseau on the question of the foundations of political society. Although Burke is known as a vigorous critic of Rousseau, this paper seeks to show that the similarities between the two are important.</p>
30-5	<p><u>THE PROBLEM OF CIVIC EDUCATION</u> Dearborn 1, 7th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am Chair Pamela Jensen, <i>Kenyon College</i> Paper <u>Even Keel: The Aims of Early Education in Book Seven of Plato's Laws</u> Dana Jalbert Stauffer, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: I argue that the discussion of early childhood education in Book Seven of Plato's Laws illuminates Plato's understanding of the limits of civic education.</p>	Disc.	<p>Mara G. Marin, <i>University of Chicago</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>A Threshold in Socrates' Education: An Examination of the Introductory Scenes in Plato's Protagoras</u> Lisa Leibowitz, <i>Kenyon College</i> Overview: This paper examines the introductory scenes of the Protagoras with an eye to what they suggest about the character of the dialogue and its contribution to our understanding of Socrates' own education.</p>	33-9	<p><u>THE BOUNDARIES OF THE POLITICAL: SPHERES, PLACES, AND REALMS</u> Dearborn 2, 7th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am Room Chair Eli L. Meyerhoff, <i>University of Minnesota</i> Paper <u>Political Theory, Political Science, and the End of Civic Engagement</u> Benjamin F. Berger, <i>Swarthmore College</i> Overview: The buzz word "civic engagement," common in political science and theory, confuses our discourse and so it must go. We should follow the spirit (but not the letter) of Hannah Arendt in distinguishing between political, social and moral engagement.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Advantages of Just War: Averroes' Understanding and Use of Courage in Plato's Republic</u> Linda Rabieh, <i>Tufts University</i> Overview: This paper aims to illuminate and explore the peculiar revisions and adaptations that the great Islamic philosopher, Averroes, makes to Plato's account of courage and of the way in which the just city wages war in his Republic.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Public Values in Private Life: Non-Coercive Implications of Public Reason for the State and Citizens</u> Corey Brettschneider, <i>Brown University</i> Overview: I argue that the ideal of public reason has implications for civil society and the family. I am particularly concerned to show the consistency of my transformative project with liberal rights such as freedom of association and conscience.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Source of the True Society: I-Thou in Plato and Genesis</u> Eugen L. Nagy, <i>Catholic University of America</i> Overview: The very cause and source of the I-Thou relationships that constitute society, and the constant source of the truth about the I, is found in the intercourse with the essential Thou - the source of I's existence.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Fostering Sense of Place: How Environmental Is It?</u> Jessica Taverna, <i>University of Utah</i> Overview: The Katrina disaster highlights problems with the environmental sense of place literature: Are there some places that are environmentally unfit for occupation? I rethink the way connection to place has been utilized by environmental political theory.</p>
Disc.	<p>Kevin M. Cherry, <i>University of Notre Dame</i></p>	Disc.	<p>Eli L. Meyerhoff, <i>University of Minnesota</i></p>

33-24	<u>PROBLEMS OF MODERN POLITICAL THOUGHT: ESTRANGEMENT, ALIENATION, ILLUSION, AND LOVE</u>		Paper	<u>Conflict Phases and Processes: Bayesian Markov-Switching Models of Endogenous Systems</u> Patrick T. Brandt , <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i> Justin Appleby , <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i> Overview: We present a Markov switching Bayesian time series model is inter- and intra-state conflicts. We show how these models can be used 1) to identify and estimate switching processes in international relations and 2) to improve forecasts of these conflicts.
Room	Suite 9-142, 9 th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am			
Chair	Christian D. Dean , <i>Dominican University of California</i>		Paper	<u>Merging Time Series Using the Kalman Filter and EM-Algorithm</u> Gregory E. McAvoy , <i>University of North Carolina, Greensboro</i> Overview: This paper describes a procedure for merging time series that are intended to measure the same concept over time, but under conditions when no single time series contains all the relevant information.
Paper	<u>Action and Reconciliation with Estrangement in Hegel's Phenomenology</u> John W. Ackerman , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: In his Phenomenology, Hegel develops an account of action that questions the idea that agency involves being reconciled with one's acts. Instead, action's sociality enacts self-consciousness's continual estrangement (Entzweiung) from them.		Paper	<u>Back to the Future: Modeling Time Dependence in Binary Data</u> Curtis Signorino , <i>University of Rochester</i> David Carter , <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: We propose a simple method for controlling for temporal dependence in binary data models: using t , t^2 , and t^3 , which serves as a Taylor series approximation to the hazard.
Paper	<u>Seeing the Specter: A Gothic Metaphor of Baudrillard's Symbolic and Impossible Exchange</u> Clifford D. Deaton , <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i> Overview: The metaphor of specter evolves through its interrelationship with the subject, and is mirrored in examples from Pop music to the Mummy of Lennin. It progresses from Symbolic to show Impossible Exchange.		Disc.	<u>Luke J. Keele</u> , <i>Ohio State University</i>
Paper	<u>The Illusion of Realism: Machiavelli's Virtuous Violence and the Republican Tradition</u> Dustin E. Howes , <i>St. Mary's College of Maryland</i> Overview: One of the hallmarks of Machiavelli's work is his purportedly realistic account of the relationship between violence and politics. This paper argues that he overestimates the reliability of violence and that this misstep has become part of the republican tradition.		37-9	<u>CONTEMPORARY PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL ELECTORAL ACTIVITIES</u>
Disc.	Christian D. Dean , <i>Dominican University of California</i>		Room	LaSalle 2, 7 th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am
34-9	<u>INTEREST GROUPS</u>		Chair	Brian P. Frederick , <i>Northern Illinois University</i>
Room	Sandburg 1, 7 th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am		Paper	<u>One Agent – Multiple Principals: A Theory of Political Consultants</u> Robin Kolodny , <i>Temple University</i> Overview: Applies principal-agent theory to the study of political consultants, developing a theory of ordered principals. Shows that political party relationships with political consultant is the leitmotif for all other contracts with political consultants.
Chair	Maria Petrova , <i>Harvard University</i>		Paper	<u>Political Parties in the Money-Driven Campaign Economy</u> Jonathan S. Krasno , <i>Binghamton University</i> Overview: This paper describes how parties have adapted themselves to a campaign economy based on money, rather than labor, and argues that these adaptation have undercut parties' traditional role in elections.
Paper	<u>Variable Sum Games as Models of Public Goods</u> James C. Roberts , <i>Towson University</i> Overview: This paper derives the preference functions of individuals that make up each of Olson's privileged, intermediate, and latent groups.		Paper	<u>Why the Methods Matter: The Effectiveness of Party Contacting Tactics Since the 1950s</u> Daniel C. Reed , <i>University of Georgia</i> Overview: This research examines the changing roles of parties and interest groups in the electoral arena, and its effect on methods of voter mobilization.
Paper	<u>Does Privilege Matter? Rethinking the Logic of Collective Action</u> Lawrence S. Rothenberg , <i>University of Rochester</i> Jaehoon Kim , <i>Samsung Research Institute</i> Overview: Much empirical analysis of industry political activity has led to the questioning of the collective action logic by which those in concentrated groups are better able to mobilize to pursue public rewards.		Disc.	Seth E. Masket , <i>University of Denver</i>
Paper	<u>Multi-dimensional Cheap Talk, Free Speech, and Commitment</u> Sven Feldmann , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: The nature of equilibria and amount of information revelation in cheap talk signaling games depends not only on the dimensionality of the state space, but also on the degree of commitment assumed for the receiver.		38-7	<u>PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC AND AGENDA SETTING</u>
Paper	<u>A Theory of Corporate Lobbying Coalitions</u> Sanford C. Gordon , <i>New York University</i> Catherine Hafer , <i>New York University</i> Overview: We provide a game-theoretic model in which multiple competing firms choose to lobby collectively, individually, or not at all, to explain this variation in behavior, its timing with respect to the legislative process, and its policy consequences.		Room	LaSalle 3, 7 th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am
Disc.	John W. Patty , <i>Harvard University</i>		Chair	Lara A. Gruscynski , <i>Cardinal Stritch University</i>
35-8	<u>MODELING DYNAMICS</u>		Paper	<u>The Decider is a Divider: The Conflict Model of Presidential Leadership</u> Joseph J. Foy , <i>University of Wisconsin, Waukesha</i> Overview: The development and examination of the crisis model of executive leadership dominating the administrations of the post-modern presidents.
Room	Montrose 2, 7 th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am		Paper	<u>Stealing or Staving Away: Presidential Rhetoric on Opposition Issues</u> David B. Holian , <i>University of North Carolina, Greensboro</i> Overview: Previous work argues that presidents can succeed in neutralizing opposition issues. Yet presidents often find speaking out on such issues reaps few rewards. This research studies this discrepancy. When should presidents discuss out-party issues?
Chair	Anton Westveld , <i>University of Washington</i>		Paper	<u>Presidents, the Media and Pseudo-Events: George Bush and America's Newspapers</u> Jeffrey S. Peake , <i>Bowling Green State University</i> Overview: The paper explores and compares the front-page coverage in the top 100 U.S. newspapers of three separate Bush
Paper	<u>But Wait There's More! Making More out of Pooled Time Series Models</u> Laron K. Williams , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Guy Whitten , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: We present a technique that allows scholars to produce dynamic simulations of relationships over long periods of time.			

	events during the summer of 2006. The content analysis focuses on political biases and the competition for frames that emerge.		
Paper	<u>Presidential Responsiveness to Public Opinion</u> Justin S. Vaughn , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper examines how the political environment and the type of presidential behavior shape the responsiveness of presidential policy positions to the public's ideological preferences.	Paper	<u>Midterm Decline in Nineteenth Century House Elections</u> Erik J. Engstrom , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: This paper considers a unique, but overlooked, characteristic of nineteenth century American elections to examine competing explanations of midterm decline. By comparing the sources of surge and decline in synchronized versus non-synchronized elections.
Paper	<u>The Presidency as Seen by Presidents in the Inaugural Addresses</u> Michael E. Bailey , <i>Berry College</i> Overview: Here I examine the inaugural addresses to note how presidents over time have rhetorically treated the office of the presidency within America's constitutional separation of powers system, as well as from the broader context of democracy.	Paper	<u>Examining the Electoral Connection Across Time</u> Jamie I. Carson , <i>University of Georgia</i> Jeffrey A. Jenkins , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: We investigate the incidence of an "electoral connection" in the context of nineteenth century congressional politics. In examining this trend across time, we detail how the dynamics of the electoral connection have changed in response to changes in both.
Disc.	Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha , <i>University of North Texas</i> Laurie L. Rice , <i>Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville</i>	Paper	<u>Building the Road to Damascus, Ohio: Post Roads, the Electoral Connection, and the Antebellum Pork Barrel</u> John Baughman , <i>Bates College</i> Overview: This paper investigates the development of constituency-oriented behavior by members of the antebellum House of Representatives in the form of post road construction.
39-8	<u>CONGRESS AND THE BUREAUCRACY</u>	Disc.	Jason M. Roberts , <i>University of Minnesota</i> William T. Bianco , <i>Indiana University</i>
Room	Montrose 1, 7 th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am	41-10	<u>JUDICIAL POWER: HIERARCHY AND THE SEPARATION OF POWERS (Co-sponsored with Public Law, see 42-17)</u>
Chair	Jason A. MacDonald , <i>Kent State University</i>	Room	Burnham 1, 7 th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am
Paper	<u>Divided Government and Bureaucratic Gridlock: The Case of Regulatory Policy</u> Erik K. Godwin , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: Divided government causes federal regulatory gridlock when the houses of Congress are of different parties, but not when Congress is unified. This has implications for policymaking and extant theories of congressional control of the bureaucracy.	Chair	Gretchen Helmke , <i>Rochester University</i>
Paper	<u>Impacts of Divided Government on Congressional Use of Temporary Authorization</u> Sebahattin Gultekin , <i>University of North Texas</i> Overview: The Congress is believed to hold bureaucracy accountable effectively through various means including temporary authorization. This paper focuses on impacts of divided government on congressional use of temporary authorization.	Paper	<u>Pivotal Politics and Compliance in the Judicial Hierarchy</u> Jeffrey R. Lax , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: I present a formal model of the judicial hierarchy, which makes explicit predictions as to which Supreme Court justices will be pivotal for inducing compliance in the lower courts, given the Supreme Court's internal rules.
Paper	<u>Congressional Control over Bureaucracy: Ex Ante vs. Ex Post Controls</u> Hong Min Park , <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: The paper examines how Congress controls the bureaucracy in the United States. By using time-series data (1947-2001), the paper argues 1) political parties matter, and 2) ex ante and ex post mechanisms are complementary, not supplementary.	Paper	<u>The Supreme Court and America's Governing Coalitions, 1790-2004</u> Charles M. Cameron , <i>Princeton University</i> Tom Clark , <i>Princeton University</i> Jee-Kwang Park , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Overview: We study how one-party dominance of the presidency drives the Supreme Court to the fringes of American politics, engendering judicial activism and court-curbing legislation in Congress.
Paper	<u>BRAC Attack: Delegation, Politics, and the Closing of Military Bases</u> David C. W. Parker , <i>Indiana University, South Bend</i> Colin E. Flora , <i>Indiana University, South Bend</i> Overview: This study seeks to examine the BRAC process over the past 15 years to determine if closure and realignment decisions are based strictly on military merit or whether other political factors play a role.	Paper	<u>Judicial Deterrence of Legislation</u> James R. Rogers , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Why does judicial review deter unconstitutional legislation when courts cannot directly impose sanctions on legislators for unconstitutional enactments? We develop a model to identify the conditions under which deterrence does (and does not) occur.
Paper	<u>One for the Legislators, Two for the Bureaucrats</u> Laila F. Sorurbakhsh , <i>University of Houston</i> Overview: This paper examines the relationship between special legislative commissions and the bureaucracy in developing countries, as they are formed in response to national crises.	Paper	<u>An Informational Theory of Judicial Organization</u> Robert Anderson , <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: This paper develops an informational approach to explaining judicial organization. The paper uses a principal-agent model with asymmetric information to explore the relationships among law, facts, and doctrine in the judicial hierarchy.
Disc.	Rene Lindstaedt , <i>SUNY, Stony Brook</i> Jason A. MacDonald , <i>Kent State University</i>	Disc.	James R. Rogers , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Gretchen Helmke , <i>Rochester University</i>
40-1	<u>CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS AND THE ELECTORAL CONNECTION ACROSS TIME</u>	42-11	<u>RELIGION, SPEECH, AND RELIGIOUS SPEECH (Co-sponsored with Politics and Religions, see 53-15)</u>
Room	Parlor B, 6 th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am	Room	Clark 5, 7 th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am
Chair	William T. Bianco , <i>Indiana University</i>	Chair	Jeffrey H. Anderson , <i>United States Air Force Academy</i>
Paper	<u>Party Division and Coalition Formation in U.S. Senate Elections, 1870-1913</u> Wendy J. Schiller , <i>Brown University</i> Charles H. Stewart III , <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Overview: Using original archival data, we will analyze balloting in state legislatures on the choice for U.S. senator, and we intend to explain the wide variation in the number of ballots it took to elect a senator across states and across time.	Paper	<u>The Essential Principle of Nonestablishment</u> Dennis J. Goldford , <i>Drake University</i> Overview: In this 2007 MPSA paper I differentiate my own conception of the essential principle of the Establishment Clause, what I call the principle of non-position-taking, from Justice O'Connor's concept of endorsement and from the concept of neutrality.

Paper	<p><u>God and Caesar: Religion in the Public Workplace</u> Steven P. Brown, <i>Auburn University</i> Overview: State and local governments employ some 8 million people, few of whom know how they can express themselves religiously in the public workplace. This paper considers federal court rulings that pertain to religious expression in the public workplace.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Evolving Local Government Purpose through Economic Development</u> Debra H. Moore, <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i> Andrew J. Theising, <i>Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville</i> 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 roles.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Thought, Word and Deed: Religion Before the Supreme Court, 1961-1981</u> Jesse D. Covington, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: This project traces two divergent views of religion that developed during the expansion of religious liberty during these two decades: the individual as the locus of belief versus the community of faith as central to protecting religious conduct.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Public Demand, Institutional Choice and Dynamics of Governmental Structure</u> Jongsun Park, <i>Florida State University</i> Inwon Lee, <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: Why do local governments choose specific types of agencies for economic development? Our opinion is the combination of public demands and various institutions, and the decision mechanism of governmental structure is dynamic rather than static.</p>
Paper	<p><u>What Can the State Say?: Examining Government Speech Within a Free Marketplace of Ideas</u> John C. Evans, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: In this paper, I examine recent Supreme Court jurisprudence in the area of "government speech" and give my analysis on how I believe the Court should proceed in this area in the future.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Knowing One When You See It: Special-Purpose Authorities as a Fuzzy Set</u> James M. Smith, <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i> Overview: Miscounts and misnomers make the study of special authorities difficult at the macro level. This study considers special authorities in Chicago qualitatively using a fuzzy set approach (Ragin 2000) to overcome such ambiguity.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Trinitarian Pledge of Allegiance: God, Children, and Security</u> Mina Suk, <i>Johns Hopkins University</i> Overview: The constitutional controversy surrounding the Pledge of Allegiance poses a unique Establishment problem because of its intersection of the spoken word "God," public schools as places of intellectual safety, and the security rhetoric of patriotism.</p>	Disc.	<p>Nicholas Bauroth, <i>North Dakota State University</i></p>
Disc.	<p>Alan Tarr, <i>Rutgers University</i></p>	46-102	<p><u>ROUNDTABLE: THE FUTURE OF THE ACF</u> Room Monroe, 6th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am Chair Paul Sabatier, <i>University of California, Davis</i> Panelist Hank Jenkins-Smith, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Bill Leach, <i>California State University, Sacramento</i> Chris Weible, <i>Georgia Tech University</i> Overview: The Future of the ACF</p>
44-9	<p><u>STATE BUDGET POLITICS</u> Parlor C, 6th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am Chair Michael J. New, <i>University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa</i> Paper <u>The Roots of Executive Power</u> Thad B. Kousser, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Justin H. Phillips, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: How much influence do governors have over policy, and what is at the root of their power? We investigate these questions by looking at the outcomes of budget negotiations and at how successful governors are in moving their legislative agendas.</p>	49-6	<p><u>NETWORKS AS FEATURES OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS</u> Room PDR 6, 3rd Floor, Sat at 9:50 am Chair Brent Steel, <i>Oregon State University</i> Paper <u>Environmental Networks in Developing Countries and Their Effects on Policy</u> Jonathan Fuentes, <i>University of Houston</i> Jentry Edleson, <i>University of Houston</i> Overview: Through a comparative case study of oil-rich developing countries, we wish to discover who controls the policy-making environmental networks. Given the structure and the power distribution within the network, what type of policies is produced?</p>
Paper	<p><u>Institutions, Interests, and the Composition of State Budgets</u> Christian Breunig, <i>University of Washington</i> Chris Adolph, <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 the composition of state budgets. Our inquiry focuses on the impact of governors, legislators and partisanship.</p>	Paper	<p><u>To Persuade, or To Be Persuaded?</u> Soo Hyun Jung, <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: This article examines how interactions between permit issuers and holders affect the stringency of wetland permits with the development of policy networks, using data from a survey of the Tampa Bay area and record of wetland mitigation.</p>
Paper	<p><u>For Whom the TEL Tolls</u> Ellen C. Moule, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Thad Kousser, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Mathew D. McCubbins, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: This paper evaluates the effectiveness of tax and expenditure limits (TELs) using comprehensive fiscal data from the 50 U.S. states. We analyze the conditions of TEL passage to predict which, if any, TELs will be most effective.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Institutionalization of Energy Policy and Its Consequences in the United States</u> Philip A. Mundo, <i>Drew University</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the extent to which energy policy favoring oil and coal has become embedded in political institutions at the national level. The extent to which policies encouraging the use of these fossil fuels have become institutionalized.</p>
Disc.	<p>Michael J. New, <i>University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa</i> Michael E. Greenberg, <i>Shippensburg University</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Which Variables Matter? Testing Frameworks Using Watershed Collaboratives</u> Edward P. Weber, <i>Washington State University</i> Tetyana Lysak, <i>Washington State University</i> Overview: Our paper tests the efficacy of four theoretical frameworks in helping us to understand the degree of collaborative success found in three different cases of collaborative watershed governance in Washington State.</p>
45-5	<p><u>LOCAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY INSTRUMENTS</u> Room Burnham 4, 7th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am Chair Stephen Mergner, <i>University of Cincinnati</i> Paper <u>Strategic Plans and Local Development Policy Instrument Choices</u> Moon-Gi Jeong, <i>University of Texas, San Antonio</i> Overview: We empirically test proposition about how strategic planning constrains development policy and policy instrument choices using OLS regression based on panel data from ICMA survey of local economic development conducted in 1999 and 2004.</p>	Disc.	<p>Mark Lubell, <i>University of California, Davis</i></p>

50-8 POLITICAL INFLUENCE AND ADMINISTRATION

Room PDR 7, 3rd Floor, Sat at 9:50 am

Chair E L. Bernick, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

Paper Legislative Responsibility for State Budget Problems

Carolyn Bourdeaux, *Andrew Young School of Policy Studies*
Overview: This paper examines whether legislative bodies with more institutional responsibility for budgetary decision-making make more fiscally responsible choices and whether they are then held accountable by the public for their choices.

Paper Conditions of Political Control: Management, Context, and Policy Outcomes

Daniel P. Hawes, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: I examine organizational, managerial, and environmental factors that condition the relationship between political institutional preferences and policy outcomes and examine what variables act as constraints or catalysts for political control.

Paper Dimensionality of IRC Voting: A Dynamic Model of the FCC

Eric D. Hurst, *Georgia State University*

Overview: This paper examines the dimensionality of Independent Regulatory Commissions by estimating a dynamic model of FCC commissioner voting.

Paper Controlling Federal Agencies: Do External Controls Aid or Impede Worker Productivity?

Laura Langbein, *American University*

Overview: My paper uses data from a recent federal survey, and other information, to examine whether attempts to control federal agencies make employees within the agency better able to support the agency mission.

Paper Divided Government and Federal Agency Policymaking

Susan W. Yackee, *University of Southern California*

Jason W. Yackee, *University of Southern California*

Overview: Regulatory "ossification" has become one of the most cited theories in agency rulemaking. Using a duration analysis, we test this thesis against a dataset covering all federal rulemaking from 1983 to 2006.

Disc. E L. Bernick, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

Stephen A. Sargent, *Texas A&M University*

51-9 HISTORICAL CONCEPTIONS OF THE PUBLIC

Room PDR 8, 3rd Floor, Sat at 9:50 am

Chair Erik S. Root, *Claremont Graduate School, Raleigh*

Paper Secrecy, Security, and Sex: Congress and 1960's Martin-Mitchell Defection

David M. Barrett, *Villanova University*

Overview: In 1960, two National Security Agency cryptologists defected to the USSR. This was NSA's first scandal, raising issues of secrecy, security, and sexual orientation. Using de-classified documents, I examine three congressional committees's responses.

Paper Amos, Andy 'n the APSA: Political Scientists, the Public, and Early Radio

Matthew S. Hindman, *Arizona State University*

Overview: The paper examines the APSA's 1932-1937 national radio program. While "You and Your Government" gave political scientists unprecedented notice, it attracted few listeners, and left many scholars deeply pessimistic about the public.

Paper The Paradox of Retrenchment: Post-WWI Politics and the Triumph of the Modern Fiscal State

Ajay K. Mehrotra, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Overview: Investigation of how the progressive tax structure of the First World War was maintained in the face of post-war political retrenchment.

Paper The Reparations Movement for Chinese Forced Labor in Wartime Japan

William Underwood, *Kurume Institute of Technology*

Overview: The origins, development and future direction of the redress movement for Chinese forced labor in wartime Japan are described. The movement is located within leading models of the reparations process.

Disc. Jessica Blatt, *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

Michael A. Kwas, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

53-3 POLITICAL THEORY, CIVIC RELIGION, AND SECULARISM

Room Parlor F, 6th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am

Chair James E. F. Mastrangelo, *Rutgers University*

Paper Communicative Action and Catholicism: Bringing in the 'Superstitious Other'

Phillip W. Gray, *Texas A&M University*

Sara R. Jordan, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: Communicative action theory meets Catholicism.

Paper America's God: An Examination of Civic Religion in Theory and Practice

Troy A. Kozma, *University of Wisconsin, Barron County*

Overview: The American experience is that of a liberal nation deeply entwined within a religious culture. From within a Rawlsian framework, I critique one facet of this – the creation and existence of America's civic religion.

Paper Rescuing the Secular and Re-Introducing It to Liberal-Democracy

Gordon A. Babst, *Chapman University*

Gregory D. King, *Chapman University*

Overview: This paper retrieves the concept of the secular from fundamentalist misappropriations, and deploys it as a vital asset to liberal-democratic practice.

Paper An Evolved Social Consciousness: Religion, Science and Social Darwinism

James E. F. Mastrangelo, *Rutgers University*

Overview: An investigation of the mix of religion and science in early 20th century debates over evolution demonstrates how beliefs about how truth is best known influences the plausibility of political possibilities and influences political and social goals.

Disc. Matthew Holland, *Brigham Young University*

Carl M. Dibble, *University of Michigan, Dearborn*

56-301 POSTER SESSION: UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH I

Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am

Presenter United States Role on Globalization and Environmental Effects
(Board 1)

Jessica L. Magnuson, *Dickinson State University*

Overview: Technology is allowing trade to expand at unprecedented rates that before have been unseen in human history. As a major player in the world's markets, the United States has had many effects and repercussions from stretching towards a globalized economy. This research examines America in a post NAFTA period, explores arguments for and against, as well as examining the malthusian and cornucopian views on it's effect on the environment.

Presenter Trans-Atlantic Rivalries: Boeing vs. Airbus
(Board 2)

Timothy P. Gallagher, *Georgia Institute of Technology*

Overview: The Boeing-Airbus rift has deep implications for the aerospace industry, domestic politics and US-EU relations. This paper argues that current theoretical frameworks do not capture the complexities of the dispute and offers new analytical frameworks.

Presenter Enforcement of the Land Act, 1998: Implementation of the Consent Clause
(Board 3)

Abbi G. Martin, *Wheaton College*

Overview: The Ugandan Land Act awarded women the right to be consulted concerning all property transactions but due to the lack of implementation of certain institutions as proscribed by the Land Act; women still remain vulnerable.

Presenter Love of God and God of Love: Europe's Quest for Identity
(Board 4)

Alexandra Sindrestean, *University of Bucharest*

Overview: Indubitably, an enlarged, united Europe calls for a renegotiation of contract between citizens and the political entity. Hence, the reconsideration of both religion and Eros might yet again play a prominent role in enlightening the path.

- Presenter** **The Role of Kenya's Traditional Leadership in Gusii Women's Land Rights**
(Board 5)
Elin J. Henrysson, *Wheaton College*
Overview: This paper is a case-study of the Gusii tribe in South-Western Kenya, specifically addressing women's land rights and the interplay between formal, legal channels and more informal, customary structures for women's land dispute resolutions.
- Presenter** **State Indecence, Leadership Stability and Severity of Ethnic Conflict**
(Board 6)
Petra M. Hendrickson, *Indiana State University*
Overview: I conduct a cross-sectional analysis of ethnic conflicts since 1945 to assess the relationship between leadership change and ethnic conflict severity. Initial results suggest a positive relationship between leadership change and conflict severity.
- Presenter** **The Effect of Messaging on Evangelical Voter Turnout**
(Board 7)
Megan B. Benton, *Emory University*
Overview: This field experiment studies the effect of messaging on Evangelical voter turnout. During the 2006 Georgia primary, Evangelicals received one of three messages. After reviewing voter records, the effect of each message on turnout was analyzed.
- Presenter** **The Calculus of Ethnic Violence: Rational Self-Interest and Ethnic Conflict**
(Board 8)
Renee M. England, *Austin College*
Overview: This paper explores the associations between individual microdynamics and group dynamics within the realm of the ethnic conflict in the Former Yugoslavia in order to provide further critical explanations to Oberschall's "polarization and escalation" approach.
- Presenter** **Sorority Women and Political Participation**
(Board 9)
Alexandra M. Hill, *Emory University*
Overview: Sorority women were contacted at their weekly chapter meetings and given specific information on how to acquire absentee ballots for their states and well as how to vote if registered in Georgia.
- Presenter** **The Harry Potter Series and American Politics in the 20th Century**
(Board 10)
Lisa J. Davis, *Westminster College*
Overview: This paper analyzes the first six books in the Harry Potter series and investigates the correlation between the storyline in the Harry Potter books and American policymaking in the 20th century.
- Presenter** **Rural Women Empowerment in the Political and Economic Environment of Ghana**
(Board 11)
Lambini C. Kombat, *University for Development Studies*
Kenneth K. Aborgah, *University for Development Studies*
Overview: This is a paper we researched into rural communities in the northern part of Ghana and then identifying their social, political and economic roles.
- Presenter** **Determining Our Future Leaders: The Characteristics of Modern Strategic Politicians and the Oust for Higher Office**
(Board 12)
Daniel V. Paulson, *Tulane University*
Overview: Politicians seek power. It is generally presumed that politicians desire to become more influential and hold higher political offices. Members of the House of Representatives reflect this progressive ambition most often by running to become their state's next Senator or Governor. This paper explores the political circumstances which leads modern Representatives to take the leap forward and seek higher office.
- Presenter** **The Price is Right: Bargaining as an Obstacle to Expansion of the UNSC**
(Board 13)
Scott D. Godfrey, *Bemidji State University*
Overview: Theory, and anecdotal evidence from the 2003 Iraq debate, suggests the U.S. bargains extensively with various non-permanent members of the UNSC. If true, would expansion of the council exacerbate such bargaining, affecting the deliberative process?
- Presenter** **The Politics of Liberation: The Effects of Power and Influence**
(Board 14)
Jerry Walker, *Central State University*
Stanley Gibson, *Central State University*
Overview: This paper is an examination of the politics of liberation as it applies to Blacks and other minority groups. The term "Black Power" will be discussed as well as an overview of various Black leaders and how this has shaped African American politics.
- Presenter** **Witch hunt? Patterns of Prosecutor Behavior at International Courts**
(Board 15)
Chad I. Losee, *Brigham Young University*
Overview: I examine factors theorized to influence prosecutor behavior at international courts—mandates, funding, and state preferences. Empirical sources for this study come from the public records of the Rwandan, Yugoslav, and Sierra Leonean tribunals.
- Presenter** **Voting System Effects on Satisfaction with Democracy and Political Parties**
(Board 16)
Kristen L. Leritz, *Bemidji State University*
Overview: Using quantitative methods, this paper investigates the effects voting systems have on political parties and voter satisfaction by comparing the preferential systems of Ireland and Australia with the plurality system used in the United States.
- Presenter** **Fostering Civic Engagement: An Analysis of the FAME Civic Education Project**
(Board 17)
Keerthika M. Subramanian, *Emory University*
Rebecca N. Balunas, *Emory University*
Overview: This paper examines the dual effects of civic education and personal contact on voter turnout among Emory freshmen during the November 2006 midterm elections. The field experiment's initial results show that the intervention's effect is limited.
- Presenter** **How to Sell a War: Lessons in Presidential Persuasion**
(Board 18)
Melissa N. Mead, *Ohio Northern University*
Jared Hardesty, *Ohio Northern University*
Christopher DiFrancesco, *Ohio Northern University*
Overview: This paper analyzes the selling of the Iraq War by the Bush administration. It examines the heuristics utilized and how the administration made the case for war.
- Presenter** **Issues That Influence Medicaid Provider Participation in Kent County, MI**
(Board 19)
Andrew Wilson, *Grand Valley State University*
Overview: For those with Medicaid, access to needed care depends on ability to pay and a supply of physicians willing to provide care. This study seeks to understand the issues that influence Medicaid provider participation in Kent County, MI.
- Presenter** **The Congress – Media Relationship: Which Party is More Responsive (or More Effective)?**
(Board 20)
Kyle Albert, *University of Washington*
Overview: I examined the relationship between agendas of Congress and the media, focusing on changes following the 1994 Republican takeover. I used data from UW's Policy Agendas Project for each major topic area to identify where the greatest shifts occurred.
- 59-4** **LGBT ISSUES IN STATE LEGISLATURES**
Room Parlor E, 6th Floor, Sat at 9:50 am
Chair **Sean M. Theriault**, *University of Texas, Austin*
Paper **The Gay and Lesbian Agenda in State Legislatures: The Effects of Republican Features**
Rebekah L. Herrick, *Oklahoma State University*
Overview: States cannot protect gay and lesbian rights without limiting the consideration of anti-gay rights legislation while promoting pro-gay and lesbian rights legislation. This paper

explores whether republican features of state legislatures affect the gay rights legislative agenda in all 50 states.

Paper **Diffusion and Differentiation in Same Sex Marriage Policies in U.S. States**

Mary Lou Killian, *Monmouth University*

Overview: Diffusion literature has grown to look more carefully at nuanced similarities and differences in both the content and process of states' policy diffusion. This paper applies these emerging concepts to the policy area of same-sex relationships.

Paper **Gender Identity Inclusive Legislation: Case Studies of Four States**

Jami K. Taylor, *North Carolina State University*

Overview: This is a follow up work to the paper, The Adoption of Gender Identity Inclusive Protections in the American States (presented at 2006 MPSA). Using a multiple case study approach (MA, MD, NC, PA) I attempt to validate the findings from that study.

Disc. **Brian S. DiSarro**, *University of Iowa*

Saturday, April 14 – 12:45 pm – 2:20 pm

1-103 ROUNDTABLE: STUDYING GENDER AND POLITICS OVER TIME: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND STRATEGIES (Co-sponsored with Gender and Politics, see 28-103)

Room Red Lacquer, 4th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Kira Sanbonmatsu, *Rutgers University*
Panelist Maryann Barakso, *American University*
 Karen Beckwith, *Case Western Reserve University*
 Corrine McConaughy, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Pamela Paxton, *Ohio State University*
 Gretchen Ritter, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Aili M. Tripp, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: Panelists on this roundtable will discuss research questions and methods for analyzing gender and politics over time.

2-12 PARTY POLARIZATION, PARTY CONVERGENCE IN DEVELOPED DEMOCRACIES

Room Salon 1, 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Eric C. Browne, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
Paper Polarization and Political Stability in Multiparty Systems (1945-1998)
 Zeev Maoz, *University of California, Davis*
 Zeynep Somer, *University of California, Davis*
 Overview: We argue that low levels of political polarization make cabinet shifts more likely. We use a new measure of polarization derived from social networks analysis. This measure combines ideological distances between parties with the number of seats.

Paper What's Left of the Left? Party Politics and Economic Globalization
 Stephen C. Nelson, *Cornell University*
 Overview: This paper investigates claims about the shifting ideological position of mainstream left parties in OECD countries. Using cross-section time series data from party manifestos, I argue that globalization does not explain Left party shifts.

Paper Party Polarization in OECD Countries. Developments and Determinants
 Philipp Rehm, *Duke University*
 Overview: How did (societal and party) polarization develop in OECD countries in the last few decades? What explains the observed differences? The paper presents new measures and new data and explores determinants of polarization in comparative perspective.

Paper The Construction of Economic Facts: Labour Neoliberalism in the Antipodes
 Jonathan Swarts, *Purdue University, North Central*
 Overview: This paper examines neoliberalism under Australian and New Zealand Labour as a discursive construction of political elites. It argues that the discourse of "objective" economic "facts" was fundamentally a strategic, contestable political strategy.
Disc. Eric C. Browne, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*

3-11 INEQUALITY AND EDUCATION

Room Salon 2, 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Christian Ponce de Leon, *University of Chicago*
Paper Political Determinants of Public Expenditure Between Levels of Education
 Marco A. Fernandez, *Duke University*
 Overview: The study of the impact of political regimes over education spending has put little attention to the tradeoffs politicians face when they allocate resources among different education levels. In this paper I test several political economy hypothesis regard
Paper How Governments Decide to Make Human Capital
 Stephen Kosack, *Yale University*
 Overview: In this paper, I construct a theory that governments provide education systems entirely based on specific political calculations, not economic or other welfare considerations, and test it in 3 carefully-selected countries: Taiwan, Ghana, and Brazil.

Paper Democracy and Education Spending
 Amy H. Liu, *Emory University*
 Overview: I review the democracies-spend-more-on-education claim by directly testing two mechanisms. The results suggest it is not democracy per se that matters but rather the participation costs for society and the entry barriers for challengers.

Paper Democracy and Inequality: Elections and Redistribution in Brazil
 Fabiana V. P. Machado, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: This study argues that both poverty and inequality may hinder the demand for forms of redistribution that are viewed as effective in ameliorating these very conditions, defying the assumption that the poor are always high demanders of redistribution.

Paper Educational Attainment in Developing Countries: The Legacy of Landlords
 Tim C. Wegenast, *University Pompeu, Fabra*
 Overview: Educational distribution is related to land ownership structures and subsequent political power constellations in LDC's. States showing cohesive and resistant landowners tend to neglect secondary education while overemphasizing higher schooling.
Disc. Christian Ponce de Leon, *University of Chicago*
 Hiram J. Irizarry, *Ohio State University*

4-12 CULTURE AND DEMOCRACY: NEW ARGUMENTS AND FINDINGS FROM SURVEY RESEARCH

Room PDR 4, 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair David Samuels, *University of Minnesota*
Paper Building Social Capital: Civil Society and Context in Central America
 Patricia Bayer Richard, *Ohio University*
 John A. Booth, *University of North Texas*
 Overview: Using two waves of surveys from six Central American nations, we investigate changes in the relative contributions of civil society and socio-political context to the formation of social capital that promotes and sustains democracy.

Paper The Meaning of Democracy in Emerging Democracies
 Doh C. Shin, *University of Missouri*
 Overview: This paper explores how the mass publics of Asian countries understand democracy. By analyzing the East Asia Barometers and surveys recently conducted by the Asia Foundation, the paper will compare its meaning across a broad set of Asian nations.

Paper A More Acceptable Game? Changing Mass Attitudes and Deepening Democracy
 Matthew D. Fails, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
 Heather N. Pierce, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
 Overview: We empirically evaluate a central tenet of the political culture approach to democratic consolidation by testing how changes in mass commitment to democracy lead to a deepening of liberal democratic governance.

Paper Does Support for Democracy Matter?
 Christopher Claassen, *Washington University, St Louis*
 Robert Mattes, *University of Cape Town*
 Overview: We use cross-national survey data to argue that public support for democracy, measured in relation to the current 'supply' of democracy, is a more powerful explanation of democratization than Inglehart and Welzel's 'self-expression values'.
Disc. Chappell Lawson, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

5-7 COALITION BARGAINING AND POLITICAL POWER

Room Salon 4, 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Katri Sieberg, *Binghamton University*
Paper Institutions and the Survival of Authoritarian Regimes
 Susanne D. Michalik, *University of Konstanz*
 Overview: This paper deals with the effect of 'democratic' political institutions in authoritarian regimes.

- Paper** **Bargaining Delays in the Government Formation Process**
Sona N. Golder, *Florida State University*
 Overview: In most parliamentary democracies, elections rarely determine the identity of the government. Instead, they usher in what can be long periods of negotiations in which party leaders bargain over the composition and policy objectives of the cabinet.
- Paper** **Societal Preferences, Bargaining Power and Economic Policy Outcomes**
Heather Elko McKibben, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: The opportunity costs associated with negotiating agreements (i.e. parties' relative best alternatives to negotiated agreements) determines the extent to which relative group size and partisan preferences are translated into states' policy choices.
- Disc.** **Benjamin Nyblade**, *University of British Columbia*
Katri Sieberg, *Binghamton University*

7-13 **POPULAR MOBILIZATION AND POLICY DIFFUSION**

- Room** Sandburg 7, 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair **Felicia Owusu Fofie**, *Cardiff University*
Paper **Network Governance in the European Union**
Beate Sissenich, *Indiana University*
 Overview: Comparing social, environmental, and agricultural Policies, this paper investigates cross-border networks along 2 dimensions: border effects and governments as gatekeepers.
- Paper** **Institutions vs Markets: EU's Commission and Consumers Debate Biotech**
Alice H. Cooper, *University of Mississippi*
Paulette Kurzer, *University of Arizona*
 Overview: Via a consumer boycott, popular opposition to genetically modified foods prevailed against the Commission and overcame the EU's democratic deficit. As GM food becomes cheaper, however, consumers may stop paying extra for collective goods such as ecology.
- Paper** **Diffusion of Transnational Peace Protests in an Enlarging European Union**
Helma G. E. de Vries, *University of Maryland, College Park*
 Overview: Are dynamics in transnational peace protest in an enlarging European Union accounted for by internationalist and domestic targets via Coalition of the Willing membership, framing divides over global democratic deficits, or divergent democratization?
- Paper** **Managing Religion: The Rise of an European Islam and the Western State**
Kathryn L. Lawall, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: I explore, through a comparative lens, how the development of policies countering terrorism, specifically the management of Islam, has affected the political context in which Muslims could mobilize by empowering as well as disempowering different actors.
- Paper** **Explaining Successful Ethnic Minority Mobilization in the European Union**
Melissa A. Parker, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: What are the factors that contribute to successful ethnic minority mobilization in Europe? Using western European Muslim and eastern European Roma interest groups as case studies, the aim of this paper is to analyze the role that strategy plays in success
- Disc.** **Felicia Owusu Fofie**, *Cardiff University*

8-13 **SECURITY AND CONFLICT IN LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS**

- Room** Sandburg 6, 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair **Frederick Shepherd**, *Samford University*
Paper **Democratization, Conflict, and Interstate Rivalry: Peru-Ecuador, 1980-1995**
Brian D. Cramer, *Rutgers University, New Brunswick*
 Overview: Findings from the democratic peace literature tell us that democracies almost never fight each other in interstate wars. However, Mansfield and Snyder have shown that states transitioning to democracy have a high propensity of engaging in conflict with other states.

- Paper** **Proving Existence: Inter-Latin American Relations as International Subsystem**
Ana Carolina Garriga, *University of Pittsburgh*
 Overview: Is Latin America a distinctive subsystem within the international system? Once controlling for distance, regime homogeneity, and economy size a Latin American subsystem can be identified in issues of low political salience low politics.
- Paper** **Privatizing State Banality: Citizen Security in Colombia**
Stacey L. Hunt, *Rutgers University*
 Overview: In this paper I argue that far from maintaining a monopoly over violence, the Colombian state is simultaneously constituted and weakened by the multiplication and privatization of security forces, created differentiated understandings of citizenship.
- Paper** **Winning Without Engaging: The Ecuadorian Army's Security Strategy Post-2000**
Maiah Jaskoski, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: Ecuador faces a clear threat to the integrity of its border with Colombia, yet the Ecuadorian army does very little border security. Why? The army can obtain resources, avoid a war with no end-game, and address the symptoms of the border threat.
- Disc.** **Jennifer S. Holmes**, *University of Texas, Dallas*
Frederick M. Shepherd, *Samford University*
- 9-11** **THE HISTORICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF MODERN JAPANESE POLITICS**
Room Sandburg 5, 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair **Jing Sun**, *University of Denver*
Paper **Strategies of Denial: Silencing the "Comfort Women"**
Mari Ishibashi, *Randolph-Macon Woman's College*
 Overview: This paper will identify various ways, degrees and intensities of avoidance and denial of the treatment of the colonial sexual slavery issue in contemporary Japanese politics and analyze how actors utilize various strategies to construct sanitized account.
- Paper** **Nationalism and Generation: A Case of Post Cold War Japan**
Joomyung Song, *Hanshin University*
 Overview: Nationalism has become an alternative strategy to the uncertain situations of post-cold war since the 1990s in Japan. This article investigates the recent nationalism in the context of the generational change of members of the National Diet.
- Paper** **The Yasukuni Controversy and Japanese Foreign Policy**
Yongwook Ryu, *Harvard University*
 Overview: This paper analyzes the Yasukuni problem, and reports the convergent and divergent views of Japan's political elite on the issue. The Yasukuni issue should be understood in the context of the rise of conservative nationalism in Japanese politics.
- Disc.** **Jing Sun**, *University of Denver*
- 10-4** **PERSPECTIVES ON AFRICAN CIVIL CONFLICTS**
Room Sandburg 4, 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair **John Ishiyama**, *Truman State University*
Paper **The Path to Peace: Does ODA Affect Peace Duration in Africa**
Anne Etienne, *University of North Texas*
 Overview: The paper attempt to decipher whether Official Development Assistance to Africa promotes peace duration in post-conflict settings. Building from literature on civil war, peace building, and foreign aid, the author proposes a theory on this impact.
- Paper** **Southern Sudan: The Comprehensive Peace Agreement, Security, and the Law**
Keith R. Hagan, *University of Cincinnati*
Melina Milazzo, *Florida State School of Law*
 Overview: The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) brought a cessation of hostilities between the North and the South of Sudan, but how else has the document helped the South progress and how have security and the law been affected?
- Paper** **A Gentlemen's C for Failed States?**
Bridget L. Coggins, *Dartmouth College*
 Overview: Effective solutions to State failure are elusive. One popular strategy suggests suspending formal recognition. With original recognition data, I argue State practice is too subject to parochial concerns to engender wholesale change in failed States.

Paper	<u>Political Institutions and Civil War in Sub-Saharan Africa</u> Kwangjin Kim , <i>University of Missouri</i> Byong-Kuen Jhee , <i>Korea University</i> Overview: This research is an effort to examine the nexus between democratic institutions and civil war in Africa. Rapidly increasing civil conflict in African countries in the 1990s has gained much attention from scholars.	15-12	<u>DOMESTIC POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND WAR</u>
Disc.	Bridget L. Coggins , <i>Dartmouth College</i>	Room	Salon 5, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
14-9	<u>CHINA IN THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY</u>	Chair	Doug Kriner , <i>Boston University</i>
Room	Parlor H, 6 th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm	Paper	<u>Effects of Domestic Public Opinion on Trust in International Politics</u> Krista L. Spaeth , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: This study seeks to determine the effects of domestic public opinion on trust between leaders in the realm of international politics. That is, do leaders use public opinion of foreign leaders to gauge the viability of collaboration?
Chair	Eunyoung Ha , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i>	Paper	<u>Congress and Conflict: Abdication, Responsibility, and Blame</u> Maryann E. Gallagher , <i>Emory University</i> Overview: Do members of Congress willingly abdicate their war making powers to the President in exchange for the flexibility to take positions in opposition to unpopular conflicts abroad?
Paper	<u>The Effects of Corruption on the Economic Development of China</u> Collin T. Glenn , <i>University of Toledo</i> Overview: As China continues to sustain record breaking economic growth, it is imperative to understand the complexities of the Chinese state and especially factors that may retard growth. Most important is the effect corruption has had on development.	Paper	<u>Women and War: Gender, Representation, and International Conflict</u> Sarah A. Fulton , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Over the past 20 years, a great deal of research suggests that domestic political factors such as institutional structures, public opinion and partisanship all influence the course of international conflict.
Paper	<u>The World Trade Organization: Catalyst for Change in China?</u> Susan C. Morris , <i>University of Wisconsin, Platteville</i> Overview: This research examines the relationship between the World Trade Organization and China since China's session to the WTO. This project asks what influence, if any, has the WTO had on civil freedoms in China?	Paper	<u>Does Voter Opinion Matter for Foreign Policy Formation? The German Public Opinion - Foreign Policy Paradox</u> William Davis , <i>Florida State University</i> Overview: Using a time-series regression analysis, I test the opinion-foreign policy nexus in Germany. Results contradict literature on expected public opinion and policy outputs in the Cold War period yet are supported after.
Disc.	Eunyoung Ha , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Xiaowen Zhang , <i>University of Southern California</i>	Paper	<u>It Takes Two: Strategic Interaction, Conflict Outcomes, and the Duration of Leadership Tenure</u> Randall J. Blimes , <i>University of Colorado</i> Overview: This paper takes a dyadic approach to explaining how international conflict outcomes affect the likelihood that a leader will be removed from office.
14-18	<u>GOVERNMENT SPENDING IN AN OPEN ECONOMY</u>	Disc.	Doug Kriner , <i>Boston University</i>
Room	Sandburg 2, 7 th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm	17-12	<u>DEMOCRACY AND TERRORISM</u>
Chair	Robert J. Franzese, Jr. , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i>	Room	Salon 12, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Paper	<u>Globalization and the Form of Social Insurance: Further Disentangling the Ties that Bind</u> Stephanie J. Rickard , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Overview: Although total aggregate spending on social insurance may not change in response to increased openness, the distribution of spending across different types of social insurance programs is responsive to exposure to foreign trade.	Chair	Ajin Choi , <i>Yonsei University</i>
Paper	<u>The Depths of Debt: Patterns of Debt and International Relations</u> Lapo Salucci , <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Overview: This paper investigates the relationship between national debt and inter-state relations. The accumulation of national debt, and debtor-creditor relations at the international level, are considered as unintended consequences of strategic choices.	Paper	<u>The Effects of Electoral Structure on Terrorist Incidents</u> Stephen C. Nemeth , <i>University of Iowa</i> Howard Sanborn , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: We test whether proportional systems have a linear or a curvilinear effect on terrorism. In addition, we consider variations in parliamentary and presidential systems as a means of accounting for regional explanations of terrorist incidents.
Paper	<u>Electoral Competition, Business Organizations, and the Scope of Industrial Subsidy</u> Jong Hee Park , <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: This paper investigates an interactive effect of electoral institutions with the organization of social interests on the specificity of industrial subsidies.	Paper	<u>Constraints on Democracies and Dictatorships in Counterterrorism Strategies</u> Cynthia M. Colley , <i>SUNY, Binghamton</i> Overview: This paper offers a formal analysis examining the effects of the different constraints on democracies and dictatorships on their abilities to negotiate for the end of domestic terrorist activity.
Paper	<u>Pre-Electoral Fiscal Manipulation in Old and New Democracies</u> Angela J. O'Mahony , <i>University of British Columbia</i> Overview: Exchange rate and trade ties affect political deficit cycles in both old and new democracies, but differently. This difference stems from new democracies' greater economic vulnerability internationally and greater institutional fragility domestically.	Paper	<u>Tale of Two Terrors: Terrorism, Repression and Democratic Stability</u> Masaki Nakamoto , <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i> Overview: This research paper seeks to illuminate on the decline in democratic stability due to terrorism and state repression.
Disc.	Robert J. Franzese, Jr. , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i>	Paper	<u>Why Democracies Make Superior Counterterrorists</u> Max Abrahms , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: The conventional wisdom is that terrorists target democracies because they are uniquely vulnerable to coercion. This article finds instead that democracies are superior counterterrorists.
		Disc.	William J. Josiger , <i>Georgetown University</i>

17-21 **PAUL SENESE: A RESEARCH AGENDA IN CONFLICT PROCESS**
Room Sandburg 8, 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Stephen L. Quackenbush, *University of Missouri, Columbia*
Paper **How and Why the Cold War Became a Long Peace: Some Statistical Insights**
John A. Vasquez, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Paul D. Senese, SUNY, Buffalo
 Overview: Some statistical insights as to why the Cold War was a Long Peace and the process by which it may have become so.
Paper **Reassessing the Steps-to-War Model with States' Major Power Status: Testing the Multiplying Effects of the Major Power Status on War**
Choong-Nam Kang, SUNY, Buffalo
 Overview: The main purpose of this paper is to examine the steps-to-war model across varying power status conditions. Although the steps-to-war model and the following research explain and show quite firmly that territorial issue and certain realist policy options are dangerous conditions in the escalation to war, they do not pay sufficient attention to the potentially important role of major power status.
Paper **Mapping the Steps to War: Territorial Issues and Recurrent Conflict**
Stephen L. Quackenbush, University of Missouri, Columbia
 Overview: In this paper, I seek to examine the relationship between territorial issues, settlements, and conflict recurrence through survival analyses of the periods of peace following 2,973 dyadic militarized interstate disputes between 1816 and 2001.
Paper **Dynamic Domestic Regimes, Dynamic Interstate Relationships: Extending Senese's Analysis of Regime Maturity, Democracy and Interstate Relationships**
Andrew Enterline, University of North Texas
Stephen Long, Kansas State University
Mark Crescenzi, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
 Overview: Does the maturity of domestic political institutions affect interstate relationships? In an important article in the ISQ (1999), Paul Senese studies the conditional effects of dyadic domestic regime maturity (mature and immature) and type (democratic or non-democratic) on the probability of dyadic militarized conflict broadly defined.
Paper **The Effect of Territorial Disputes on Dyadic Relations, 1816-2001**
Karen K. Petersen, Middle Tennessee State University
 Overview: I employ a hazard model to test the territorial explanation of war and find that dyads with a history of territorial disputes have a failure rate over three times greater than dyads without a history of territorial disputes.
Disc. **Erik Gartzke, Columbia University**

19-10 **REGIME DESIGN AND REFORM**
Room Clark 10, 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Nikolay Marinov, *Yale University*
Paper **International Agreements: How the Multilateral Negotiation Process Works**
Nicole M. Simonelli, Duke University
 Overview: This paper identifies a number of different processes by which multilateral agreements are negotiated. I then examine how the process by which an agreement is negotiated affects the duration of negotiations and membership to the agreement.
Paper **U.S. Unilateralism and U.N. Reform**
Michael B. Hawes, Georgetown University
 Overview: The design of the UN reflects the world that existed after WWII, and has become ineffective at responding to issues and challenges in today's world. This paper examines the rise of American Unilateralism, and how current U.S. foreign policy may help.

Paper **Separating and Aggregating Regime Effects**
Detlef F. Sprinz, University of Michigan
Jon Hovi, University of Oslo
Arild Underdal, University of Oslo
Ronald B. Mitchell, University of Oregon
 Overview: This paper shows extensions of the 'Oslo-Potsdam solution' to measuring regime effectiveness for two or more regimes with an empirical CSTS analysis of transboundary air pollution data.
Disc. **Leslie Johns, New York University**
Nikolay Marinov, Yale University

21-11 **THE DYNAMICS OF GROUP CONFLICT**
Room Sandburg 1, 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Bethany L. Albertson, *University of Washington*
Paper **The Origins of Racial Resentment**
Darren W. Davis, Michigan State University
David Wilson, University of Delaware
 Overview: This paper examines the extent to which racial beliefs among young adults are connect to a larger closed and intolerant belief system.
Paper **Etiology of Interracial Contact in a Multicultural University Environment**
Ewa A. Golebiowska, Wayne State University
 Overview: I explore the etiology of interracial contact in a multicultural environment using survey data I have collected for that purpose. I consider the impact of on- and off-campus racial propinquity, off-campus interracial contact, and individual attributes.
Paper **Non-Conscious Closeness towards Blacks and Support for Slavery Reparations**
Thomas C. Craemer, University of Connecticut
 Overview: A nationally representative phone survey with an internet-based reaction time component finds that non-conscious feelings of closeness towards Blacks predict support for slavery reparations regardless of a respondent's own racial background.
Paper **Non-Racial Group Threat: Experiments With Katrina Evacuees and Houstonians**
Christy A. Aroopala, Rice University
Rick K. Wilson, Rice University
 Overview: We explore non-racial group threat between Katrina Evacuees in Houston and Houstonians with similar SES and living in close proximity to each other in two experimental games: the dictator game and a public goods game.
Disc. **Fred Slocum, Minnesota State University, Mankato**

22-10 **INCUMBENCY ADVANTAGE**
Room Salon 8, 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair Gary C. Jacobson, *University of California, San Diego*
Paper **The Impact of Electoral Competitiveness on Voters's Attitudes Toward Government: Evidence from the US, Great Britain, and Canada**
Thomas L. Brunell, University of Texas, Dallas
Liz Clausen, University of Texas, Dallas
 Overview: We theorize that both winning and losing voters ought to exhibit higher levels of trust in government and efficacy when they live and vote in a district that is more competitive relative to voters in less competitive districts.
Paper **The Incumbency Advantage in U.S. Primary Elections**
Shigeo Hirano, Columbia University
James M. Snyder, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Stephen Ansolabehere, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Mark Hansen, University of Chicago
 Overview: Using a new data, we estimate the magnitude of the incumbency advantage in direct primary elections between 1910 to 2000.

Paper	<u>Challenger Opportunity Costs and Incumbent Electoral Performance</u> Sanford C. Gordon, <i>New York University</i> Gregory A. Huber, <i>Yale University</i> Dimitri Landa, <i>New York University</i> Overview: By comparing challenges to U.S. House members by state legislators who have and have not been term limited, we estimate the effect of challenger opportunity costs on election outcomes while holding constant traditional measures of candidate quality.	25-12	<u>POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE AND SOPHISTICATION</u> Salon 9, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room Chair Paper	<u>The Widening Political Knowledge Gap Between Adults Under 30 and Older Generations</u> Justin D. Martin, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Scott W. Dunn, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: This study uses data from the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press to test the hypothesis that the political knowledge gap between young adults and older generations is widening.
Paper	<u>Considering Congressional Candidates and Incumbency Advantage</u> Jeff R. DeWitt, <i>Kennesaw State University</i> Overview: Electoral research has long demonstrated how incumbency advantage is largely fueled by the voters' greater familiarity with the sitting officeholder. Candidate name recall or recognition represents a rudimentary level of political information.	Paper	<u>Motivated Learning and Mass Beliefs</u> Evan Parker-Stephen, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: A motivation-context learning model is used to study micro-macro opinion dynamics. Historical data confirm that these components jointly shape perceptions of economics, parties, and war. A simulation study connects aggregation and representation.	
Paper	<u>Impact of Hurricanes on 2004 National Election: The Campaign Effect?</u> Vanessa Perez, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: This study examines the impact of the 2004 hurricanes on the National election, examining the impact of incumbent response on the candidate's vote share.	Paper	<u>Do Partisans Know their Perceptual Biases?</u> Markus Prior, <i>Princeton University</i> Arthur Lupia, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: Many partisans respond incorrectly to knowledge questions. We use an experiment to examine if they perceive reality in a biased way and believe their biased answers to be true, or if they respond incorrectly, but know that their answers are biased.	
Disc.	Gary C. Jacobson, <i>University of California, San Diego</i>			
23-102	<u>ROUNDTABLE: MEASURING CAMPAIGNS</u> Parlor F, 6 th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm			
Room	Sunshine Hillygus, <i>Harvard University</i>			
Chair	Daron Shaw, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i>			
Panelist	John Sides, <i>George Washington University</i> Sunshine Hillygus, <i>Harvard University</i> Donald Green, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: Roundtable panelists consider what we have learned from recent studies of campaigns, and where the future of this research lies.	Paper	<u>The Effects of the Naturalization Process on Political Knowledge</u> Cole D. Taratoot, <i>Georgia State University</i> Overview: This study seeks to determine if naturalized citizens are more politically knowledgeable than their native born counterparts as a result of the naturalization process and the requirement to take a civics exam in order to become a U.S. citizen.	
24-7	<u>ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND PARTY SYSTEMS</u> Salon 6, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm	Paper	<u>Is the U.S. Capable of Maintaining Public Support for any Asymmetrical War?</u> Bobbie L. Ragsdale, <i>United States Military Academy</i> Joseph Scrocca, <i>United States Military Academy</i> Overview: Given the U.S. political culture and system, is America capable of maintaining sufficient public support for a long-term, costly counterinsurgency? Given two equally successful wars, the more symmetrical war tends to receive greater public support.	
Room	Patrick J. Egan, <i>Princeton University</i>	Disc.	Christopher N. Lawrence, <i>Saint Louis University</i> Robert C. Luskin, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i>	
Chair				
Paper	<u>Interaction Effects of Electoral Systems, Ethnic Heterogeneity and Time</u> Patrick Vander Weyden, <i>Catholic University of Brussels</i> Overview: We test empirically the interaction effect of ethnic heterogeneity with electoral systems as well as a third order interaction effect by the introduction of a third variable 'time'.			
Paper	<u>A Study of the Determinants of African Party System Fragmentation.</u> Matthew Wall, <i>Trinity College, Dublin</i> Shane Mac Giollaibhui, <i>Dublin City University</i> Overview: A study of the influence of sociological and institutional factors in determining variations in the extent of fragmentation observed in African party systems. Comprises both a case study (Namibia) and a comparative statistical analysis.	26-13	<u>POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE</u> Clark 9, 7 th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm Room Chair Paper	
			<u>No Exit: A Game-Theoretic Analysis</u> Walter T. Casey, <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i> Overview: Hirschman's Exit, Voice, and Loyalty examined using game-theory to test Exit and Voice.	
Paper	<u>The Rise in Party-Centered Elections in Japan</u> Ko Maeda, <i>University of North Texas</i> Overview: Using the election data of pre- and post-reform Japan, I assess the extent to which the nature of elections has changed from candidate-centered to party-centered. This issue has important implications for the future of party competition in Japan.	Paper	<u>Prada for Peace: Activism Gone Shopping</u> Maria Elena Sandovici, <i>Lamar University</i> Terri B. Davis, <i>Lamar University</i> Overview: We study purchasing political shopping (purchasing products for a cause) as a new form of political participation. We conduct an individual-level analysis of people who engage in this type of activity in 25 Western democracies.	
Paper	<u>Assimilation and Contrast Effects in Small and Large Party Systems</u> Andrew J. Drummond, <i>University of Arkansas, Little Rock</i> Overview: This paper addresses whether party system crowding reduces the space for assimilation and contrast effects to manifest.	Paper	<u>Electoral Observation</u> Alberto Simpser, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: I study the strategic aspects of decisions to send and accept election monitors. One unexpected finding is that election monitoring can sometimes make things worse, e.g. by encouraging forms of fraud that are less detectable and reduce welfare.	
Disc.	Erik S. Herron, <i>University of Kansas</i>	Paper	<u>Political Participation in China: Growth of Citizen Power and Obstacles</u> Xijin Jia, <i>Tsinghua University</i> Overview: Political participation arises in China in three levels: voting and representative system, policy advocacy and participatory governance. The growth of citizen power still faces obstacles based in a lack of power-shared political ideology.	

Paper **Modelling Petitioner Engagement with the Scottish Parliament's Petitions System**
Christopher Carman, *University of Glasgow*
 Overview: This paper presents an analysis of the extent to which the Scottish petitions system has connected with the public and models petitioner engagement with the system. Findings indicate that the utility of transformative democracy reforms is dependent.

Disc. **John S. Matthews**, *Queen's University*
Frederick Solt, *Southern Illinois University*

27-13 **SUPPORT FOR PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS**
Room Clark 1, 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair **Jon Dalager**, *Georgetown College*
Paper **Framing the News: Using (CAVE) Technique to Analyze Media Framing Styles**
David D. Chambers, *Indiana University of Pennsylvania*
Gwendolyn Torges, *Indiana University of Pennsylvania*
 Overview: We analyze depictions of government and politics in TV news magazines to determine whether their framing style can be characterized as either optimistic or pessimistic. The CAVE technique is applied to 40 hours of news magazine programming.

Paper **Rethinking the Impact of the Media: Politics, Confidence, and a New Theory**
James W. Stoutenborough, *University of Kansas*
Kellee J. Kirkpatrick, *University of Kansas*
 Overview: We introduce a new way to approach the impact of the media on politics. We develop a theory and test our assumptions. We conclude that political events influence our confidence in the media, which, in turn, impacts our ability to be influenced.

Paper **What Does Trust in the Media Measure?**
Jonathan M. Ladd, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Using original survey data, I examine responses to open ended "stop and think" questions asked directly after questions probing trust in the news media.

Paper **Frames, Freedom and Fred: The Effect of Framing on the First Amendment**
Kellee J. Kirkpatrick, *University of Kansas*
 Overview: This analysis looks at how the framing of Fred Phelps' funeral protests affects public opinion about First Amendment freedoms. The results indicate that the type of frame presented impacts the public's willingness to support First Amendment freedoms.

Disc. **Doris A. Graber**, *University of Illinois, Chicago*

28-12 **EXPLAINING THE SOURCES OF THE GENDER GAP ON DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES**
Room Clark 7, 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair **Zoe Oxley**, *Union College*
Paper **Gender Differences on War and Peace Issues: How Universal are They?**
Richard C. Eichenberg, *Tufts University*
 Overview: This paper describes a new cross-national data collection on gender differences concerning issues of international security, in particular support and opposition to the use of military force in five recent wars.

Paper **Gender, Race, Region, and Gender Gap in Voting in the U.S.**
Guy C. Dalto, *Southern College, Birmingham*
 Overview: This paper examine the causes of the white male exodus from the Democratic Party. Two factor emerge from the analysis of GSS data; violent crime and workplace inequities. The greater Republican preference by white males was greater in the South.

Paper **Sources of Political Unity and Disunity among Women: Placing the Gender Gap in Perspective**
Leonie Huddy, *Stony Brook University*
Erin Casese, *Stony Brook University*
Mary-Kate Lizotte, *Stony Brook University*
 Overview: We draw on the cumulative National Election Studies (from 1980 – 2004) to compare the size of the gender gap in presidential vote choice with the magnitude of enduring political differences among women.

Paper **Gender and Support for Issues of Force in the Post 9/11 Era**
Barbara C. Burrell, *Northern Illinois University*
Rebecca Hannagan, *Northern Illinois University*
Matthew Streb, *Northern Illinois University*
 Overview: This study systematically analyzes the extent and nature of a gender gap in support for various aspects of the war on terror and the Iraq War by examining the responses of men and women to the use of force in 2001 to 2005 polls.

Paper **Gender Differences in Policy Preferences and Priorities: 1980 to the Present**
Melody Crowder-Meyer, *Princeton University*
 Overview: In this paper I examine gender differences in policy preferences and issue priorities over the past twenty years, and highlight differences between men and women in what they use to evaluate political parties and actors.

Disc. **Alesha E. Doan**, *University of Kansas*
Heather L. Ondercin, *Pennsylvania State University*

29-12 **RACIAL POLITICS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE (Co-sponsored with Comparative Politics: Developing Countries, see 3-27)**
Room PDR 5, 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair **Robin Hayes**, *Northwestern University*
Paper **A Comparative Study of Affirmative Action in the India and the U.S.**
Renu Bhagat, *New School for Social Research*
 Overview: This paper compares affirmative action in India and the United States. I will examine the role of the state in identity construction in India and the United States, and the interaction between the state and social groups.

Paper **Ethnic Labels and Political Mobilizations in France and the United States**
Audrey M. Celestine, *Sciences Po Paris (IEP de Paris)*
 Overview: In France and the United States, internal migrants (Puerto Ricans and French Caribbeans) have resisted the rise of ethnic labels, such as "latinos" or "blacks" that tended to blur the specificity of their political situation in the mainlands.

Paper **A Blessing in Disguise: Afro-Cubans After the Economic Crisis**
Danielle P. Clealand, *University of North Carolina*
 Overview: Although the economic crisis in Cuba exacerbated racial disparities, the subsequent political opening has altered the dialogue on race which has proven to be beneficial for Afro-Cubans, creating a growing racial consciousness.

Paper **Mobilizing Marginalized Citizens: Ethnic Parties Without Ethnic Movements**
Amit Ahuja, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: Why do marginalized citizens support their ethnic party in some cases and not in others? I argue, prior ethnic movements demanding inclusion of a marginalized group, curtail the electoral success of ethnic parties.

Disc. **Mark Sawyer**, *University of California, Los Angeles*

30-6 **CICERO AND THE ROMANS**
Room Dearborn 1, 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair **Sharon K. Vaughan**, *Morehouse College*
Paper **Cicero's Plato**
Vittorio G. Hosle, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: The paper analyzes both Cicero's explicit statements on Plato and his implicit criticism in the deviation from the Platonic dialogues "Politeia" and "Nomoi", which are the models of his own "De republica" and "De legibus".

Paper **Lex Vera, Lex Romana: Cicero on Patriotism and Universal Justice**
Sarah L. Houser, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: In a climate where patriotic loyalty seems increasingly to conflict with the demands of universal morality, Cicero's attempt to reconcile natural law with the duties of citizenship serves as an example of the benefits and pitfalls of such a project.

Paper	<u>Liberty, Law, and the Historicity of Man in Ancient Rome</u> Thomas R. Laehn , <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: The meaning of human liberty was transformed during the transition from Republican to Imperial Rome. Cicero's writings suggest that this transformation was due to the introduction of Epicureanism to Roman thought and Rome's subjugation of Palestine.	Paper	<u>A Lockean Approach to the Fair Consideration of Future Generations</u> Alan E. Tomhave , <i>University of Missouri, Columbia</i> Overview: In this paper I consider and analyze the plausible basis for the existence of an enforceable obligation to conserve natural resources for use by, or ownership of, future generations within the framework of a Lockean based theory of justice.
Paper	<u>The Mute Dialogue: Cicero and Leo Strauss on Natural Right</u> Matthew N. Holbreich , <i>Notre Dame University</i> Overview: This paper explores the conditions of the possibility of existence of higher law or natural right by comparing the requirements for natural right in Natural Right and History by Leo Strauss and in the writings of Cicero, focusing on De Re Publica.	Disc.	Jason P. Di Gianni , <i>SUNY, Albany</i>
Disc.	Joseph S. Kochanek , <i>Harvard University</i>	33-10	<u>RADICAL DEMOCRACY, POSTMODERN DEMOCRACY</u>
32-11	<u>THE AMERICAN FOUNDERS</u>	Room	Dearborn 2, 7 th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Room	LaSalle 1, 7 th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm	Chair	Stefan Dolgert , <i>Duke University</i>
Chair	John C. Evans , <i>University of Iowa</i>	Paper	<u>Democracy Denatured: Claude Lefort and the Democratic Revolution</u>
Paper	<u>Paradoxes of a Perpetual Union: The Contested Idea of Founding</u> Angelica M. Bernal , <i>Yale University</i> Overview: Through an analysis of the writings of Jefferson, Madison, Lincoln and of debates in Founding historiography, this paper investigates the contested nature of the idea founding in the American historical and civic imagination and argues for its re-examination as a late modern construct.	Paper	Steven Bilakovics , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: This paper argues that, against the notion of democracy as an open way of life in which settled conventions are denaturalized and called into question, democracy itself has come to appear as natural, with its own unquestioned conventions.
Paper	<u>Republican Theory in the Contemporary House of Representatives</u> Michael J. Faber , <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: The American founders endorsed a particular vision of republican government which gives us a standard by which to judge contemporary political practice. This paper explores how well the U.S. House of Representatives measures up to that standard.	Paper	<u>Beyond the Tower of Babel: Radical Subjectivity, Feminism(s) and Resistance</u> Steven Pludwin , <i>City University of New York</i> Overview: This paper argues that fragmented subjectivity does not disable the possibility for radical political engagement. The postmodern condition, rather than inhibiting agency, forces us to rethink our notions of radicalism and the subject.
Paper	<u>Madison and Popular Government: the Neglected Case of the Memorial</u> Robert W. T. Martin , <i>Hamilton College</i> Overview: This paper re-examines some of James Madison's early writings to establish his long-standing and genuine commitment to and analysis of the popular element of popular government.	Paper	<u>Theory and Practice in Laclau and Mouffe, or How Not to Theorize Hegemony and Radical Democratic Strategy</u> James Wiley , <i>St. Norbert College</i> Overview: Criticizes the writings of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe for misunderstanding the implications of their book Hegemony and Socialist Strategy.
Paper	<u>Mandeville's Paradox and the American Adaptation</u> Kyle A. Scott , <i>Miami University, Oxford</i> Overview: This paper examines the American founding through the paradox of private vice and public benefit as described by Bernard Mandeville.	Disc.	Stefan Dolgert , <i>Duke University</i>
Disc.	Jason R. Jividen , <i>Northern Illinois University</i>	33-25	<u>WORK, WELFARE, AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP</u>
32-23	<u>LIBERALISM AND PLURALISM IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE</u>	Room	Suite 9-142, 9 th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Room	Suite 9-250, 9 th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm	Chair	Philip T. Neisser , <i>SUNY, Potsdam</i>
Chair	Gerson Moreno-Riano , <i>Regent University</i>	Paper	<u>Authoritarian Liberalism: Employment Law in the Early American Republic</u>
Paper	<u>Value Pluralism and Radical Choice in Max Weber and Isaiah Berlin</u> Brent Hierman , <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: This paper argues that crucial points of disconnect in their respective understandings of value pluralism propel Weber and Berlin to make very different claims regarding individual choice and the incommensurability of values.	Paper	Claudio Katz , <i>Loyola University, Chicago</i> Overview: This article explores the ways in which law can be read as an expression of ideology. Antebellum jurists developed an authoritarian variant of liberalism in the context of hearing employment cases arising out of the increased use of wage labor.
Paper	<u>The Insufficiencies of Deliberative Democracy for a Pluralistic Society</u> Ryan R. Holston , <i>Johns Hopkins University</i> Overview: This paper argues that recent theories of deliberative democracy are excessively abstract and in need of revision in light of insights drawn from Edmund Burke into the concrete, historical nature of moral decision-making.	Paper	<u>Work and Self-Ownership</u> Julia Maskivker , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: The paper calls for revision of classical libertarian concepts with an eye to justifying and achieving a just and strong welfare state in a world of rapid change.
Paper	<u>Montesquieu Between Hobbes, Hume, and Kant</u> Peter M. Levine , <i>National-Louis University</i> Overview: This paper argues that Montesquieu's political theory that takes account of multiple factors (reason, nature, and passion) has advantages over the political theories of Kant, Hobbes, and Hume that each primarily have a single normative foundation.	Paper	<u>Individual and Social Identity in the Workfare Era</u> Jasper Sumner III , <i>Indiana University Purdue University, Indianapolis</i> Overview: This paper is about the similar treatment of identity issues by left governments, particularly the 'Third Way' welfare reform policies, and the communitarian thinking that arises out of the debate with Rawls' defense of the old welfare state.
		Disc.	Philip T. Neisser , <i>SUNY, Potsdam</i>
		34-12	<u>THE MEDIA</u>
		Room	Salon 7, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
		Chair	Brian Fogarty , <i>University of Missouri, St. Louis</i>
		Paper	<u>Primetime Spin: Media Bias and Belief Confirming Information</u> Jeremy M. Burke , <i>Duke University</i> Overview: A model of media bias is presented in which rational agents prefer to acquire all their news from the source that is most likely to confirm their prior beliefs. The media recognizes these informational demands and slants its reporting accordingly.

Paper **Mass Media and Special Interest Groups**
Maria Petrova, *Harvard University*
 Overview: I develop a formal theoretical model of interaction between media outlets and special interest groups (Grossman-Helpman style), and show how the structure of media revenues affects how news coverage is framed.

Paper **Choosing Headlines**
John T. Gasper, *Carnegie Mellon University*
 Overview: We provide a model of a news outlet's decision regarding which issues to cover. Given profit motivated news firms and psychologically biased consumers, the outlet must choose the optimal bundle of news stories.

Paper **Media Freedom, Bureaucratic Incentives, and the Resource Curse**
Georgy Egorov, *Harvard University*
Sergei Guriev, *New Economic School*
Konstantin Sonin, *New Economic School*
 Overview: We build a dynamic model to argue that free media are less likely to emerge in resource-rich economies, because then the ruler has less need to provide bureaucrats with proper incentives. This result is consistent with cross-section and panel data.

Disc. **Scott O. Ashworth**, *Princeton University*

35-9 **CATEGORICAL DATA**
Room Montrose 2, 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair **Chris Zorn**, *University of South Carolina*
Paper **Dirichlet Process Priors for Bayesian Models of Political Science Data**
Jeff Gill, *Harvard University*
George Casella, *University of Florida*
 Overview: We apply the Dirichlet process prior to a hierarchical model for ordered choices made by political executives in the federal government. Our model provides an explanation for their relatively short tenure in government and reveals interesting features.

Paper **Don't It Make My Brownie's Blue: Converting Ordinal Data to Interval/Ratio**
Scott Granberg-Rademacker, *Minnesota State University, Mankato*
 Overview: This paper presents a modeling technique which converts ordinal data measurements to interval/ratio.

Paper **A Nonparametric Estimator For Limited Dependent Variable Models**
Justin E. Esarey, *Florida State University*
William Berry, *Florida State University*
 Overview: It has been shown that limited dependent variable (LDV) models like logit and probit misspecify many data generating processes. We propose a nonparametric estimator for limited dependent variable models and gauge its performance against the logit/probit.

Disc. **Michael Peress**, *University of Rochester*

36-5 **DIGITAL DEMOCRACY**
Room Montrose 7, 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair **Cecilia Manrique**, *University of Wisconsin, La Crosse*
Paper **E-democracy in Korea**
Yoo Hyang Kim, *University of Florida*
 Overview: This study aims to investigate the effects of information technology and internet on democracy in Korea, through the case study of key websites during the 2002 presidential election, an impeachment, and the 2004 general election.

Paper **Government Role in ICT (broadband) Diffusion**
Heisung Kum, *Florida State University*
 Overview: Recognizing access to broadband is a prerequisite for a country's welfare, governments face pressure to stimulate broadband deployment (BD). Using a panel analysis, this research explores the government's role in broadband diffusion and overall effect.

Paper **Irish Political Parties Online: An Analysis of Party Organization and ICT**
Maria Laura Sudulich, *Trinity College, Dublin*
 Overview: This project investigates the use that political parties make of Information Communication Technologies in the Republic of Ireland. It will be tested whether party organization influences the way the internet is used by political parties.

Paper **Assessing the National Incident Management System (NIMS)**
Henry L. Sullivan, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Overview: This paper will analyze the National Incident Management System's (NIMS) effectiveness in streamlining communications across government levels, and examine the current and future technologies that are available for the system's implementation.

Disc. **Mark Cassell**, *Kent State University*
Gary Klass, *Illinois State University*

37-10 **INTEREST GROUPS AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS**
Room LaSalle 2, 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair **McGee W. Young**, *Marquette University*
Paper **Does Ideology Affect Donations to Congress?**
Denise Robb, *University of California, Irvine*
 Overview: Do more ideological congress people receive more money than moderates? The answer is largely "no", however in certain circumstances ideology plays a role.

Paper **Media Amplification of Interest Group Voices: The Supply Side of Sourcing**
Matt J. Grossmann, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: I demonstrate that biases in interest group mobilization are reflected in media coverage. News sources generally reflect the supply of interest group spokespersons. Yet print, television, and online media rely on somewhat different types of groups.

Paper **The PAC Allocations of Ideological Interest Groups**
Amy Melissa McKay, *University of Iowa*
 Overview: Using newly derived ideology scores for Washington interest groups, I show that the more extreme a group's ideology, the more likely it is to allocate all of its PAC dollars to one party or the other, rather than spread donations between the parties.

Paper **Stealing the Platform: How Interest Groups Affect Party Campaign Platforms**
Jennifer N. Victor, *University of Pittsburgh*
Gina Y. Reinhardt, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: We use a game theoretic model to explain the conditions under which political parties will incorporate interest group positions onto the party platform. We test the model with case studies of interest groups in the 2004 and 2006 election cycles.

Disc. **Allan J. Cigler**, *University of Kansas*

37-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: LABOR AND POLITICS**
Room State, 4th Floor, Table 1, Sat at 12:45 pm
Presenter **"New Politics of American Trade" or Century-Old Contention? The Lost History of American Labor Advocacy in Trade Politics**
Jean-Baptiste Velut, *Sorbonne University of Paris*
 Overview: This paper examines the history of American unions' mobilization in the trade policy sphere and conclude that workers' rights have long been – and thus should remain – a component of trade negotiations, whether bilateral, regional or multilateral.

Presenter **Muting an Upper Class Accent? Descriptive Leadership in the Labor Movement**
Andrew C. Converse, *SUNY, Albany*
 Overview: This paper provides a survey of descriptive representation within labor movement leadership; a representative labor movement presumes leadership is conferred most often to those individuals who pay one's union dues--literally and figuratively.

38-8	<u>PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATIONS (Co-sponsored with Public Administration, see 50-21)</u>	Paper	<u>Congressional Earmarks and the Pursuit of Policy Expertise</u> Jason A. MacDonald, Kent State University Overview: A duration analysis of appropriations earmarks is conducted to assess whether Congress uses earmarks to encourage the creation of scientific knowledge to address complex policy problems.
Room	LaSalle 3, 7 th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm	Paper	<u>Earmark Explosion: Why Legislative Use of the Earmark has Skyrocketed in the Last Decade</u> Wendy R. Ginsberg, University of Pennsylvania Overview: Using juvenile justice as a case study, this paper aims to explain the recent burgeoning growth of earmarks, a legislative tool Congress uses to pinpoint its power of the purse. Earmarks have taken over entire budgets in some federal offices.
Chair	Richard Waterman, University of Kentucky	Disc.	Diana Evans, Trinity College
Paper	<u>Presidential Staffing and Public Opinion</u> Justin S. Vaughn, Texas A&M University Jose D. Villalobos, Texas A&M University Overview: We examine the influence that the dynamics of presidential issue approval have on strategic presidential staffing decisions. To do so, we employ data concerning presidential appointments to key EOP agencies and issue-specific presidential approval.		Sarah E. Anderson, Stanford University
Paper	<u>Presidential Unilateralism: Theory and Evidence</u> Lawrence S. Rothenberg, University of Rochester Fang-Yi Chiou, Academia Sinica Overview: The possibility of the president exercising unilateral action, moving the status quo in a manner not requiring positive legislative assent and which the judiciary finds acceptable, has received much recent scholarly attention.	41-11	<u>SEPARATION OF POWERS IN ACTION</u>
Paper	<u>Revisiting the Presidency in the Neoadministrative State</u> John C. Bumgarner, Virginia Tech University Overview: The centralization and politicization of the executive branch and utilization of the unitary executive theory runs counter to the neoadministrative state; thus, the governing approach of the presidency must be revisited.	Room	Parlor E, 6 th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Paper	<u>Seizing Domestic Tranquility: Presidential Military Intervention during America's Industrialization</u> Dan Kenney, Brandeis University Overview: Utilizing archival data, this paper concentrates on the last 30 years of the 19 th century when the U.S. experienced the largest proportion of labor unrest in the industrializing world. It posits a typological theory of Presidential use of domestic military intervention that argues such intervention was most likely to when state-level petitions for troops came in the wake of violence and when unrest was not tied to a coordinated campaign of lawlessness.	Chair	Kirk A. Randazzo, University of Kentucky
Disc.	Wayne Steger, DePaul University Richard Waterman, University of Kentucky	Paper	<u>Specifying External Strategic Constraints in Supreme Court Decision Making</u> Brandon L. Bartels, Stony Brook University Overview: Based on a "heterogeneity in decision making" approach, I provide a theoretical and empirical clarification of "external strategic constraint" in Supreme Court decision making. I use a multilevel modeling framework to test the hypotheses.
39-9	<u>CONGRESSIONAL BUDGETING AND PORK BARREL POLITICS</u>	Paper	<u>Beginning at the Beginning: The Decision to Legislate and the SOP</u> Bethany Blackstone, Emory University Overview: A formal model of SOP interactions is employed to evaluate the conditions under which anticipation of negative treatment by the Supreme Court leads Congress to refrain from enacting legislation. Empirical tests use data from the Judiciary Committees.
Room	Montrose 1, 7 th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm	Paper	<u>Policy Outcomes and the Role of the Public in Court-Congress Relations</u> Thomson W. McFarland, University of Colorado, Boulder Overview: I present a formal model of Court-Congress interaction that incorporates the level of public support for the Court. I test the model using a novel dataset including ideal point estimates for the players involved disaggregated across issue areas.
Chair	Diana Evans, Trinity College	Paper	<u>Judicial Professionalism and Separation of Powers in the States</u> Joseph V. Ross, University of Arizona Overview: This paper offers a measure of state supreme court professionalism and tests whether an imbalance in resources across branches of state government leads to retaliatory behavior.
Paper	<u>Patronage as Representation: Senate Majority Leaders and Distributive Politics</u> Andrea C. Hatcher, University of the South Overview: Using archival data, this paper examines the role of U.S. Senate Majority Leaders in securing earmarks and appropriations for their states. Findings suggest both success and failure in distributive politics carry important electoral consequences.	Paper	<u>An Empirical Test of the Constitutional Separation of Powers Model</u> Jeffrey A. Segal, Stony Brook University Stefanie A. Lindquist, Vanderbilt University Chad Westerland, University of Arizona Overview: We test recent Separation of Powers models, which argue that the Supreme Court defers to expected Congressional majorities in deciding Constitutional cases.
Paper	<u>Fiscal Effects on Credit-Claiming and Blame-Avoidance in Appropriations</u> Stonegarden Grindlife, University of California, Los Angeles Overview: At what level of reduction in the annual outlays in an appropriations bill are congressional members activated to engage in blame-avoidance? What level of growth activates credit-claiming?	Disc.	Tonja Jacobi, Northwestern University Kirk A. Randazzo, University of Kentucky
Paper	<u>The Majority Party and 'the Cohesive Power of Public Plunder'</u> Royce A. Carroll, University of California, San Diego Henry A. Kim, University of California, San Diego Overview: Examines the relationship between inclusion in majority policy coalitions and the distribution of targeted resources.	41-23	<u>ESTABLISHING THE RULE OF LAW AND PROTECTING RIGHTS (Co-sponsored by Public Law, see 42-18)</u>
		Room	Burnham 1, 7 th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
		Chair	Mark C. Miller, Clark University
		Paper	<u>Judging Democracy in Emerging Democracies</u> Shannon I. Smithey, Westminster College Overview: Democratic theorists worry that judicial power will undermine democratic institutions. Analysis of decisions made by the Constitutional Courts of Lithuania and the Czech Republic reveal that courts can actually facilitate democratic development.

Paper **The 'Rights Revolution' and Institutional Change**
Donald R. Songer, *University of South Carolina*
Raul A. Sanchez Urribarri, *University of South Carolina*
Susanne Schorpp, *University of South Carolina*
Vanessa Portela, *University of South Carolina*
 Overview: We propose to test the thesis that the creation of institutions supportive of rights claims are critical for creating and sustaining a rights revolution, by examining change over time in the outputs and agenda of national high courts in four nations.

Disc. **David L. Weiden**, *Illinois State University*
Mark C. Miller, *Clark University*

42-8 **NEW FEDERALISM JURISPRUDENCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**
Room Clark 5, 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair **Michael W. Hail**, *Morehead State University*
Paper **Administrative Law, Federalism, and Economic Development**
J. Gregory Frye,
 Overview: The characteristics of state and federal variability in administrative law organization as related to changes in federalism are examined. These variations and the "New Federalism" era policies and devolution of economic development policymaking.

Paper **Private Property, Eminent Domain, and State Economic Development: Legislative and Judicial Responses to Kelo v. City of New London (2005)**
William Green, *Morehead State University*
 Overview: The United States Supreme Court's Kelo v. City of New London (2005) decision, held that economic development was a sufficient public use to justify condemning private property, but also granted the states the legal authority to restrict property takings.

Paper **Your Home is Your Castle: Lawvering and the Quixotic Takings Clause**
Laura J. Hatcher, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
 Overview: This essay attempts to understand the way in which economic libertarian activism has been represented in the media in three important cases: Palazzolo v. Rhode Island and Kelo v. City of New London.

Paper **Legal and Political Issues for Non-Profit Regulation in the States**
Margaret Sloan, *University of Kentucky*
 Overview: This paper explores legal issues with nonprofits, including those regarding charitable gift annuity regulation among the states.

Disc. **Michael W. Hail**, *Morehead State University*

43-2 **EFFECTS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND COMPLIANCE**
Room PDR 6, 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair **Carmela Lutmar**, *Princeton University*
Paper **The Effect of International Law on Elite Preferences and Beliefs**
Michael R. Tomz, *Stanford University*
 Overview: The paper measures the effect of international law on the preferences and beliefs of political elites. Data come survey-based experiments, which were administered to members of the British Parliament in 2006.

Paper **Ties That Do Not Bind: Why Treaty Ratification Might Imply Treaty Non-Compliance**
Thania Sanchez, *Columbia University*
Matthew S. Winters, *Columbia University*
 Overview: Why do states ratify treaties and then fail to comply? To solve this puzzle, we analyze how domestic institutions shape ratification and compliance.

Paper **Explaining International Human Rights Compliance: Democracy, Press Freedom and Audience Cost**
Kuyoun Chung, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: This paper suggests a way to understand state's compliance with international human rights treaty on the basis of audience cost theory. Not only democracy, but also press freedom is critical in generating audience cost and inducing compliances.

Paper **Institutionalism and Comparative Analysis of Tax Policy Legal Referents**
Mark D. Kimball, *University of Washington*
 Overview: Competing ideations about legal and economic right are invoked by states involving the taxation of international income from capital. Tenets of Historical Institutionalism may contribute to the comparative analysis of these variant neo-ontologies.

Paper **Two Worlds Collide: The Intersection of National and International National Law**
Martin J. Adamian, *California State University, Los Angeles*
 Overview: As globalization has spread throughout the world more and more attention has been paid to the intersection of national and international law and politics. This paper will look this intersection and discuss the implications.

Disc. **Carmela Lutmar**, *Princeton University*

44-10 **STATE AND LOCAL FINANCE**
Room Parlor C, 6th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair **Andrea McAtee**, *Indiana State University*
Paper **Uncertainty, Institutions, and State Bond Ratings**
Skip Krueger, *University of North Texas*
 Overview: We study the influence of political factors and constitutional rules on the default risk of bonds issued by U. S. states.

Paper **Magnifying the Golden Goose: Casino Taxation and Multiplier Effects**
Christopher Stream, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*
Sandy von Wolffrad, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*
 Overview: We examine casino tax revenues and economic impacts associated with gaming in Las Vegas from 2000 - 2004. We argue that policymakers should focus on the multiplier aspects of gaming rather than using it as a "golden goose" for solving fiscal crises.

Paper **Analyzing The Impact of the Citizen Initiative and State Fiscal Policy**
Michael J. New, *University of Alabama*
 Overview: A number of studies have found that states with the initiative have lower taxes than other states. By examining fiscal trends in initiative and non-initiative states since the 1960s, I hope to provide a rationale for these fiscal policy differences.

Paper **Local Agency and Civic Capacity: Working Around the States?**
Daniel E. Bliss, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Overview: A survey of leaders in four similar small cities in two states with very different arrangements for local government finance suggests the importance of local political agency and the advantages of local revenue, even in a deregulated and global age.

Disc. **Andrea McAtee**, *Indiana State University*
Alka Sapat, *Florida Atlantic University*

46-201 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ISSUES IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE**
Room State, 4th Floor, Table 2, Sat at 12:45 pm
Presenter **Targeting Programs to Deal with Juvenile Crime and Gang Activities**
Tom James, *University of Oklahoma*
Geoboo Song, *University of Oklahoma*
 Overview: This paper discusses the development and use of community indices using social and economic characteristics of census tracts to identify potential high-risk areas and inform policy and programmatic decisions on gang intervention activities.

Presenter **Public Views of Criminals and Crime Causation**
Fred A. Meyer, *Ball State University*
Ralph E. Baker, *Ball State University*
 Overview: This paper examines public support for punitive correctional policy and possible explanations for that support.

46-202 **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: PROCUREMENT AND CONTRACTS**

Room State, 4th Floor, Table 3, Sat at 12:45 pm

Presenter **Public Procurement as a Policy Tool in America**

Donna T. McCarthy, *National Institute of Governmental Purchasing*

Overview: Can procurement be used as a tool in which public policy can be facilitated? This presentation will focus on the areas in which acquisition policy is helping shape economic development, sustainability, and equal access in the contracting process.

Presenter **Agency Power and Adaptation: Implementation of Competitive Sourcing**

Maria Ernita T. Joaquin, *Northern Illinois University*

Overview: Theories of organizational adaptation and bureau power intersect in this study OMB Circular A-76 implementation, uncovering new themes on power, leadership, and congressional influences on bureaucratic response in the era of third-party governance.

49-7 **SCIENCE AND SCIENTISTS IN ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS**

Room Clark 3, 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair **Paul A. Sabatier**, *University of California, Davis*

Paper **Changing Expectations of Science and Scientists in Environmental Policy**

Brent S. Steel, *Oregon State University*

Denise Lach, *Oregon State University*

Overview: This study examines support for and determinants of involving science and scientists in the environmental process from the perspective of various stakeholder groups.

Paper **Scientists in the Policy Process: Hired Guns or Truth Tellers?**

Carol L. Silva, *Texas A&M University*

Overview: This paper examines how perceptions of technological risk are influenced by gender and scientific training, and looks at the breadth of these effects by comparing perspectives on risk among scientists in the U.S. and in EU member nations.

Paper **Conserving Biodiversity in a Changing Climate: The Role of Science in Policy Formation**

Kelly Levin, *Yale University*

Overview: Climate change is severely impacting biodiversity with long-term implications for conservation and management. While biologists, park managers, and conservation organizations have performed extensive research on climate impacts to biodiversity.

Paper **Framing Elite Policy Discourse: Epistemic Communities and Regulation of POPs**

Jessica Templeton, *London School of Economics and Political Science*

Overview: Using global regulation of persistent organic pollutants as a case study, this paper analyzes the use of strategic issue framing tactics by epistemic communities of scientists seeking to bring about their preferred policy outcomes.

Paper **Are Scientists Political Players? Scientists in Four Environmental Policy Conflicts**

Christopher Weible, *Georgia Institute of Technology*

Overview: What are the roles of scientists in environmental policy conflicts? This paper responds to this question using a mix of cross sectional and longitudinal mail-in questionnaire data spanning from 1990 to 2002 across four policy subsystems.

Disc. **John A. Hird**, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*

50-10 **MANAGEMENT CHALLENGES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

Room PDR 7, 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair **Rhys Andrews**, *Cardiff University*

Paper **Administration of Public Programs in Rural Places**

Shelly Arsneault, *California State University, Fullerton*

Kari Adams, *California State University, Fullerton*

Overview: The findings suggest several hypotheses for public administration in rural communities, particularly in light of resource constraints that face administrators such as limited

financial resources, staff training, expertise, and service availability.

Paper **Local Government Budgeting: Has It Kept Up With Technology?**

E. L. Bernick, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

Overview: This study looks at the extent to which budget "best practices" are presented by county governments on their web sites.

Paper **Local Government Performance Measurement Adoption: Transaction Cost Analysis**

Hee Soun Jang, *California State University, Fullerton*

Myungjung Kwon, *University of North Carolina, Wilmington*

Overview: This study claims that performance adoption innovations in municipal governments should consider public management factors related to institution and bureaucracy as well as political and socioeconomic characteristics.

Paper **Comprehensive Planning in Municipal Government: Is it Worth the Hassle?**

Kimberly L. Nelson, *Northern Illinois University*

Angela S. Shimkus, *Southern Illinois University*

Overview: This research examines the value of comprehensive planning as determined by its use in Illinois municipal governments. Special attention is given to the overall usefulness of the practice related to its costs, both tangible and intangible.

Disc. **Rhys Andrews**, *Cardiff University*

50-18 **ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY AND REGULATION IN A FEDERAL CONTEXT**

Room Suite 9-128, 9th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair **Frank T. Manheim**, *George Mason University*

Paper **The Flow of Environmental Funds**

Andrew B. Whitford, *University of Georgia*

Benjamin Y. Clark, *University of Georgia*

Overview: This essay quantitatively investigates the demand side for federal grants-in-aid to the states.

Paper **High Capacity State and Flexible Policy Solutions: Does Centralization Always Result in Coercion?**

Lada K. Dunbar, *University of Michigan, Dearborn*

Overview: This paper analyzes the role of a national centralized policy authority in the introduction of policy innovations.

Paper **Cooptation, Capacity Building, and Channeling: Government Funding on NGOs**

Chang Bum Ju, *University of Southern California*

Overview: This study tests competing theses regarding the patterns and impact of government funding on nonprofit organizations: cooptation, capacity building and channeling. They are conceptualized in terms of resource centralization and agency autonomy.

Paper **Bureaucratic Discretion and Legislative Control: State Brownfield Programs**

Susan M. Opp, *University of Louisville*

Overview: Drawing upon bureaucratic discretion and political control of the bureaucracy theories this paper examines state brownfield program creation, implementation, and administration.

Disc. **Frank T. Manheim**, *George Mason University*

Brian Kisida, *University of Arkansas*

51-10 **CIVIL RIGHTS: YESTERDAY AND TODAY**

Room PDR 8, 3rd Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair **Joseph E. Luders**, *Yeshiva University*

Paper **Inmate Racial Segregation: Towards Racial Social-Political Strata**

Alejandro Garcia, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: Research on racial segregation fails to examine the context of inmate racial segregation in U.S. prisons and its relationship to the state; and instead has focused on the prison sub-culture.

Paper **The Politics of Anger: Southern Strategy and Rise of Negative Campaigning**

Lilly J. Goren, *Carroll College*

Overview: This paper explores the connection between the rise of negative campaigning, the evolution of the Southern strategy and the angry American electorate. Long term impact and the

- difficulties for governing with an angry electorate frame the discussion.
- Paper** **Neither With Nor Without You: The U.S. Labor Movement and the Immigrants**
Maria C. Olivieti Minney, *University of California, Irvine*
 Overview: The paper examines three models of interaction between the U.S. Labor movement and the immigrants from the mid-1800s to today. The analysis shows a connection between the unions' strength and ability to mobilize, and its policy towards immigrants.
- Paper** **Stokes Brothers: From the Projects to the Politics of Power in Cleveland**
Edward J. Pershey, *Western Reserve Historical Society*
 Overview: A new exhibit, drawing on the papers of Carl and Louis Stokes at the Western Reserve Historical Society, explores the way that two Cleveland men changed American urban politics by challenging the color line at both the local and national arenas.
- Disc.** **Michelle Hartman**, *Fairleigh Dickinson University*
Joseph E. Luders, *Yeshiva University*

- 52-3** **EXPLORATIONS IN TRUST AND DISTRUST**
Room Burnham 4, 7th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair **Margaret M. Young**, *Albion College*
Paper **Political Trust, Values, Media and Performance: a Canadian Profile**
Crete Jean, *Universite Laval*
Pelletier Rejean, *Universite Laval*
Couture Jerome, *Universite Laval*
 Overview: The citizenry in many post-industrial countries has become increasingly sceptical towards politicians and political institutions. Is (dis)trust in institutions explained by the values, the media or the performance of the government?
- Paper** **Linking Trust and Postmaterialism: The Case for Theoretical Convergence**
Regan W. Damron, *University of Georgia*
 Overview: This paper seeks to specify a direct, independent relationship between generalized trust and postmaterialism on the one hand, and particularized trust and materialism on the other. Hypotheses are tested using a hierarchical generalized linear model.
- Paper** **Emerging Civil Society and Chinese WWII Reparations Movement**
Bin Xu, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: This paper is intended to explain the rise of Chinese WWII reparations movement against Japan by suggesting that the emergence of a globalized civil society in China nurtured a group of memory activists who initiated and promote the movement.
- Paper** **A Structural Equation Model of Social Capital and Corruption**
Xiaojun Li, *University of Georgia*
Lichao He, *University of Georgia*
Jun Yi Hsieh, *Florida State University*
 Overview: This paper uses a cross lagged panel model to test the relationship between social capital and corruption across major regions.
- Paper** **The Leaky Bucket Principle of Community Development in Global and International Partnerships**
José G. Vargas-Hernandez, *Instituto tecnológico de Cd. Guzmán*
 Overview: The aim of this paper is to review the principle of the leaky bucket in global and international partnerships.
- Disc.** **Margaret M. Young**, *Albion College*

- 53-11** **ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM**
Room Parlor B, 6th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm
Chair **Donna Lee Bowen**, *Brigham Young University*
Paper **Suicide Bombing: Does it Put Power in the Hands of the Powerless?**
Abdy Javadzadeh, *Florida International University*
 Overview: In an altruistic way suicide bombers sacrifice themselves for the greater cause, their nation, ideology, and religion. This paper takes a critical look at the identities of suicide bombers and what motivates them to make this ultimate sacrifice.

- Paper** **Fabricating Terrorists: Al-Qaeda's Construction of Identity**
Emy Matesan, *Arizona State University*
 Overview: This study provides an in-depth understanding of the psychological motivations of Muslim terrorists, by examining the process through which Al-Qaeda constructs a collective identity conducive to violence.
- Paper** **Western Political Theory and the Elusive Nature of Fundamentalist Islam**
Hassan Bashir, *Texas A&M University*
Faraz M. Sheikh, *Indiana University*
 Overview: An analysis of Javed Ghamidi's political ideas. Focusing on hermeneutical issues to illustrate the diversity within contemporary Islamic fundamentalism and highlight the problems inherent in recent western analyses of the phenomenon.
- Paper** **Violence: The Premise or Promise of Islam?**
Galip B. Isen, *Istanbul Bilgi University*
 Overview: The paper aims to review the vicissitudes of the perceptions of Islam in the West in modern history and delineate the cleavages of clash between Islamic societies and the West in order to propose a) that religion plays only a nominal role in a conflict that originates elsewhere, in relation to the forces of modernity and globality; b) that whether it preaches violence or peace, Islam as a political force is bound to recede and diminish, just as Sovietic socialism did, as integration with the global system increases.
- Paper** **Containing Religious Militancy: Why Appeasement Works**
Jonathan C. Eastvold, *Illinois General Assembly*
 Overview: A four-country study of factors shaping religious militants' decisions to employ violence in pursuit of their aims. The conclusions suggest that a strategy of targeted appeasement is a viable option for neutralizing or deterring religious militants.
- Disc.** **Donna Lee Bowen**, *Brigham Young University*
- 53-201** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: POLITICAL THEORY AND RELIGION**
Room State, 4th Floor, Table 4, Sat at 12:45 pm
Presenter **The Problematic Role of Milton's Virtue and His Indebtedness to Vice**
Julianne M. Romanello, *Baylor University*
 Overview: In *Areopagitica* and *Paradise Lost*, Milton questions the possibility of earthly and celestial virtue. His discussion of censorship, free will, and the creation of Satan proves that rule by the virtuous will never be reality in England or elsewhere.
- 55-201** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: ONLINE EDUCATION**
Room State, 4th Floor, Table 5, Sat at 12:45 pm
Presenter **Issues in Online Education - The Community College Setting**
Nancy L. Bednar, *Del Mar College*
 Overview: This paper explores online education in community colleges, including the implications of the growth of online education for community college programs. It will also address dual credit courses that are being offered in Texas community colleges.
- Presenter** **Comparing Student Attitudes Toward Online Education**
Susan M. Johnson, *University of Wisconsin, Whitewater*
 Overview: A survey of students enrolled in online Political Science classes was conducted in 2004 and 2006. The surveys were administered at the beginning of the semester. The 2006 survey included a follow-up survey at the end of the semester as well.
- 55-202** **INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND EDUCATION**
Room State, 4th Floor, Table 6, Sat at 12:45 pm
Presenter **Teaching IR and American Democracy: Do Voters Vote on Foreign Policy?**
Christopher J. Saladino, *Virginia Commonwealth University*
 Overview: Do Americans consider foreign affairs when they vote? This paper argues that elections have been influenced by foreign policy debates but Americans are not educated on world affairs. Democracy is weakened when the public is not well informed.

Presenter College and International Events: Measuring Student Knowledge on the Darfur

Benjamin Machar, *Central Michigan University*

Sterling Johnson, *Central Michigan University*

Christopher T. Owens, *Central Michigan University*

J. Cherie Strachan, *Central Michigan University*

Overview: This project, based on a random sample of 535 students, is a preliminary effort to explore whether education has an independent effect on current U. S. students' knowledge about and desire to influence decisions to intervene in international events.

56-302 POSTER SESSION: UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH II

Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Presenter Tocqueville, Martineau, and The Woman Question
(Board 1)

Briana KL McGinnis, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Overview: A textual comparison of Harriet Martineau's "Society in America" and Alexis de Tocqueville's "Democracy in America," focusing the contemporary usefulness of supplementing Tocqueville's thought about the place of women in an incipient democracy.

Presenter Assessing the Validity of the Crisis Thesis: Exploring Eminent Domain
(Board 2)

Joshua L Austin, *West Virginia University*

Susan Hunter, *West Virginia University*

Overview: To assess the validity of the Crisis Thesis versus the Milligan Thesis, we seek to use the right to own property as a civil right that can be encroached upon by the state during wartime via excessive use of eminent domain.

Presenter The Moral Paradox of Jubilee? Debt Forgiveness As Policy Image
(Board 3)

Larycia A. Hawkins, *University of Oklahoma*

Larisa Yun, *University of Oklahoma*

Overview: Jubilee 2000 betrays a clash of titans: the moralistic tale of debt forgiveness versus the technical tale of the harsh realities of globalization. This paper examines whether the causal story of debt forgiveness was consistent across policy venues.

Presenter Human Rights Barriers: The Wall in Israel and the U.S. Mexico Border Fence
(Board 4)

Jennifer L LaMay, *Alma College*

Overview: The erection of the wall in Israel and the fence along the U.S. Mexico border may be necessary for security reasons; however these physical barriers violate human rights. This paper compares the barriers and demonstrates the human rights violations.

Presenter Cultural Differences Help in Understanding Election Results
(Board 5)

Tina M Loughry, *Ohio Northern University*

Overview: This paper examines the possibility of a cultural divide between Northern and Southern Mexico and its relationship to the outcome of the 2006 Presidential Election.

Presenter NATO Expansion and American Grand Strategy
(Board 6)

Justinas A Sileikis, *College of the Holy Cross*

Overview: This thesis analyzes the reasoning behind U.S. acceptance of the Baltics into NATO, asserting that it was done to enhance the legitimacy of prospective unilateral American foreign policy actions both within NATO and among international ad hoc coalitions.

Presenter Selecting Recipients for Bilateral Economic Foreign Aid
(Board 7)

Mariana Rodriguez, *University of Alabama, Birmingham*

Overview: This paper attempts to provide an explanation as to how donor states select recipients of bilateral economic foreign aid. Hypotheses are derived from both the realist and liberal theories. Efforts are aimed towards conducting cross-national testing.

Presenter The Line Between Poverty and Destitution in Dostoevsky's Political Thought
(Board 8)

Lauren R Scagnoli, *Bridgewater State College*

Overview: This paper pursues the question of the manner and extent to which Dostoevsky provides a theory of compassion. Dostoevsky gives compassion an important role in his political theory that serves as an alternative to Rousseau's political philosophy.

Presenter African-American Attitudes toward Immigration
(Board 9)

Linda A. Kenney, *Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville*

Jennifer L Bauer, *Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville*

Overview: We use survey items from these data sets to develop economic, racial, and social justice models to explain support and opposition to immigration among African Americans.

Presenter The Role of Parliamentary Committees in East Central European Democracies
(Board 10)

Lucija Bajzer, *Creighton University*

Overview: This paper studies the role of committee systems in East Central European parliamentary democracies by testing three competing hypotheses, derived from theory, to determine the theories' relative ability to explain committee allocation decisions.

Presenter Peace through Trade? Rivalries, Cooperative Gains, and the Commerical Peace
(Board 11)

Sean M. Stiff, *University of Toledo*

Overview: This article examines the constructive potential of commercial liberalism, and poses the question of whether or not trade can help reestablish and strengthen political relations between former belligerents.

Presenter Contribution Limits in Colorado Legislative Elections
(Board 12)

Matthew S. Barnes, *Creighton University*

Overview: I test if Colorado contribution limits influence a change in the number and dollar amount of contributions for Colorado House candidates. I find that only candidate status and competitive districts determine a change in the levels of contributions.

Presenter Public Support for Environmental Protection
(Board 13)

Sarah M. Arpin, *Creighton University*

Overview: This study seeks to explain public support for environmental protection by differentiating between two types of support: support shown through monetary or financial sacrifices and support shown through activism.

Presenter How the Increased Cost of Library Operations Adversely Affect the Poor
(Board 14)

Jameka J. Roberts, *University of the District of Columbia*

Overview: Public goods equity as it relates to the "digital-divide" is the central focus of this study which compares the usages, demographics, and services offered at a public library within an "urban" area to those of one located within a "suburban" area.

Presenter An Intelligence Perspective on China's Economic and Military Growth
(Board 15)

Mihaela C. Berbec, *Faculty of Political Science/University of Bucharest*

Overview: This paper examines the drivers and outcomes of the two models of intelligence emerging in the international security realm, and describes the competition between democratic and authoritarian states using intelligence as a tool to their growth.

Presenter Aid for Successful Democracy
(Board 16)

Nicole M. Disette, *Grand Valley State University*

Overview: This paper examines the impact USAID democracy assistance programs on democratic consolidation of transitioning countries in the post-Cold War era.

Presenter Arab American Representation in the U.S. Senate

(Board 17)

Nadia N. Aziz, *Clemson University*

Overview: While the literature has examined representation of other minority groups, to date no literature has considered representation of Arab-Americans. The current research fills this void by analyzing Arab-American representation in the U.S. Congress.

Presenter Escaping the Trap for Good: Toward a Sustainable Peace for Northern Uganda

(Board 18)

Kenneth S. Ferenchak, *Ohio State University*

Overview: Field observations from northern Uganda reveal the shortcomings of the Reintegration component of the DDR program of civil conflict resolution and recovery, namely failure to extend beyond ex-combatants and neglect of factors such as political voice.

Presenter Isolation as a Cause of Voting Decline

(Board 19)

Philip Babler, *Marquette University*

Overview: This paper argues that the increasing isolation of the individual—socially, spatially, economically, and temporally—is the cause of the declining turnout in US elections over the past 45 years.

57-105 ROUNDTABLE: SURVIVE AND THRIVE: SUCCESSFUL STRATEGIES FOR TENURE

Room Monroe, 6th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair **Elizabeth A. Bennion-Turba**, *Indiana University, South Bend*

Panelist **Kathleen Dolan**, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*

Ann Lin, *University of Michigan*

Joanna Scott, *Eastern Michigan University*

Staci Rhine, *Wittenberg College*

Overview: Panelists from diverse institutions will provide advice on building a successful case for tenure and promotion.

59-103 ROUNDTABLE: TEACHING LGBT COURSES AND STUDENTS (Co-sponsored with Teaching Political Science, see 55-102)

Room Adams, 6th Floor, Sat at 12:45 pm

Chair **Charles Smith**, *University of Miami*

Panelist **Jami Taylor**, *North Carolina State University*

Shawn Schulenberg, *University of California, Riverside*

Overview: TBA

Saturday, April 14 – 2:35 pm – 4:10 pm

1-105 ROUNDTABLE: WHAT CAUSES ETHNIC RIOTS? TAKING STOCK OF ACCUMULATED EVIDENCE (Co-sponsored with Ethnicity and Nationalism, see 20-101)

Room Red Lacquer, 4th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Chair Henry E. Hale, *George Washington University*

Panelist Paul R. Brass, *University of Washington*
 Donald L. Horowitz, *Duke University*
 Alexandra Scacco, *Columbia University*
 Ashutosh Varshney, *University of Michigan*
 Steven I. Wilkinson, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: What Causes Ethnic Riots? Taking Stock of Accumulated Evidence

3-12 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Room Salon 2, 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Chair Natasha Iskander, *New York University*

Contemporary Mexico-U.S. Migration and Sub-National Politics in Mexico

Jorge Bravo, *Duke University*
 Overview: Out-migration from Mexico to the U.S. has reshaped, via 'selection' effects and 'contextual' effects, local politics in Mexico.

Emigration and Remittance Policy in the Developing World

Roy P. Germano, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: This paper provides an overview of and general explanations for the types of emigration policies and institutions that have emerged in Latin America, the Middle East, and South Asia in recent decades.

Interpretative Engagement for Global Services: The Case of La Banque Centrale Marocaine

Natasha Iskander, *New York University*
 Overview: Based on a Moroccan case study, I argue that service globalization derives from new understandings about the kinds of services demanded as globalization stretches labor markets, industries and state functions internationally.

Remitting Ideas and Money: How Migrants are Changing Political Beliefs and Behavior Back Home in Mexico

Clarisa Perez-Armendariz, *University of Texas, Austin*
 David Crow, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: We draw on original survey data to explore the effect of international migration on beliefs about, and evaluations of, democracy among Mexican nationals residing in Mexico.

Mobility and New Institutions in a Transnational Labor Market: The Return of Chinese Migrant Engineers from the U.S.

Fei Qin, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
 Overview: This study examines the determinants of return migration decisions and the role of a variety of institutional and social factors in shaping the migration flows.

Extending the Arms of the State: Overseas Filipinos and the Politics of Emigration

Neil G. Ruiz, *Brookings Institution*
 Overview: The paper examines the growing dependence of the Philippine state on labor export institutions.

Disc. Manuel Orozco, *Inter American Dialogue*
 Saltanat Liebert, *American University*

3-23 TERRORISM IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Room Salon 4, 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Chair Benjamin Smith, *University of Florida*
Paper Under the Siege of Terrorism: National Security or Fundamental Liberties?

Banu Baybars Hawks, *Kadir Has University*
 Overview: Fredrick S. Siebert, in 1952, argued that when events increased stresses on society and on government, freedom of expression would diminish. The examples of Turkey and the United States, as argued in this paper, will support Siebert's thesis.

Terrorism: The New Development Strategy

Laura V. Fontaine, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
 Overview: This paper will argue that terrorist groups are leading citizen run bottom-up development projects, increasing their membership and escalating their cause. Terrorist organizations are now utilizing development strategies as a recruitment tool.

Terrorism in the Horn of Africa: Where Bin Laden Began his Rise

Tseggai Isaac, *University of Missouri, Rolla*
 Overview: In the far corners of the Horn of Africa, terrorist movements have taken advantage of Western indifference to the region are muscling their way to formal politics. Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya and Uganda have battled terrorist for decades.

Insurgencies, Counterinsurgencies, and Civil-Military Relations: How, When, and Why Do Civilians Prevail?

Ozlem Kayhan Pusane, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: This paper explores how domestic security threats affect civil-military relations in Turkey and Peru.

Disc. Benjamin Smith, *University of Florida*

4-13 TOWARDS DEMOCRATIZATION IN CHINA?

Room PDR 4, 3rd Floor Sat at 2:35 pm

Chair Xiaojun Yan, *Harvard University*
Paper Civil Liberty and Political Freedom in China
 Diqing Lou, *Texas A&M University*

Tianjian Shi, *Duke University*
 Overview: Combining subjective survey data and objective coding analysis, the paper examines the influence of economic development on the transformation of civil liberties and political freedom in non-democratic China during the past decades.

Working Class and Democratization Deadlock in China

Feng Sun, *University of Alabama*
 Overview: This paper explores the democratization puzzle of economic reform without political liberalization in China by indicating the fact that China lacks one of the critical elements of democratization: a relative strong working class.

The Rising Leaders in the Chinese Countryside

Xiaojun Yan, *Harvard University*
 Overview: The paper examines the transformation of village leadership in China under the market reform. It shows how the reform brought former political outcasts (business owners) into China's local politics and why the communist officials supported it.

Governance-Driven Deliberation in China: Democratization on the Way?

Li Guo, *University of British Columbia*
 Overview: My paper addresses the theoretical challenge to the liberal paradigm of democratization posed by China's recent reform to bring public participation and consultation into some decision-making process.

A Game-Theoretic Analysis of China's Village Elections

Hiroki Takeuchi, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: This paper discusses China's village elections. Using a simple game-theoretic model, it shows that cadres' personal qualities would be the decisive factor in determining whether public goods were provided in the village.

Disc. Jessica Xu, *Yale University*

6-1 COMPARATIVE ECONOMIC VOTING

Room Sandburg 7, 7th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Chair Matthew M. Singer, *Duke University*
Paper On the Efficiency of the Voting Market: A Global Perspective
 Timothy Hellwig, *University of Houston*

David Samuels, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: Building on research on the effects of information on elections, this paper examines the efficiency of the voting market in comparative perspective. It seeks to determine the extent to which voters are "fully informed".

Paper **Voting on Inequality? Inequality and Economic Voting in Latin America**
Matthew M. Singer, *Duke University*
Guillermo Rosas, *Washington University, St. Louis*
 Overview: Original survey data collected in Argentina, Mexico, and Peru demonstrate that perceived inequalities have real political impact on support for incumbents, prospective voting choices, and democratic institutions.

Paper **Some Individual Determinants of Electoral Accountability in Brazil**
Francois Gelineau, *Universite Laval*
 Overview: To what extent do individual-level characteristics shape the propensity of voters to blame/reward incumbents for their policy performance? The paper explores the economic determinants of individual support for incumbent presidents in Brazil.

Paper **Utilitarian Explanations of Support for the European Union**
Agnes K. Koos, *University of New Orleans*
 Overview: Attitudes toward the EU hinge on interests, but which interests are the most salient in shaping them? The impact of personal and national interests is quasi-equal. But Europeans tend to place social protection at the top of the national interest list.

Paper **Explaining Executive Approval Ratings in France (1959-2006)**
Mathieu Turgeon, *University of North Texas*
 Overview: Analyzing the French presidential and prime minister approval ratings, I found that prime ministers are held more responsible for the ebbs and flows of the economy than are presidents and that periods of cohabitation exhibit dynamics of their own.

Disc. **Erik R. Tillman**, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*
Alex Theodoridis, *University of California, Berkeley*

7-14 **TERRORISTS AT THE GATE: EUROPEAN RESPONSES**

Room Sandburg 6, 7th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm

Chair **Irina M. Busygina**, *MGIMO*

Paper **Is European Defence a Public Issue? Media Coverage of the EDSP in French National Newspapers.**
Cyrille Thiebaut, *Paris I - La Sorbonne*
 Overview: European Defence and Security Policy is presented as the next challenge in the political construction of the European Union. However, it doesn't seem to be a public issue. I propose to study the media coverage of the European Defence and Security Policy.

Paper **Non-alignment of EU and U.S. Foreign Policies**
Gabriele Birnberg, *London School of Economics*
 Overview: Is the EU a global foreign policy player in its own right or do its foreign policies follow the American lead? - A study of conditions under which the U.S. and EU do not align their foreign policies.

Paper **The European Union and Terrorism Policy: Debating the Future of the CFSP**
Sara M. Moats, *West Virginia University*
 Overview: Intergovernmentalism implies that self interest takes precedent over cooperation therefore; I theorize that the European Security and Defense policy will remain largely symbolic and the member states will be reluctant to turn control over to the EU.

Paper **How Vanquished Nazis Could Help Us Fight the War on Terror**
Nicholas J. Steneck, *Ohio State University*
 Overview: This paper suggests that the current struggle against international terrorism is very similar in nature, if not detail, to the one West Germans confronted in Cold War's opening decades.

Paper **Long-Term Terrorism and Its Influence on Spain's Public Opinion**
Valentina A. Bali, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: This paper examines between 1979 and 2006 who among Spaniards considers terrorism, in particular from the separatists ETA, a main national problem and how assessments of terrorism affect in turn political evaluations.

Disc. **Irina M. Busygina**, *MGIMO*

8-14 **THE LEFT IN LATIN AMERICA**

Room Sandburg 5, 7th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm

Chair **Roseanna Heath**, *Texas A&M University*

Paper **The Emerging Latin American Left: Inequality, Foreign Leftist Support, and Political Discontent**
Claudia Nancy Avellaneda, *Texas A&M University*
Roseanna Michelle Heath, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: This paper investigates the political and socio-economic variables contributing to the emergence of left movements to the executive branch of government in Latin America recently.

Paper **What's Left of the Brazilian Left?**
Daniela Campello, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: In this paper, I conduct a content analysis using TV campaign material from the five Brazilian elections in which Lula ran for presidency. My goal is to examine the evolution of the candidate's discourse regarding economic policies.

Paper **Trading Arms for Ballots: The Left in Post-Conflict Central America**
Annabella Espana Najera, *University of Notre Dame*
 Overview: The paper examines leftist parties in post-conflict Central America, analyzing how these parties have done in democratic elections. It argues that to explain their success or failure in the electoral arena we need to examine the transition process.

Paper **Challenging the Notion of a Leftist Turn in Latin America**
Gustavo Flores, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Contrary to the common perception that Latin America is turning left, an analysis of economic indicators shows that governments that originated from left-of-center parties have preserved the neoliberal policies that characterized their antecessors.

Paper **The 'love-hate' Relationship Between Neopopulist Leaders and the Mass Media in South America**
Diane E. Johnson, *Lebanon Valley College*
 Overview: Following Waisman and Ducatenzeiler (2006), this paper hypothesizes variation in the contemporary media-state relationship based on regime type, and compares this with relationships between media and 'classical' populists such as Juan Peron.

Disc. **Hector Perla**, *Ohio University*

11-4 **DETERMINANTS OF CONFLICT AND COOPERATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

Room Sandburg 4, 7th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm

Chair **Sanford R. Silverburg**, *Catawba College*

Paper **Turkey: A Regional Power in the Middle East**
Selin E. Guner, *Southern Illinois University, Carbondale*
 Overview: This research will present Turkey's geopolitical significance, its military capacity and its economy which are the three basic factors contributing to her status as a 'regional power'.

Paper **Deals in Damascus: Syrian Foreign Policy in the U.S.-Led Wars Against Iraq**
Debra L. Shulman, *Yale University*
 Overview: This paper discerns the dominant drivers behind Syrian foreign policy decisions during the 1990-91 and 2003 Gulf Wars, focusing on the role played by domestic conditions, including economic factors and public opinion.

Paper **Realism, Constructivism, and Collective Security in the Arab League**
Ahmed A. Salem, *Zayed University*
 Overview: I developed a set of realist and non-state-centric constructivist hypotheses as applied to international organizations and tested them in collective security actions of the League of Arab States in response to the Iraq-Kuwait crises in 1961 and 1990.

Paper	<u>The Peace Process and the Palestinian Political Landscape</u> Husam A. Mohamad , <i>University of Central Oklahoma</i> Overview: This article examines forces that have influenced the Palestinian political landscape, focusing on the failure of the peace process and its effect on the changing relations among political elites and trends in the Palestinian territories.	Paper	<u>Women's Substantive Representation in Post-Soviet Legislatures: Duma Roll-Call Vote Analysis</u> Raminta Stockute , <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: Research maintains that female politicians are more likely to support issues of concern to women, for example, health care or maternity benefits. The findings demonstrate that, first, for the most part, being female has no independent effect on a deputy's
Disc.	Ali R. Abootalebi , <i>University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire</i> Muqtedar Khan , <i>University of Delaware</i>	Disc.	Scott Desposato , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Joel Ostrow , <i>Benedictine University</i>
12-3	<u>CANADIAN IDENTITY AND ATTITUDES</u>	14-10	<u>IPE WITH AN ASIAN FOCUS</u>
Room	Sandburg 2, 7 th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm	Room	Salon 12, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Chair	Jean Crete , <i>Universite Laval</i>	Chair	Susan C. Morris , <i>University of Wisconsin, Platteville</i>
Paper	<u>The Catholic-Liberal Connection in Canada: A Modern Appraisal</u> Laura B. Stephenson , <i>University of Western Ontario</i> Overview: The tendency of Catholics to vote for the Liberal Party of Canada has puzzled Canadian political scientists for decades. This paper evaluates the tendency for Catholics to vote for the Liberal Party.	Paper	<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 1980s has expanded, rather than eroded, the role of the state in the issue area of fiscal and financial policy.
Paper	<u>Attitudes about Federalism Among Quebec Youths</u> Andrea M. L. Perrella , <i>Université de Montréal</i> Éric Bélanger , <i>McGill University</i> Overview: Attitudes about federalism among Quebecers aged 18-34 are explored. The paper will focus on why young francophone sovereignists views are more varied, while young anglophone and allophone sovereignists appear more cognitively constrained.	Paper	<u>Global Shift: Emerging Economies and Globalization</u> Joseph J. St. Marie , <i>University of Southern Mississippi</i> Shahdad Naghshpour , <i>University of Southern Mississippi</i> Samuel S. Stanton, Jr. , <i>Grove City College</i> Overview: The Economist declared that emerging economies now produce more than half the world's GDP. Who are these countries, and are their economies and politics significantly integrated and globalized? We test this thesis in a large-N time-series model.
Paper	<u>Political Attitudes of Western Canadians Ages 18-34</u> Robert P. Roach , <i>Canada West Foundation</i> Loleen Berdahl , <i>Canada West Foundation</i> Overview: The Canada West Foundation's Looking West 2006 Survey included a wide range of questions on public policy priorities, political identity, and democratic participation and attitudes.	Paper	<u>Sequence of Regional Institution-Building in Asia and the Pacific</u> Yasumasa Komori , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: This paper examines the temporal dimension of regional institution-building by analyzing the impact of the preceding regional institutions on the subsequent creation of institutions in Asia and the Pacific.
Paper	<u>The Northern Enigma: American Images of Canada</u> Paul Gecelovsky , <i>University of Lethbridge</i> Stephen Brooks , <i>University of Michigan/University of Windsor</i> Overview: The paper will examine the emergence of two contrasting images of Canada in the U.S. and argue that the existence of these dual images has resulted, in part, in a U.S. policy towards Canada that is as schizophrenic as the images.	Paper	<u>National Responses to a Regional Problem: The Asian Financial Crisis of 1997-98 and Post-Crisis Reform Policies in East Asia</u> Yongwook Ryu , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: This paper examines the impact of the Asian financial crisis (1997-98) on the crisis-affected East Asian countries-- South Korea, Hong Kong, Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia. It first surveys the different national reform policies.
Disc.	John S. Matthews , <i>Queen's University</i>	Paper	<u>Democracy and Economic Inequality in South Asia: Any Discernible Link?</u> Udaya R. Wagle , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Overview: Examines political democracy and economic inequality and finds that they may not be compatible in South Asia. While this finding is not consistent with earlier findings, it offers contextual explanations for the differences observed.
13-1	<u>LEGISLATIVE POLITICS IN THE POST COMMUNIST REGION</u>	Disc.	Susan C. Morris , <i>University of Wisconsin, Platteville</i>
Room	Parlor H, 6 th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm	15-13	<u>INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS AND MILITARY CONFLICT</u>
Chair	Krista E. Wiegand , <i>Georgia Southern University</i>	Room	Salon 5, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Paper	<u>Electoral Mandates and Presidential Support in the Russian Duma, 1994-2003</u> Frank C. Thames , <i>Texas Tech University</i> Overview: The literature on presidential systems suggests that presidents find it easier to build coalitions with single-member district legislators. This paper tests this assumption by examining presidential support in the mixed-member Russian Duma.	Chair	David C. Johnson , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i>
Paper	<u>Veto Players or Agenda Setters? Legislative Organization in the Czech Republic</u> Monika Anna Napela , <i>Harvard University</i> Andrew Roberts , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: The paper proposes a model explaining how Senatorial amendments can be successfully accepted by the House even though the majorities required for passing legislation and overriding senatorial amendments are almost identical.	Paper	<u>The Economic Origins of International Conflict: An Agent-Based Model</u> Brett L. Carter , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: This paper presents an agent-based simulation that suggests the incentives for and prevalence of international conflict shift as the most salient factors of economic growth -- land, labor, physical capital, and human capital -- change over time.
Paper	<u>Committee Roles in the Legislative Politics of a Developing Legislature: The Case of the Ukrainian Parliament</u> Irina Krmelko , <i>Georgia Southern University</i> Overview: The paper discusses the process of committee system formation in a developing legislature. It addresses the effects of a mixed electoral system and party politics on committee roles in legislative process and oversight of the Ukrainian parliament.	Paper	<u>Oil and Post-Cold War Great Power Politics in Central Asia</u> Akm K. Islam , <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Overview: The purpose of the study is to show how competition for natural resources can shape great power politics. In my study, I will discuss strategies of three great powers such as the United States, Russia, and China in gaining control over Central Asian natural resources.

Paper **Economic Interdependence and Conflict in Periods of Power Transition**
Lance Y. Hunter, *Texas Tech University*
Taylor McMichael, *Texas Tech University*
 Overview: The question posed in this paper is whether economic interdependence is effective in reducing conflict in periods in which there is the greatest potential for conflict. Is economic interdependence effective in reducing conflict during periods of power.

Paper **A Return to Perpetual Peace: Economic Freedom and the Republican State**
Patrick R. Gibbons, *University of North Texas*
 Overview: Kant's republican state avoids war as citizens do not wish to endure war. If states can hide the costs of war then the mode of government may not matter. Economic freedom may allow the costs of war to be transparent enough for war to be avoided.

Disc. **David C. Johnson**, *University of California, Los Angeles*

16-14 **PREPARING FOR ARMAGEDDON**
Room Salon 6, 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Chair **Jeremy Youde**, *Grinnell College*
Paper **Pandemic Disease: A Past and Future Challenge to Governance**
Alethia Cook, *University of Akron*
David B. Cohen, *University of Akron*
 Overview: Governments have struggled to address the unique challenges posed by pandemic disease. This paper explores past cases of pandemic disease and applies some lessons learned to the threat of a future pandemic.

Paper **CBRN Attack Perpetrators: An Empirical Study**
Kate Ivanova, *Vanderbilt University*
Todd Sandler, *University of Texas, Dallas*
 Overview: This article assesses the future risks from chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear (CBRN) terrorism. The results indicate that religious cults and groups with a transnational orientation pose the largest CBRN threat to society.

Paper **Satellites, Spying, and the Future of Arms Control Verification**
Quincy W. Castro, *Marquette University*
 Overview: This paper examines the changes to arms control verification caused by the collapse of the Cold War balance and diffusion of information technology, proposing that it is still possible, though difficult, for states to collectively prevent abrogation.

Disc. **Jeffrey M. Cavanaugh**, *Bradley University*

17-13 **IT PAYS TO BE DIPLOMATIC**
Room Sandburg 8, 7th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Chair **Andrew Kydd**, *University of Pennsylvania*
Paper **An Issue-Based Explanation of the Timing of Negotiation Efforts in International Conflicts**
Belinda L. Bragg, *Rowan University*
 Overview: This research explains why only some crises between states are resolved through negotiation. It proposes that costs dominate the decision to initiate negotiation and that the impact of these costs is determined by the salience of the issue at stake.

Paper **The Empirical Necessity of Foreign Policy Substitution**
David H. Clark, *Binghamton University*
Timothy Nordstrom, *University of Mississippi*
William Reed, *Rice University*
 Overview: This paper articulates why it is essential to think about foreign policy choices (plural) instead of considering single foreign policies juxtaposed against all other possible choices.

Paper **Diplomatic Interactions Over Time and Space**
Resat Bayer, *Koc University*
 Overview: I discuss findings emerging from the updated Correlates of War Diplomatic Exchange data set.

Paper **Power and Agency: How Past Diplomacy Determines the Choice of Sides**
Robert F. Trager, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: The paper analyzes the effect of threats on ongoing relations between states, and in particular on long-term alignment decisions.

_Disc. **Bernd Beber**, *Columbia University*

17-20 **CONFLICT, INSURGENCY, AND STATE POWER**
Room Parlor B, 6th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Chair **Rolin G. Mainuddin**, *North Carolina Central University*
Paper **Military Resilience in Low Intensity Conflict**
Rahel Suissa, *University of Haifa*
 Overview: Military Resilience in Low Intensity Conflict – New Directions: A comparative Research France-Algeria, Britain-Ireland, Russia-Chechnya, Israel-The Palestinian Authority

Paper **Authoritarian States and Responses to External Threats: Sponsoring VNSAs?**
Belgin San Akca, *University of California, Davis*
 Overview: Why do some states support violent non-state actors although it may backlash at them? Despite increasing effects of terrorism political scientists ignore its utility as an instrument of conflict escalation and interest advancement among states.

Paper **Risk and Violence: Understanding the Protest Strategies of Marginalized Groups**
Emily A. Beaulieu, *University of Kentucky*
Kathleen G. Cunningham, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: In this paper we construct an empirical measure of risk, or variability of state response, and test its effects on levels of separatist group violence.

Paper **The Role of Elite Benefit in the Onset and Duration of Civil War**
Caroline L. Payne, *Louisiana State University*
 Overview: I intend to examine the effects of elite benefit on both the initiation and duration of civil conflict.

Disc. **TBA**

18-9 **CURRENT ISSUES IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY**
Room Salon 7, 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Chair **Rashida Hussain**, *Wright State University*
Paper **Neorealism and its Ethics: Mearsheimer, Snvder and Walt Against the Iraq War**
Toru Oga, *Ibaraki University*
 Overview: The paper focuses on an ethical turn of neorealism by examining their critical discourses on anti-Iraq War campaign. Numerous realist discourses dramatically move from traditional neorealism toward anti-imperial temptations.

Paper **Hegemonic Conflict after 9/11**
William W. Newmann, *Virginia Commonwealth University*
 Overview: Theories of hegemony require revision. Al-Qaeda and its ideology pose an asymmetric challenge to U.S. hegemony. By weakening and de-legitimizing the U.S., al-Qaeda may disrupt U.S. hegemony, breaking nations and regions out of the U.S. hegemonic orbit.

Paper **The Bush Doctrine at Five**
William D. Anderson, *Western Illinois University*
 Overview: It was in the middle of 2002 that President Bush began articulating what became known as the "Bush Doctrine." This paper presents both an exposition of the Bush Doctrine, in its original and revised forms; and an assessment of the criticisms.

Paper **Diplomacy Under Crisis: Executive Agreements in a Turbulent Global Arena**
Randall D. Smith, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
 Overview: To the chagrin of realist assertion, scholarly treatment of U.S. executive agreements focuses on domestic determinants. This study remedies such oversight by providing quantitative analysis of executive agreements as motivated by international crises.

Paper	<p><u>A Systems Theory Understanding of Terrorism with Implications for Policy</u> Miriam E. Mendelson, <i>University of Akron</i> Overview: An examination of the global Islamist terror movement from a complex systems perspective. This includes an overview of the terror system and its components, how this relates to systems theory and what are its implications for counterterrorism policy.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Evolution of Cooperation Among Strangers in One Shot PD Games</u> Oleg Smirnov, <i>University of Miami</i> Tim Johnson, <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: We present a model where cooperation evolves in a population of organisms that play one-shot games with randomly determined partners whose past choices are unknown. Cooperation evolves via a simple strategy, which we call COEQUAL.</p>
Disc.	<p>Jane Kim, <i>University of Essex</i> Rashida Hussain, <i>Wright State University</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Evolution of Altruistic Punishment: Effects of Information and Group Size</u> Eser Sekercioglu, <i>Stony Brook University</i> Overview: An evolutionary game theoretic model of altruistic punishment is developed with two novelties: Effects of the size of group providing the public good and cost of information (i.e. cost of monitoring for cheaters).</p>
20-5	<p><u>CITIZENSHIP: THE NATION AT HOME AND ABROAD</u></p>	Disc.	<p>Nathan A. Collins, <i>Stanford University</i></p>
Room	Salon 1, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm	22-11	<p><u>STRATEGIC VOTING</u></p>
Chair	Devashree Gupta , <i>Carleton College</i>	Room	Salon 8, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Paper	<p><u>What Does it Mean to be American? Values, Identity and Patriotism</u> Rebecca E. Blanton, <i>City University of New York</i> Overview: Results from a survey that directly questions people about their civic beliefs, their commitment to the American Creed, and the feelings of patriotism are presented.</p>	Chair	Meredith Rolfe , <i>University of Oxford</i>
Paper	<p><u>Advocating Tolerance or Division: Multiculturalism Contested</u> Annika M. Hinze, <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i> Overview: The politics of multiculturalism has been a significant variable in debating the treatment of minority groups in Western democracies. This paper explores the contestedness of the term itself and the influence of its implementation.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Efficient Information Aggregation with Costly Voting</u> Vijay Krishna, <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> John Morgan, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: We show that sincere voting is an equilibrium of majority-rule and unanimity-rule voting games with private information and privately known costs of participation. The informational efficiency of these equilibria in large electorates is analyzed.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Can American Democracy Be Sustained? Immigration, Diversity, and Conflict</u> Joel Lieske, <i>Cleveland State University</i> Overview: Using data for nation states and the American states and counties, this paper explores the implications and consequences of expansionist immigration policies that are making the U. S. more racially, ethnically, religiously, and socially diverse.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Voting for Coalitions: Strategic Voting under Proportional Representation</u> Matias A. Bargsted, <i>University of Michigan</i> Orit Kedar, <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Overview: We demonstrate that voters in PR systems vote based on expectations about coalition composition. In particular, they employ Duvergerian logic: when expecting an unfavorable coalition, they desert their first choice and endorse a lesser of evils.</p>
Paper	<p><u>States and Their Citizens Abroad: Dual Citizenship as a State Strategy</u> Sybil D. Rhodes, <i>Western Michigan University</i> Arus Harutyunyan, <i>Western Michigan University</i> Overview: Examines the conditions under which countries decide to tolerate or encourage multiple citizenship, with case studies of Armenia, Mexico, and Spain.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Measuring Strategic Voting in a Single-Member Plurality System</u> Andre Blais, <i>Universite de Montreal</i> Marc A. Bodet, <i>McGill University</i> Overview: This paper tests two methods of measuring strategic voting in SMP systems. We argue for an improved simulation method – one which is more theoretically appealing, and in some cases will yield more robust estimates of strategic voting.</p>
Disc.	Devashree Gupta , <i>Carleton College</i>	Paper	<p><u>Learning Strategic Voting: Tactical Voting in Hungarian Elections, 1994-2002</u> James W. Endersby, <i>University of Missouri</i> Agnes Simon, <i>University of Missouri</i> Overview: Using data at the polling place level, this paper investigates strategic voting in a mixed, two-round electoral system and trends in tactical behavior across several parliamentary elections in the post-communist, transitional democracy of Hungary.</p>
21-14	<p><u>THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND STRATEGIC NATURE OF COOPERATION (Co-sponsored with Formal Modeling, see 34-15)</u></p>	Paper	<p><u>The Social Underpinnings of Strategic Voting: Priming in a Primary</u> Anand E. Sokhey, <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: This paper examines strategic voting in a gubernatorial primary election, positing that such behavior can be explained by political discussion – in social networks and civic organizations – priming considerations of candidate electability.</p>
Room	Parlor F, 6 th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm	Disc.	Meredith Rolfe , <i>University of Oxford</i>
Chair	Nathan A. Collins , <i>Stanford University</i>	23-9	<p><u>CAMPAIGN FIELD EXPERIMENTS</u></p>
Paper	<p><u>Institutional Rules and the Evolution of Preferences: A Computer Simulation</u> Douglas R. Oxley, <i>University of Nebraska, Lincoln</i> Kevin B. Smith, <i>University of Nebraska, Lincoln</i> Overview: A computer simulation is used to evaluate the impact of institutional rules on the evolution of cooperation.</p>	Room	PDR 5, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Paper	<p><u>Social Cues Speed the Determination of Cooperative Type in Economic Games</u> John M. Fulwider, <i>University of Nebraska, Lincoln</i> Rhonda Saferstein, <i>University of Nebraska, Lincoln</i> Overview: Do social cues affect cooperation in economic games? We compare results from a standard, text-based presentation of the public goods game with a presentation where players see photographs and names of the other players.</p>	Chair	Brian J. Brox , <i>Tulane University</i>
Paper	<p><u>Sociality as a Defensive Response to Loss: Laboratory Experiments</u> Mikhail G. Myagkov, <i>University of Oregon</i> John Orbell, <i>University of Oregon</i> Timothy Johnson, <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: We report experimental results of how framing (gains vs. losses) affect behavior (and decision to enter) in games involving cooperation, altruistic punishment, games of status, ultimatum games etc. Experiments are conducted in Russia and in the U.S.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Political Posters: (How) Do They Affect Viewers? An Experimental Approach</u> Delia Dumitrescu, <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: Using an experimental design, this paper proposes two psychological mechanisms by which repeated exposure to political posters might impact individual attitudes: (1) increase attitude accessibility; (2) increase group liking through “mere exposure”.</p>

Paper **Does Signaling Matter in American Politics?: A (Corn)field Experiment**
Julia C. Gray, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Phil B. K. Potter, *Harvard University*
 Overview: We argue that signals of quality from candidates can drive voter responses. We run a preliminary test of this theory in a race for magistrate in Franklin County, Kentucky. We find that voters respond to "costly" signals from the challenger.

Paper **Street Fight: Field Experimental Evidence about the Impact of a Street Signs Campaign**
Costas Panagopoulos, *Fordham University*
 Overview: This paper presents the findings of a field experiment conducted in November 2005 in New York City to assess the impact of a nonpartisan street signs campaign on voter turnout. The results suggest street signs boost turnout.

Paper **Political Competition, Candidate Rationality and Selective Perception: A Field Experiment of Italian 2006 National Elections**
Paolo Spada, *Yale University*
 Overview: One of the main assumption of the theoretical literature on political competition is that candidates maximize their chances to be reelected. This study attempts to test this basic assumption through a field experiment.

Disc. **Brian J. Brox**, *Tulane University*

25-13 PUBLIC OPINION AND GEOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

Room Suite 9-128, 9th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm

Chair **Nicholas J. G. Winter**, *University of Virginia*

Paper Individual and Contextual Effects on Political Sophistication

Jason R. Arnold, *University of Minnesota*

Overview: This paper examines how individual-level and contextual factors shape political sophistication. A multi-level model is developed and tested on cross-national survey data.

Paper Racial Context and Whites' Attitudes Toward Immigration in Australia

Antoine Bilodeau, *Concordia University*

Ian McAllister, *Australian National University*

Overview: This paper uses Australia as a case-study to examine how the racial composition of electoral constituencies impact on whites' attitudes toward immigration.

Paper The Spatial Differentiation of Welfare Racialization

Adam M. Butz, *University of Kentucky*

Overview: This paper examines the differential impact that negative racial stereotypes have in informing the welfare attitudes of white citizens residing within central-city, suburban, and rural spatial settings.

Paper Exploring the Determinants in Support for Same-Sex Marriage

Susan Gaines, *Louisiana State University*

James C. Garand, *Louisiana State University*

Overview: We use data from the 2004 American National Election Study and the 2004 Gay and Lesbian Atlas to develop and test a model of support for same sex marriage in the United States.

Paper Local Context and Extreme Right Voting: Evidence from French and Norwegian Communes

Jennifer Fitzgerald, *University of Colorado, Boulder*

Overview: How do local factors shape reactions to immigration in established democracies? Using detailed census and electoral data from all French and Norwegian municipalities, I measure the influence of various contextual factors on recent electoral support.

Disc. **Nicholas J. G. Winter**, *University of Virginia*

25-21 TERRORISM, WAR, AND PUBLIC OPINION

Room Salon 9, 3rd Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm

Chair **Mark Lindeman**, *Bard College*

Paper Celebrity Intellectuals, the Media, and the Collapse of the Rational Centre

Katherine J. Banks, *University of Cambridge*

Overview: This paper outlines the process of triangular dynamic of institutional failure in the post-9/11 world, looking at the "big idea" merchants, the modern media environment, and the collapse of the rational centre.

Paper Fear Factor: Impact of Terrorism on Public Opinion in the U.S., UK and Israel

William J. Josiger, *Georgetown University*

Overview: Impact of terrorism in the U.S., UK and Israel on public opinions from 1979–2004. Does terrorism have a debilitating impact on a country's morale or do attacks rally the public? Do the characteristics of an attack lead to differential impacts?

Disc. **Mark Lindeman**, *Bard College*

27-14 OPINION LEADERSHIP

Room Clark 1, 7th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm

Chair **Erika G. King**, *Grand Valley State University*

Paper Media Message Flows and Public Opinion: An Addition to John Zaller's Model

Claes H. DeVreese, *University of Amsterdam*

Hajo G. Boomgaarden, *University of Amsterdam*

Overview: The paper extends John Zaller's work on how media message flows can affect public opinion. The paper shows how media effects may occur, also under the condition of a mixed message flow.

Paper Public Opinion, Young Voters, Celebrities, and Foreign Policy

Craig F. Frizzell, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*

This project uses an experimental method to examine the effect of celebrity statements on foreign policy public opinion. Students exposed to a celebrity statement about an international crisis are expected to favor intervention in that crisis.

Disc. **Stephen M. Caliendo**, *North Central College*

28-13 THE GENDER GAP IN PARTICIPATION AND ATTITUDES

Room Clark 7, 7th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm

Chair **Leonie Huddy**, *Stony Brook University*

Paper Another Perspective on the Gender Gap: How Parenthood Differentially Affects Men and Women's Political Attitudes

Jill S. Greenlee, *University of California, Berkeley*

Overview: How does becoming a parent affect one's political attitudes and orientations, and how does this differ for men and women? This paper offers insights into the implications of parenthood on the political attitudes of men and women.

Paper The Associational Roots of the Political Participation Gender Gap

Victoria Wilson, *University of California, Irvine*

Overview: This paper re-considers the gender gap in political participation by looking at how men and women engage voluntary associations. Do men and women "join" in different ways, and how does this speak to the ways in which men and women do politics?

Paper Public Presentations of Gender Roles in Periodicals, 1953-2003

Heather L. Ondercin, *Pennsylvania State University*

Overview: I explore the presentation of gender roles in three general audience periodicals from 1953 to 2003 and link changes in presentations of gender roles to changes in public opinion on gender roles and socio-demographic trends.

Disc. **Corrine M. McConaughy**, *University of Texas, Austin*

Richard C. Eichenberg, *Tufts University*

29-9 EVOLVING COLOR LINES: MULTIRACIALISM AND BEYOND

Room Clark 9, 7th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm

Chair **Michele A. Gilbert**, *Cleveland State University*

Paper Multi-Racial Pride and Prejudice? Hines Ward and the Social Construction of Race

Nancy Kwang Johnson, *Western Illinois University*

Siyoung Park, *Western Illinois University*

Overview: Will Hines Ward (an African- and Korean-American) have an impact on the social construction of race and ethnicity in the United States?

Paper	<u>Somewhere in the Middle: The Racial Attitudes of Multiracial Individuals</u> Tasha S. Philpot , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Lauren D. Davenport , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: In this paper, we examine whether people who classify themselves as bi-racial have fundamentally different attitudes about race than those identifying with only one racial group.	32-12 Room Chair Paper	<u>AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT</u> LaSalle 1, 7 th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm Robert W. T. Martin , <i>Hamilton College</i> <u>Tocqueville and Wilson on the Character Foundations of American Democracy</u> Brian Danoff , <i>Miami University</i> Overview: This paper explores the connections between Tocqueville's writings and the thought of Woodrow Wilson. I argue that Wilson had a Tocquevillian concern with the relationship between institutions and the "character foundations of American democracy."
Paper	<u>Political Mobilizing Beyond Racial Identity Categories</u> Randy Cota , <i>Rutgers University</i> Overview: This paper, in exploring the multi-scenic intelligibility of race, will examine how efforts to undo racialization—the "undoing" of race—might impact political mobilization based on racial identities/categories.	Paper	<u>Equal Opportunity: A Theory of Justified Inequality during the New Deal and the Second World War</u> Michael J. Illuzzi , <i>University of Minnesota, Twin Cities</i> Overview: Analyzing U.S. newspaper articles using the concepts of inequality and equal opportunity during the New Deal and World War II, I identify the assumptions that help sustain historical and institutional obstacles to meaningful political reform.
Paper	<u>Understanding Race, Democracy and Post-Industrial Paradigms</u> Mario Love , <i>Meramec Community College</i> Overview: Deciphering race and power in democratic paradigms.	Paper	<u>The Use of Abraham Lincoln's Rhetoric of Equality in the Post-New Deal Era</u> Jason R. Jividen , <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: As part of a project on the appeal to Lincoln in American political rhetoric, this paper evaluates claims to Lincoln's legacy in the post-New Deal Era, mainly focusing upon the Great Society and the Supreme Court's use of the equal protection clause.
Paper	<u>The Evolving Color Line: Political and Cultural Implications</u> Toni-Michelle C. Travis , <i>George Mason University</i> Eric Shiraev , <i>George Mason University</i> Overview: The Color Line needs to be examined now that the U.S. is a multicultural country with "people of color". Who is white and who can become white? What are the policy implications of moving from a subordinate immigrant status to one of privilege?	Paper	<u>The Conscience of Liberalism: Thomas Paine's Critique Private Property</u> William B. Parsons , <i>James Madison University</i> Overview: An examination of Thomas Paine's critique of John Locke's theory of private property.
Disc.	Harwood McClerking , <i>Ohio State University</i> Natalie Masuoka , <i>University of California, Irvine</i>	Disc.	Angelica M. Bernal , <i>Yale University</i>
29-22	<u>ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS AND IMMIGRATION POLICY</u>	33-11 Room Chair Paper	<u>HOW SHOULD WE DO POLITICAL THEORY?</u> Suite 9-142, 9 th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm William A. Gorton , <i>Alma College</i> <u>Political Theory and Ordinary Language: A Road Not Taken</u> Colin P. Bird , <i>University of Virginia</i> Overview: This paper argues that the techniques of ordinary language analysis are a neglected resource in contemporary political theory and explains why and how they should be revived.
Room	Burnham 1, 7 th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm	Paper	<u>What is the Purpose of Political Theory?</u> Burke A. Hendrix , <i>Cornell University</i> Overview: This paper argues that political theorists do the most good, and pose the fewest dangers, when they do not stray too far from concrete, real-world cases.
Chair	Matt A. Barreto , <i>University of Washington, Seattle</i>	Paper	<u>Power, History, Race, and Justice in America</u> Christopher J. Lebron , <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Overview: This paper offers an account of political justice as it regards race and a history of institutionally legitimized dominance in America.
Paper	<u>Representing Immigrants: Navigating Through Anti-Immigrant Opinion</u> Grace E. Cho , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i> Overview: This paper examines how members of Congress respond to both naturalized and noncitizen immigrants in their districts in light of anti-immigrant opinion in their districts, particularly in states where immigrants have not traditionally settled.	Paper	<u>Probably Democratic: Probability Theory, Chance, and Democratic Theory</u> Mindy Peden , <i>John Carroll University</i> Overview: I explore uses for the role of chance in theorizing democracy and explores how the potentially fortune friendly use of probability theory in the social sciences has been misrepresented to highlight an imaginary predictability of political life.
Paper	<u>Translating Public Opinion? Why Small Towns Turn Anti-Immigrant</u> Daniel J. Hopkins , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: Drawing on data from surveys and newspapers, this paper argues that the incentives of local elites--and not the attitudes of the public--explain the proliferation of anti-immigrant policies in smaller localities.	Disc.	William A. Gorton , <i>Alma College</i>
Paper	<u>Changes in Latino Attitudes Toward Immigration: Evidence from National Studies</u> J. L. Polinard , <i>University of Texas, Pan American</i> James Wenzel , <i>University of Texas, Pan American</i> Ellen Baik , <i>University of Texas, Pan American</i> Overview: Latino perspectives on immigration and immigration policy have been well researched. We extend this literature by examining changing attitudes within the Latino population over the course of three national studies.	33-26 Room Chair Paper	<u>POLITICAL THEORY AND THEORIES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE</u> Dearborn 2, 7 th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm TBA <u>Political Realism: How Realist, How Realistic?</u> Robert V. Bartlett , <i>University of Vermont</i> Walter F. Baber , <i>California State University, Long Beach</i> Overview: Political realism is neither very true to its philosophical origins nor very realistic from a practical perspective. Only by being better grounded in pragmatism can "realism" in political science escape its status as an oxymoron.
Paper	<u>Latinos Unidos? An Analysis of Latino Attitudes toward Immigration Policy</u> David L. Leal , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Adrian D. Pantoja , <i>Pitzer College</i> Overview: This paper analyzes Latino, Anglo, and African-American attitudes toward immigration - with a focus on the attitudes of Latino national-origin group respondents (those of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Salvadoran, Dominican, and Colombian heritage).		
Paper	<u>Can Public Opinion be Explained by One's News Source? The Case of Latinos and Immigration Reform</u> Marisa A. Abrajano , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Simran Singh , <i>New York University</i> Overview: This paper examines whether one's news source can help to explain Latinos' attitudes towards immigration.		
Disc.	Matt A. Barreto , <i>University of Washington, Seattle</i>		

Paper **Reconciling Approaches to the Conceptualization of Political Legitimacy**
Matthew DeBell, *Stanford University*
 Overview: The law, political philosophy, and public opinion research have conceptualized political legitimacy differently. This paper offers a reconciliation and synthesis of these approaches.

Paper **How Motivation Impacts the Field of Political Science**
Louise A. Hendrickson, *University of California, Riverside*
 Overview: This paper seeks to address what motivation is, and how motivation guides people's decisions in life, and specifically in the realm of Political Science.

Paper **After Anarchy, After Hegemony: Toward a Primal-Order Constructivism**
James G. Poulos, *Georgetown University*
 Overview: Constructivism declared anarchy, not just institutions, to be a social creation. But cultural order predates the political. Cultural-political theory gets anarchy right, pointing toward the creation of a successful post-hegemonic international order.

Paper **Governance: Prospects of Complexity Theory in Revisiting System Theory**
Volker Schneider, *University of Constance*
Johannes M. Bauer, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: The paper discusses three versions of complexity theory and their implications for the conceptualization of societal evolution, self-organization and self-regulation.

Disc. TBA

34-10 **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**
Room Clark 10, 7th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Chair **James C. Roberts**, *Towson University*
Paper **Knowing One's Future Preferences: A Correlated Agent Model with Bayesian Updating**
Curtis Signorino, *University of Rochester*
Taehee Whang, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: In this paper, we develop a "correlated agent" model in which traditional Perfect Bayesian Eq updating models and QRE-like independent agent models are special cases.

Paper **A Micro-Mechanism of War**
Yoji Sekiya, *University of Rochester*
 Overview: Previous studies show war cannot be an equilibrium outcome under complete information if war is modelled as a one-shot costly lottery. We show incentives of elites and distributions of power at the domestic level may lead to bargaining breakdown.

Paper **Private Information, Military Threat and Taiwan's Presidential Elections**
Kai Zeng, *Northwestern University*
 Overview: Based on formal modeling, this paper explains why China always threatened the use of force during Taiwan's presidential elections and why the pro-independence candidates in Taiwan won the elections every time.

Disc. **Justin Fox**, *Yale University*

35-12 **ANALYZING ELECTION RESULTS**
Room Montrose 2, 7th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Chair **Regina M. Baker**, *University of Oregon*
Paper **Estimating Incumbency Advantage Without the Simultaneity Bias**
Kentaro Fukumoto, *Gakushuin University*
 Overview: This paper models incumbents' decisions for reelection bidding as Bayesian Nash equilibria. I directly derive the joint distribution of the five dependent variables. I will show Monte Carlo simulation and an empirical application.

Paper **Estimating Illegal Vote Counts in Close Elections by Sampling**
Adam N. Glynn, *Harvard University*
Mark S. Handcock, *University of Washington*
Jon Wakefield, *University of Washington*
Thomas S. Richardson, *University of Washington*
 Overview: Borders et al. v. King County et al. opened the door in WA State to the estimation of illegal vote counts (by candidate) via sampling. We develop optimal sampling designs conditional on precinct level data and investigate issues of power and bias.

Paper **Election Forensics: Statistics, Recounts and Fraud**
Walter R. Mebane, *Cornell University*
 Overview: Statistics for outlier detection and using the second digit Benford's Law are usefully combined with recounts to detect election fraud. I review relevant statistical results and look at data from American, Mexican and other elections.

Disc. **Jeff Gill**, *Harvard University*

37-11 **THE MEANING OF PARTIES**
Room LaSalle 2, 7th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Chair **Amy Melissa McKay**, *University of Iowa*
Paper **The Role of Political Parties in Enhancing Different-Level Government Conflict Resolution**
Alejandra Betanzo, *Universitat Pompeu Fabra*
 Overview: The paper briefly discusses the main arguments that underpin the thesis that same-party affiliation between different-level governments leads to intergovernmental cooperation, and presents a set of reasons that put into question the classic arguments.

Paper **The Psychological Roots of Intraparty Power**
Steven A. Weldon, *University of South Carolina*
 Overview: Drawing on a unique set of member surveys from 13 parties in two countries, this paper tests Michels' claim about the psychological roots of oligarchy and examines, more generally, the attitudinal roots of intraparty power.

Paper **Meeting in the Middle: Does Centrism Enhance Electability in SMDP Systems?**
Rachel K. Cremona, *Flagler College*
Michael D. McDonald, *Binghamton University*
 Overview: This paper explores the possibility that the ideological convergence of a party toward the median voter improves the probability of electoral victory.

Paper **Varities of One-Party Predominance**
Riccardo Pelizzo, *Singapore Management University*
Markus Karner, *Singapore Management University*
 Overview: The paper proposes a new taxonomy of pre-dominant party systems and identifies three sub-types of one-party predominance: continuous predominance, alternating predominance and interrupted predominance.

Disc. **Bernard Ivan Tamas**, *Illinois State University*

37-101 **ROUNDTABLE: THE CONSEQUENCES AND CORRECTIVES OF PARTY POLARIZATION IN AMERICA**
Room Adams, 6th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Panelist **Pietro S. Nivola**, *The Brookings Institution*
David W. Brady, *Hoover Institution*
Laurel Harbridge, *Stanford University*
Marc J. Hetherington, *Vanderbilt University*
Barbara Sinclair, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: Most work on party polarization has focused on its causes instead of its impact on public trust, participation, the functioning of our political institutions and consequences for policy. Why does polarization matter? What should be done about it?

38-11 **SEPARATED INSTITUTIONS SHARING POWER? OVERSIGHT AND ITS ABSENCE**
Room LaSalle 3, 7th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Chair **Stuart V. Jordan**, *University of Rochester*
Paper **Congressional Investigations of the Executive**
Michael Cutrone, *Princeton University*
 Overview: This paper briefly lays out a model of Congressional oversight of the executive which maps directly into an empirical test that will be conducted using an original dataset of Congressional hearings and investigations.

Paper **A Unified Theory of Presidential Activity in the Policy-Making Process**
Jonghoon Eun, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: The paper aims to investigate presidents' policy activity by suggesting a unified theory of presidential activity that

	includes all possible important presidential actions: issuing the veto and executive orders, going public, and lobbying Congress.				
Paper	<u>Strategic Outrage: The Institutional Causes of Presidential Scandal</u> Brendan Nyhan , <i>Duke University</i> Overview: In the first systematic analysis of the causes of U.S. presidential scandals, I estimate the effects of presidential approval, opposition chamber control, and party polarization on the number of alleged scandals and the number recognized by the press.			Paper	<u>Uncertainty, Time-Discounting, and Delegation in Brazil</u> Sylvia Gaylord , <i>Colorado School of Mines</i> Overview: This paper explores delegation in politics where legislative turnover is high and the president can impound discretionary spending. The research suggests that uncertainty and short horizons increase delegation and encourage informal policy-making.
Paper	<u>Between to Preside and Coordinate: Coalition Governments in Brazilian Presidency</u> Magna M. Inácio , <i>Federal University of Minas Gerais</i> Overview: In this article the main argument is that the structure and dynamic of the Presidency in Brazil were affected by the work of the coalition governments.			Paper	<u>Free Riding in Multi-Member Legislatures</u> Neil Malhotra , <i>Stanford University</i> Jowei Chen , <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: We develop a formal model of legislative bargaining, finding that increasing the number of seats per district causes a free-rider problem, decreasing per capita spending. We test these findings using data from both OECD countries and the U.S. states.
Disc.	Anne Joseph , <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Keith Smith , <i>University of California, Davis</i>			Paper	<u>The Lobby for the Reduction of Social Disparity and the Executive Branch</u> Osnat Akirav , <i>Western Glilee College</i> Overview: The research examines the activities of 29 MK in two areas of parliamentary activity: How they participate and what they have to say in the discussions on the state budget law; to what extent they tabled motions to the Knesset agenda.
39-10	<u>SENATE RULES AND AGENDA CONTROL</u> Montrose 1, 7 th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm			Disc.	TBA
Room	Scot Schraufnagel , <i>University of Central Florida</i>			40-8	<u>PRIMARY CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS</u>
Chair	<u>Majority Influence in the Senate: An Asymmetric-Costs Agenda Setting Theory</u> Chris Den Hartog , <i>California Polytechnic State University</i>			Room	Montrose 7, 7 th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Paper	Nathan W. Monroe , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: We incorporate conventional beliefs about Senate procedures being supermajoritarian into a formal model of agenda setting that yields the unconventional conclusion that the Senate majority party can bias legislative outcomes in its own favor.			Chair	Casey B. K. Dominguez , <i>University of San Diego</i>
Paper	<u>Extended Debate Over Time: Patterns and Trends in Senate Filibusters</u> Marvin Overby , <i>University of Missouri</i> Lauren C. Bell , <i>Randolph-Macon College</i> Overview: Paper uses a newly revised and extended comprehensive list of Senate filibuster from 1826 to the present to examine patterns in the use, dynamics, and outcomes of filibuster over time.			Paper	<u>The Hunt for RINOs: Interest Groups' Targeting and Disappearance of Moderates</u> Keiko Ono , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: This paper examines a relatively unexplored aspect of the membership turnover in Congress: the role of national, ideological interest groups in targeting moderates.
Paper	<u>Getting Closure: The Struggle for Filibuster Reform in the Senate, 1949-75</u> Gregory Koger , <i>University of Montana</i> Overview: Why does filibustering persist in the Senate? This paper presents a model of institutional choice and applies the model to a crucial era of Senate history: the long struggle to change Rule XXII of the Senate so it was easier to invoke cloture.			Paper	<u>The Adoption of Direct Primaries: An Analysis of Institutional Change</u> Shaun Bowler , <i>University of California, Riverside</i> Eric Lawrence , <i>George Washington University</i> Todd Donovan , <i>Western Washington University</i> Overview: The adoption of direct primaries was an important institutional reform that challenged the ability of parties to control nominations. We explain how such a reform took place by emphasizing variations in the form of the direct primary.
Paper	<u>An Examination of Committee Power in the U.S. Senate</u> Alexandra L. Shankster , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: In this paper, I examine the ability of Senate committee chairpersons and ranking minority members to maintain agenda control over their jurisdictions.			Paper	<u>More than an Uphill Battle: Primary Challenges to Congressional Incumbents</u> Nicholas L. Pyeatt , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: This paper views primary elections as sites of strategic action and seeks to discover the predicting factors that lead to challenges of congressional incumbents.
Paper	<u>The Evolution of Frustration: Inherited Institutions in the U.S. Senate</u> Anthony Madonna , <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: What best explains the stability of rules in the United States Senate? This study seeks to answer this question by reevaluating factors influencing the size of coalitions needed to pass legislation in the chamber.			Disc.	Cherie D. Maestas , <i>Florida State University</i>
Disc.	Scot Schraufnagel , <i>University of Central Florida</i> Jamie I. Carson , <i>University of Georgia</i>			41-12	<u>CURBING THE COURT: COURTS AND LEGISLATURES (Co-sponsored with Legislative Politics: Institutions, see 39-28)</u>
39-24	<u>INSTITUTIONS AND LEGISLATIVE SPENDING FROM A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE</u> Dearborn 1, 7 th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm			Room	PDR 6, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Room	TBA			Chair	Lawrence Baum , <i>Ohio State University</i>
Chair	<u>Legislative Free-Riding and Spending on Pure Public Goods</u> Jowei Chen , <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: We demonstrate, both theoretically and empirically, that an increase in legislature size leads to a decrease in the provision of pure public goods. Our formal model illustrates a free-riding problem among legislators in providing public goods.			Paper	<u>A Positive Theory of Judicial Independence</u> Tom S. Clark , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: The paper develops a formal model of legislative-judicial interaction. The model illuminates the role of institutional hostility in inter-institutional relations.
Paper				Paper	<u>"Court-Stripping" Proposals in Congress: The Politics of Judicial Control</u> Rachel Paine Caufield , <i>Drake University</i> Overview: This research examines the influence of ideological, institutional, and electoral factors to determine which members of Congress are likely to propose and support measures to limit the jurisdiction or discretion of the federal judiciary.

Paper	<u>Attacking the Court: The Logic of a Long Tradition in American Politics</u> Stephen M. Engel, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: A theory is offered and tested accounting for elected officials' repeated rhetorical attacks on an alleged "activist" judiciary despite the seeming inability to achieve successful disciplinary action against the judiciary over time.	44-12	<u>THE POLITICS OF POLICY DIFFUSION II (Co-sponsored with Public Policy, see 46-18)</u> Parlor C, 6 th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Paper	<u>Congress, the Court, and Judicial Review of Administrative Agencies</u> Seth W. Greenfest, <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: An examination of successful congressional efforts to expand or limit judicial review, in the context of oversight of administrative agencies, which questions traditional notions of Congress as unable or unwilling to limit judicial review.	Room	Kathleen Hale, <i>Auburn University</i>
Paper	<u>Letting Them Run Amok: Legislation to Increase Judicial Independence</u> Valerie J. Hoekstra, <i>Arizona State University</i> Overview: In this paper, I explore state legislative roll call votes and legislative histories to examine the conditions under which legislators have been willing to cede legislative control of the judiciary.	Chair	<u>Failures: Diffusion, Learning, and Policy Abandonment</u> Craig Volden, <i>Ohio State University</i>
Disc.	Laura Langer, <i>University of Arizona</i> Lawrence Baum, <i>Ohio State University</i>	Paper	Overview: This paper examines welfare policies to understand when and why policies are abandoned by states.
41-21	<u>MEASURING AND ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF JUDICIAL PREFERENCES</u> Parlor E, 6 th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm	Paper	<u>How Competition and Relative Problem Severity Influence Policy Adoption</u> Gavin M. Dillingham, <i>Rice University</i>
Room	Michael Bailey, <i>Georgetown University</i>	Paper	Overview: I examine how the difference in policy problem severity among competing governments influences policy adoption. Evidence suggests that relative problem severity increases the likelihood of policy adoption. I test this argument with land-use policy.
Chair	<u>Models of Judicial Coalition Formation and Case Outcome Determination</u> Tonja Jacobi, <i>Northwestern University</i>	Paper	<u>My Neighbor's Terms: Term Limit Policy Diffusion across States</u> Daniel B. Krug, <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i>
Paper	Overview: Three formal models of judicial coalition formation and outcome determination are explored. These yield comprehensive predictions, and can be operationalized as alternative measures of judicial ideology for empirical application.	Paper	Overview: This study examines multiple dimensions of term limit policy diffusion across American states. The goals are to provide spatial analyses of the spread over time; the extent of adoption in state government; and the similarity between the policies.
Paper	<u>Estimating Supreme Court Justice Ideology from Citation Data</u> Alexander M. Tahk, <i>Stanford University</i> Robert Anderson, <i>Stanford University</i>	Disc.	<u>Diffusion in the States: Constitutional Provisions for State Education</u> James W. Stoutenborough, <i>University of Kansas</i> Andrea R. Vieux, <i>University of Kansas</i>
Paper	Overview: We introduce a method for estimating the ideology of Supreme Court cases, precedents, and justices using citations in judicial opinions. This allows the prediction of future cases and hypothesis tests involving the ideology of precedent and cases.	Paper	Overview: Are state education provisions spread and adopted through a diffusion of innovation process? We extend this literature by examining state constitutional provisions on education.
Paper	<u>Information and Dissent in the U.S. Courts of Appeals</u> Susan Navarro Smelcer, <i>Emory University</i>	Disc.	Kathleen Hale, <i>Auburn University</i> Jonathan P. Euchner, <i>Missouri Western State University</i>
Paper	Overview: Studies of judicial behavior often assume that judges' knowledge of circuit preferences is static. This paper proposes a dynamic theory of learning to account for mixed findings of strategic behavior in the U.S. Courts of Appeals.	46-10	<u>HEALTH POLICY INNOVATION AND ADOPTION</u> Burnham 4, 7 th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Paper	<u>From Circuit Court Judge to Supreme Court Justice</u> Aaron Ley, <i>Washington State University</i>	Room	Ed J. Miller, <i>University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point</i>
Disc.	Justin Wedeking, <i>University of Minnesota</i> Michael Bailey, <i>Georgetown University</i>	Chair	<u>Medicaid Tele-Reimbursement Policy: Explaining State Innovation</u> Mary Schmeida, <i>Cleveland Clinic</i>
42-102	<u>ROUNDTABLE: WHO MAINTAINS THE RULE OF LAW? ELIMINATING FEDERAL HABEAS JURISDICTION (Co-sponsored with Judicial Politics, see 41-104)</u> Monroe, 6 th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm	Paper	Ramona McNeal, <i>University of Illinois, Springfield</i>
Room	Barbara J. Hayler, <i>University of Illinois</i>	Paper	Overview: Drawing on diffusion theory this study explores state adoption of Medicaid tele-practitioner reimbursement laws. Multivariate regression analysis and 50-state data are used to explore why needy states fail to innovate.
Chair	Stephen I. Vladeck, <i>University of Miami</i>	Paper	<u>Five States are Leaders Regarding HPV: Will Others Follow?</u> Pamela J. Walsh, <i>Eastern Michigan University</i>
Panelist	Justin J. Wert, <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Jon B. Gould, <i>George Mason University</i> Howard Schweber, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i>	Paper	Overview: This case study looks at factors that contributed to states enacting legislation mandating coverage to screen for the human papillomavirus and one introducing legislation requiring all middle school age girls to be vaccinated against HPV.
	Overview: Panel discussion of recent statutes that strip federal courts of their habeas corpus jurisdiction over enemy combatants and other detainees, and their consequences in both domestic and international arenas. Audience participation is welcomed.	Paper	<u>Public-Private Divide in Pensions/Health Insurance: A Canadian Perspective</u> Gerard W. Boychuk, <i>University of Waterloo</i> Keith G. Banting, <i>Queen's University</i>
		Paper	Overview: The paper examines whether explanations of the public-private divide in pensions and health insurance in the U.S. (the effect of private benefits and agenda setting) adequately account for the public-private divide in these two policy fields in Canada.
		Paper	<u>Devolution and SCHIP: A Comparison of Program Expenditures and Benefits</u> Stephen B. Borders, <i>Grand Valley State University</i>
		Disc.	Overview: Many states received criticism as SCHIP spending fell short of federal funding. States with high rates of uninsured children spent a fraction of available funds and play a large role in health policy innovation in the absence of federal leadership.
			Sorina O. Vlaicu, <i>George Mason University</i> Michael S. Givel, <i>University of Oklahoma</i>

47-5	<u>BARRIERS TO EMPOWERMENT AMONG THE WORKING POOR</u>	51-11	<u>SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND POLITICAL CHANGE</u>
Room	Clark 5, 7 th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm	Room	PDR 8, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Chair	Sherrow O. Pinder, <i>California State University, Chico</i>	Chair	Kevin G. McQueeney, <i>Rutgers University</i>
Paper	<u>Workfare Policies and the Relative Deprivation of Marginalized Groups</u> Holona L. Ochs, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: Panel data from 1990-2002 reveal that workfare policies across states substantially increased relative deprivation without providing opportunities for self-determination. I find that the relative deprivation of minorities is particularly pronounced.	Paper	<u>The Great Walkout: An Examination of the 1860 Democratic Conventions</u> Dustin J. Guerra, <i>Community Christian College</i> Overview: The Civil War began at the 1860 Charleston Democratic Convention when the Southerners walked out because of slavery. If the Democrats could not compromise there and then, the nation would never have been able to compromise.
Paper	<u>A Portrait of Hunger, the Social Safety Net, and the Working Poor</u> Maureen M. Berner, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Sharon R. Paynter, <i>North Carolina State University</i> Trina Ozer, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: Each year, millions of Americans turn to hunger relief services. Many of these people work, yet their incomes are insufficient to meet their basic needs. This paper creates a portrait of the working population that uses non-profit food assistance.	Paper	<u>The Shamrock or the Eagle: The Irish During the U.S. Civil War</u> Michelle Hartman, <i>Fairleigh Dickinson University</i> Overview: The Irish, as soldiers, wanted to help forge their identity, in New York, by joining the Union Army. Their motivations were rooted predominately in concepts of "honor" and "loyalty." The question is: did they "really" want to become assimilated completely.
Paper	<u>TANF Work Exemptions Based on Child Disability in Illinois</u> Lisa M. Altenbernd, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: Research suggests that having a child with a disability or chronic medical condition may function as a barrier to work for single mothers on welfare. Although 28 states report offering an exemption from TANF work requirements to individuals caring for a family.	Paper	<u>Social Movements and Political Success</u> Joseph E. Luders, <i>Yeshiva University</i> Overview: How do social movements win concessions from political actors? I devise a theory to explain the outcome of political movements and use this approach to explain civil rights successes in school desegregation and voter registration.
Paper	<u>The Impact of Welfare Reform on Recipients' Political Participation</u> Adrienne R. Smith, <i>Emory University</i> Overview: By employing an econometric analysis of national survey data, this study demonstrates that receiving welfare in the post-reform era has depressed the frequency of welfare recipients' political participation.	Paper	<u>Thomas Roderick Dew: Founder of the Positive Good Thesis</u> Erik S. Root, <i>Claremont Graduate School</i> Overview: Thomas Roderick Dew, professor and President of William and Mary College, wrote a Review of the 1831-32 Virginia Slave Debates. It is one of the earliest and most affirmative statements of the "positive Good" thesis to appear before the Civil War.
Disc.	Priscilla Lambert, <i>Western Michigan University</i> Nicole D. Kazee, <i>Yale University</i>	Paper	<u>The Legacy of Jim Crow: Electoral Reform and Southern Turnout, 1920-2000</u> Melanie J. Springer, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: Utilizing a historical institutionalist framework, this paper examines the electoral institutions that have governed voting in the Southern states throughout the twentieth century and the lasting impact they have had on turnout rates in the region.
48-3	<u>POLITICS AND ECONOMIC MARKETS</u>	Disc.	Alan Draper, <i>St. Lawrence University</i> Kevin G. McQueeney, <i>Rutgers University</i>
Room	Clark 3, 7 th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm	53-9	<u>ISLAM AND AMERICAN POLITICS</u>
Chair	Dino Falaschetti, <i>Montana State University</i>	Room	PDR 7, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm
Paper	<u>Deeds, Words, and the Behaviour of Emerging Market Debt Securities: Evidence from a New Dataset</u> Markus Stierli, <i>University of Zurich</i> Overview: Do political conflict and political rhetoric influence the behaviour of emerging market bond markets? Evidence from dynamic panel data analysis suggest that bond markets respond to political conflict.	Chair	Joseph Cobetto, <i>University of Missouri</i>
Paper	<u>The 2001 New York City Mayoral Race and New York City's Bonds</u> John E. Transue, <i>Duke University</i> Ian McDonald, <i>Duke University</i> Overview: Analyzes the relationship between the Iowa Electronic Market's prices over time for the 2001 New York City Mayoral Race and "real world" prices of New York City's bonds.	Paper	<u>In Securities: The Impact of U.S. Security Policy on Muslim American Youth</u> Fait A. Muedini, <i>SUNY, Buffalo</i> Overview: This paper shows the impact of U.S. domestic and foreign policies on the attitudes of Muslim American Youth. I found that Muslim Youth in America are becoming more isolated and alienated from U.S. society.
Paper	<u>Eligibility Criteria and the Equilibrium Rate of Unemployment</u> Elke J. Jahn, <i>Harvard University</i> Thomas Wagner, <i>University of Applied Sciences Nuremberg</i> Overview: To be eligible for unemployment benefits (UB) workers must complete a qualifying period within a statutory base period. A country with high UB can neutralize the effect on the unemployment rate with a long qualifying period or a short base period.	Paper	<u>Muslims and Political Behavior</u> Farida Jalalzai, <i>University of Missouri, St. Louis</i> Overview: The aim of this project is to investigate a variety of Muslim communities and congregations in St. Louis. This project consists of three components: The first assesses members' general interest in political party affiliation, trust in government, and civic duties.
Disc.	Michael Herron, <i>Dartmouth University</i> Dino Falaschetti, <i>Montana State University</i>	Paper	<u>Rush to Judgment? Determinants of Public Prejudgments About Muslims Accused of Terrorist Crimes</u> Kenneth D. Wald, <i>University of Florida</i> Michael J. Scicchitano, <i>University of Florida</i> Adam L. Silverman, <i>Long Island University, C. W. Post Campus</i> R. Fletcher Peacock, <i>Federal Public Defenders Office, Middle District of Florida</i> Andrea T. Stubbs, <i>Federal Public Defenders Office, Middle District of Florida</i> Overview: Do extralegal factors influence legal deliberations involving culturally distinctive defendants? Using a five city survey, we test the determinants of prejudgments about Arab-Muslim defendants in a real terrorism case.

Paper **Globalization, Tolerance and the Chances for Democracy: The Meeting Between American Society and Islamic Theological Thought in the United States**

Nir Yehudai, *Independent Researcher*

Overview: This paper is an attempt to investigate the interaction between American society and Islamic theological thought in the United States, including its important institutions and representatives.

Disc. Ted G. Jelen, *University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

56-303 **POSTER SESSION: UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH III**

Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm

Presenter **Allentown vs. Kolkata: Inverse Futures?**

(Board 1)

Mary Kate Schneider, *University of Pennsylvania, Kutztown*

Overview: This paper discusses a mid-size city in decline (Allentown, PA) in comparison to a metropolis on the precipice of an economic boom (Kolkata, India). Particular attention is paid to the seemingly inverse correlation between the two cities.

Presenter **The Rebellious Chechen and the Temperate Tatar: Moscow's Diplomatic Reactions to the Leaders of Chechnya and Tatarstan, 1990-1994**

(Board 2)

Anthony M. Berglund, *Macalester College*

Overview: Since 1990, Russia has had difficulty managing its constituent units in a consistent manner. As the Russian Federation was forming, several of its ethnically defined republics- mimicking the demands of the republics of the USSR- pressed Moscow for greater rights, autonomy, and sovereignty.

Presenter **The Potentially Governable City: Fragmentation in Transit Politics**

(Board 3)

Max R. Siegel, *Macalester College*

Overview: In this paper I apply the theory of fragmentation to the politics of building rail in Minnesota, by arguing success is dependent upon changing the political structure from fragmented to centralized, as well as earning the support of the governor.

Presenter **Social Trust and Civic Engagement in the United States and New Zealand**

(Board 4)

Kevin F. Adler, *Occidental College*

Overview: Through firsthand investigation, this project sought to measure and compare the concepts of social trust, political trust, civic engagement, and political participation in the small towns of Ferndale, California, and Coromandel, New Zealand.

Presenter **Obstacles to Women's Empowerment in the Arab World**

(Board 5)

Shannon Mills, *Macalester College*

Overview: Authoritarianism and conservative social norms are the two primary obstacles to gender reform in the Arab world, as demonstrated in case studies of Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Morocco.

Presenter **Using Watergate Babies and the 94 Revolution to Predict the 2006 Elections**

(Board 6)

Bradley W. Janssen, *University of Texas, Austin*

Overview: What can the Congressional careers of the Watergate Babies and the Republican Revolution Freshmen tell us about the 2006 Freshmen Democrat's future? This paper attempts to develop a model to predict the electoral future of the 06 Democratic Freshmen.

Presenter **Re-envisioning Immigrant Self-Sufficiency: Public-Private Collaborations in Somali Resettlement**

(Board 7)

Ihotu J. Ali, *Macalester College*

Overview: A study on changing social service providers for Somali refugees in Minneapolis, MN. Following cuts in refugee eligibility for government resettlement programs, this paper documents the resulting rise of private support networks by Somali leadership.

Presenter **Citizenship and Property Rights: A Comparative Study of China and Uganda**

(Board 8)

Jennifer A. Slagter, *Wheaton College*

Overview: This paper discusses law and its implementation as it relates to property rights and citizenship. It employs a comparative study of decentralized democratic Uganda and centralized communist China.

Presenter **Incumbency Advantage of Southern Members of the U.S. House**

(Board 9)

Arjun S. Wilkins, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: I studied incumbency advantage in the U.S. House and found that incumbents from the South have a 25% higher incumbency advantage than their non-southern counterparts from 1964-98, after the South was opened to two-party competition.

Presenter **Citizen Participation in Urban Governance: St. Paul's District Councils**

(Board 10)

Caleb E. Jonas, *Macalester College*

Overview: This work undertakes a case study of the history, development, and effectiveness of formalized citizen participation in the municipal government of St. Paul, Minnesota.

Presenter **Political Ideology and Job Satisfaction**

(Board 11)

Edgar I. Garcia, *University of Texas, Brownsville*

Rafael Wilder, *University of Texas, Brownsville*

Overview: Our research focuses on the relationship between political ideology and job satisfaction. Using regression tests our research showed no strong relationship present.

Presenter **Immigrant or Latino? Collective Identity in the Immigrant Rights Movement**

(Board 12)

Trudy S. Rebert, *Macalester College*

Overview: During the Spring of 2006, protests across the country drew millions in favor of immigrant rights. Immigrant rights are portrayed as a Latino issue nationally, but how did it become "Latino"? How was collective identity forged in this movement?

Presenter **Old Habits, New Reasons: The Resurgence of Community Spirit in America**

(Board 13)

Patrick W. Higgons, *Flagler College*

Overview: This paper examines the resurgence of community spirit and involvement among young middle class Americans and explores possible explanations for the revitalization of civic America.

Presenter **Iran: Going Nuclear?**

(Board 14)

Jamie L. Stephens, *Furman University*

Overview: This study applies Lillian Randolph's "A Suggested Model of International Negotiation" in an effort to evaluate the progress and predict the outcome of the current nuclear development negotiations between Iran and the EU3.

Presenter **Political Identity and Democratic Transitions: Germany, Japan, Iraq**

(Board 15)

Andrew C. Thompson, *Belmont University*

Overview: The comparative primacy of political identity in Germany, Japan, and Iraq has had a definite effect the transition to democratic government.

Presenter **The Influence of Black Feminist Academics on Black Female Activists**

(Board 16)

Alexandra J. Moffett-Bateau, *University of Michigan*

Overview: This thesis seeks to determine to what degree black feminist academics and grassroots black female organizations have an influence on each others theories, ideas and terminology.

Presenter **William Lowndes Yancey and the Disruption of the American Public Sphere**

(Board 17)

Joshua A. Lynn, *Marshall University*

Overview: William Lowndes Yancey's rhetoric in 1860 demonstrates the disruptive capacity of subpublics within the public sphere. Yancey elevated the concerns of the Southern subpublic over those of the American public sphere, with disastrous consequences.

Presenter **Knowing and Supporting MERCOSUR: Are Uruguayans Aware of the Regional Bloc?**

(Board 18)

Carmen Estrades, *Universidad de la República*

Overview: This study analyses whether Uruguayans know about MERCOSUR and what the determinants of not having read or heard about it are. It also evaluates the probability of supporting the integration process and of voting for it in a hypothetical referendum.

59-5 **NEW WAVES OF ACTIVISM**

Room Suite 9-250, 9th Floor, Sat at 2:35 pm

Chair **Barry Tadlock**, *Ohio University*

Paper **Speaking Free and Fully: The Political Significance of Black Girls' Way With Words**

Ruth Nicole N. Brown, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Overview: Based on my ethnography of black girls' political socialization, I demonstrate how girls' talk of sexuality and homosexuality were constructed as problems by way of organizational rhetoric and black girls' lived experiences.

Paper **The Political Sound Machine**

Rokas Oginskis, *Wayne State University*

Overview: This project develops a theory of sub-politics of house/dance music from the the life-style forms of "resistance" and "adaptation" created by it.

Disc. **Daniel Chomsky**, *Temple University*

Saturday, April 14 – 4:25 pm – 6:00 pm

HERBERT A. SIMON AWARD FOR CAREER ACHIEVEMENT IN THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF BUREAUCRACY: RUMINATIONS ON THE STUDY OF AMERICAN PUBLIC BUREAUCRACIES

Room Monroe, 6th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Speaker **Herbert Kaufman**, *Visiting Fellow Yale University, Emeritus*
 Overview: In his address, Professor Kaufman will primarily focus attention on the power relationships between elected officials and civil servants.

1-111 ROUNDTABLE: A ROSE BY ANY OTHER NAME: TORTURE AS A TACTIC IN THE WAR ON TERROR (Co-sponsored with Judicial Politics and Public Law, see 41-103 and 42-103)

Room Red Lacquer, 4th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair **Barbara J. Hayler**, *University of Illinois*
Panelist **Jinee Lokaneeta**, *Drew University*
Alice Ristroph, *University of Utah*
Shawn M. Boyne, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
Richard A. Paschal, *Georgetown University*
Christi Siver, *University of Washington, Seattle*
 Overview: This panel addresses the legal, political, moral, and practical consequences of accepting and using torture, with attention to provisions of the UN Convention Against Torture as well as existing and newly-adopted U.S. statute law.

2-14 ELECTORAL AND PARTY SYSTEMS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Room Salon 1, 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair **Lawrence Mayer**, *Texas Tech University*
Paper **Estimating the Electoral Value of Party Label Across Developed Democracies**
Kenichi Ariga, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: This paper explores empirically the importance of collective party label for individual candidates in elections and the variation of its significance across time, parties, and electoral rules using the actual voting data from developed democracies.

Paper **Intra-party Competition and Party Splits**
Hande Mutlu, *New York University*
 Overview: I model the intra-party competition between faction leaders, and examine under which conditions faction leaders decide to break-up from the party. I illustrate the propositions derived from the model looking at party cases in parliamentary regimes.

Paper **Political Dimensionality and Voter Preferences in Australia**
Shane P. Singh, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: This paper examines how voters and parties align themselves in Australian political space. Based on the results of an unfolding model, inferences are then made as to how voters will rank the parties on their ballots.

Paper **The Cost of Governing for Former Pariah Parties in Established Democracies**
Joost van Spanje, *European University Institute, Florence*
 Overview: Mainstream parties often aim to give (alleged) extremist parties a 'kiss of death' by including them in government. Does government participation have a negative impact on support for extremist parties compared to other parties?
Disc. **Lawrence Mayer**, *Texas Tech University*

3-13 LABOR POLITICS

Room Salon 2, 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair **Roy Germano**, *University of Texas, Austin*
Paper **Labor Market Deregulation and Protest in New Democracies**
Jose Aleman, *Fordham University*
 Overview: This study examines the relationship between labor militancy and labor market institutions in 20 new democracies (1994-2003). In particular, the paper studies the effect of recent labor market reforms on labor collective behavior in new democracies.

Paper Interaction of Formal and Informal Institutions in International Migration

Saltanat Liebert, *American University*
 Overview: This paper examines how formal and informal institutions interact in the process of labor migration from Kyrgyzstan to the United States and what the nature of their interaction is.

Paper Dealing with a Trojan Horse: How Brazilian Labor Legislation Prevents Unions from Adjusting to Market Reforms

Monica Arruda de Almeida, *University of California, Los Angeles*
 Overview: This paper examines the many ways in which Brazil's pro-labor legislation has constrained the unions' capacity to respond to market reforms.

Paper Back to the Bargaining Table: The New Politics of Labor Relations in Argentina and Peru

Matthew E. Carnes, *Stanford University*
 Overview: How does labor affect politics after neo-liberal reforms? This paper employs a new dataset of collective bargaining outcomes before and after the reforms of the 1990s in Argentina and Peru to explain the surprising re-activation of unions since 2000.

Paper Politics of the Educated Unemployed: Labor Export in the Philippines

Neil G. Ruiz, *The Brookings Institution*
 Overview: Why did the Philippines chose to export its human capital rather than make use of them for economic development? This paper explores how labor export is interconnected with the lack of state control on private market for higher education.
Disc. **Roy Germano**, *University of Texas, Austin*

3-20 REDISTRIBUTION AND INEQUALITY

Room Salon 4, 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair **Eduardo L. Leoni**, *Harvard University*
Paper **Income Inequality and Popular Commitment to Democracy**
Eric Chang, *Michigan State University*
 Overview: This paper asks whether citizen perceptions concerning levels of income inequality influence their commitment to democracy by utilizing survey data from the Afrobarometer and the East Asian Barometer.

Paper **Domestic Sources of Income Inequalities**
Won Paik, *Central Michigan University*
Piotr Paradowski, *Central Michigan University*
David Jesuit, *Central Michigan University*

Overview: The purpose of this study is to analyze global income inequalities by examining neo-classical, dependency, and statist analyses. The present study utilizes cross-sectional analyses for developing and less developed countries for the time frame of 1990s.

Paper Does Education Cause Inequality?

Glenn D. Wright, *University of Colorado, Boulder*
 Overview: Can the economic inequality found in Latin American states can be explained by examining the way those systems sort students? The paper uses case studies and statistical techniques to evaluate the hypothesis.

Paper Globalization, Democracy, and Income Inequality in Middle-Income Countries

Dae Jin Yi, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*
 Overview: This paper investigates the relationships between globalization, democracy, and income distribution through a time-series cross-sectional panel data set for 49 middle-income countries from 1970 to 2002.
Disc. **Eduardo L. Leoni**, *Harvard University*

4-14	<u>TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE</u>	7-15	<u>PUBLIC OPINION IN THE NEW EUROPE</u>
Room	PDR 4, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm	Room	Sandburg 6, 7 th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair	Catherine Warrick, <i>Villanova University</i>	Chair	Joshua Tucker, <i>New York University</i>
Paper	<u>In Defense of Amnesty?</u> Andrew G. Reiter, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Leigh A. Payne, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Tricia D. Olsen, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: We challenge the assumption that there is a momentum toward accountability for past authoritarian state violence with data demonstrating the persistence of amnesties. We also explore where and why amnesties do or do not achieve their goals.	Paper	<u>Reconsidering the Use of Economic Perceptions to Study EU Support</u> Burcu Gezgor, <i>University of Houston</i> Overview: This paper recognizes the fact that citizens differ by their level of information about EU and its policies. Hence, we present a theory where the magnitude of economic evaluations on EU support varies with level of information.
Paper	<u>Domesticating Majorities: The Politics of Judicial Review in New Democracies</u> Rodelio Cruz Manacsa, <i>Vanderbilt University</i> Overview: When do judges subject new rulers to rules? This paper provides a comprehensive theory and empirical testing of how and when judges are able to overrule actions of government in the uncertain context of democratic transition.	Paper	<u>Correlates and Determinants of Political Satisfaction in Europe</u> Quinton R. Mayne, <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: Using survey data, coupled with information on the design of government institutions and socio-economic indicators, the paper tests a set of hypotheses relating to the sources of citizens' satisfaction with the way democracy functions.
Paper	<u>At What Cost? A Political Economy Approach to Transitional Justice</u> Tricia Olsen, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Leigh Payne, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Andrew Reiter, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i> Overview: This paper seeks to quantitatively test the hypothesis, found in the transitional justice literature, that economic factors influence the adoption or dismissal of transitional justice mechanisms.	Paper	<u>Attitudes towards EU Integration: Issues of Cross-Cultural Measurement</u> Basak Yavcan, <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Eser M. Sekercioglu, <i>SUNY, Stony Brook</i> Overview: The purpose of this paper is to reveal problems associated with the measurement of attitudes towards EU integration in a cross-cultural context. By utilizing differential item functioning a more nuanced measurement tool is generated and tested.
Paper	<u>The Role of Public Opinion on the Implementation of Transitional Justice</u> Byung-Jae Lee, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: This paper attempts to explain the conditions for successful implementation of transitional justice using signaling game model among the legislature, the judiciary and the public (in combination with quantal response equilibrium).	Paper	<u>Public Support for the European Political Union in Central and Eastern Europe</u> Csilla Kajtar, <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: This paper examines citizens' attitudes towards the political integration of the European Union in ten Central and East European countries (CEECs) and proposes a causal model for public support of the EU constitution.
Paper	<u>Physical Integrity Rights and The Impact on Democratic Transitions, 1987-1995</u> Karen M. Sullivan, <i>University of North Texas</i> Overview: By examining physical integrity rights scores of autocratic regimes that attempted democratic transition between 1987 and 1995, this paper concludes that better scores pre-transition can increase the chance of successful transition to democracy.	Disc.	Felicia Owusu Fofie, <i>Cardiff University</i>
Disc.	Catherine Warrick, <i>Villanova University</i>	8-15	<u>PARTY SYSTEMS IN LATIN AMERICA</u>
6-7	<u>POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND ITS ABSENCE</u>	Room	Sandburg 5, 7 th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Room	Sandburg 7, 7 th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm	Chair	Miguel Centellas, <i>Dickinson College</i>
Chair	Runa Das, <i>University of Minnesota, Duluth</i>	Paper	<u>Coat Tail Effects and Sub-national Multiparty System in Uruguay</u> Simone R. Bohn, <i>York University</i> Overview: The end of concurrent elections (and other changes) have modified significantly the rules of the game in Uruguay. Not only have they posed difficulties to the left, but also have hindered the consolidation of a sub-national multiparty system.
Paper	<u>The Political Transformation of Violent Opposition Groups</u> Bonnie A. E. Weir, <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: When do violent extremists become politicians? This article explains why violent opposition groups decide to pursue their goals through electoral politics. A "violent opposition group" is one that uses violence for political goals that it has in opposition.	Paper	<u>From Parliamentarized Presidentialism to Pure Presidentialism</u> Miguel Centellas, <i>Dickinson College</i> Overview: Alongside Bolivia's recent transition from political stability to instability has been a transition away from the 1985-2002 system of parliamentarized presidentialism. This paper considers the long-term political implications of such a transition.
Paper	<u>Muslim Support for Suicide Terrorism</u> Karl Kaltenthaler, <i>University of Akron</i> Ronald Gelleny, <i>University of Akron</i> Overview: This study seeks to understand the sources of individual support for or opposition to suicide terrorism in Islamic countries.	Paper	<u>Representation and Party System Transformation in Venezuela</u> Jana Morgan, <i>University of Tennessee, Knoxville</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the phenomenon of party system transformation by exploring the radical changes in the Venezuelan party system between consolidation of the country's 2.5-party system in 1973 through that system's collapse and the aftermath.
Paper	<u>Women Conflict Negotiators in Guatemala and Mexico: Explaining Difference</u> Sarah Taylor, <i>New School for Social Research</i> Overview: Focusing on fieldwork conducted in Mexico and Guatemala, this paper looks at differences in the modes of participation of women as high-level negotiators in peace processes in these countries in the 1990s.	Paper	<u>The Federal Connection: Right-Wing Party Politics in Argentina and Mexico</u> Juan C. Olmeda, <i>Northwestern University</i> Julieta Suarez-Cao, <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: We analyze the possible causes for the different performance of right-wing or conservative political parties in Argentina and Mexico.
Disc.	Runa Das, <i>University of Minnesota, Duluth</i>		

Paper	<u>Party Organization and Political Survival in South America</u> Jason Seawright , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: What features differentiate South American parties that survived the 1990s from the many that have not? A new survey shows that causes of collapse may include excessive bureaucratization, noncentrist elite recruitment, and insufficient clientelism.	14-11	<u>POLITICAL ECONOMY OF TRADE REGIMES</u>
Disc.	Erika Moreno , <i>Creighton University</i>	Room	Sandburg 2, 7 th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
10-5	<u>ACCOUNTABILITY IN AFRICAN DEMOCRACIES</u>	Chair	Tobias Hofmann , <i>Princeton University</i>
Room	Sandburg 4, 7 th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm	Paper	<u>The Formation of Trade Blocs: Evidence From Latin American Countries</u>
Chair	Sean H. Jacobs , <i>University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i>		Leonardo Baccini , <i>Trinity College, Dublin</i>
Paper	<u>The African State and HIV/AIDS: Explaining Variations in State Responses to HIV/AIDS</u> Padmini D. Coopamah , <i>University of Arizona</i> Overview: What characteristics of the African state explain whether it will react aggressively to the HIV/AIDS epidemic?		Overview: The research question that this article tries to address can be put in the following way: under which political and economic conditions have the Latin American countries decided to form the Andean Pact and Mercosur?
Paper	<u>The Politics of Presidential Tenure Elongation in Africa</u> Jack Mangala , <i>Grand Valley State University</i> Overview: Over the past years, many African leaders have sought to amend the constitution in order to extend their term in office. Some have succeeded, while others have failed.	Paper	<u>Trade Regime Design and Domestic Politics</u> Jon Pevehouse , <i>University of Wisconsin</i> Overview: Theories of rational institutional design predict that states will adopt flexible institutions given high uncertainty in domestic and international politics. I argue the opposite: if possible, states will respond to domestic uncertainty.
Paper	<u>Nominations and Political Party Development in Sub-Saharan Africa</u> John Ishiyama , <i>Truman State University</i> Overview: To what extent do parties in Africa behave in ways similar to parties in other new democracies? This article seeks to examine the decision as to where to nominate candidates. I examine nominations to the single member districts in Ethiopia, Malawi, Kenya.	Paper	<u>Trade and Human Rights: Who Forms PTAs With Human Rights Conditionality?</u> Jinny Bang , <i>New York University</i> Overview: This paper examines who would use PTA (Preferential Trade Agreement) with human rights conditionality against whom to reduce government repression and conducts statistical tests which includes Heckman's selection model to test their effectiveness.
Paper	<u>Determinants of Electoral Support for Incumbent Politicians in Tanzania</u> Kate Baldwin , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: Most research on African elections suggests legislators' re-election chances depend primarily on the strength of their informal networks. I use Tanzanian data to show politicians' efforts to change national policy also impact their electoral support.	Paper	<u>Does Flexibility Promote Cooperation? Testing Efficient Breach in the WTO</u> Jeffrey R. Kucik , <i>Emory University</i> Eric Reinhardt , <i>Emory University</i> Overview: We argue that countries in possession of an antidumping mechanism can commit more credibly to liberalization because they have an institutionalized means for defection from WTO obligations. We find that this effect varies by legal capacity.
Paper	<u>The Rebirth of Patronage? Land Redistribution in the Post-Big Man Era in Africa</u> Susan K. Glover , <i>American University</i> Overview: This paper looks at cases across Africa where land is used as a political tool. The evidence suggests that in the absence of external resource flows, land has become a primary means of attracting and rewarding supporters within democratic systems.	Disc.	Yoram Z. Haftel , <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i>
Disc.	Nahomi Ichino , <i>Harvard University</i>	15-14	<u>INFLUENCES ON HUMAN SECURITY</u>
13-10	<u>PRESCRIPTIONS FOR OUTSIDERS LOOKING IN</u>	Room	Salon 5, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Room	Parlor H, 6 th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm	Chair	Derick A. Becker , <i>University of Connecticut</i>
Chair	Dagmar Radin , <i>Mississippi State University</i>	Paper	<u>Norm Compliance by Non-State Actors</u> Vera V. Achvarina , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i> Overview: Based on detailed examination of armed groups' behavior in today's intrastate conflicts in relation to the child soldiers norm, this paper adds to our understanding of under what conditions actors comply with international norms.
Paper	<u>Democratization in Central Asia: The Failure of American Institutionalism</u> Alan R. Cordova , <i>Fisher School of Business, Monterey Institute of International Studies</i> Overview: The strategy employed by democracy promotion programs dooms efforts at facilitating representative governance. Building institutions rather than teaching the elements of citizenship rendered the government vulnerable to corruption.	Paper	<u>When Human Security Dictates State Security</u> Naoko Kumagai , <i>City University of New York</i> Overview: Human security dictates state security when domestic advocacy connects human security with domestically established norms. A comparative case study of four states' definitions of antipersonnel mines demonstrates the point.
Paper	<u>The Prospect of State Failure in Central Asia: US Policies in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan</u> Marina Mateski , <i>Old Dominion University</i> Vlad Galushko , <i>Old Dominion University</i> Overview: The paper intends to assess the potential for state failure in Central Asia's Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan and suggest possible U.S. policies in that regard.	Paper	<u>Information, Configuration, Many Nations: Organizational Learning and Structure in the Development of Public Health Policy</u> Nathan A. Paxton , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: With attention to the HIV pandemic, I examine the ways in which these two factors affect various states' policies of treatment and prevention pursued. I also indicate how one may use these results to extend the reach of organizational theory.
Paper	<u>Peace-Making in Bosnia</u> Khalil Dokhanchi , <i>University of Wisconsin, Superior</i> Overview: The Dayton Accord failed to resolve some fundamental issues, i.e., representation based on ethnicity, that rather than uniting Bosnia has caused greater division. It's time to reform the Constitution of Bosnia and enable the country to move forward.	Paper	<u>Ethical Questions and Realist Assumptions: At the Roots of World Security</u> Josephine E. Squires , <i>Fort Hays State University</i> Overview: A realist approach to security problems should be seen as essentially and necessarily compatible with low politics, idealist perspectives, particularly in the area of unequal distribution of resources.
Disc.	Lynn D. Nelson , <i>Virginia Commonwealth University</i>	Paper	<u>The Impact of Democracy on International Environmental Commitment</u> Joel R. Carbonell , <i>University of California</i> Overview: This study provides evidence that certain democratic institutional arrangements may increase a state's compliance to international environmental agreements and treaties.
		Disc.	Derick A. Becker , <i>University of Connecticut</i>

16-15	<u>SOVEREIGNTY, BORDERS, AND NATIONAL SECURITY</u>				
Room	Suite 9-250, 9 th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm			Paper	analysis and constructivist-based IR theory, this project explores foreign policy developments under the Clinton Administration.
Chair	William Crotty, <i>Northeastern University</i>				<u>The Blair Identity: Personality and British Foreign Policy</u>
Paper	<u>The Rise of Paramilitary Policing</u>				Stephen B. Dyson, <i>Wabash College</i>
	Stephen M. Hill, <i>University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire</i>			Paper	Overview: How has Tony Blair's characteristic mode of decision making and beliefs about international politics shaped British foreign policy over his time in office?
Paper	<u>The Right to Self-Determination and Security: A New U.N. Mechanism</u>				<u>The Role of Emotions in Foreign Policy Decision Making</u>
	Mark P. Lehman, <i>Shippensburg University</i>				Cengiz Erisen, <i>Stony Brook University</i>
	Overview: In the state-centered international system, claims of self-determination and their resulting conflict with state security cannot be adequately resolved. Proposed is a new mechanism to mitigate intrastate self-determination conflicts.			Disc.	Overview: This paper analyzes the role of emotions in foreign policy decision making by evaluating the decisions taken by the U.S. Presidents on foreign issues.
Paper	<u>International Immigration and Domestic Conflict: An Empirical Assessment of High Income OECD Countries</u>				Betty Glad, <i>University of South Carolina</i>
	Elnur Soltanov, <i>Texas Tech University</i>			19-11	<u>TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS</u>
	Overview: This paper uses systematic quantitative models to test whether the size of international immigration is associated with increased number of domestic conflict events in the sample of industrial democracies.			Room	Clark 10, 7 th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Paper	<u>How Actions Affect Ideas: Sovereignty and the Global War on Terrorism</u>			Chair	Diana G. Zoelle, <i>Bloomsburg University</i>
	Jennifer Ramos, <i>University of California, Davis</i>			Paper	<u>Transnational Nuclear Networks and Bureaucratic Expertise in Latin America: A Network Analysis</u>
	Overview: Using an interdisciplinary approach, this paper examines how conceptions of sovereignty change (or not) once actions, such as military intervention in Afghanistan, are taken.				Isabella Alcaniz, <i>University of Houston</i>
Disc.	Dylan Craig, <i>American University</i>				Overview: The theory I advance in this paper is that when bureaucratic capacity declines, scientists in technology-driven sectors become more active in knowledge networks in order to prevent the depreciation of their most important asset, their technical expertise.
17-14	<u>THE 3RD IMAGE ECLIPSED: DOMESTIC PROTEST, REPRESSION, AND INTERVENTION</u>			Paper	<u>Epistemic Communities, Norms, and Knowledge</u>
Room	Sandburg 8, 7 th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm				Elizabeth A. Bloodgood, <i>Concordia University</i>
Chair	Steven J. Brams, <i>New York University</i>				Overview: Epistemic communities pair shared causal and principled beliefs with information. But which matters most in policy—information or norms? This question is addressed in the Montreal Protocol, Ottawa Mine Ban, and Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.
Paper	<u>The Impact of Political Structures on 3rd Party Intervention</u>			Paper	<u>Epistemic Communities and Global Tobacco Control Policymaking</u>
	Alexandru Balas, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i>				Hadii Mamudu, <i>University of California, San Francisco</i>
	Overview: European Union uses its conflict transformation approaches in the social conflict involving Muslim communities in Europe. Do political opportunity structures impact the process of 3rd party intervention in the context of the European Union?				Overview: The paper attempts to delineate experts influence in the transformation of tobacco control from the concern of few developed countries in early 1960s into a global treaty, the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) in May 2003.
Paper	<u>The Policing of Protest: Better, Worse or Same as it Ever Was?</u>			Paper	<u>Something for Nothing? Compliance Systems and International Policy Networks</u>
	Christian Davenport, <i>University of Maryland</i>				Mark T. Nance, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i>
	Sarah Soule, <i>Cornell University</i>				Overview: I examine the means of eliciting compliance used by international non-binding policy networks. I compare the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering and the Open Method of Coordination as examples of these so-called soft law approaches.
Paper	<u>On the Interplay Between Repression and Civil Unrest</u>			Paper	<u>Organizing for Success: How Structure Affects Transnational Campaigns</u>
	Navine Murshid, <i>University of Rochester</i>				Wendy Wong, <i>University of California, San Diego</i>
	Overview: This paper studies the effect of repression on different types of civil unrest, taking into consideration how repression interacts with state capacity and accounting for the possible endogenous relationship between repression and unrest.				Lindsay L. Heger, <i>University of California, San Diego</i>
Paper	<u>Charismatic Leadership and Social Networks: The Impact of Endogeneity on Repression</u>				Overview: Does network structure affect the success of transnational campaigns? We claim the nature of the stated goal affects structural choice (flat or hierarchical), in turn affecting the ultimate success of transnational organizations.
	David A. Siegel, <i>Florida State University</i>			Disc.	Feryal M. Cherif, <i>University of California, Riverside</i>
	Overview: I utilize endogenous social networks to model the ways in which social groups can be differentially resistant to repression. I find that the degree to which repressed elites' roles can be replicated is vital in determining the impact of repression.				Diana G. Zoelle, <i>Bloomsburg University</i>
Disc.	Will H. Moore, <i>Florida State University</i>			20-6	<u>SECESSIONISM AND AUTONOMY MOVEMENTS: NEW THEORY AND NEW EVIDENCE</u>
18-7	<u>IMAGE AND IDENTITY IN FOREIGN POLICY</u>			Room	Salon 6, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Room	Salon 7, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm			Chair	Charity Butcher, <i>Indiana University</i>
Chair	Stephen B. Dyson, <i>Wabash College</i>			Paper	<u>The Dynamics of Secession: Sincerity, Credibility, Choice</u>
Paper	<u>Rewriting Interests: Exploring Foreign Policy Innovation after the Cold War</u>				Hudson Meadwell, <i>McGill University</i>
	Kevin D. Benish, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i>				Overview: There is a theoretical literature which looks at the trade-off between the economies of scale and the heterogeneity of preferences in analyzing the formation of states. The paper examines how this literature understands the role of threats and of sincerity.
	Overview: This paper questions political innovation and its impact on U.S. foreign policy after the Cold War. Using policy formation				

Paper	<u>States in States: The Crisis of Autonomy in the EZLN's 'Autonomous' Mexico</u> Wendy L. Wright , <i>Rutgers University</i> Overview: The past sixteen years have seen a consolidation of non-state power in several indigenous regions of Mexico. This territorial domination by forces standing in open opposition to, yet not in rebellion against the dominant state structure creates a political autonomy.	22-12 Room Chair Paper	<u>SOCIAL GROUPS AND ELECTORAL APPEALS</u> Montrose 7, 7 th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm Marc J. Hetherington , <i>Vanderbilt University</i> <u>Ballots of Punishment and Reward: Target Groups and Electoral Support for Direct Legislation</u> Stephen P. Nicholson , <i>University of California</i> Overview: Target groups constitute low-cost cues about the content of direct legislation. In using target group cues, I find that the electorate rewards groups with positive stereotypes and punishes groups with negative stereotypes.
Disc.	Jason P. Sorens , <i>SUNY, Buffalo</i> Steven I. Wilkinson , <i>University of Chicago</i>	Paper	<u>Race and Perceptions of Candidate Ideologies in U.S. House Elections</u> Matthew L. Jacobsmeier , <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: Using National Election Studies data on recent U.S. House elections, I examine the impact of race on vote choice, and attempt to disentangle the effects of racial prejudice from the effects of race on perceptions of candidate ideologies.
21-12 Room Chair Paper	<u>ADVANCES IN GENETICS AND POLITICS</u> Salon 12, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm Thomas Craemer , <i>University of Connecticut</i> <u>B.F. Skinner is Dead: The Black Box Isn't Empty</u> Roger D. Masters , <i>Dartmouth College</i> Overview: Cognitive neuroscience contradicts behaviorist models of rational choice and makes possible synergistic choice models based on the functional specialization of prefrontal cortex, amygdala, other brain structures, and neurotransmitters.	Paper	<u>Testing the Effect of Social Identity Appeals in Election Campaigns (fMRI)</u> Eric S. Dickson , <i>New York University</i> Kenneth Scheve , <i>Yale University</i> 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	<u>From Genes, to Mind, to Politics: Finding the Yellow Brick Empirical Road</u> Ira H. Carmen , <i>University of Illinois</i> Overview: Several genes have now been linked to human personality profiles. This paper examines research designs for testing whether these genes exhibit meaningful association with more discrete political attitudes and behaviors.	Paper	<u>The Two Faces of Government Spending</u> Paul Goren , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: This paper uses welfare reform as a vehicle to explore whether voters are responsive to demonstrable changes in public policy. I use 1984-2004 NES data to assess the welfare-vote choice relationship in the pre- and post-reform eras.
Paper	<u>Politics and Genetics</u> John R. Hibbing , <i>University of Nebraska, Lincoln</i> John R. Alford , <i>Rice University</i> Peter K. Hatemi , <i>University of Nebraska, Lincoln</i> Nicholas G. Martin , <i>Queensland Institute of Medical Research</i> Overview: Recent claims about the extent to which genetics influences political beliefs are frequently misunderstood. In this paper, we use modern structural equation modeling techniques to elucidate the connection between genes and politics.	Disc.	Marc J. Hetherington , <i>Vanderbilt University</i>
Disc.	Darren M. Schreiber , <i>University of California, San Diego</i>	23-10 Room Chair Paper	<u>INSIDE AN OUTSIDE GAME; PARTIES AND GROUPS IN THE 2006 MIDTERM ELECTIONS</u> PDR 5, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm Paul S. Herrnson , <i>University of Maryland</i> <u>Party and Interest Group Activity in the 2006 Colorado 7th Congressional District Election</u> Robert Duffy , <i>Colorado State University</i> Kyle Saunders , <i>Colorado State University</i> Overview: This paper systematically examines the spending and activity of groups and parties in the Colorado 7 th district.
22-7 Room Chair Paper	<u>UNCERTAINTY AND ISSUE VOTING</u> Salon 8, 3 rd Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm Jonathan N. Katz , <i>California Institute of Technology</i> <u>Perceptions of Party Differences and Voting for Non-Major Party Candidates</u> Gregg R. Murray , <i>SUNY, Brockport</i> Craig Goodman , <i>Texas Tech University</i> Overview: Motivated by the heuristics and burgeoning behavioral economics literatures, we find that the uncertainty experienced by voters who miss partisan cues creates a bias towards voting for third party and independent candidates.	Paper	<u>Party and Interest Group Activity in the 2006 Pennsylvania Senate and 6th Congressional District Elections</u> Robin Kolodny , <i>Temple University</i> Overview: This paper systematically examines the spending and activity of groups and parties in the Pennsylvania senate race and 6th district.
Paper	<u>Winnowing Choices: Political Choice Sets in Multi-Party Elections</u> Carole J. Wilson , <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i> Marco R. Steenbergen , <i>University of North Carolina</i> Overview: We present a choice set analysis drawing from methods developed in consumer research. We model choice sets and vote choice with MLE and Bayesian estimators, validate these estimators with Dutch data and compare the results to traditional vote models.	Paper	<u>Party and Interest Group Activity in the 2006 Minnesota Senate and 6th Congressional District Election</u> Nancy Zingale , <i>University of St. Thomas</i> William Flanigan , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: This paper systematically examines the spending and activity of groups and parties in the Minnesota senate race and the Minnesota 6th district.
Paper	<u>Voting under Uncertainty: Electoral Spaces and Vote Decisions</u> Joan Serra , <i>University of Chicago</i> Current spatial models of elections assume that voters perfectly know their ideal points in the electoral spaces. In this paper I develop and test a model with the empirically correct assumption that voters are uncertain about their own ideal points.	Disc.	Paul S. Herrnson , <i>University of Maryland</i> Kelly D. Patterson , <i>Brigham Young University</i>
Paper	<u>Spatial Voting in Low Information Elections</u> Elisabeth R. Gerber , <i>University of Michigan</i> Jeffrey B. Lewis , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: We analyze ballot image data to study electoral choices in low-information primary elections. Preliminary analysis finds strong evidence of spatial voting.	24-8 Room Chair Paper	<u>ELECTORAL SYSTEM CHANGE</u> Parlor F, 6 th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm Jae-Jae M. Spoon , <i>University of Iowa</i> <u>Does Democratizing Electoral Institutions Democratize Politics?</u> Andrew Reeves , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: I examine the consequences of equal representation and universal suffrage enacted by the British Great Reform Acts; specifically I test how the reforms affected the power of political parties and the nature of representation in Parliament.
Disc.	Jonathan N. Katz , <i>California Institute of Technology</i>		

Paper	<p><u>The Politics of Electoral System Choice in 19th Century Democratizers</u> Amel F. Ahmed, <i>Swarthmore College</i> Overview: I examine movements for voting system reform at the time of suffrage expansion in France, the UK and the U.S. I argue that elites used these reforms to undermine popular participation. Outcomes vary with the degree of working class mobilization.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Black Votes for Black Republicans Running Statewide in 2006: Did It Make a Difference?</u> Michael K. Fauntroy, <i>George Mason University</i> Overview: This paper reviews the November 2006 elections to determine if Black voters turned out to support African American Republican candidates.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Party Switching and Electoral Reform in New Zealand, Japan, and Italy</u> Alex Chuan-hsien Chang, <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: In this paper, I construct a defection game to simulate party-legislator relations and investigate how electoral reforms affect intraparty politics in New Zealand, Italy and Japan, respectively.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Does School Segregation Depress Black Political Participation?</u> Michiko Ueda, <i>California Institute of Technology</i> Overview: This paper tests whether going to racially segregated schools affects political participation of blacks later in their lives. It uses heterogeneity in the timing of desegregation orders to identify the impact of school segregation on turnout.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Engineering Electoral Laws at the Roundtable Talks in Eastern Europe: Elite Bargaining Games with Imperfect Information</u> Ivailo M. Kotzev, <i>University of Connecticut</i> Overview: By focusing on the bargaining process of electoral system design, this paper attempts to answer why some electoral laws have remained stable over time with little or no modification while others have undergone major changes or even complete overhaul.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Role of Political Participation in Expanding the Scope of Conflict</u> Matthew B. Platt, <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: This paper examines how black participation is used to garner white support for black policy issues. Using public opinion, media, and legislative behavior, I show that participation is a vital tool for problem definition and conflict expansion.</p>
Disc.	<p>Matt Evans, <i>Northwestern University</i></p>	Disc.	<p>Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, <i>University of Rochester</i> Eric McDaniel, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i></p>
25-14	<p><u>INNOVATIONS IN SURVEY METHODS AND DATA ANALYSIS (Co-sponsored Methodology, see 35-16)</u> Salon 9, 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm</p>	27-15	<p><u>MEDIA SYSTEMS AND EFFECTS ACROSS REGIMES</u> Clark 1, 7th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm</p>
Room	<p>Barry Burden, <i>University of Wisconsin, Madison</i></p>	Room	<p>Stacy G. Ulbig, <i>Missouri State University</i></p>
Chair	<p>Bayesian Models of Campaign Dynamics</p>	Chair	<p>Citizens or Consumers? Political Culture and Media Policy in the U.S. and UK</p>
Paper	<p>Paul J. Tran, <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i> Harold D. Clarke, <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i> Overview: Using state-space models for pooling campaign polls, Bayesian MCMC analyses are undertaken to study the dynamics of candidate and party support during the most recent American (2004), British (2005) and Canadian (2006) national election campaigns.</p>	Paper	<p>Mark Major, <i>William Paterson University</i> Overview: This research uses a comparative and historical analysis of elite political culture in the U.S. and UK to assess its influence on media policy.</p>
Paper	<p><u>To Branch or Not to Branch: Item Construction in Web Surveys</u> Samantha Luks, <i>Polimetrix</i> Ashley Grosse, <i>Polimetrix</i> Douglas Rivers, <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: This paper examines the effects of alternative designs in web surveys on item response and nonresponse. Using an experiment from the Polimetrix omnibus survey, we show how question formats can increase or alleviate confusion among respondents.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Freedom of the Media in Autocracies and Democracies: Theory and Empirics</u> Natan Sachs, <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: The paper explores the role of the media, explaining why some autocracies grant relative freedom while democracies often censor. It presents evidence from cross-national data and from fieldwork on Indonesian democratization and Israeli wartime press.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Evaluating the Representativeness of an Internet Sample</u> Seth J. Hill, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> James Lo, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Lynn Vavreck, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> John Zaller, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: Using the 2004 National Election Study as a baseline, this paper evaluates whether voluntary respondents drawn from a novel Internet sampling method are representative of the national population in terms of their level of political information</p>	Paper	<p><u>Media Use and the Survival of Political Disagreement: A Simulation</u> Frank C. S. Liu, <i>National Sun Yat-Sen University</i> Paul E. Johnson, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: This paper presents an Agent-Based Model and its simulation results about the influence of selective perception of news sources, as well as the influence of communication networks, on the level of political disagreement in a centralized country.</p>
Disc.	<p>Sean O. Hogan, <i>RTI-International</i> J. Tobin Grant, <i>Southern Illinois University, Carbondale</i></p>	Paper	<p><u>Media Exposure and Attitude Towards Democracy in China</u> Tianjian Shi, <i>Duke University</i> Jie Lu, <i>Duke University</i> Overview: This paper will use survey data collected in two cities in China, with access to different mass media with varying levels of government control, to scrutinize the role of mass media in shaping people's attitude towards democracy.</p>
26-3	<p><u>MINORITY VOTING AND MINORITY REPRESENTATION</u> Clark 9, 7th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm</p>	Disc.	<p>Claes H. DeVreese, <i>University of Amsterdam</i> Oya Dursun-Ozkanca, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i></p>
Room	<p>Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, <i>University of Rochester</i></p>	28-102	<p><u>ROUNDTABLE: THE GENDER GAP IN THE 2006 AND 2008 ELECTIONS</u> Adams, 6th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm</p>
Chair	<p>The Turnout-Representation Disconnect: A Statistical Model of Council Composition</p>	Room	<p>Kathleen Dolan, <i>University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee</i> Susan McManus, <i>University of South Florida</i> Karen Kaufmann, <i>University of Maryland, College Park</i> Barbara Norrander, <i>University of Arizona</i> Barbara Burrell, <i>Northern Illinois University</i></p>
Paper	<p>Justin R. Grimmer, <i>Harvard University</i> Clayton M. Nall, <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: Introducing a compositional data model, we find that even a dramatic rise in citywide turnout does not lead to increased minority representation, contradicting existing findings obtained using Least Squares (Hajnal and Trounstone, 2005).</p>	Panelist	<p>Overview: Scholars on this roundtable will evaluate the role of the gender gap in the 2006 elections and discuss its potential impact in the 2008 elections.</p>

29-13 **ETHNIC INCLUSION AND THE POLITICS OF CITIZENSHIP AND NATURALIZATION**
Room Clark 7, 7th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair Lorrie Frasure, *Cornell University*
Paper **Controlled Cohesion: Restrictive Immigration/Liberal Citizenship in the UK**
Sara B. Wallace, Georgetown University
 Overview: In this paper, I examine co-maintenance within Great Britain's migration policy of restrictive immigration and liberal citizenship, arguing that this social strategy enables Britain to uphold common values despite globalized migration.

Paper **Costly Citizenship? Dual Nationality Institutions and the Choice to Naturalize**
Jeffrey K. Staton, Florida State University
Damaris Canache, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Robert A. Jackson, Florida State University
 Overview: Focusing on Latinos, this paper assesses the conditions under which dual nationality rules in sender countries influence the choice of immigrants from those countries to seek citizenship in the United States.

Paper **New Americans or Diasporic Nationalists? Mexican Immigrant Responses to Naturalization**
Adrian Felix, University of Southern California
Claudia Sandoval, University of Chicago
 Overview: The immigration debate has reclaimed attention within public discourse and the academy alike. There is disagreement around Mexican immigrants who are becoming American citizens.

Disc. **Lorrie Frasure, Cornell University**
Nancy Kwang Johnson, Western Illinois University

32-14 **VARIETIES OF LIBERALISM**
Room LaSalle 1, 7th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair Michael Ravvin, *Columbia University*
Paper **Liberty and Multiculturalism: A Possible Resolution to an Endless Conflict**
Miriam Bentwich, University of Notre Dame
 Overview: This paper attempts to make progress towards resolving the conflict between multiculturalists and liberals as to the importance of individual liberty by establishing a justification for the supremacy of the latter from a multiculturalism stance.

Paper **Nationalism and the Limits of Justice**
Craig P. French, Georgetown University
 Overview: An examination of David Miller's liberal nationalism, paying particular attention to the limits on global distributive justice imposed by the method in ethical theory which he has recently described as the search for a "theory of just boundaries."

Paper **Cosmopolitan Flaws, Practical Failures, and the Possibility of Positive Tolerance: The Future of the Liberal Polity**
Stephen W. Moore, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
 Overview: I explore three alternatives of social organization: cosmopolitanism, practical liberalism, and positive tolerance. I argue that recent arguments supportive of cosmopolitanism fall short of the liberal ideal and that the rational strategy.

Paper **Deontological Perfectionist Liberalism: The Very Idea**
Evan Riley, University of Pittsburgh
 Overview: I am interested in an approach to the familiar normative questions of justice that is both perfectionist and also a deontological liberalism. In this paper, I focus on defending the intelligibility of the very idea against three general worries.

Disc. **Ruth M. Abbey, University of Notre Dame**

32-101 **AUTHOR MEETS CRITICS: DANNY POSTEL'S READING LEGITIMATION CRISIS IN TEHRAN**
Room Parlor B, 6th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Panelist **Danny Postel, openDemocracy magazine**
Jeffrey Isaac, Indiana University
Courtney Jung, New School for Social Research
Nader Hashemi, Northwestern University
Farzin Vahdat, Vassar College
 Overview: Roundtable discussion of Danny Postel's book *Reading Legitimation Crisis in Tehran: Iran and the Future of Liberalism*, a

meditation on the widespread confusion on the Western Left about Iran and what lessons we can draw from Iranian liberalism today.

33-12 **EQUIVALENCE AND EXPLOITATION: QUESTIONS OF EQUAL DIGNITY**
Room Dearborn 2, 7th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair Jeffrey A. Becker, *University of the Pacific*
Paper **What Makes Racism Wrong?**
T. J. Donahue, Johns Hopkins University
 Overview: In answer, this paper argues that racism treats some persons as second-class persons or not persons at all. This is wrong because it is wrong to omit treating any person as a bearer of equal dignity, and this treatment omits precisely this.

Paper **The Problem of Moral Equivalence**
Jason S. Ferrell, McGill University
 Overview: The meaning of moral equivalence is ambiguous. It is often said a position is 'superior' to another if they are not morally equivalent. This paper will argue that moral equivalence is best understood in terms of the idea of incommensurability.

Paper **The Ethics of Exploitation**
Robert Mayer, Loyola University, Chicago
 Overview: This paper describes the ethics of exploitation. This ethics varies depending on whether the exploitation is structural or discretionary. Some structural exploiters face a dirty-hands dilemma in which it is right to do wrong.

Paper **Autonomy, Political Equality, and the Moral Good**
Michael P. McKeon, Syracuse University
 Overview: Nowadays, we know unequivocally that slavery is wrong. The intuitive idea here is that slavery is incongruous with our concept of autonomy and equality. I argue that it is not self-evident that we would have made it to this point sans religion.

Disc. **Jeffrey A. Becker, University of the Pacific**

34-4 **ELECTIONS AND POLICY**
Room Burnham 1, 7th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair James Adams, *University of California, Davis*
Paper **Fallacies of Roll Call Vote Aggregation in Spatial Models of Electoral Competition**
Justin Buchler, Case Western Reserve University
 Overview: Spatial models of electoral competition make flawed predictions both for candidate location decisions and for citizens' voting decisions because neither voters nor candidates derive utility directly from a location decision.

Paper **Government Performance, Clientelism and Political Competition**
Leonardo A. Gatica, Universidad de Guadalajara
 Overview: This paper explains the fact of a negative relationship between political competition and government performance. It formalizes a spatial model with provision of patronage and public goods to challenge the idea that competition increases performance.

Paper **Entrenching the Machine: Shark Repellant and White Squires as Obstacles to Reform Party Success**
Jeffrey Grynaviski, University of Chicago
 Overview: In this paper, I develop a formal model which examines how incumbent political machines use their control over the bureaucracy prior to an election to create obstacles to a successful electoral challenge by a reform party.

Paper **Transparency and Separation of Powers**
Dimitri Landa, New York University
Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, Washington University
 Overview: We analyze the effects of the interaction between transparency and separation of powers on electoral accountability when incumbents must take multiple costly actions prior to elections.

Disc. **Alan E. Wiseman, Ohio State University**

35-10	<u>TOPICS IN POLITICAL METHODOLOGY II</u>	39-11	<u>LEGISLATIVE BEHAVIOR IN THE SENATE: POLICY DECISIONS AND PARTISANSHIP</u>
Room	Montrose 2, 7 th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm	Room	Montrose 1, 7 th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair	Kristin Kanthak , <i>University of Pittsburgh</i>	Chair	Chris Den Hartog , <i>California Polytechnic Institute</i>
Paper	<u>Estimation of the Null Effect Using Bayesian Model Comparison</u> Jong Hee Park , <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: What should we do when we are interested in confirming the null hypothesis?	Paper	<u>The Calculus of Co-sponsoring Major Legislation in the U.S. Senate</u> Brian M. Harward , <i>Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville</i> Kenneth W. Moffett , <i>Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville</i> Overview: We examine why a legislator would be willing to vote 'yea' on final passage of a bill, but would be unwilling to co-sponsor that bill. We develop and test a three-stage game theoretic model of senators' decisions to co-sponsor legislation.
Paper	<u>Unit Nonresponse in Internet-Based Surveys: An Examination of Graduate Research</u> David L. Henry , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Gregory E. Rathje , <i>Western Michigan University</i> Overview: This paper examines the use of Internet-based surveys in dissertations completed over the past 5 years. Of particular concern is the issue of unit nonresponse and its impact on validity in such research.	Paper	<u>Policy Entrepreneurship in the U.S. Senate: Evidence from Morning Business Speeches</u> Joumana Moukarim , <i>American University</i> Overview: I examine the impact of the institutional environment on policy entrepreneurship in the Senate. I find that institutional factors matter in explaining frequency and content of floor speeches senators deliver during morning business periods.
Paper	<u>How Frail is Your Frailty?</u> Luke J. Keele , <i>Ohio State University</i> DeBoef Suzanna , <i>Pennsylvania State University</i> Overview: We evaluate frailty models in a variety of contexts.	Paper	<u>Ambition and Party Loyalty in the U.S. Senate</u> Sarah A. Treul , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: This paper examines what effect individual senators have on the party. I address two questions: 1) How does ambition for higher office affect party loyalty? and 2) How does party loyalty affect senators' electoral prospects?
Paper	<u>GIS and Data Visualization as Tools for Metropolitan Governance</u> Richard T. LeGates , <i>San Francisco State University</i> Overview: Using data from the San Francisco Bay Area, Southern New Jersey, and the Portland, Oregon region, and this paper describes how geographical information systems (GIS) can help political scientists analyze and depict attributes of metropolitan regions.	Paper	<u>Adaptation of Senators: Party Polarization in the U.S. Senate, 1945-2004</u> Shinya Wakao , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: I investigate the ideological adaptation of U.S. Senators who served between 1945 and 2004 and find that the longer they serve in the Senate, the more their ideological position change.
Disc.	Kevin A. Clarke , <i>University of Rochester</i>	Disc.	<u>The 17th Amendment and Polarization in the U.S. Senate</u> Jeffery A. Jenkins , <i>Northwestern University</i> Sean Gailmard , <i>Northwestern University</i> Overview: We examine the degree to which the move from indirect to direct election in the Senate affected overall polarization in the chamber.
38-12	<u>UNITARY EXECUTIVES</u>	39-22	<u>LEGISLATIVE ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND SUCCESS</u>
Room	LaSalle 2, 7 th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm	Room	Dearborn 1, 7 th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair	Lara M. Brown , <i>California State University, Channel Islands</i>	Chair	David C. W. Parker , <i>Indiana University, South Bend</i>
Paper	<u>Executive Unilateralism in the Ford and Carter Presidencies</u> Ryan J. Barilleaux , <i>Miami University</i> David P. Zellers , <i>Miami University</i> Overview: Traces unilateral exercises of power by Presidents Ford and Carter, highlighting precedents for later unilateralism (such as under G.W. Bush). Illuminates evolution of presidency since Watergate.	Paper	<u>Party Loyalty and Legislative Success: Are Loyal Majority Party Members More Successful?</u> Jason D. Mycoff , <i>University of Delaware</i> Edward B. Hasecke , <i>Wittenberg University</i> Overview: We hypothesize that party leaders reward loyal party members with greater legislative success. Using bill data over seven Congresses we examine loyalty as demonstrated through floor voting and financial contributions to party reelection efforts.
Paper	<u>Presidential Power and the Signing Statement: A Comparative Analysis of the Bush Administrations</u> Bryan W. Marshall , <i>Miami University</i> Christopher Kelley , <i>Miami University</i> Overview: The paper will employ both case studies and quantitative analysis to compare the use of signing statements during the two Bush administrations. The paper will employ a unique data set for the quantitative analysis.	Paper	<u>Is My Seat Safe?: Legislative Success of Freshmen Members of Congress</u> Jacob R. Straus , <i>Frostburg State University</i> Overview: This paper examines the legislative success of first term members of Congress and the impact of that success (or failure) on their chances for reelection.
Paper	<u>Statements of Power: Executive Assertions of Policy via Formal Communication</u> Laurie L. Rice , <i>Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville</i> Overview: Bush drew fire for his dramatic expansion of the use of signing statements. I compare them to Statements of Administration Policy. While blindsiding Congress occurs infrequently, Congress now faces a president armed with more tools for shaping laws.	Paper	<u>Seniority and the Emergence of Legislation in Congress</u> Glen S. Krutz , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Curtis Ellis , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: Explores the impact of seniority on the pre-floor legislative process in Congress.
Paper	<u>Defending the Rule of Law in Emergencies</u> Stefan Olsson , <i>Uppsala University</i> Overview: In sudden emergencies, such as terror attacks or earth quakes, governments usually take on extra powers. In my paper I explore how these extra powers can be controlled by using checks and balances.	Paper	<u>When Politics is Personal: Role of Personal Interests in Bill Sponsorships</u> Lesli McCollum Gooch , <i>Office of Representative Gary G. Miller</i> Overview: Through interviews with 60 members of the U.S. House of Representatives, this paper provides a systematic analysis of bill sponsorships to consider the extent to which members actively pursue their personal policy interests in Congress.
Disc.	David G. Adler , <i>Idaho State University</i>	Disc.	Jocelyn J. Evans , <i>University of West Florida</i> David C. W. Parker , <i>Indiana University, South Bend</i>

41-13 **FEDERAL JUDICIAL SELECTION: DEATHS, DEPARTURES, AND NEW BLOOD**
Room PDR 6, 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair Pamela C. Corley, *Vanderbilt University*
Paper **Politicized Departure from the United States Supreme Court, 1789-2006**
James Lindgren, *Northwestern University*
Ross M. Stolzenberg, *University of Chicago*
 Overview: The odds of a Supreme Court justice retiring in the first two years of a president of the same party are about 2.6 times the odds of retiring late in the term of a president of the opposing party. Dying in office shows roughly the opposite pattern.

Paper **Departures from the Court: The Importance of the Political Landscape**
Kjersten R. Nelson, *University of Minnesota*
Eve M. Ringsmuth, *University of Minnesota*
 Overview: The authors use ideological distance measures to re-test the hypothesis that justices use strategic political considerations when deciding whether to leave the Court.

Paper **Assessing Changes in State Representation on the U.S. Courts of Appeals**
Kevin M. Scott, *Congressional Research Service*
R. Sam Garrett, *Congressional Research Service*
 Overview: We investigate and analyze changes in state representation of circuit court judges confirmed since 1891 in order to test hypotheses about factors that influence changes in state representation.

Paper **A Competing Risks Model of Exits from the U.S. Courts of Appeals, 1954-2004**
Richard L. Vining, *Emory University*
 Overview: This paper employs a competing risks model to examine departures from the U.S. Courts of Appeals from 1954-2004. The impact of reforms to retirement statutes is studied along with political, personal, and institutional factors affecting departures.

Disc. **Christine L. Nemacheck**, *College of William & Mary*
Pamela C. Corley, *Vanderbilt University*

41-24 **DECISION MAKING ON TRIAL COURTS**
Room Parlor E, 6th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair Jolly A. Emrey, *University of Wisconsin, Whitewater*
Paper **Impact of Selection System on Sentencing Decisions in Felony Trial Courts**
Nathan A. Jones, *University of Virginia*
 Overview: Modeling “justice” as unexplained variation, this paper tests the claim that elections place justice “at risk” using a heteroskedastic regression model to predict felony sentence length and error terms across states with different selection systems.

Paper **The Impact of Motivations on Judicial Role Conceptions and Behavior**
Barsha L. Mount, *Charleston Southern University*
 Overview: This paper examines the relative influence of the institutional norms and structures of state trial courts and the personal motivations of judges on their role conceptions and behavior.

Paper **Contextualizing the Law: Sex Assault Cases and Trial Court Decision-Making**
Megan A. Greening, *University of North Texas*
 Overview: This study examines sexual assault cases and trial court decision-making in Dallas County 1999-2005. I test legal and extra-legal factors to determine if they influence sentencing decisions and discuss the subsequent policy impact of such decisions.

Paper **What Are They Thinking?: Federal Judges Thoughts on Redistricting**
Mark J. McKenzie, *University of Texas, Austin*
 Overview: This study in judicial behavior in redistricting relies on in depth interviews and a judicial survey of sitting federal judges. This NSF funded study examines the nature of partisanship and other factors in redistricting decisions.

Paper **Unemployment, Politics, and the Risk of Execution in the U.S. States**
Isaac Unah, *National Science Foundation*
 Overview: Do Economic Conditions explain execution risk of deathrow inmates in the American States? I argue that activity on deathrow reflects economic conditions in the states and that these economic effects are mediated by gubernatorial politics.

Disc. **Charles A. Smith**, *University of Miami*
Jolly A. Emrey, *University of Wisconsin, Whitewater*

44-11 **THE POLITICS OF POLICY DIFFUSION I (Co-sponsored with Public Policy, see 46-17)**
Room Parlor C, 6th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair Ronald E. Weber, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
Paper **When the Smoke Clears: The Diffusion of Successful Youth Access Antismoking Policies**
Craig Volden, *Ohio State University*
Charles R. Shipan, *University of Michigan*
 Overview: This paper examines state antismoking policies to address youth access to tobacco. We analyze whether the youth access policies that most effectively reduce teenage smoking spread more quickly and more completely across the states than do less effective.

Paper **Local Governments and Policy Diffusion: Building State Capacity**
Kathleen Hale, *Auburn University*
 Overview: The influence of local government innovation on subsequent state innovation in criminal justice reform is tested by cross-sectional time series analysis using data from local drug court programs across the fifty states from 1989 through 2005.

Paper **Testing the Emulation of Success Hypothesis in Criminal Justice Policy**
Christopher Olds, *Texas A&M University*
 Overview: Research on state policy diffusion for too long has focused on geographical proximity between states to explain policy adoption. This project looks into the possibility that states emulate other states only when policies achieve desired outcomes.

Paper **Policy Diffusion and Learning in Federal States: Evidence from Switzerland**
Fabrizio Gilardi, *University of Lausanne*
Katharina Fueglistner, *University of Lausanne*
 Overview: This paper studies the diffusion of health insurance subsidy policies across the 26 Swiss cantons between 1996 and 2005. It examines whether policy makers learn from policy or political outcomes, and whether the impact of learning varies over time.

Disc. **Ronald E. Weber**, *University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee*
Jeremy L. Hall, *University of Alabama, Birmingham*

45-7 **REINVENTING/RESTRUCTURING MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT**
Room Burnham 4, 7th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair J. Edwin Benton, *University of South Florida*
Paper **Put Up or Shut Up: City Council Response to Efforts to Reinvent Government**
Timothy B. Krebs, *University of New Mexico*
John P. Pelissero, *Loyola University, Chicago*
 Overview: Despite the popularity of reinventing government at the local level, we know little about it from an empirical standpoint. In this research we analyze city council responses to managers’ efforts to reinvent city government through the budgetary process.

Paper **Discovering the Ties that Bind: A Search for Connections Between Municipal Governmental Forms and Expenditure Decisions**
Charles L. Sampson, *University of Missouri*
 Overview: This study queries whether forms of municipal government are significant to understanding municipal expenditure decisions and the extent to which institutional theory aids that explanation.

Paper	<p><u>A Comparison of Wisconsin Park Departments and Illinois Park Districts</u> David N. Emanuelson, <i>Aurora University</i> Overview: In this quantitative analysis, Illinois park districts and municipal park departments are compared to Wisconsin park departments in terms of service levels and efficiencies to identify the differences between states and structures of government.</p>	46-11	<p><u>STEM CELL POLITICS AND POLICY</u> PDR 7, 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm Alesha E. Doan, <i>University of Kansas</i> <u>Predictors of State Stem Cell Research and Cloning Policies</u> Sorina O. Vlaicu, <i>George Mason University</i> Connie L. McNeely, <i>George Mason University</i> Overview: This paper looks across U.S. states to analyze stem cell research and cloning policies and explain variations in policy outcomes. Options for federal policies are proposed.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Small Towns, Fiscal Stress and the Restructuring of Public Services</u> Gary A. Mattson, <i>Northern Kentucky University</i> Overview: A twenty year retrospect of the municipal service policy behavior of 77 rural midwest county seat towns facing budgetary shortfalls.</p>	Paper	<p><u>How Does the National Competitiveness Discourse Influence Stem Cell Research Policymaking?</u> Myong Hwa Lee, <i>Northern Illinois University</i> Overview: This paper addresses the development of the Korean permissive therapeutic cloning policies in terms of national competitiveness discourse. How did the national competitiveness discourse dominate stem cell debate? How did the discourse influence stem cell research?</p>
Paper	<p><u>Conciliated Model of Municipal Governance and Mayoral Rule in Cincinnati</u> Stephen T. Mergner, <i>University of Cincinnati</i> Overview: This work is unique from the common approaches to mayoral leadership literature in that it takes the opposite approach and holds the officer-holder constant while analyzing multiple consequences of governmental reform.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Politics, Policy and a Patchwork of Regulation: Embryonic Stem Cell Research</u> Anne K. Davis, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: This paper examines the legal status of embryonic stem cell research at the national level and in the 50 states and focuses on the impact of state level efforts to fund, protect or restrict such research.</p>
Disc.	<p>J. Edwin Benton, <i>University of South Florida</i></p>		
45-9	<p><u>POLICY IMPACTS OF ENHANCED PARTICIPATION</u> Clark 5, 7th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm Richard C. Feiock, <i>Florida State University</i> <u>Tiebout Mobility Under Conditions of Electoral Competition</u> Kenneth N. Bickers, <i>University of Colorado</i> Lapo Salucci, <i>University of Colorado</i> Overview: This paper tests the thesis that a high degree of electoral competition alters the incentives of citizens by creating effective opportunities for voice, thus decreasing the perceived attractiveness of exit.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Creating Frankenstein: Morality, Politics and Stem Cell Research</u> Alesha E. Doan, <i>University of Kansas</i> Overview: Stem cell research is increasingly becoming a salient political issue. This research explores two main components of the debate: the role of framing by active participants in the debate and the extent to which the public perceives stem cell research.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Implementing Participatory Budgeting: The Case of Neighborhood Councils in Los Angeles</u> Juliet Mussu, <i>University of Southern California</i> Michael Sithole, <i>University of Southern California</i> Mark Elliot, <i>University of Southern California</i> Christopher Weare, <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: This paper provides a process evaluation of the implementation of a budgeting process in Los Angeles, and evaluates the extent to which the emergent process reflects the representative and deliberative requisites for effective participation.</p>	Disc.	<p>Karsten Vrangbaek, <i>University of Copenhagen</i> Gerard W. Boychuk, <i>University of Waterloo</i></p>
Paper	<p><u>Under Pressure: Does the Threat of Citizen Initiative Impact Local Policy Decisions?</u> Tara A. Blanc, <i>Arizona State University</i> Barbara C. McCabe, <i>Arizona State University</i> Overview: Initiative election studies focus only on measures that reach the ballot; however, the mere threat of initiative may prompt officials to act to forestall popular response. We explore how this threat may be used to sway local growth policy decisions.</p>	48-5	<p><u>PRESIDENTS AND ECONOMIC POLICY (Co-sponsored with Presidency and Executive Politics, see 38-17)</u> LaSalle 3, 7th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm Chris Rodgers, <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i> <u>Presidential Influence of Financial Markets</u> Thomas M. Martin, <i>University of Kentucky</i> Overview: A conceptual framework of presidential rhetoric and power, positing that the president's rhetorical leadership creates market volatility in the Dow Jones Industrial Average.</p>
Paper	<p><u>E-Democracy at the Local Level</u> Tony E. Wohlers, <i>Cameron University</i> Overview: The increasing application of information and communication technologies in the public sector has contributed to remarkable advances in electronic- or e-government. Some argue that e-government strengthens the existing public service.</p>	Paper	<p><u>A Historical Institutional Analysis of Bush's Social Security Reform</u> Hector L. Ortiz, <i>Syracuse University</i> Overview: Bush's Social Security reform allows us to explore the utility of historical institutionalists' accounts of policy development and presidential leadership. I apply historical institutionalism to explain the process and the outcome of the reform.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Government in Translation: The Local Politics of Language Policies</u> Els de Graauw, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: Drawing from both qualitative and quantitative data from fieldwork conducted in the San Francisco Bay Area, I analyze the role of nonprofit organizations catering to immigrants in the framing, legislation, and implementation of local language policies.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Partisan Impacts on the Economy: Evidence from Prediction Markets</u> Erik C. Snowberg, <i>Stanford University</i> Justin Wolfers, <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> Eric Zitzewitz, <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: We combine evidence from elections from 1880 to 2004 with prediction market data and find that the victory of a Republican presidential candidate raises equity prices 2-3% versus the victory of a Democrat.</p>
Disc.	<p>Richard C. Feiock, <i>Florida State University</i> Megan Mullin, <i>Temple University</i></p>	Disc.	<p>Dean Spiliotes, <i>New Hampshire Institute of Politics</i> Chris Rodgers, <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i></p>

49-5 **PROCESS AND REPRESENTATION IN ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS**
Room Clark 3, 7th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair Mark C. Stephan, *Washington State University, Vancouver*
Paper **The Impact of Policy Change in Local and State Environment Policy: The Case of Brownfields**
 Richard C. Hula, Michigan State University
 Overview: This paper examines the long-term impact Michigan's program to promote the cleaning and redevelopment of contaminated land parcels (brownfields). The analysis is based on a set of observations of sites over a five-year period.

Paper **Deliberation Lite: How Minimal Interaction Influences Policy Preferences**
 Thomas Dietz, Michigan State University
 Rachel Shwom, Michigan State University
 Amy Dan, Michigan State University
 David Bidwell, Michigan State University
 Overview: Results of an experiment using feedback in a mail survey to influence preferences for climate change mitigation policy.

Paper **Representing Interests and Communities in Policymaking**
 Richard Barke, Georgia Institute of Technology
 Overview: There are many political and policy processes in the U.S. that stipulate categories of membership of advisory boards or decision-making committees, with either tacit or explicit assumptions that individuals will in some way represent particular interests.

Disc. **Ramiro Berardo, University of Arizona**

50-11 **ORGANIZATIONAL DETERMINANTS OF AGENCY PERFORMANCE**
Room Suite 9-128, 9th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair Carolyn Bourdeaux, *Georgia State University*
Paper **Can Management Strategy Minimize the Impact of Red Tape on Organizational Performance?**
 Gene A. Brewer, University of Georgia
 Richard M. Walker, Hong Kong University
 Overview: The nature and impact of red tape on public agencies has long been debated. For example, previous literature and anecdotal accounts suggest that there are two conceptually distinct forms of red tape – internal and external. This study aims to fill a gap.

Paper **Consequences of Conflict in Public Organizations**
 James L. Chappell, Western Kentucky University
 Overview: Brief overview of how conflict impacts the service delivery of public organizations provides the basis for the research. Additionally, the research looks at the sources of conflict within public organizations.

Paper **A Comparative Study of Staff and Operating Agencies: Quantitative Analysis on the Organizational Structures of Federal Agencies**
 Yoonho Kim, Cornell University
 Overview: This paper analyzes the U.S. federal agencies by dividing into two categories, "staff" and "operating" agency. This analysis focuses on how these two agencies differ and similar in regard to organizational structures.

Paper **Managing for Results in Governmental Organizations: Does Organization Matter?**
 Jung Wook Lee, University of Illinois, Springfield
 Seok Eun Kim, Kansas State University
 Overview: This study explores the organizational characteristics that can affect the successful implementation of managing for results (MFR) practices in public organizations.

Paper **Perceptions of Organizational Red Tape: Career Contextual Determinants**
 Branco Ponomarev, University of Illinois, Chicago
 Craig Boardman, Science and Technology Policy Institute
 Overview: This paper investigates the effect of career context (e.g. technical, professional, managerial, single- or multi- sectoral), on public managers' red tape perceptions.

Disc. **Carolyn Bourdeaux, Georgia State University**
 Lada Dunbar, University of Michigan, Dearborn

51-12 **RETHINKING CONSTITUENCY POLITICS**
Room PDR 8, 3rd Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair David Karol, *University of California, Berkeley*
Paper **Mugwumps and Goo-Goos: American Democracy and 19th Century Anti-Partisanship**
 Zachary C. Courser, Claremont McKenna College
 Overview: A study of the development of a Northern anti-partisan movement after the Civil War, its anti-democratic origins, and its contribution to diminishing political participation in contemporary American politics.

Paper **Trade Doesn't Just Happen à Politics Matter**
 Mark A. Martinez, California State University, Bakersfield
 Overview: To achieve objectives under the modern liberal state private interests organize and use political institutions. Yet, notions of laissez-faire continue to dominate our notions of the market place. This needs to be reevaluated.

Paper **The Making of the Silent Majority: Nixon, Polling, and Constituency Building**
 Mark D. Nevin, University of Virginia
 Overview: This paper offers a case study of President Richard Nixon's drive to forge a new social conservative coalition in 1969-70 through the strategic use of public opinion polls.

Paper **Eisenhower, Christians, and Fighting the Cold War**
 Andrew J. Schlewitz, Albion College
 Overview: This paper exams bottom-up and top-down efforts in the 1950s to mobilize American Christians for the Cold War.

Disc. **Eric D. Russell, Ohio State University**
 David Karol, University of California, Berkeley

54-1 **ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND GOVERNANCE**
Room Sandburg 1, 7th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Chair Myron J. Aronoff, *Rutgers University*
Paper **The Evolution of the Popular Political Representations in Burkina Faso**
 Hilgers Mathieu, National Fund for Scientific Research/Université Catholique de Louvain Belgium
 Overview: If the formal democracy in Burkina Faso can marginalize the institutional political opposition and manages to integrate criticism, is it really able to reduce to silence a popular opposition which can be seen in everyday life ?

Paper **Biography and Voting in the Elections of 2003 and 2004 in Lithuania**
 Neringa Klumbyte, University of Pittsburgh
 Overview: The paper explores political communication in the elections of 2003, 2004 in Lithuania. It proposes to understand voting for the so-called populist candidates and ideas by exploring people's political subjectivities and focusing on their biographies.

Disc. **Myron J. Aronoff, Rutgers University**

56-304 **POSTER SESSION: UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH IV**
Room Exhibit Hall, 4th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm
Presenter **America's Dead Capital**
 (Board 1)
 Sarah N. Friederich, Belmont University
 Overview: When considering the problem of "dead capital" in the developing world and "dead labor" in the United States, the similarities between the two concepts signifies that legal incorporation into the system for excluded individuals solves both problems.

Presenter **Email's Effect on Voter Turnout**
 (Board 2)
 Brian D. Pitts, Emory University
 Overview: Analysis of a field experiment testing the impact of email reminders with hyperlinks on midterm election turnout among a population of college freshmen.

Presenter	<u>Dimensions of Religiosity, the Death Penalty and Public Opinion</u> (Board 3) Joshua T. Matthews , <i>Mount Union College</i> Alecia Varner , <i>Mount Union College</i> Andrew Hickerson , <i>Mount Union College</i> Overview: This paper examines the role religiosity plays in public opinion - in this case, the death penalty. Using Lam's (2002) dimensions of religiosity the death penalty examined through six different religious traditions.				Court emerges more prominently in the minds of citizens, government leaders and politicians.
		Presenter	<u>Fostering Democracy: The Importance of The Founding Principle Natural Law</u> (Board 12) Matthew W. Weber , <i>Bradley University</i> Overview: The conditions and practices of both domestic prisons and international prison camps in the United States show that Natural Law needs to serve as a guiding principle once more in a time and a nation in a state of confusion.		
Presenter	<u>The Effects of Stereotypes on Perceptions of Latino Candidates in the Midwest</u> (Board 4) Douglas H. Spence , <i>Ohio University</i> Overview: Using a survey-based experiment, this study discovers several significant stereotypes of Latino candidates in the Midwest, and explores their relationship with respondent characteristics and their impact on Latino political efficacy.		Presenter	<u>Optimal Mechanisms for Sustainable Development in China and India</u> (Board 13) Tabitha N. Thomas , <i>University of Mississippi</i> Overview: In order to avoid potential environmental and economic crises, China and India may embark on the path toward sustained development, which can be achieved at the national level through changes in institutions, incentives, information, and interests.	
Presenter	<u>Underreported, Underfinanced, and Unnoticed Humanitarian Crises</u> (Board 5) Jeneca A. Parker , <i>Furman University</i> Overview: The purpose is to better understand what factors greatly influence public support of foreign aid. The methods I used were surveys and a focus group. If we can understand how people evaluate crises, we can begin to answer why aid is truly given.		Presenter	<u>NAFTA and the Tarahumara: Challenges of Free Trade in Developing Nations</u> (Board 14) Kimberly D. Joki , <i>Alma College</i> Overview: NAFTA's effects on indigenous culture within Mexico provides important lessons about the consequences of free trade and globalization, including issues concerning maintenance of land resources, self-development, the environment and discrimination.	
Presenter	<u>Impact of Corruption on Trust in Governmental Institutions of East Asia</u> (Board 6) Mychal A. Voorhees , <i>Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville</i> Overview: This research examines corruption in East Asia and its impact on citizens' trust in governmental institutions such as central and local governments, legal systems, and legislatures.		Presenter	<u>Governing in the Absence of Enemies: Intelligence Oversight 1989-2001</u> (Board 15) Herschel S. Nachlis , <i>Macalester College</i> Overview: This paper examines congressional efforts to oversee intelligence from the end of the Cold War through September 11, 2001, and explores how Congress approached each element of the intelligence cycle during this transitional period.	
Presenter	<u>The Impact of Religion and Gender Discrimination on Remittance Volume</u> (Board 7) Jinu M. Koola , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: Broadly speaking, the question that research investigates is: What is the differential impact of religion and household composition on the remittance volume of Kerala's Hindu, Muslim, and Christian communities?		Presenter	<u>Managing Conflict: The Preliminary Phases of the 2006 Minnesota Senate Race</u> (Board 16) Hans J.G. Hassell , <i>Pomona College</i> Overview: While concerned about winning swing voters, a campaign's primary focus at the beginning of the campaign is that of gathering and enlarging their base. They do that in three key ways: volunteer recruitment, voter identification, and fundraising.	
Presenter	<u>The Historical Use of the Veto in the United Nations Security Council</u> (Board 8) Adam Moore , <i>Northern Kentucky University</i> Overview: This paper is an analysis of the use of the veto by the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council from 1946 to the present. It will look at trends in global influence and alliances, and their affect on voting.		Presenter	<u>Funding, Foley, and Fury: The Democratic Takeover of the House</u> (Board 17) Jaclyn J. Kettler , <i>Baker University</i> Jen N. Thierer , <i>Baker University</i> Eddie B. Cardona , <i>Baker University</i> Overview: Individual issues like Iraq and immigration did not play a significant role in the Democratic takeover of the House. Instead, scandals, money, and a general desire for change were the determining factors in many competitive districts.	
Presenter	<u>Funny Farm: An Assessment of Popular Television Political Comedians' Popularity and Influence with Emory University Graduate Students on Social Networking Website theFacebook.com</u> (Board 9) Andrea A. Dixon , <i>Emory University</i> Overview: The sudden and overwhelming popularity of online social networking groups has created a new avenue for determining the popularity and influence of public figures.	60-1		<u>CASE STUDIES IN LEADERSHIP: INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES</u> Suite 9-142, 9 th Floor, Sat at 4:25 pm	
Presenter	<u>Habermas, Facebook, and Expansion of the Public Sphere</u> (Board 10) Paul M. Turner , <i>Marshall University</i> Overview: This work examines the possibility that Facebook, a relative newcomer in the cyberspace community, expands the public sphere by allowing new voices to contribute to public opinion on social and political issues.	Room		<u>Godfatherism, Electoral Politics and Exercise of State Power in Nigeria</u> I. C. Okoye , <i>University of Awka</i> Overview: The reckless manipulation of electoral politics and state power by rich politicians in Nigeria negates efforts towards democratization and good governance. The phenomenon is socially reproduced as a result of the prevailing kleptocracy.	
Presenter	<u>America's Secret Court: Problems within the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court</u> (Board 11) Ashley K. Farmer , <i>Eastern Kentucky University</i> Rachel E. Chambers , <i>Eastern Kentucky University</i> Chris A. Eden , <i>Eastern Kentucky University</i> Overview: In light of the United States' recently elevated attention to terrorism, the business of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance	Chair		<u>Bachelet 2006: Continuity or Change?</u> Adriela Fernandez , <i>Governors State University</i> Overview: This paper seeks to assess the impact of Bachelet's election in Chile by examining her first six months in office. Interviews will be conducted with students, workers, members of the opposition, the government coalition, and the media.	
		Paper			

Paper **Closing the Gap between Elites and Society? Regional Politicians in Spain**
Xavier Coller, *Georgetown University*
Overview: Analysis of the diminishing gap between politicians and society in what gender, age, place of birth, studies and profession is concerned. Analysis of the case of Spanish regional politicians in the democratic period.

Disc. **Xiaojun Yan**, *Harvard University*

Sunday, April 15 – 8:00 am – 9:35 am

2-15 NEW PERSPECTIVES ON INTERNATIONAL OPENNESS AND WELFARE STATES

Room Salon 1, 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Alex Hicks, *Emory University*

Paper **Economic Volatility, Openness and the Welfare State**

Ian Down, *University of Tennessee, Knoxville*

Overview: This paper challenges the standard assumption in much of the welfare state and globalization literature that the effects of greater openness on the domestic economy are to increase domestic economic volatility, and thus insecurity.

Paper **An Agent-Based Model of the Diffusion of Welfare State Reforms**

Fabrizio Gilardi, *University of Lausanne*

Stephane Luyet, *University of Lausanne*

Marek Blaszczyk, *University of Lausanne*

Overview: This paper affirms the importance of interdependence and diffusion for the study of the welfare state, and develops an agent-based model of the diffusion of welfare state reforms that sheds light on how policy diffusion processes unfold.

Paper **More Rights, Fewer Pensions? Pension Portability in Germany and the EU**

Alexandra Hennessy, *Boston University*

Overview: Why does Germany support parts of a single European pension market, but not others? I argue that EU mandated corporate pension policies jeopardize unfunded book reserve pensions, a corner stone of Germany's comparative institutional advantage.

Paper **The Impact of Government Partisanship on Redistribution in Open Economies**

Evelyne Huebscher, *European University Institute*

Overview: I analyze whether government partisanship still has an impact on policies in open economies. Using data from the LIS database, I test the influence of partisanship on redistribution in general, and on different income categories and economic sectors.

Disc. Alex Hicks, *Emory University*

3-14 ORDER AND DISORDER

Room Salon 2, 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Jennifer Gandhi, *Emory University*

Paper **Dynastic Succession in Modern Autocracies**

Jason Brownlee, *University of Texas, Austin*

Overview: This paper tests prevailing theories of dynasticism among post-World War II authoritarian regimes. Finding that the phenomenon defies standard cultural and developmental variables, I propose an alternative explanation that recasts dynastic succession.

Paper **Recreating Political Order: Political Parties and Hybrid Regimes**

Adrienne LeBas, *Michigan State University*

Overview: This paper arguing that the strategies chosen by elites to win constituencies and build party organizations during democratization shape the structure of politics and the degree of political order.

Paper **Why Minorities Don't Rebel: Accounting for the Missing Separatists Among the Basques and Kurds**

Benjamin Smith, *University of Florida*

Overview: This paper develops a state-focused theory of ethnonational conflict and its absence, arguing that differential patterns of material state building account for variation in separatist mobilization among the Kurds of Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Turkey.

Paper **Government Dynamics in Authoritarian Regimes**

Milan Svolik, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Overview: I study a model of authoritarian politics in which the joint desire of the dictator and the governing elite to rule is complicated by a conflict of interest between them. Two power-sharing regimes, contested and established dictatorships.

Disc. Dan Slater, *University of Chicago*
Jennifer Gandhi, *Emory University*

3-24 THE POLITICS OF ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION

Room Salon 4, 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Heiner Schulz, *University of Pennsylvania*

Paper **Capital Controls and Openness in Resource-Rich Economies**

Nancy E. Brune, *University of Pennsylvania*

Overview: Using original data on financial openness (1970-2004), this paper explores the impact of a country's natural resource endowments (and mediating effects of external actors) on the variation of financial openness in the developing world.

Paper **The Chinese State and Foreign Capital: Who Controls Whom?**

Roselyn Hsueh Romano, *University of California, Berkeley*

Overview: China's accession to the WTO forced the economic liberalization of previously closed industries. An examination of the recalibration of government control of FDI across industries reveal, however, that reregulation has accompanied economic liberalization.

Paper **Globalization and Ethnic Discrimination**

Jason P. Sorens, *SUNY, Buffalo*

Overview: Effects of international economic openness on discriminatory policies against ethnic minorities, conditional on natural resource abundance.

Disc. Heiner Schulz, *University of Pennsylvania*

4-15 PROSPECTS FOR DEMOCRATIZATION IN AFRICA

Room PDR 4, 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Eric McLaughlin, *University of Illinois*

Paper **The Authoritarian Past and Democratic Support in Southern Africa**

Jason M. Wells, *University of Missouri*

Overview: I ask how citizens think about their experiences with past authoritarian regimes, relative to their experiences with new democratic regimes, and whether these thoughts influence their commitment to, or satisfaction with, democracy.

Paper **Patterns of Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa**

Anna Brigeveich, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Overview: This paper examines the process of democratic transition in Sub-Saharan African countries, and argues that three distinct patterns of democratization and stability have emerged.

Paper **Criminalization of the State and the Crisis of Governance in Africa**

Raphael O. Ogom, *DePaul University*

Overview: Examines why democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa is "widely approved, but everywhere in doubt" and contends that the 'criminalization of the state' is the antithetical cankerworm weakening the foundations of democratic consolidation in the sub-continent.

Paper **Democratic Consolidation and Riots in South Africa**

Beth E. Harkavy, *Columbia University*

Overview: The following paper examines the increasing number or riots that have occurred in South Africa's townships using democratic theory. I use both quantitative and qualitative analysis to argue that these riots have occurred because South Africa's democracy has developed in a way that does not adequately link citizens to governmental institutions.

Paper **Trust, Social Capital and Democracy in Newly Transitioned States: The Role of Civil Society in Kenya**

Henry K. Wambui, *University of Central Missouri*

Greg Streich, *University of Central Missouri*

Overview: Using the case of Kenya, we disentangle the causal paradox of social capital, trust, and democratization in ethnically homogeneous states by examining the role of civil society organizations that have emerged to fight against the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

Disc. Eric McLaughlin, *University of Illinois*

7-16 CONTROVERSIES IN EU ENLARGEMENT

Room Sandburg 7, 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair David Ellison, *Grinnell College*

Paper The Road to EMU: Poland as a Case Study

Assem M. Dandashly, *University of Victoria*

Overview: This paper discusses the situation of Poland and its efforts to join EMU with a cost-benefit analysis. It also deals with the comparison to Italy's case which provides significant additions to the body of knowledge regarding the reform attempts.

Paper How EU Admission Decreases Risk in New Members

Julia Gray, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: This paper tests the claim that joining strong institutions regularizes expectations about members' future behavior. Using the European Union as a test case, I argue that portfolio investors' expectations about countries improve when the EU endorses candidates.

Paper European Union Entrants and ESDP Operations

Vivien L. Exartier, *West Virginia University*

An assessment of the involvement of new member states in ESDP operations, based on interviews with security officials validated with hard data.

Paper Double Standards and Back Sliding

Christian B. Jensen, *University of Iowa*

Overview: This paper argues that there is an institutionally driven double standard in the EU where prospective members are held to increasingly high standards while existing members are allowed to "backslide."

Paper The Dutch Decision on Turkish Accession: Why?

Michael Wright, *University of Pittsburgh*

Overview: This case study examines the Dutch decision at the 2004 Brussels Summit to support Turkish accession negotiations. Did The Hague follow domestic reasons or preferences shaped by the institution of the EU?

Disc. Erik R. Tillman, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*

8-16 DEMOCRATIZATION AND THE STATE IN LATIN AMERICA

Room Sandburg 6, 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Richard Witmer, *Creighton University*

Paper Citizenship under State of Siege: The Legacies of Coalition Rule in Colombia

Luis A. Herran Avila, *New School For Social Research*

Overview: A glimpse at Colombian political history may provide a good example of how the legacies of a rather eclectic political tradition, combined with sociopolitical convulsion, can actually become obstacles to the consolidation of citizenship.

Paper The State and Democratization in Latin America: An Empirical Analysis

Marco Larizza, *University of Essex*

Overview: The papers seeks to "Bring the State back into" the discussion about the quality of democracy in Latin America. It offers an empirical analysis of the relationship between constellations of the State apparatus and patterns of violations.

Paper The State and Transnational Actors in Guatemala: Comparative Lessons from an Incomplete Genocide

Frederick M. Shepherd, *Samford University*

Overview: This study will place the Guatemalan genocide in comparative perspective by focusing on two distinctly political concerns: the weakness of the Guatemalan state, and the strength of the transnational and international movement for human rights.

Paper Bureaucratic Discretion and Democratization in Mexico

Rodrigo Velazquez, *University of Texas, Austin*

Overview: Has democratization transformed bureaucracies? By analyzing case studies of three federal policies in Mexico between 1991 and 2006 the paper explains why legislators do not use their control capability to make public officials accountable.

Paper Property Rights and Democracy: Do They Really Fit?

Richard C. Witmer, *Creighton University*

Erika Moreno, *Creighton University*

James Wunsch, *Creighton University*

Overview: This paper examines the strength of the relationship between regime type and property rights. Using data covering 50 years, we explore whether democracies or non-democratic regimes are the best protectors of property rights.

Disc. Todd A. Eisenstadt, *American University*

Michelle L. Dion, *Georgia Institute of Technology*

9-12 THE ROLE OF THE STATE SECTOR IN CHINESE REFORM AND DEVELOPMENT

Room Sandburg 5, 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Edmund J. Malesky, *University of California, San Diego*

Paper The Politics of Soft Regulation in China: The Case of Automobile Industry

Yukyung Yeo, *University of Maryland, College Park*

Overview: This study explores the politics of regulation in China, focusing on the decentralized but strategic auto industry.

Paper Poverty and Income Disparity in Urban China

Xia L. Lollar, *University of Wisconsin, Whitewater*

Overview: This paper examines the impact of government corruption and state monopolized industries on the poverty and income disparity in urban China.

Paper The Political Logic of China's Outward Foreign Direct Investment Policy

Chih-shian Liou, *University of Texas, Austin*

Overview: This paper argues that instead of security and economic considerations, it is the dynamics between domestic interests and institutional constraints that drive the Chinese government's advocacy of overseas investments.

Paper Power On or Power Off? The Political Logic of China's Electricity Reform

Chjng-Min Tsai, *University of California, Berkeley*

Overview: By examining the dynamics of China's electricity reform, this paper reviews the relationship between the Chinese state and its central state-owned enterprises and the development of state regulatory structure in an industry with a monopoly position.

Disc. Edmund J. Malesky, *University of California, San Diego*

Yufan Hao, *University of Macau*

11-5 U.S. POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Room Sandburg 4, 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am

Chair Ahmed A. Salem, *Zayed University*

Paper The Global Impact of U.S. Foreign Policy on Political Islam

Muqtedar Khan, *University of Delaware*

Overview: I find that as a response to U.S. foreign policies, the Islamic movements in general [except Jihadis] have shown great adaptability and pragmatism. They have started power sharing, leaned more towards moderation and embraced democratization.

Paper Iraq and the Future of Persian Gulf Security

Ali R. Abootalebi, *University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire*

Overview: The future of Iraq is intertwined with the future of the Persian Gulf security concerns. Short of instability and a permanent, costly American presence, Iran is the likely candidate to fill in the void.

Paper Pushing the Two States: The Role of the Arab Lobby

Khalil M. Marrar, *DePaul University*

Overview: This paper looks at the historic role of the Arab lobby toward the two state solution in American foreign policy.

Paper The War on Terror and Neo-Liberal Reforms: Policy Disconnect?

David M. Schwam-Baird, *University of North Florida*

Overview: This paper will examine the disconnect between Western policies meant to combat terrorism, and policies promoting market-led growth, which ignore the success of jihadist organizations in providing social services in the absence of government action.

Disc. Zohreh Ghavamshahidi, *University of Wisconsin, Whitewater*

13-9	<u>POST-COMMUNIST POLITICAL ECONOMY</u>				
Room	Parlor H, 6 th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am				
Chair	Aleksandra J. Sznajder, <i>Columbia University</i>				
Paper	<u>Reputation and the Rule of Law in Russia: A Survey</u> Timothy M. Frye, <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: A survey-based experiment conducted in Russia in 2005 that indicates that good courts and a good reputation are substitutes rather than complements.	Paper			foreign trade on the chances of democratic arrival by using both dynamic binary response models and the Cox duration model.
					<u>For Whom Does Democracy Free Trade?</u> Daniel Y. Kono, <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: Democracy leads to trade liberalization with some trading partners but increased protection against others.
					Disc. Sean D. Ehrlich, <i>Florida State University</i>
Paper	<u>Financial Windfalls and Social Spending in the Post-Soviet Countries</u> Sarah E. Wilson, <i>Ohio State University</i> Quintin Beazer, <i>Ohio State University</i> Overview: How do governments use financial windfalls? Using the post-Soviet cases, we investigate how sudden changes in state revenue affect the provision of social programs in countries with varying degrees of democracy.	15-15	<u>THE DOMESTIC CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF EXTERNAL INTERVENTIONS</u>		
		Room	Salon 5, 3 rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am		
		Chair	Terrence L. Chapman, <i>Emory University</i>		
		Paper	<u>Why Do Failed States Recover?</u> Desha M. Girod, <i>Stanford University</i> Overview: Failed states recover when their leaders have an incentive to use multilateral aid well. Leaders have this incentive when they are resource-poor, when their only alternative is to look to multilateral donors offering aid in exchange for reform.		
Paper	<u>Illiberal Regime Crises and Economic Elites: Azerbaijan, Georgia and Serbia</u> John A. Gould, <i>Colorado College</i> Carl L. Sickner, <i>Colorado College</i> Overview: During illiberal regime crises economic elites may switch allegiances from the regime to an opposition promising to build the basic institutions of a market democracy. This paper examines illiberal regime crises in Serbia, Georgia and Azerbaijan.	Paper	<u>Military Occupations and the Quality of Governance -- 1945-2000</u> Carmela Lutmar, <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: The purpose of this paper is to investigate empirically the quality of governments that emerge once foreign military occupations end in a large cross-section of countries in the post-1945 period.		
Paper	<u>Bankers Alliances and Exchange Rate Policies in Transition Economies</u> Jana Grittersova, <i>Cornell University</i> Overview: What are the main determinants of exchange rate choices? What are the structures and institutions that sustain exchange rate policy of fixed regimes? This paper examines the political determinants of the "actual" choice and sustainability of exchange rate.	Paper	<u>Liberal Imperialism in the Age of Globalization</u> Leonid Kil, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: This article focuses on the sources of Russia's foreign economic policy towards its "Near Abroad." It places the politics of regionalization in the ex-Soviet space within the broader context of incorporation of the whole zone into the world market.		
Paper	<u>Flexibility and Credibility: Myth of Foreign Direct Investment in China</u> Yu Zheng, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: I argue that China attracts FDI not despite its political institutions, but partly because of them. The authoritarian regime gave political elites the independence to initiate pro-capital reforms that quickly improved the investment environment.	Disc.	Terrence L. Chapman, <i>Emory University</i>		
Paper	<u>Flexibility and Credibility: Myth of Foreign Direct Investment in China</u> Yu Zheng, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: I argue that China attracts FDI not despite its political institutions, but partly because of them. The authoritarian regime gave political elites the independence to initiate pro-capital reforms that quickly improved the investment environment.	17-15	<u>THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF INTERVENTION</u>		
		Room	Sandburg 8, 7 th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am		
		Chair	Stephen Gent, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i>		
		Paper	<u>Who Recovers? International Intervention in Civil Wars and Post-War Economic Growth</u> Yael Zeira, <i>New York University</i> Overview: I study the relationship between international intervention in civil wars and post-war economic growth. I find robust empirical evidence that international intervention in civil wars increases the average post-war rate of economic growth.		
Disc.	Stanislav Markus, <i>Harvard University</i> Carol S. Leff, <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i>				
14-12	<u>TRADE, DEMOCRACY AND CONFLICT</u>				
Room	Sandburg 2, 7 th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am				
Chair	Sean D. Ehrlich, <i>Florida State University</i>				
Paper	<u>Does Democracy Promote Trade? Not Really</u> Christopher Balding, <i>University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: There is a wealth of research on the impact of trade on democracy and more specifically its impact on peace and institution building. Many have taken this as an implicit belief therefore that democracy promotes trade in spite of any systematic study.	Paper	<u>Third Party Intervention and Outcomes in Interstate Conflicts</u> Renato Corbetta, <i>University of Alabama, Birmingham</i> Regina Branton, <i>Rice University</i> Overview: The paper tests propositions about the strategic behavior of joiners by exploring whether third party intervention affects the outcome on interstate disputes.		
Paper	<u>Who Are Participants in Trade Conflicts? International and Domestic Explanations of Trade Conflict Dyads</u> Jeffrey Drope, <i>University of Miami</i> Wendy Hansen, <i>University of New Mexico</i> Overview: Using trade conflicts as a measure of openness, we find that regime type, characteristics of the involved industries and larger geopolitical considerations most condition the nature of formal trade conflicts.	Paper	<u>Civil War, Contagion, and Intervention</u> Jacob D. Kathman, <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: This paper considers the war contagion predictors of intervention in civil wars. The results indicate that as the risk of diffusion rise to an increasingly salient region, the likelihood that a third party will intervene also increases.		
Paper	<u>Trade Barriers and International Conflict</u> Patrick T. McEachern, <i>Louisiana State University</i> Overview: Krasner's index of trade "openness," based upon tariff levels, is often used to measure trade barriers. My measure includes tariffs and non-tariff barriers. I use it to test the theory that excluding foreign competition increases international conflict.	Paper	<u>Choosing Demands: An Empirical Test of Intervention and Endogenous Demands</u> Amy T. Yuen, <i>Emory University</i> Overview: This paper identifies and tests some important factors that affect how demands are chosen strategically in the shadow of intervention.		
Paper	<u>Can We Trade Tyrannies for Democracy? An Empirical Analysis</u> Jessica Xu, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: Drawing upon a large panel data set covering 173 countries from 1950 to 2002, this paper examines the effect of	Disc.	Brandon G. Valeriano, <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i>		

19-12 Room Chair Paper	<p><u>DEVELOPMENT LENDING</u> Clark 10, 7th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Douglas M. Stinnett, <i>University of Georgia</i> <u>The Sources of Islamic Development Bank Lending: IOs and States as Norm Diffusers</u> Christopher B. O'Keefe, <i>Brigham Young University</i> Daniel L. Nielson, <i>Brigham Young University</i> Overview: We explore the proposition that changes in loan patterns derive from global norms diffused across international organizations. IOs attempt to diffuse norms instrumentally, using materialist and social mechanisms.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Attraction of Working from 6:00 am to 9:30 pm for a Fraction of Minimum Wage: Poll Workers and Their Motivation to Serve</u> Karin Mac Donald, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Bonnie E. Glaser, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: We conduct an empirical investigation of poll worker demographics and their motivation to serve on Election Day, and draw conclusions about the quality and stability of this type of political participation.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Determinants of Giving Explaining Patterns of Lending to NGOs</u> Michael A. Pisa, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: Why do some NGOs receive more donations than others? In this paper, I examine the patterns of U.S. private lending and find that an NGO's experience, size, and history of efficient spending play an important role in attracting private donations.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Election Administration Six Years After Florida</u> David C. Kimball, <i>University of Missouri, St Louis</i> Martha Kropf, <i>University of North Carolina, Charlotte</i> Overview: We examine the impact of a local official's partisanship on residual votes nationwide. Since local officials have some discretion to implement elections, partisan officials may work to reduce residual votes in their jurisdiction.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Determinants of U.S. Votes in the Multilateral Development Banks</u> Jonathan R. Strand, <i>University of Nevada, Las Vegas</i> Overview: This paper uses a tobit model to determine the economic and political determinants of American votes in the multilateral development banks since 2004.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Linking Election Management with Election Outcomes</u> Thad Hall, <i>University of Utah</i> Overview: This paper examines how public management affects key election outcomes. Using Georgia and Texas, we consider how election management - the average number of poll workers per polling places and the average amount of precinct consolidation.</p>
Disc.	Douglas M. Stinnett , <i>University of Georgia</i>	Disc.	Michael P. McDonald , <i>George Mason University</i> Martha Kropf , <i>University of North Carolina, Charlotte</i>
21-13 Room Chair Paper	<p><u>THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF RACIAL STEREOTYPES</u> Salon 12, 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Fred Slocum, <i>Minnesota State University, Mankato</i> <u>Norm Violation and Race: A Functional Brain Imaging Study</u> Darren M. Schreiber, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Marco Iacoboni, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper uses functional brain imaging (fMRI) to explore the neural substrates underlying racial attitudes and norm violation.</p>	23-11 Room Chair Paper	<p><u>MINORITY MOBILIZATION IN CAMPAIGNS</u> PDR 5, 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Eric McDaniel, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> <u>Campaign Mobilization and Voting Behavior of Asian Americans</u> Taofang Huang, <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: The population of Asian American is rapidly growing. Understanding their voting behavior will help political elites to face this emerging force. This paper attempts to clarify the relationships among conditions and voting behavior of Asian Americans.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Implicit Measures, Explicit Choices: Subliminal Priming and Candidate Choice</u> Cindy D. Kam, <i>University of California, Davis</i> Overview: The paper discusses the results from three experiments, conducted in 2004-2006. I measure group attitudes using a subliminal priming task. I identify the the impact of implicit measures of racial and ethnic group attitudes on candidate choice.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Getting Out the Vote: Mobilization in U.S. Elections</u> Daniel Stevens, <i>Hartwick College</i> Overview: This paper examines biases in partisan and non-partisan mobilization efforts. I show that racial and ethnic minority voters are both less likely to be contacted by the major parties and, even when they are, to be contacted face-to-face.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Political Consequences of Phenotyping in the US and Mexico</u> Rosario Aguilar-Pariente, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: The paper explores, through experiments in lab-controlled environments, the effect of phenotyping (as the action of discriminating because of a person's phenotypes) on the evaluation of electoral candidates among Mexicans and Mexican Americans.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Changes in the Effects of Personal Contact Campaigns on Participation Inequality</u> Peter W. Wielhouwer, <i>Western Michigan University</i> Overview: Using the 1956-60 and 2000-04 ANES panel studies, I assess whether the effects of personal contact campaigning (1) have changed over time and (2) vary across socioeconomic strata.</p>
Disc.	Christopher M. Federico , <i>University of Minnesota</i>	Disc.	Ernest McGowen , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i>
22-13 Room Chair Paper	<p><u>ISSUES IN ELECTION ADMINISTRATION</u> Salon 8, 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Quin Monson, <i>Brigham Young University</i> <u>Embracing Change at the Polls: Election Administrators and the Provisional Ballot in 2004</u> Timothy Vercellotti, <i>Rutgers University</i> Overview: Using data from a national survey of 400 election administrators at the county and municipal levels, I find that officials in states that used provisional ballots for the first time in 2004 were less enthusiastic about implementing provisional voting.</p>	25-15 Room Chair Paper	<p><u>ADVANCES IN UNDERSTANDING RACE, GENDER AND PUBLIC OPINION</u> Salon 9, 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Jack Citrin, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> <u>Marriage, Work, Race, and the Politics of Parenthood</u> Steven Greene, <i>North Carolina State University</i> Laurel Elder, <i>Hartwick College</i> Overview: This paper explores how marriage, race, work, and gender interact with parental status to shape political attitudes and voting behavior. We examine how these factors affect men and women differently across a variety of issue domains.</p>
Paper	<p><u>Timing Effects of Voter Registration</u> Michael P. McDonald, <i>George Mason University</i> Overview: I analyze the timing of new voter registration applications to develop a profile of persons likely to be aided by Election Day Registration.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Gender Imagery and the Evaluation of Political Leaders</u> Nicholas J. G. Winter, <i>University of Virginia</i> Overview: This paper explores citizens' reactions to gendered campaign imagery. I argue that this sort of imagery manifests itself not as a gender gap, but rather in a polarization between gender traditionalists--both male and female--and gender egalitarians.</p>

Paper	<u>Activating, Mobilizing Race and Gender</u> Nancy Burns, <i>University of Michigan</i> Donald R. Kinder, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: We compare the activation for public opinion and the mobilization for political action of gender and race during the 2006 campaigns, drawing on the natural experiments offered up by differing political contexts.				coverage of politics. We explore the causes and consequences of this phenomenon. John W. Maynor, <i>Middle Tennessee State University</i>
Paper	<u>A Closer Look at Intergenerational Political Change</u> M. Kent Jennings, <i>University of California, Santa Barbara</i> Laura Stoker, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Overview: We evaluate three explanations for the emergence of generational differences in attitudes on race, gender, and tolerance: new political contexts that especially affect the young, generational changes in the level of proximate causal factors, and asymmetric.				
Disc.	Jack Citrin, <i>University of California, Berkeley</i> Erin E. O'Brien, <i>Kent State University</i>				
26-15	<u>YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS</u>				
Room	Clark 9, 7 th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am				
Chair	Paul Howe, <i>University of New Brunswick</i>				
Paper	<u>Young Voter Turnout: The Impact of Education Quality and Turnout Rates</u> Cassie A. Gross, <i>University of Missouri, St. Louis</i> Overview: It is clear that education levels affect voter turnout. This paper addresses to what degree, if any, the quality of education plays in the political socialization of young voters.				
Paper	<u>Growing Up Fast: Simulating Youth Participation in Presidential Elections</u> Matthew B. Incantalupo, <i>University of Miami</i> Overview: This paper employs Clarify simulations to gauge the effects of several independent variables on the predicted levels of political participation for voters under the age of 25. It finds that increasing resources stimulates youth civic participation.				
Paper	<u>How Much Declining Youth Turnout in America is Due to Immigration?</u> Zachary F. Cook, <i>DePaul University</i> Overview: Using different surveys, I estimate how much of the decline in American under-30 turnout may be due to a greater Hispanic percentage in recent generations.				
Paper	<u>Addressing Participation Woes by Strengthening Youth Party Identification</u> J. Cherie Strachan, <i>Central Michigan University</i> Christopher T. Owens, <i>Central Michigan University</i> Overview: This work draws on research outlining changes in the behavior of American party elites, as well as theories of persuasion, to develop a civic education intervention tailored to meet the needs of America's current cohort of 18-25 year olds.				
Disc.	Paul Howe, <i>University of New Brunswick</i> Jon K. Dalager, <i>Georgetown College</i>				
27-16	<u>CITIZENSHIP AND ENGAGEMENT</u>				
Room	Clark 1, 7 th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am				
Chair	Stephen Bennett, <i>University of Southern Indiana</i>				
Paper	<u>Critical Media Literacy as the Potential of Democratic Media Activism</u> Gooyong Kim, <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: This paper examines how critical media literacy can empower individuals to be active citizens of the information society.				
Paper	<u>Broadband for All? A Consensus Conference</u> Christopher F. Karpowitz, <i>Brigham Young University</i> Chad Raphael, <i>Santa Clara University</i> Allen Hammond, <i>Santa Clara University</i> Overview: This paper reports the results of one innovative attempt to promote civic engagement and democratic deliberation about the topic of municipal broadband policy and the digital divide.				
Paper	<u>Young Americans' Attention to Media Accounts of Politics</u> Stephen E. Bennett, <i>University of Southern Indiana</i> Staci L. Rhine, <i>Wittenberg University</i> Richard S. Flickinger, <i>Wittenberg University</i> Overview: Data from polls conducted for the "Times Mirror"/Pew Research Center show young people are turning away from media				
28-14	<u>POST-COMMUNISM MEETS GLOBALIZATION: TRANSNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF GENDER POLITICS IN EURASIA</u>				
Room	Clark 7, 7 th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am				
Chair	Linda Racioppi, <i>Michigan State University</i>				
Paper	<u>Transnational Dimensions of Gender Politics in Post-Communist Eurasia: Theoretical Considerations</u> Linda Racioppi, <i>Michigan State University</i> Katherine O'Sullivan, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: This paper offers an analytic framework for theorizing the interplay between transnational movements and organizations and local women's mobilization for gender equality.				
Paper	<u>Islam, Women's Agency and Community Politics in Tajikistan</u> Zulaikho Usmanova, <i>Khujand State University</i> Overview: Drawing on extensive ethnographic fieldwork done in Khujand area of Tajikistan, this paper examines the interface between transnational Islamic community formations and local community gender politics.				
Paper	<u>The European Union and Gender Politics in Central and Eastern Europe</u> Amanda Sloat, <i>National Democratic Institute</i> Overview: Based on data from an EU funded research project on women's participation in public life in ten CEE countries, this paper examines the effect of EU accession on women's status in Central and Eastern Europe.				
Paper	<u>Trafficking from the Former Soviet Union to Turkey for the Purposes of Sexual Exploitation</u> Onder Karakus, <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: Based on official statements made by trafficked victims and migrant sex workers now in Turkey, the paper identifies the problems that women in the former Soviet Union faced that lead to their marginalization and victimization.				
Disc.	Linda Racioppi, <i>Michigan State University</i>				
30-7	<u>ARISTOTLE</u>				
Room	Dearborn 1, 7 th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am				
Chair	Vittorio G. Hosle, <i>University of Notre Dame</i>				
Paper	<u>The Division of Regimes in Aristotle and the Eleatic Stranger</u> Kevin M. Cherry, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Overview: In Book IV, Aristotle critiques Plato's Eleatic Stranger for his division of regimes. I argue that Aristotle's analysis offers a solution to what the Eleatic takes to be the fundamental problem of political life.				
Paper	<u>How Aristotle's Understanding of Time Informs His Account of Human Action and Happiness</u> Daniel DiLeo, <i>Pennsylvania State University, Altoona</i> Overview: An investigation of the implications of Aristotle's understanding of time as enunciated in Physics IV, Chapters 10-14 for his theory of action as stated in De Anima and human conduct, as presented in Nicomachean Ethics.				
Paper	<u>Social Services, Population Control, and Individual Responsibility: Aristotle and the Problem of Poverty</u> Sharon K. Vaughan, <i>Morehouse College</i> Overview: I argue that Aristotle's treatment of poverty is innovative and sensible because he realizes that no one can live a decent or happy life without meeting certain needs. Contrary to Samuel Fleischacker's thesis, I show that the idea of redistributive justice.				
Disc.	Emily C. Nacol, <i>University of Chicago</i>				
32-15	<u>RELIGION AND POLITICAL THEORY</u>				
Room	LaSalle 1, 7 th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am				
Chair	Paul R. DeHart, <i>Lee University</i>				
Paper	<u>Transformations in the Family Values Spin: The Christian Right's Turn Toward Public Reason</u> Nathaniel J. Klemp, <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: This essay outlines a gradual shift in the rhetoric of the Christian right toward more public political arguments and				

	explores the implications that this shift holds for Rawls' theory of public reason.				
Paper	<u>The Role of Reason and Faith for Jefferson and Locke</u> Ted Ritter , <i>Furman University</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the role of faith and reason in the philosophies of Jefferson and Locke.		Paper	<u>Legislative Preferences Over Agendas</u> David Epstein , <i>Columbia University</i> Sharyn O'Halloran , <i>Columbia University</i> Michael Ting , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: We construct a theory of legislative preferences over agendas in a unidimensional policy space.	
Paper	<u>The Twilight of Probability: Locke, Bayle and the Toleration of Atheists</u> Alex Schulman , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: An examination of the contradictory attitudes of political philosophers John Locke and Pierre Bayle about the toleration of atheists, especially as this relates to shifting attitudes in the early Enlightenment toward the limits of knowledge and reason.		Disc.	Randall Calvert , <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i>	
Paper	<u>In Strauss' Athens, An Old City of Jerusalem</u> Gregory S. Weiner , <i>Georgetown University</i> Overview: Leo Strauss insisted that "philosophy is radically independent of faith," with faith defined as reliance on an unevident premise. But Natural Right and History is based on such a premise: Strauss' faith that the problem of natural right is solvable.		37-12	<u>POLITICAL PARTIES: A EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVE (Co-sponsored with European Politics, see 7-17)</u> Room LaSalle 2, 7 th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Chair Riccardo Pelizzo , <i>Singapore Management University</i> Paper <u>Measuring and Explaining Public Funding for Parties in Eastern Europe</u> Tatiana Kostadinova , <i>Florida International University</i> Denitza Bojinova , <i>University of Houston</i> Overview: Why do countries have different regimes of state involvement in political party finance? The paper constructs an index-measure of public funding of parties and tests a causal model of its determinants with data from Eastern Europe.	
Disc.	David J. Lorenzo , <i>Virginia Wesleyan College</i>		Paper	<u>Motivations of Party-Based Euro-Skepticism in Eastern Europe</u> Nicholas J. Clark , <i>Indiana University</i> Rebekah Tromble , <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: This paper examines Euro-skepticism in Eastern European political parties. While the literature generally argues for either strategic considerations or ideology, this paper finds that both variables motivate positions on the European Union.	
33-13	<u>DOES EQUALITY REQUIRE EQUAL TREATMENT?</u> Room Dearborn 2, 7 th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Chair Peter M. Lindsay , <i>Georgia State University</i> Paper <u>In Pursuit of Political Equality: Selection of Legislators by Lottery</u> Joel M. Parker , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: Political equality is impossible when selection of representatives is conducted by election. Accordingly, I propose a unicameral legislative branch, selected at random from the entire adult citizenry.		Paper	<u>Assessing the Consequences of Extreme Parties in Western Europe</u> Jason M. Smith , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: This paper examines the effects of extreme parties on the party systems of Western Europe. More specifically, it is argued that the success of extreme parties on both sides of the political spectrum have affected both the number of viable parties.	
Paper	<u>Can Deliberative Democracy Overcome Inequalities in Epistemological Authority?</u> Jason L. Pierce , <i>University of Dayton</i> Overview: Critics of deliberative democracy argue that inequalities in epistemological authority plague deliberations. This paper presents data showing that rules can be imposed to overcome this hurdle and to foster more effective deliberation.		.Paper	<u>Candidate Prestige and Voting Behavior in European Parliament Elections</u> Bjorn Hoyland , <i>University of Oslo</i> Sara Hobolt , <i>University of Oxford</i> Overview: This paper investigates the link between costly campaign effort, electoral behavior and candidate activity in European Parliament elections.	
Disc.	Peter M. Lindsay , <i>Georgia State University</i>		Disc.	Riccardo Pelizzo , <i>Singapore Management University</i>	
34-11	<u>LEGISLATIVE POLITICS</u> Room Salon 7, 3 rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Chair Keith L. Dougherty , <i>University of Georgia</i> Paper <u>A Dynamic Model of Legislative Bargaining</u> Tasos Kalandrakis , <i>University of Rochester</i> John Duggan , <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: We prove existence of stationary Markov perfect equilibria in an infinite-horizon model of legislative bargaining in which the policy outcome in one period determines the status quo in the next.		39-12	<u>SPECIAL RULES IN THE HOUSE: CONTENT AND CONSEQUENCES</u> Room Montrose 1, 7 th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Chair Gisela Sin , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Paper <u>The Consequences of Legislative Rules Restricting Floor Debate</u> Scott Cody , <i>St. Louis Community College, Meramec</i> Overview: Using derivations of Krehbiel's pivotal politics model, different types of cloture rules are compared to determine their effects on legislative outcomes. Empirical analysis is conducted using data from state senates.	
Paper	<u>Political Representation Under Alternative Electoral Systems</u> Seok-ju Cho , <i>Yale University</i> Insun Kang , <i>Duke University</i> Overview: We compare political representation under the proportional representation system and the single member district system by developing formal models of elections and legislative votes.		Paper	<u>Iron Fist or Velvet Glove? An Over-Time Analysis of Rules in the U.S. House</u> J. Mark Wrighton , <i>University of New Hampshire</i> John E. Owens , <i>University of Westminster</i> Overview: This paper seeks to explain variations over time in House rules restrictiveness. Using data from the 79th to 105th Congresses, it assesses the impact of effective majority size, party cohesiveness, and ideological distance from the chamber mean.	
Paper	<u>Sequential Committees</u> Matias Iaryczower , <i>California Institute of Technology</i> Overview: A fairly common collective decision-making mechanism requires the sequential approval of several committees: a proposal is pitted against the status quo in one committee, and only upon its approval advances for consideration in a second committee.		Paper	<u>Transparency of Congress: Important Legislation Hidden in Procedural Votes</u> Milena I. Neshkova , <i>Indiana University</i> Evan J. Ringquist , <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: We assess transparency of Congress in six different policy areas by examining how often and under what conditions significant legislation (key votes identified by interest groups) appear in form of procedural votes, breaking traceability chain.	

Disc.	Gisela Sin , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Jacob R. Straus , <i>Frostburg State University</i>	Paper	<u>The Effect of Understanding Webster and Stanford on Public Opinion</u> Michael Unger , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: This paper investigates the effect of understanding Webster v. Reproductive Services and Stanford v. Kentucky on abortion and death penalty attitudes. I also compare the effect of receiving the Court's message to that of other political elites.
39-23	<u>THE EFFECTS OF INSTITUTIONS AND RULES ON STATE AND LOCAL POLITICS</u> Montrose 2, 7 th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am James S. Battista , <i>University of North Texas</i> <u>The Effect of Local Initiatives on Government Spending</u> David M. Primo , <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: I explore formally and empirically whether cities and other local governments permitting initiatives generate systematically different spending patterns compared with those areas where residents are not permitted to vote on policy matters directly.	Paper	<u>Full Court Press: An Examination of Media Coverage of State Supreme Courts</u> Alixandra B. Yanus , <i>University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill</i> Overview: This paper examines how a variety of characteristics affect news coverage of state supreme courts. I find that case facts are important determinants of news coverage, but their effects vary over institutional structures and political environments.
Paper	<u>Amateurs, Professionals, and Policymaking in State Legislatures: What Shapes the Supply of Legislative Demands?</u> Thad B. Kousser , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Gerald Gamm , <i>University of Rochester</i> Overview: We examine the relationship between careerism and policymaking: Do those with shorter or part-time careers focus more on providing targeted benefits for their districts, or does a weaker electoral connection free them to pursue the common good?	Disc.	Joseph D. Ura , <i>Louisiana State University</i> Stephanie A. Maruska , <i>Ohio State University</i>
Paper	<u>Toward an Ambition Theory of Legislative Organization</u> Gregory Robinson , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: This paper presents a theory that views Mayhew's electoral connection as a special case of ambition theory, arguing that the relative importance of different types of political ambition is conditional on electoral context.	42-10	<u>CONSTITUTIONAL MOMENTS, UNENUMERATED RIGHTS AND THE SHAPE OF JUDICIAL POWER</u> Clark 5, 7 th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Francis J. Carleton , <i>University of Wisconsin, Green Bay</i> <u>Explaining Both Sides of the Rehnquist Court's Federalism Agenda</u> Bradley W. Joondeph , <i>Santa Clara University</i> Overview: Using a regime politics approach, this paper seeks to explain the apparently inconsistent commitments to state autonomy latent in the voting records of the five justices who were responsible for the Rehnquist Court's "federalism revolution."
Paper	<u>The Impact of Immigrants on Apportionment of State Legislatures</u> Francisco I. Pedraza , <i>University of Washington</i> Overview: This paper explores the consequences of the apportionment formula and definitions of apportionment population on seat allocation of state legislatures.	Paper	<u>Consensus-Building Judicial Review and the Counter-Majoritarian Difficulty</u> David A. Lewis , <i>Frostburg State University</i> Overview: I develop criteria to determine when the protection of unenumerated constitutional rights may be characterized as consensus-building. I argue that most of the Court's "substantive due process" decisions are reconcilable with democratic norms.
Paper	<u>Krehbiel's Pivotal Politics Model Tested in the North Carolina State Senate</u> Carolyn A. Hanaway-Benjamin , <i>North Carolina State University</i> Overview: Krehbiel claims that the presidential veto is responsible for the larger than minimum-majority winning coalitions. This study uses data from the North Carolina State Senate to examine the importance of the veto and coalition size.	Paper	<u>Judicial 'Piggy-Backing': A Political Regimes Approach to Judicial Power</u> Curtis W. Nichols , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: A political regimes approach is used to explore and model the conditions which favor the growth of judicial power in the United States. Court affiliation and regime resiliency are found to contribute most significantly to judicial 'piggy-backing.'
Disc.	David M. Primo , <i>University of Rochester</i> James S. Battista , <i>University of North Texas</i>	Paper	<u>Shaking Off the Shackles of Lochner: The New Extra-Constitutionalism</u> Gwen Torges , <i>Indiana University of Pennsylvania</i> Overview: Lawrence v. Texas signifies a new era in which the Court has at last overcome the fear of Lochner-era criticisms, and has embraced an extra-constitutional philosophy (a Millsian "no-harm" approach) to guide and shape its exercise of judicial review.
41-14	<u>COURTS AND PUBLIC OPINION I: MEDIA COVERAGE AND ISSUE ATTITUDES</u> Burnham 1, 7 th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Rorie L. Solberg , <i>Oregon State University</i> <u>Understanding the Relationship Between Issue Salience and Public Opinion Change</u> Danette Brickman , <i>City University of New York</i> Belinda Bragg , <i>Rowan University</i> Overview: In an experimental design we examine the ability of the Supreme Court to bring about attitude change on salient and non-salient issues. We find that attitude change is less likely on issues that tap core beliefs and are personally important.	Paper	<u>Alexander Bickel's Misinterpretation of James Bradley Thayer's Standard</u> Jeffrey H. Anderson , <i>United States Air Force Academy</i> Overview: In an early Harvard Law Review, James Bradley Thayer attempted to elucidate the appropriate standard for exercising judicial review. His fine standard merits rediscovery but must first be disentangled from its misinterpretation by Alexander Bickel.
Paper	<u>All the News That's Fit to Print? Case Salience and The New York Times</u> Jennifer A. Cooper , <i>Emory University</i> Overview: Epstein and Segal's popular measure of issue salience in U.S. Supreme Court cases focuses on front-page coverage of the cases in The New York Times. I identify and evaluate a potential source of bias in this measure.	Disc.	Dennis J. Goldford , <i>Drake University</i>
Paper	<u>Tilting at Windmills</u> Maxwell H. Mak , <i>Stony Brook University</i> Andrew O'Geen , <i>Stony Brook University</i> Overview: This paper seeks to accurately test the influence of public opinion on Supreme Court decision-making by utilizing a new measure that accounts for the dimension of public sentiment most likely to affect judicial preferences.	45-10	<u>ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICY</u> Burnham 4, 7 th Floor, Sun at 8:00 am Moon-Gi Jeong , <i>University of Texas, San Antonio</i> <u>Economic Development and Ethics: The Role of the Justice Principles of Urban Officials</u> Paul D. Schumaker , <i>University of Kansas</i> Marisa S. Kelly , <i>St. Thomas University</i> Overview: This paper explores the ethical principles that elected officials in 12 cities bring to bear on economic development issues, the extent to which various principles are reflected in their positions on economic development proposals.

Paper **Saving Downtown Fargo and Moorhead: The Urban Regimes of Midwestern Cities**
Nicholas G. Bauroth, *North Dakota State University*
 Overview: The downtowns of Fargo, ND and Moorhead, MN face similar issues. While Fargo encouraged development with subsidies, Moorhead tried historical preservation. Fargo's plans were rejected by its voters. These results are studied using regime theory.

Paper **Urban Redevelopment: Cooperation and Conflict in Brownfield Redevelopment**
Dorothy M. Daley, *University of Kansas*
 Overview: The paper examines the structure and density of cooperative and conflict laden networks among local level decision makers who work in Brownfield redevelopment.

Paper **Regimes, Agendas, and Strategic Rhetoric in Seattle's Sports Stadium Debate**
Joshua Sapotichne, *University of Washington*
 Overview: Through content analysis of elite communications in editorial and op-ed articles and interviews, this paper looks at two Seattle sports stadium initiative campaigns to analyze specific rhetorical strategies employed by pro- and antistadium interests.

Disc. **Moon-Gi Jeong**, *University of Texas, San Antonio*

50-16 **DETERMINANTS OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION**
Room PDR 7, 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am
Chair **Susan W. Yackee**, *University of Southern California*
Paper **Election Administration Bodies and Implementation Tools**
Vassia Gueorguieva, *American University*
 Overview: Policy implementation tools available to the Election Assistance Commission and the Federal Election Commission and their compatibility with agency structure and target population as well as effectiveness for achieving statutory goals.

Paper **Street-Level Bureaucrats' Professional Norms: Testing Competing Hypotheses**
Amy E. Lerman, *University of California, Berkeley*
 Overview: Using original data on 6,000 Correctional Officers, I test competing hypotheses about street-level bureaucrats' professional norms: Do individual (e.g. tenure) or institutional (e.g. resources) characteristics determine support for rehabilitation?

Paper **Creating Jobs, Creating Wealth: How Did the Experts Overlook the Obvious?**
Rose Makano, *University of Missouri, St. Louis*
 Overview: This paper explores the nexus between public administration and policy implementation on natural resource management in a developing nation. It discusses how and why government policy initiatives failed to alleviate poverty through forestry.

Paper **Discretion Revisited: Explaining the Influences on Perceptions of Rules and Judgment at the Street-Level**
Zachary Oberfield, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*
 Overview: What influences perceptions of discretion at government's frontlines? Contrary to work in the street-level bureaucracy literature, this paper finds that two state-level factors appear to be more substantively influential than management factors.

Paper **Corruption and Policy Implementation in the Philippine Department of Education**
Vicente C. Reyes, *Centre for Research in Pedagogy and Practice-National Institute of Education*
 Overview: In the pursuit of the Philippines to achieve development, corruption has been a perennial obstacle. This paper addresses political scientists and area studies specialists interested in comprehending implementation within a setting of widespread corruption.

Disc. **Susan Yackee**, *University of Southern California*

53-10 **ISLAM AND DEMOCRACY**
Room PDR 6, 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am
Chair **Marcie Patton**, *Fairfield University*
Paper **Liberal Democracy and Islam: An Analysis of a Conflicting Cultural Reality**
Aluko S. Folorunso, *Adekunle Ajasin University*
 Overview: This paper analyses the crises attendant on the clash between liberal democracy and Islam and how the contradictions generated have fueled the growth of Islam in its petulance and resistance in the last two decades.

Paper **Does Civil Society Create Democracy: the State, CSOs, and Villagers in Rural Indonesia**
Takeshi Ito, *Yale University*
 Overview: This paper explains the manifestation of local strongmen in post-Suharto Indonesia. It shows that local strongmen have emerged in the local process of democratization owing to their close links to the state rather than complete separation from it.

Paper **Religious Extremism and De-secularization of State: Role of Urban Civil Society in Bangladesh**
Shantanu Majumder, *University of London*
 Overview: Despite the limitations in understanding modernity and secularism, the Urban Civil Society (UCS) in Bangladesh with its intellectual quality and organizational ability is the only visible force that can fight the growth of religious orthodoxy.

Disc. **Marcie Patton**, *Fairfield University*

58-2 **POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND PHILOSOPHIC HISTORIANS**
Room PDR 8, 3rd Floor, Sun at 8:00 am
Chair **Robert Phillips**, *Wheeling Jesuit University*
Paper **Socratic Political History: Xenophon's Response to Thucydides**
Bernard J. Dobski, *Assumption College*
 Overview: Xenophon's Hellenika shows how a student of Socrates responds to Thucydides' study of political life in the wake of his own Socratic education. Xenophon's work allows us to see more clearly the History's relevance for philosophy.

Paper **Friendship Among Men and Nations in Xenophon's Memorabilia and Hellenica**
Matthew S. Brunner, *Northern Illinois University*
 Overview: This essay uses both Memorabilia and Hellenica to further our understanding of Xenophonic friendship as a whole, and attempts to show that one must consider Xenophon's "Socratic" writings in order to fully understand his "non-Socratic" writings.

Paper **Was Socrates a Cosmian?: Plutarch's Socratic Cosmopolitanism**
Fonna Forman-Barzilai, *University of California, San Diego*
 Overview: Here I reflect on Plutarch's claim in "On Exile" that Socrates is the finest example of a "Cosmian", a citizen of the world, and consider the implications of this Plutarchian understanding of cosmopolitanism for contemporary thought.

Disc. **Robert Phillips**, *Wheeling Jesuit University*
Susan Collins, *University of Houston*

Sunday, April 15 – 9:50 am – 11:25 am

1-116 ROUNDTABLE: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL LAW (Co-sponsored with International Cooperation and Organization and International Law, see 19-101 and 43-101)

Room Red Lacquer, 4th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am
Panelist **Duncan Snidal**, *University of Chicago*

Eric Posner, *University of Chicago*
Beth Simmons, *Harvard University*
Gregory Shaffer, *Loyola University, Chicago*
Karen Alter, *Northwestern University*

Overview: This roundtable examines the intersection of international law (IL) and international relations (IR). It highlights the remarkable interdisciplinary progress made recently. It identifies key research questions facing the growing IL-IR scholarship.

2-10 ECONOMICS, INSTITUTIONS, AND ELECTORAL OUTCOMES

Room Salon 1, 3rd Floor, Sun at 9:50 am
Chair **Michael Lewis-Beck**, *University of Iowa*

Paper **Bubbling Under: Political Preferences During Asset Bubbles**
Ben W. Ansell, *University of Minnesota*
Jane R. Gingrich, *University of California, Berkeley*

Overview: The past decade in advanced industrial countries has seen asset bubbles in the stock market and the housing market. This project explores how these bubbles have affected political preferences over pensions, inflation, and social insurance.

Paper **Voting Patterns in Federal Countries: The Case of Spain**
Carolina G. de Miguel, *University of Michigan*

Overview: This paper aims at getting a better understanding of voting behavior in federal countries. The goal is to explore, through the case of Spain, if and how voters in federal countries use the vertical division of power.

Paper **Clarity, Context and Signaling: Economic Voting for Political Parties**

Lucy M. Goodhart, *Columbia University*

Overview: Following a suggestion in the original article by Powell and Whitten (1993), I test whether there is a robust relationship between the economy and the vote for individual political parties in a coalition government.

Paper **Economic Voting in New Zealand Before and After the Electoral System Reform**

Erik R. Tillman, *University of Nebraska, Lincoln*

Overview: Both the strength and nature of economic voting in New Zealand changed after the electoral system reform.

Disc. **Michael Lewis-Beck**, *University of Iowa*

Markus Tepe, *Free University, Berlin/Yale University*

3-15 PARTIES AND ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

Room Salon 2, 3rd Floor, Sun at 9:50 am
Chair **Scott Desposato**, *University of California, San Diego*
Paper **Determinants of Public Venture Capital Flows in Postcommunist States**

Eric A. Booth, *Texas Tech University*
Joseph W. Robbins, *Texas Tech University*

Overview: Recently, studies have examined campaign finance effects in Postcommunist states but multiple issues persist. This study uses a two-stage model to first examine the conditions which promote the implementation of finance reforms, and then we examine their results.

Paper **Democratic Backlash? Revisiting Competing Explanations for the 1977 Post-Emergency Electoral Verdict in India**

Malte Pehl, *University of Heidelberg*

Overview: The paper aims at evaluation of competing explanations for the 1977 post-emergency election in India. Unlike many accounts, it finds that electoral strategy contributed as much to a defeat of the Congress Party as did frustration with the emergency.

Paper **Electoral System Choice in New Democracies: A Case Study of the Korean System**

Jae-Hyeok Shin, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: This paper aims to explain the choice of Korean electoral system in 1988, as an example of the electoral system choice in new democracies, by analyzing the political and institutional setting from the perspective of “nested game.”

Paper **The Transformation of the Kuomintang after Democratization**

Ketty W. Chen, *University of Oklahoma*

Overview: This paper discusses the transformation of the Kuomintang's party identity and the factors contributing to the party's electoral success after Taiwan's democratization.

Disc. **Scott Desposato**, *University of California, San Diego*

4-16 PARTIES, ELECTIONS, AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN MEXICO

Room PDR 4, 3rd Floor, Sun at 9:50 am

Chair **Joseph L. Klesner**, *Kenyon College*

Paper **The Concept of Electoral Fairness in Democratic Elections**
Alejandro Poiré, *Harvard University*

Overview: The paper advances a conceptualization of electoral fairness in terms of its component dimensions, and presents an application to the Mexican 2006 presidential election.

Paper **Political Discourse in the 2006 Mexican Presidential Campaign**

Chappell Lawson, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Overview: Comparing candidate speeches, TV ads, party platforms, and TV news coverage, I find that each information stream obeyed a separate logic, thus not converging around any one issue and instead focusing voters' choices on candidate traits and images.

Paper **Social Capital and Political Participation in Post-Transition**
Joseph L. Klesner, *Kenyon College*

Overview: Using survey evidence the paper tracks four major participant types in post-transition Mexico—non-participant, electoral specialists, ordinary participants, and activists—to assess the role of social capital in promoting participation.

Paper **Political Recruitment in a Consolidating Democracy: The Case of Mexico**

Joy Langston, *Centro de Investigacion y Docencia Economicas*

Overview: This study uses the career backgrounds of 950 federal deputies from the nation's three major parties to understand political ambition in a two-tiered (majority and proportional representation) electoral system that prohibits consecutive reelection.

Paper **El Poder del Peje: Crisis and Perceptions of Charisma in the 2006 Mexican Election**

Jennifer L. Merolla, *Claremont Graduate University*

Elizabeth J. Zechmeister, *University of California, Davis*

Overview: We assert that economic and political insecurities lead individuals to project relatively greater levels of leadership capacity and charisma onto likely political leaders. We test this argument using survey data from the 2006 Mexican election and multivariate analyses.

Disc. **Carole J. Wilson**, *University of Texas, Dallas*

5-8 LEGISLATIVE ORGANIZATION

Room Salon 4, 3rd Floor, Sun at 9:50 am

Chair **Monika Nalepa**, *Harvard University*

Paper **Decrees or Statutes? Choice of Legislative Instruments in Latin America**

Valeria Palanza, *Princeton University*

Overview: The choice of legislative instruments is modeled as a function of the constitutional rules guiding the process and the resources available to agents interested in policy change. I test predictions using data from Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru.

Paper **The Effects of Cosponsorship Networks on Legislative Success in Taiwan Legislature**

Cheng-Lung Wang, *National University of Singapore*

Ying Yang, *National University of Singapore*

Wai Yuk Chan, *National University of Singapore*

Overview: We examine the impact of legislative networks on bill success in Taiwan. Our results suggest important effects of cosponsorship network on legislative success. Those network effects are robust even controlling other institutional factors.

Paper **National Legislatures and the European Union's Democratic Deficit**

Ivy Hamerly, *Baylor University*

Overview: This paper shows that the more recently a country joined the European Union, the more politically controlling its legislature's European Affairs Committee is likely to be.

Paper **Governments and Central Banks in Emerging Markets: What Brings the Autonomy?**

Ilke Civelekoglu, *University of Virginia*

Overview: In this paper I will argue that institutional change in the status of CB in emerging markets is contingent upon 1- the degree of distributional conflicts arising from the liberalization process, and 2-the party system of the country in question.

Disc. **Monika Nalepa**, *Harvard University*

Kirsten K. Loutzenhiser, *Barry University*

6-8 **POLITICS AND PUBLIC OPINION IN AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES**

Room Sandburg 7, 7th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am

Chair **Elizabeth Stein**, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Paper **The Logic of Political Survival in Authoritarian Regimes**

Stan Hok-Wui Wong, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: I argue that there exist two general methods for political survival in authoritarian regimes: (a) regime personalization and (b) regime bureaucratization. I further argue that the choice of method affects the course of regime evolution.

Paper **Accounting for Political Support in Reforming China**

Huisheng Shou, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Overview: In contrast to the common expectation on the role of economic variables in shaping individuals' political attitudes, this study shows that nationalism stands out as the most salient variable influencing political support in contemporary China.

Paper **Causal Effects of West German Media on East Germans' Political Attitudes**

Holger L. Kern, *Cornell University*

Overview: We exploit a natural experiment to estimate the causal effect of West German media on East Germans' support for the Communist regime.

Paper **The Dynamic Relationship of Elites, Media and Public Opinion During Political Liberalization**

Elizabeth A. Stein, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Overview: I explore the movement of public opinion as authoritarian regimes liberalize. As censorship ends, new voices are heard and public opinion diverges ideologically while generally moving toward the opposition's positions.

Disc. **Karl Kaltenthaler**, *University of Akron*

7-5 **POLITICAL PARTIES AND EUROPEAN POLICY**

Room Sandburg 6, 7th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am

Chair **Jae-Jae M. Spoon**, *University of Iowa*

Paper **Barriers to Rent-Seeking Activities: Police-Patrol or Fire-Alarm Oversight**

Yoshikuni Ono, *University of Michigan*

Anna Grzymala-Busse, *University of Michigan*

Overview: Individual legislators do not necessarily prefer fire-alarm oversight to police-patrol even if it is more efficient. We demonstrate the threat of replacement in office motivates them to use fire-alarm, and thus reduces their rent-seeking activities.

Paper **National Parties as European Alternatives in the European Elections**

JeongHun Han, *University of Rochester*

Overview: This article challenges the dominance of the 'Second-Order Model' in studies of European elections, and shows the potential that European voter choices of parties function as

instruments of assessing ex-post accountability for MEPs' voting records.

Paper **Examining the Effect of Shifts in EU Party Position on Intra-Party Dissent**

Erica E. Edwards, *University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*

Overview: Drawing on previous research on the dynamics of parties' policy positions and using expert survey data on European integration, this paper develops and tests a model linking intra-party dissent over European integration to changes in party positions.

Paper **Remeasuring Left-Right: A New Model of Left-Right Party Placements**

Ryan S. Bakker, *University of Oxford*

Overview: There are several sources of data used to place parties on a left-right dimension. By combining these sources through a multi-trait multi-method (MTMM) model, we can improve both the reliability and validity of these placements.

Paper **Europe's Economic Policymaking: Political Discourse vs. Economic Reality**

Kenneth S. Donahue, *University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign*

Thierry Warin, *Middlebury College*

Overview: In the European taxation policy context, the authors confront the notions of political discourse and policymaking before and after national elections. They come to the conclusion that the discourse matters more than the actual implemented tax policy.

Disc. **Jae-Jae M. Spoon**, *University of Iowa*

8-17 **POLITICAL ECONOMY IN LATIN AMERICA**

Room Sandburg 5, 7th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am

Chair **Ronald E. Ahnen**, *St. Mary's College of California*

Paper **Micro-Credit and the Prospects of Poverty Alleviation in Lula's Government**

Ronald E. Ahnen, *St. Mary's College of California*

Overview: Examines the politics of the development, adoption, and implementation of micro-credit programs that began in 2004 in Brazil under President Lula.

Paper **Coca, Guns and Growth: A Sub-National Analysis of Peru 1980-2000**

Jennifer S. Holmes, *University of Texas, Dallas*

Sheila Amin Gutiérrez de Piñeres, *University of Texas, Dallas*

Overview: We examine the effects of coca production and violence on both disaggregated exports and sectoral GDP. The analysis, based on a new sub-national dataset, covers 1980-2000 in Peru and utilizes econometric techniques.

Paper **Neoliberalism and the Quality of Democracy in Chile, Argentina and Mexico**

Paul W. Posner, *Clark University*

Overview: In order to assess neoliberalism's impact on the quality of democracy in Chile, Argentina and Mexico, this paper compares the impact of their respective neoliberal reforms on the popular sectors' capacity and propensity for collective action.

Paper **Globalization and Gender in Nicaragua**

Lara A. Roemer, *University of Illinois, Springfield*

Noah Siegel, *University of Illinois, Springfield*

Samantha Drews, *University of Illinois, Springfield*

Wesley King, *University of Illinois, Springfield*

Overview: Our paper examines the effects of globalization in modern day Nicaragua, on both the national and individual level. We specifically focus on the social, political and environmental impacts globalization has had on labor.

Disc. **David Brown**, *University of Colorado*

12-4 **ELECTIONS, PARTIES AND PRIME MINISTERS IN CANADIAN DEMOCRACY**

Room Sandburg 4, 7th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am

Chair **Joanna Everitt**, *University of New Brunswick, St. John*

Paper **An Undemocratic Democracy? A Look at Canada's Electoral System**

Jeannette Trac, *York University*

Overview: The issue of electoral systems, and ultimately electoral reform, are important to examine because choosing an electoral

	system is one of the most important institutional decisions for any democracy.		
Paper	<u>Choosing a Canadian Prime Minister under a Minority House</u> Donald A. Desserud , <i>University of New Brunswick, Saint John</i> Overview: Paper assesses the constitutional basis of the prime ministerial appointment process as it occurs under minority situations (in Canada), and seeks to provide some clarity to the study of parliamentary constitutional conventions.	Paper	<u>Territorial Contraction: The German Case</u> Boaz Atzili , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: The paper analyzes the reasons and politics of Germany's acceptance of its post World War II borders. It argues that a combination of international norms and domestic political process, and not U.S. pressure, led to this important development.
Paper	<u>Party Switching in Canada, 1867-2006</u> Matthew Kerby , <i>Trinity College, Dublin</i> Overview: An event history model is used to systematically analyze party switching in the Canadian House of Commons for the period 1867-2006.	Paper	<u>Positivist Legal Theory, Legal Imperialism, and Sovereignty</u> Turan Kayaoglu , <i>University of Washington, Tacoma</i> Overview: Rejecting the hypothesis to locate sovereignty with Westphalia, this paper traces the emergence of sovereignty to two nineteenth century developments: the dominance of the positivist legal theory and European imperialism.
Paper	<u>The Bloc Quebecois as a Party in Parliament</u> James I. Cairns , <i>Ryerson/York University</i> Overview: Taking a new approach to the Bloc Quebecois—one that goes beyond traditional concerns with the party's separatist agenda—this is a study of the BQ as a party in Canada's Parliament.	Paper	<u>The Western Sahara Conflict and the Failure of the Self-Determination Discourse</u> Mohamed Daadaoui , <i>University of Oklahoma</i> Overview: Using the Western Sahara conflict as a case study, the current research examines the interplay between power, conflict resolution and modern self-determination discourse in its two broad categories: classical and secessionist.
Disc.	Joanna Everitt , <i>University of New Brunswick, St. John</i>	Disc.	Nathan A. Paxton , <i>Harvard University</i>
14-2	<u>THE DOMESTIC POLITICS OF FOREIGN AID AT HOME AND ABROAD</u>	16-5	<u>INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS</u>
Room	Sandburg 2, 7 th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am	Room	Salon 6, 3 rd Floor, Sun at 9:50 am
Chair	Matthew S. Winters , <i>Columbia University</i>	Chair	Stephen M. Hill , <i>University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire</i>
Paper	<u>Whither the Internationalist Coalition in American Foreign Policy? The Domestic Politics of International Trade and Foreign Aid Policy, 1980-2006</u> Helen V. Milner , <i>Princeton University</i> Dustin H. Tingley , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: We demonstrate how domestic political coalitions, both organized and unorganized, influence Congressional voting on trade and aid policy. We directly compare how different coalitions coalesce around trade to those in aid policy.	Paper	<u>Defining the Moral Hazard Problem in Humanitarian Interventions</u> Vincent A. Auger , <i>Western Illinois University</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the danger of "moral hazard" in humanitarian interventions and develops criteria for understanding the conditions under which the moral hazard problem may be particularly salient.
Paper	<u>Political Institutional Determinants of Foreign Aid</u> Yu-Sung Su , <i>City University of New York</i> Overview: Aid always comes with conditions. What then are the political determinants of foreign aid? This paper suggests that mixed regime types will receive more aid because such regimes have weaker institutional constraints on decision makers.	Paper	<u>Resistance, Local Relations, and Patterns of Ethnic Cleansing</u> Zeynep Bulutgil , <i>University of Chicago</i> Overview: The paper asks why different villages in the Prijedor municipality of Bosnia-Herzegovina experienced different levels of violence during the ethnic cleansing campaign between 1992 and 1995.
Paper	<u>Factors Influencing the Degree of Capture in World Bank Programs</u> Matthew S. Winters , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: This paper presents newly collected data regarding the capture of funds in World Bank projects and assesses the domestic political factors that might contribute to more or less capture.	Disc.	Chad Rector , <i>George Washington University</i>
Paper	<u>Foreign Aid and Democratization in Authoritarian Regimes</u> Joseph Wright , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: Using a multinomial logit model of authoritarian regime transition on all regimes from 1960-2004, I show that aid increases the likelihood of democratization in countries where (authoritarian) rulers are likely to win multiparty elections.	17-16	<u>CIVIL WAR -- NON-COMBATANTS</u>
Disc.	Jennifer Tobin , <i>Nuffield College, Oxford University</i>	Room	Sandburg 8, 7 th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am
15-16	<u>SOCIAL AND COMMUNICATIVE ACTION THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS</u>	Chair	Aysegul Aydin , <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i>
Room	Salon 5, 3 rd Floor, Sun at 9:50 am	Paper	<u>Rebels, Refugees and War: The Militarization of Refugee Camps and Its Implications for the Delivery of Humanitarian Assistance in Times of War</u> Sue J. Nahm , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: My research explains the causes of militarization of refugee and IDP settlements in Africa. I argue that militarization is the result of tactics rebel groups use to wage asymmetric wars against state adversaries.
Chair	Nathan A. Paxton , <i>Harvard University</i>	Paper	<u>Forced Migration, Media and Violence in International Crises, 1945-2002</u> Hemda Benyehuda PhD , <i>Bar Ilan University</i> Rami Goldstein , <i>Ramat Gan</i> Overview: Ongoing armed political conflicts, ethnic clashes, and civil wars, have caused vast forced migration and have given rise to mass displacements and large scale influx situations all over the world.
Paper	<u>Socializing China, Legitimizing the Regime: How China's Regime Became Secure</u> Jing Tao , <i>Cornell University</i> Overview: This paper examines how the increase of international legitimacy reinforces the security of China's regime domestically, and how Chinese government actively influence the timing, pace, issue areas and the process of being socialized.	Paper	<u>Violence Against Civilians in Civil Wars. The Spanish Case</u> Francisco Herreros , <i>Spanish National Research Council</i> Henar Criado , <i>University Complutense</i> Overview: The aim of the paper is the explanation of the variation of patterns of violence against civilians in civil wars. We will use data of political violence in Spanish regions in 1936-39 in a cross-regional comparative quantitative analysis.
Paper	<u>From Economic Nationalism to Neoliberalism: Explaining ANC Economic Ideas</u> Derick A. Becker , <i>University of Connecticut</i> Overview: This paper examines the role of communicative interaction in explaining the development of ANC economic policy during the transition to democracy.		

Paper	<u>Explaining Violence against Civilians in Civil War</u> Jessica A. Stanton , <i>Columbia University</i> Overview: This paper seeks to explain why some rebel groups deliberately attack civilians during civil war, while other groups refrain from targeting civilians, complying with the norms of noncombatant immunity codified in international humanitarian law.	22-102	<u>ROUNDTABLE: THE FUTURE OF ELECTION STUDIES: COOPERATIVE ONLINE SURVEY RESEARCH</u> Adams, 6 th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am Stephen D. Ansolabehere , <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Douglas Rivers , <i>Stanford University</i> Lynn Vavreck , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Donald Kinder , <i>University of Michigan</i> Wendy Rahn , <i>University of Minnesota</i> Gary Jacobson , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: This roundtable will discuss findings from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study, a two-wave web survey that interviewed over 35,000 respondents before and after the November 2006 Congressional election.
Disc.	Christopher Sprecher , <i>Texas A&M University</i>	Room	
20-7	<u>ECONOMICS AND ETHNICITY: SOURCES OF CONFLICT AND COOPERATION</u> Salon 7, 3 rd Floor, Sun at 9:50 am Mahendra Lawoti , <i>Western Michigan University</i> State Withdrawal and Ethnic (De)mobilization Stephen Bloom , <i>Southern Illinois University</i> Overview: This paper tests the relationship between the withdrawal of the state and instances of ethnic conflict, using existing datasets on ethnic conflict and economic liberalization.	Panelist	
Room		24-9	<u>ELECTORAL SYSTEMS AND VOTER MOTIVATION</u> Salon 8, 3 rd Floor, Sun at 9:50 am Jean-Francois Godbout , <i>Northwestern University</i> Separation of Powers and Turnout Charles R. Shipan , <i>University of Michigan</i> Rebecca B. Morton , <i>New York University</i> Melanie J. Springer , <i>Washington University, St Louis</i> Overview: We examine whether the variation in the institutional structure of the U.S. states influences turnout. Our comparative assessment focuses on differences in budgetary, appointment, and veto powers, and whether these differences affect levels of turnout.
Chair		Room	
Paper	<u>An Experimental Study of Ethnicity and Public Goods Contribution</u> Christia Fontini , <i>Harvard University</i> Marcus Alexander , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: A quasi-natural field n-person public goods experiment to assess the role of ethnic diversity and institutions in people's propensity to cooperate with each other in ethnically diverse post conflict societies.	Chair	
Paper	<u>Why Not Peace? A Study of the Origins of Peaceful vs. Violent Movements</u> Renat Shaykhutdinov , <i>Texas A&M University</i> Overview: Peaceful movements are more effective than violent groups in the successful attainment of the desired goals. In this paper I explain why certain groups still resort to violence. My explanation is lined to the availability of valuable resources.	Paper	<u>Electoral Systems and Voter Turnout: A Micro-level Analysis</u> Eric Chang , <i>Michigan State University</i> Tse-hsin Chen , <i>Michigan State University</i> Overview: This paper argues that a voter's turnout propensity increases as the distance between her policy position and that of her most (least) favored party decreases (increases). Using the CSES survey data, we find strong empirical support for our claims.
Paper	<u>Dollars vs. Symbols: Redistribution, Indigenous Identity, and Nationalism</u> Brian D. Shoup , <i>Indiana University</i> Overview: Do redistributive policies serve instrumental and pecuniary interests in divided societies, or are they motivated by more symbolic considerations?	Chair	
Disc.	Hudson Meadwell , <i>McGill University</i>	Paper	<u>The Seat Share of the Smaller Parties and Social Trust</u> John L. Ensich , <i>University of California, Irvine</i> Overview: This paper provides an analytical framework for examining the relationship between social trust, and democracy in newly democratizing countries. It tests district magnitude and assembly size, as determining factors of interpersonal trust.
21-5	<u>INFORMATION PROCESSING</u> Salon 12, 3 rd Floor, Sun at 9:50 am Brian Kisida , <i>University of Arkansas</i> A Model of Survey Response: Perceptions about Candidate Issue Position Sung-young Kim , <i>University of Iowa</i> Milton Lodge , <i>Stony Brook University</i> Charles Taber , <i>Stony Brook University</i> Overview: We propose a theory of survey respondents' perceptions about candidate issue position and test it against the Lau-Redlawsk experimental data.	Room	
Room		Paper	<u>Overhang Seats and Strategic Voting in MMP</u> Henry A. Kim , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Nathan F. Batto , <i>University of the Pacific</i> Overview: We identify a hitherto unexamined form of strategic voting in MMP systems, in which large parties' supporters strategically vote for small parties in the list tier. We present both theoretical rationale and empirical evidence thereof.
Chair		Disc.	Raymond M. Duch , <i>University of Oxford</i>
Paper	<u>Understanding vs. Prediction in Candidate Evaluation</u> David Redlawsk , <i>University of Iowa</i> Overview: This paper argues that the ultimate goal of research into voter decision making should be to understand, not merely predict, and that in order to understand we must move beyond traditional variance models into process-driven approaches.	25-16	<u>THE CONSEQUENCES OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND INTERPERSONAL INTERACTION</u> Salon 9, 3 rd Floor, Sun at 9:50 am Casey A. Klofstad , <i>University of Miami</i> Echo Chambers or Overlap? Ideological Patterns of Student Networks Brian J. Gaines , <i>University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign</i> Overview: Using novel data, we explore students' social networks to gauge how closed or open they are ideologically.
Paper	<u>The Role of Attitude Functions in Motivated Political Reasoning</u> Sanser Yener , <i>Stony Brook University</i> Overview: I use three issues, namely, national service, Social Security, and immigration, and examine the effect of attitude functions-whether the attitude serves a self-interest function or a value-expressive function-on motivated reasoning.	Room	
Paper	<u>Institutional Context, Perceived Motivations and Institutional Evaluations</u> David Doherty , <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Overview: This research looks at how the salience of the institutional environment affects how individuals make judgments about what motivates political actors as well as what they want to motivate these actors.	Chair	
Disc.	Beth Miller , <i>University of Missouri, Kansas City</i>	Paper	<u>Polarization and Homogenization in Small Group Deliberations</u> Robert C. Luskin , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> James S. Fishkin , <i>Stanford University</i> Kyu S. Hahn , <i>University of California, Los Angeles</i> Overview: We use evidence from more than a dozen Deliberative Polls to examine and explain the extent to which the members of randomly assigned, moderated small groups converge on the same, more extreme view.
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Paper	<u>How Wife and Husband Influence Each Other</u> Yukio Maeda , <i>University of Tokyo</i> Overview: This paper examines the manner in which spouses influence each other's opinions. Special attention is paid to the differences between cases wherein the spouses' opinions are perceived correctly and those in which they are perceived incorrectly.	Paper	<u>Collaboration vs. Conflict in Casino Compacts: Exploring the Quality of Intergovernmental Negotiations</u> Paula R. Mohan , <i>University of Wisconsin, Whitewater</i> Overview: An analysis of the factors that lead to successful collaboration vs conflict between local and tribal governments in negotiating casino compacts.
Paper	<u>Developing Interest in Politics: The Effect of Early Life Socialization</u> Danielle Shani , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: In this paper, I argue that adolescent experiences, such as enjoying social studies and participating in youth activities, as well as the political environment at home, have a long reach in shaping political interest well into adulthood.	Paper	<u>Handling the Jurisdictional Variation in American Indian Law and Politics</u> Rich Braunstein , <i>University of South Dakota</i> Overview: An examination of variation in jurisdictional arrangements in Indian Country to assess the impact structural factors have on the state disposition of American Indian criminal cases, tribal economic development and health policy in the U.S.
Disc.	Casey A. Kloststad , <i>University of Miami</i>	Paper	<u>Indigent Defendants and the Barriers They Face in the Wisconsin Court System</u> Martin Guevara Urbina , <i>Howard College</i> Jamie Peterson , <i>Howard College</i> Magun Gutierrez , <i>Howard College</i> Overview: A review of the literature suggests that equal access to the law is being denied to indigent defendants in our nation's courts due to various intertwining barriers, like economics, education, social environment, legal status, quality of public defenders,
27-17	<u>THE INTERNET AND ITS APPLICATIONS</u> Clark 1, 7 th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am	Disc.	Valerie Martinez-Ebers , <i>Texas Christian University</i>
Room	Frank McKenna , <i>Bowling Green State University</i>	32-6	<u>SMITH AND HUME</u> LaSalle 1, 7 th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am
Chair	<u>The Origins and Effectiveness of Arguments in Strategic Communication</u> Patrick J. Sellers , <i>Davidson College</i> Taylor Ansley , <i>Davidson College</i> Overview: Our paper examines strategic communication in national political debates, specifically the recent Supreme Court nominations. The analysis documents the growth of blogs and suggests why certain issues and arguments prove more successful than others.	Room	Lauren K. Hall , <i>Northern Illinois University</i>
Paper	<u>The Changing Face of Incumbency: An Exploration into Joe Lieberman's Digital Identity?</u> Diana T. Cohen , <i>University of Florida</i> Overview: This paper explores the changing nature of Joe Lieberman's digital identity over the course of the 2006 election.	Chair	<u>Proximity and the Ethical in Adam Smith and Emanuel Levinas</u> Fonna Forman-Barzilai , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> David Forman-Barzilai , <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: We note parallels between Smith's sympathy and Levinas' phenomenology of the face and conclude that since both emphasize the proximate character of human interaction neither can produce objective criteria for evaluating the unfamiliar and the distant.
Paper	<u>Tribal Government Websites: Political Communication for Member</u> Elizabeth A. Wabindato , <i>Northern Arizona University</i> Overview: This paper explores how American Indian tribal governments are utilizing the internet in order to communicate with tribal members who live on and off the homeland.	Paper	<u>Sympathy and the Passions: Rethinking Part I of Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments</u> Edward J. Harpham , <i>University of Texas, Dallas</i> Overview: In this paper I will explore how a modern theory of the passions is transformed in Part I of Adam Smith's The Theory of Moral Sentiments through the concepts of sympathy and mutual sympathy.
Paper	<u>Blogging for Democracy: Deliberation, Autonomy, and Reasonableness in the Blogosphere</u> John W. Maynor , <i>Middle Tennessee State University</i> Overview: This paper will argue that traditional models of deliberative democracy fail to take account of the new modes and orders of political engagement through the internet, and in blogs in particular.	Paper	<u>David Hume and the Origins of Modern Citizenship</u> Tom J. Hoffman , <i>University of Illinois</i> Overview: This paper examines David Hume's notion of citizenship, a notion of citizenship modelled most directly on the critic or connoisseur. Hume's understanding of citizenship along these lines is identified with citizenship.
Paper	<u>Traveling Cyberspace Without A Compass - Hazards for Democracy?</u> Sharon L. Keranen , <i>Wayne State University</i> Overview: Man's innate passions may collide with technology in learning and understanding politics. This is a discussion of Plato and Bacon's world in the 21st Century.	Disc.	Lauren K. Hall , <i>Northern Illinois University</i>
Disc.	Matthew S. Hindman , <i>Arizona State University</i>	33-15	<u>IMAGINATION AND JUDGMENT</u> Dearborn 2, 7 th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am
29-16	<u>INSTITUTIONAL FORCES AND AMERICAN RACIAL POLITICS</u> Clark 7, 7 th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am	Room	Eileen H. Botting , <i>University of Notre Dame</i>
Room	Valerie Martinez-Ebers , <i>Texas Christian University</i>	Chair	<u>The Complementary Relation between Actor's and Spectator's Judgment Capacities in Hannah Arendt's Thought</u> Ozge Celik , <i>University of Colorado, Boulder</i> Overview: What is the significance of the distinction between the actor and the spectator in terms of their capacity to judge in Hannah Arendt's thought?
Chair	<u>Native American Political Representation in State Legislatures</u> Steven J. Doherty , <i>Dickinson State University</i> Overview: This study examines the level of Native American representation in state legislatures in western states and explores the major political and social factors that have shaped the experiences of Native American state legislators.	Paper	<u>Rereading the Political through the Aesthetic: Arendt and Lyotard on Kant</u> Leila M. Ibrahim , <i>Cornell University</i> This paper examines Arendt's and Lyotard's metapolitics against the backdrop of their appropriation of Kant's aesthetics.
Paper	<u>The Election of Latinas to State Legislatures and Congress</u> Jason Casellas , <i>University of Texas, Austin</i> Overview: This paper examines the election of Latinas to several state legislatures and Congress. Using data from the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials, as well as interviews with key Latina leaders.		

Paper	<u>The Rule of Law Through the Looking Glass</u> Mary Liston , <i>University of Toronto</i> Overview: This paper suggests that children's literature can provide insights into how the rule of law has been conceptualized in both Anglo-North American popular culture as well as political and legal theory.	35-11 Room Chair Paper	<u>INFERRING INDIVIDUAL ATTRIBUTES</u> Montrose 2, 7 th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am Regina Branton , <i>Rice University</i> <u>Inequality in Freedom Within States: Multi-level Models for Survey Data</u> Olivia C. Lau , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: Freedom varies across individuals within states, as well as across states. Using a multi-level ordinal probit model and individual-level data from 38 countries, I find that individual income, education, and gender affect the distribution of freedom.
Disc.	Eileen H. Botting , <i>University of Notre Dame</i> Laurie Naranch , <i>Siena College</i>		
33-28 Room Chair Paper	<u>JUSTICE AND JUSTIFICATION</u> Dearborn 1, 7 th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am Colin P. Bird , <i>University of Virginia</i> <u>Tribal Liberalism: The Ethical Implication of Public Justification</u> Bill Curtis , <i>University of Vermont</i> Overview: The commitment to public justification has greater ethical implications than most liberal theorists realize. It implies a distinctively liberal "way of life" that cannot in principle be reconciled with the accommodation of nonliberal pluralism.	Paper	<u>Uncovering Trail of Votes: A Solution for Ecological Bias Problem</u> Mikhail G. Myagkov , <i>University of Oregon</i> Dmitrii Shakin , <i>Russian Economic School</i> Sergey Sulgin , <i>Russian Academy of National Economy</i> Overview: The paper presents new solution for the Ecological Bias problem, and uses it to trace votes between elections in several countries. The new model is tested against several current methods.
Paper	<u>Can Deliberation Build Trust?</u> Patti Tamara Lenard , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: I assess whether deliberation can be thought of a trust-building mechanism, in particular the institutional conditions under which it takes place so that it can be a trust-builder. I focus on the 'deliberation mediator'.	Paper	<u>Racial Disparities in Disability-Free Life Expectancy</u> Samir S. Soneji , <i>Princeton University</i> Kosuke Imai , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: Disability-free life expectancy is an important measure of active life expectancy that has been used for over thirty years. In this paper, we apply new methodology to estimate racial disparities in this measure by U.S. birth cohorts.
Paper	<u>Public Reason as Reason-of-State</u> Fred M. Frohock , <i>University of Miami</i> Overview: A version of public reason crafted on reason-of-state, a tradition of thought holding that the exercise of power at collective levels identifies a political reasoning which presents its own distinct and independent rules of engagement and morality.	Disc.	Gregory E. McAvoy , <i>University of North Carolina, Greensboro</i>
Disc.	Stephen P. Chilton , <i>University of Minnesota, Duluth</i> Colin P. Bird , <i>University of Virginia</i>		
34-7 Room Chair Paper	<u>ELECTORAL COMPETITION</u> PDR 5, 3 rd Floor, Sun at 9:50 am Steven Callander , <i>Northwestern University</i> <u>Targeted Campaigns with Ambiguity-Averse Voters</u> Scott Ashworth , <i>Princeton University</i> Overview: I study equilibrium targeting decisions in an election in which candidates can provide information to voters who are ambiguity averse, and might abstain if their information is "low quality".	38-9 Room Chair Paper	<u>ASSESSING THE PERMANENT CAMPAIGN</u> LaSalle 2, 7 th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am Lilly J. Goren , <i>Carroll College</i> <u>Vulnerability and Responsiveness in U.S. Disaster Policy, 1953-2003</u> R. Steven Daniels , <i>California State University, Bakersfield</i> Overview: Relying on material collected from multiple disaster databases, I examine the role of media coverage and demographic, social, economic, and political vulnerability on the presidential disaster decisions from 1953-2003.
Paper	<u>Signalling Policy Commitments in Electoral Competitions with Heterogeneously Motivated Candidates</u> Haifeng Huang , <i>Duke University</i> Overview: When candidates can be either policy seeking or office seeking, their policy announcements during campaigns signal to voters their degrees of policy commitments. The median voter theorem no longer holds in this signalling game.	Paper	<u>The Politics of the Permanent Campaign: Presidents, Fundraising, and the Electoral College</u> Brendan J. Doherty , <i>American Political Science Association</i> Overview: In this paper I systematically examine presidential travel and fundraising from 1977 through 2004 to assess empirically the extent to which there is a permanent campaign for the presidency, as well as the evolution of the public presidency.
Paper	<u>Attack Politics: Who Goes Negative and Why?</u> Kyle Mattes , <i>California Institute of Technology</i> Overview: I introduce a formal model of campaign strategy to show when candidates will engage in negative campaigning and how it can affect election results.	Paper	<u>From the Campaign Trail to the White House: The Consequences of Geographic Targeting for Presidents' Abilities to Govern</u> Henriet Hendriks , <i>University of Minnesota, Twin Cities</i> Overview: Through a comparative case study of presidential election campaigns and the period after the candidates took office, this paper examines the effects of geographic targeting on the ability to govern.
Paper	<u>When Candidates as Well as Voters Value Good Job Performance: A Spatial Model</u> James Adams , <i>University of California, Davis</i> Samuel Merrill, III , <i>Wilkes University</i> Overview: We develop a spatial model in which the candidates – like the voters – prefer that the winning candidate possess qualities such as competence and integrity that will enhance his job performance.	Disc.	Lilly J. Goren , <i>Carroll College</i>
Paper	<u>2's Company, 3's An Equilibrium: Strategic Voting and Multicandidate Elections</u> John W. Patty , <i>Harvard University</i> Overview: Electoral competition with 3 or more candidates is examined and it is shown that any profile of platforms in which at least three candidates adopt different platforms is a subgame perfect equilibrium in weakly undominated strategies.	39-13 Room Chair Paper	<u>CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE: BALANCING POWER</u> Montrose 1, 7 th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am Ryan J. Vander Wielen , <i>Temple University</i> <u>Presidents or Politics?: Fast Track Trade and the Line-Item Veto</u> Patrick T. Hickey , <i>University of Texas</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the dynamics of institutional power. Specifically, under what conditions will Congress cede power to the president? To answer this question, I examine the politics of fast-track trade promotion authority and the line-item veto.
Disc.	Kevin A. Roust , <i>University of California, San Diego</i>		

Paper	<p><u>Circumventing the Senate: The President's Use of Recess Appointments on the NLRB</u> Micheal S. Lynch, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Anthony J. Madonna, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Ryan J. Owens, <i>Washington University, St. Louis</i> Overview: Is the increase in recess appointments a politically motivated attempt to circumvent the Senate? This paper tests whether recess appointees vote differently than their Senate-confirmed counterparts on the National Labor Relations Board.</p>	Paper	<p><u>The Supreme Court and the Paradox of Apartheid: Revisiting Brown</u> Michael W. Combs, <i>University of Nebraska, Lincoln</i> Peter Hatemi, <i>University of Nebraska, Lincoln</i> Overview: In this paper, we argue that the Supreme Court and some of its decisions have promoted the convergence of cultural, political and economic factors and forces that foster and maintain educational apartheid in the schools of this nation.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Evolution of U.S. Governmental Attitudes and Responses to Terrorism</u> Adam L. Silverman, <i>Long Island University</i> Jacob R. Straus, <i>Frostburg State University</i> Overview: This paper focuses on the historical reaction of the Executive and Legislative branches to acts of terrorism over history. We posit that the government has a history of over-reaction and then must make adjustments before establishing a public policy.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Is a Slave 'Any Woman'? Slavery, Sex, and Claims of Citizenship in State of Missouri v. Celia, a Slave</u> Joan Sitomer, <i>University of Michigan</i> Overview: This paper explores a defense attorney's attempt to push the raced and gendered boundaries of citizenship by framing a slave's story of sexual exploitation in universal terms and examines why that claim wasn't legible to the court.</p>
Paper	<p><u>The Executive-Legislative Balance of Power: New Measures of Legislative Success in Brazil, 1988 - 2005</u> Monica Pachon, <i>University of California, San Diego</i> Overview: Using the Brazilian case, I propose measuring legislative success as the capacity to delay/stop as a whole/part an executive bill, and show how the opposition is successful amending/delaying the enactment process even with the existence of a cartel.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Race, Police Power, and Constitutional Structure</u> Kathleen S. Sullivan, <i>Ohio University</i> Overview: A study of the deployment of both white supremacist and civil rights readings of the police power in the late nineteenth century.</p>
Disc.	<p>Jesse T. Richman, <i>Old Dominion University</i> Ryan J. Vander Wielen, <i>Temple University</i></p>	Disc.	<p>Judith A. Baer, <i>Texas A&M University</i> Paul Kriese, <i>Indiana University East</i></p>
41-25	<p><u>HIGH COURTS IN THEIR LARGER POLITICAL ENVIRONMENTS</u> Burnham 1, 7th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am Donald Kommers, <i>University of Notre Dame</i> <u>Creating Credible Commitments: Courts in Transitional Democracies</u> Minodora A. Buliga-Stoian, <i>Binghamton University</i> Geoff McGovern, <i>SUNY, Binghamton</i> Overview: This paper is a comparative study of the interaction between constitutional courts and political actors within transitional democracies, by introducing judiciaries into the political processes specified by previous transition models.</p>	45-11	<p><u>COOPERATION AND CONFLICT IN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION</u> Burnham 4, 7th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am Charles Sampson, <i>University of Missouri</i> <u>Values, Coalition Modification and Regime Replacement</u> Charles L. Sampson, <i>University of Missouri</i> Timothy O. Smith, <i>Missouri Department of Economic Development</i> Overview: How are effective coalitions of stakeholders formed, modified and changed internally in order to implement public policy? Each of the three concepts: Punctuated Equilibrium, Advocacy Coalition Frameworks and Urban Regime Theory contribute to an understanding.</p>
Room		Room	
Chair		Chair	
Paper	<p><u>Should there be an Inspector General for the Federal Courts?</u> Mark C. Miller, <i>Clark University</i> Overview: Based on interviews with Members of Congress and with Members of Parliament, this paper will compare court-legislative interactions in the two societies.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Determinants of the Responsiveness of Street-Level Bureaucrats: The Case of Los Angeles</u> Kyu-Nahm Jun, <i>University of Southern California</i> Chris Weare, <i>University of Southern California</i> Juliet Musso, <i>University of Southern California</i> Ellen Shiau, <i>University of Southern California</i> Overview: This paper examines the managerial, technical and environmental factors that influence the performance of local public agencies from the perspectives of community stakeholders.</p>
Paper	<p><u>By-Passing the Court: The Politics of Unconstitutional Legislation in Spain</u> Gemma Sala, <i>Yale University</i> Overview: When policies transgress the constitutional arrangement, politicians engage in logrolling negotiations in order to by-pass the court and avoid their policies from reaching the judicial arena.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Power and Local Actors: Analyzing Antipoverty Housing Policy</u> Jeffrey B. McLaughlin, <i>University of California, Riverside</i> Overview: This paper investigates local political forces that create a variation in the implementation of state mandates, and how the perceptions of local development elites cause a differential compliance in a California antipoverty housing policy.</p>
Paper	<p><u>A Cross-National Analysis of Judicial Decision Making in the U.S., Canada and Australia</u> David L. Weiden, <i>Illinois State University</i> Overview: This paper analyzes the attitudinal and legal models in the high courts of the U.S., Canada, and Australia, and proposes a new theory of cross-national judicial decision-making.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Patterns of Cooperation: Coalitions in Local Public Health Practice</u> Elise Papke, <i>University of Illinois, Chicago</i> David R. Papke, <i>Marquette University</i> Overview: This paper explores the application of social network analysis to evaluating patterns of cooperation in community public health coalitions. Coalition effectiveness may be better understood with knowledge about structures of power in the network.</p>
Disc.	<p>Lydia B. Tiede, <i>University of California, San Diego</i></p>	Disc.	<p>Michael Craw, <i>Michigan State University</i></p>
42-9	<p><u>RACE, RIGHTS, AND HISTORY (Co-sponsored with Race, Class and Ethnicity, see 29-2)</u> Clark 5, 7th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am Michael W. Combs, <i>University of Nebraska, Lincoln</i> <u>Reviving the Republican Face of Constitutional Rights: Abolition as a Constitutional Project</u> Elizabeth Beaumont, <i>University of Minnesota</i> Overview: Refashions the relationship between rights and constitutional development by exploring how an engaged public participated in national rights debates shaping the Civil War and Amendments and recasting principles of federalism and republicanism.</p>	Paper	<p><u>Agents of Social Change: Police Engagement in Social Policy</u> Liliokanaio Peaslee, <i>Brandeis University</i> Overview: This paper examines how and why some police departments move away from traditional law enforcement and towards a proactive model of crime prevention that emphasizes partnerships with municipal and community-based social service agencies.</p>
Room		Room	
Chair		Chair	
Paper		Paper	

46-14 **TECHNOLOGY AND POLICY**
Room PDR 6, 3rd Floor, Sun at 9:50 am
Chair Karen Mossberger, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
Paper **Problem and Solution Definitions of Nanotechnology across Multiple Venues**
Eric Lindquist, *Texas A&M University*
Katrina Mosher, *Texas A&M University*
Overview: We examine how new ideas and technologies, as illustrated by the case of nanotechnology, emerge onto the decision agenda. We apply a problem definition approach, and explore nanotechnology problem and solution definitions across multiple venues.

Paper **On the Expert Failure in Scientific Decision-Making**
Zaijian Qian, *Nanjing Normal University*
Overview: Expert argumentation is considered to be a key for scientific decision-making. Yet it is still not necessarily a scientific decision, not to say a right or a good one. Just like the market failure and government failure, the expert may fail too.

Paper **Are All Women Making Progress Online? African-American Women and Latinas**
Karen Mossberger, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
Caroline Tolbert, *University of Iowa*
Bridgett King, *Kent State University*
Gena Miller, *University of Illinois, Chicago*
Overview: Using the most recent comprehensive survey of technology use and access, the 2003 Current Population Survey, we explore the impact of interactions between gender, race/ethnicity, and poverty for technology use among minority women.

Paper **Accountability Strategies: Dealing with Multiple Pressures of Accountability**
Dorit Rubinstein, *University of California, Berkeley*
Overview: Studies show that agencies face multiple, conflicting accountability demands. Drawing on empirical research from the UK, France and Sweden, the paper creates a typology of strategies agencies use to deal with these demands and a model predicting.

Paper **Government-University-Industry Research Collaboration and the Public**
Jennifer H. Geertsma, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*
Overview: Government-university-industry research collaboration has increased at a pace previously unwitnessed. I will examine nanomanufacturing research centers as a new form of GUIR collaboration, assess relevant theories, and argue for including the public as a participant.

Disc. Doo-Rae Kim, *University of Seoul*

50-12 **FEDERALISM AND BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITY**
Room PDR 7, 3rd Floor, Sun at 9:50 am
Chair Sandra Schneider, *Michigan State University*
Paper **Toward Collaborative Federalism: A Necessity for Securing the Homeland**
Samuel H. Clovis, Jr., *Morningside College*
Overview: Effective public policy related to national preparedness is inhibited by institutional pathologies and the convergence of three theories of Federalism. An American version of Collaborative Federalism is required to fix this situation.

Paper **Success Factors in Intergovernmental Information Technology Projects**
David R. Connelly, *Western Illinois University*
Donna Canestraro, *Center for Technology in Government*
Overview: The paper examines 4 different implementations of IT regarding the sharing of information both in horizontal (local-local, etc.) and vertical terms (state-fed., etc.). Factors include leadership, trust, need for dedicated "space".

Paper **NCLB and Politics of Unfunded Mandate: An Intergovernmental Fiscal Relation**
Yongmao Fan, *Northern Illinois University*
Overview: This paper is to take the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) as a case in the education sector to explore the issue of unfunded mandate and to analyze how it impacts the intergovernmental relations in the United States.

Paper **Bureaucratic Power and Multilevel Governance**
Holly T. Goerdel, *University of Kansas*
Overview: Bureaucratic power is conceived of and exercised in differing ways in public organizations. Traditional notions of bureaucratic power are challenged by agencies operating within multilevel governance systems, like the European Union.

Disc. Sandra Schneider, *Michigan State University*
Daniel P. Hawes, *Texas A&M University*

51-13 **RACE AND AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT**
Room PDR 8, 3rd Floor, Sun at 9:50 am
Chair Julie Novkov, *SUNY, Albany*
Paper **Quiet, Yet Ever-Constant, Advocacy: How American Indian Tribes Have Confronted and Changed Federal Indian Policy**
Laura Evans, *University of Washington*
Overview: An explanation of the processes of federal policy changes achieved by American Indian tribes.

Paper **Bringing Race and Class Back In: American Democratization in Comparative Perspective**
Shamira Gelbman, *University of Virginia*
Overview: An analysis and reinterpretation of American political development and the comparative democratization literature through a focus on the role of race and class, specifically the interaction of the civil rights and labor movements in promoting democratization.

Paper **Congress and the Status of Blacks: The Pattern of Initiatives and Counter-Attacks**
Matthew Holden, *University of Virginia*
Overview: A political science of American history may examine competing claims (Loewenberg and Patterson, (1979, 1966), as to the status of blacks in the polity, seen in five initiatives and counterattacks.

Paper **Reforming the Jim Crow Political Order: Southern Politics in the 1940s**
Kimberley Johnson, *Columbia University*
Overview: A rethinking of the rise and fall of racial orders in American political development through an analysis of "Jim Crow reform".

Disc. Joe Lowndes, *University of Oregon*
Dorian Warren, *Columbia University*

52-4 **HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY AND CULTURE**
Room Clark 9, 7th Floor, Sun at 9:50 am
Chair Carol Atkinson, *University of Southern California*
Paper **Fairy Tales, Popular Fiction and the French Revolution**
Margaret M. Young, *Albion College*
Overview: Given the juxtaposition of then current popular fiction and the French Revolution the author considers the political and social insights elicited by looking at the tropes that are most constant in current popular fiction both written and filmed.

Paper **The Rite of Self-Defense**
Ron Hirschbein, *California State University, Chico*
Overview: Self-defense is seen as a ritualistic enactment of civic mythology. The enactment sanctifies tactics and strategy, promotes social cohesion, and offers absolution.

Paper **Ambivalent Progressive: Hillary Clinton as Modern Jeremiah**
Mark S. Jendrysik, *University of North Dakota*
Overview: One of the most enduring themes in American political discourse is the idea of decline. This discourse of declension has often taken the form of the jeremiad. I examine how Hillary Clinton has adopted the styles of the "modern jeremiad".

Paper **Dissent in Times of Terror: Strategies of Contention After 9/11**
Florent Blanc, *Northwestern University*
Overview: This paper, based on the case of the United States after 9/11, aims at explaining the strategies adopted by dissenters. It draws on the literature on securitization, social movement, power, domination and resistance, as well as surveillance.

Disc. Mark S. Jendrysik, *University of North Dakota*
Katherine J. Banks, *University of Cambridge*